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Libertarian

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

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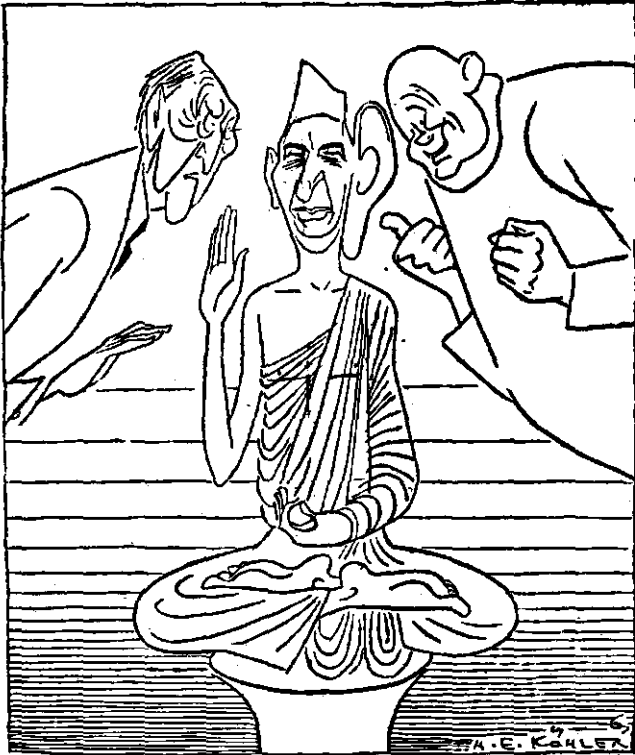
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VOL. IX No. 16

NOVEMBER 15 1961

DIWALI ISSUE

HOW OTHERS LOOK ON US !



'NEHRU THE INCARNATION. OF NEUTRALITY'

By Courtesy : "FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG"

IN THIS ISSUE

	Page		Page
Editorial	3	DELHI LETTER	13
Aspects of National Integration by <i>M. A. Venkata Rao</i>	6	Book Review	15
Muslims and National Integration <i>M. N. Tholal</i>	8	Swatantra Manifesto	17
Indigenous Art—Forms of Kerala: .. THULLAL		Gleanings from the Press	18
by <i>K. T. Padmanabhan Tampy</i>	10		
ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT	I-IV	News and Views	18

“ We wish the readers and sympathisers of the
Indian Libertarian a happy Diwali. ”

RAJAJI'S MESSAGE

**'The Work of The Indian Libertarian Timely and Important
In this Age of Demagogy.'**

The Libertarian is issuing a Deepavali Number and I hope it will be a success. The Libertarian is doing important work in a very modest way. The philosophy of freedom is being replaced by the ignorant and wicked doctrines of State compulsion for everything. Statism lays the axe at the root of liberty and makes some political party or other the irreplaceable tyrant to rule over men's lives private and public. The work of the Libertarian under the inspiring leadership of Shri R. B. Lotvala is most timely in this age of tyrannical demagogy.

Madras,
24th October, 1961.

C. Rajagopalachari

EDITORIAL

THE PATRIOT VS. THE FELLOW- TRAVELLER

THE Bombay North Election combat for the Parliamentary seat promises to be a very exciting and interesting affair. It has attracted not only nation-wide but also world-wide attention. And it may well be so. For, the combatants are no less persons than Acharya Kripalani, the Veteran National Leader and Patriot, and Mr. Krishna Menon, the well-known Fellow-Traveller, who unfortunately happens, with Mr. Nehru's Grace, to occupy the high position of India's Defence Minister.

The first shots have been exchanged. The Citizens' Convention which met at the Sunderabai Hall at Bombay on October 16, 1961, formally declared Acharya Kripalani's candidature from Bombay North. Though Mr. Menon's candidature is not officially announced by the Congress, it is now almost a settled fact. Mr. Menon's election campaign, however, was opened by his patron Mr. Nehru himself who, throwing all considerations of propriety and rules of public meetings to the winds in his great anxiety to help his protegee, indulged in an unseemly tirade against the Acharya.

The two parties thus are well poised for a grim fight, the Acharya with the support of the "Trimurti" — an Indian term chosen by the Acharya himself consisting of the Swatantra, Praja Socialists and Jana Sangh on the one hand, and Mr. Krishna Menon with the support of the "Troika" — a term borrowed by Mr. Nehru from Mr. Khrushchev as usual — consisting of the Red Moscovites, Congress Nehruites and Fellow-travelling Neophytes.

The two personalities involved in this election fight are by common consent big and imposing. If the Acharya has an unsullied record of selfless service to this country for well over forty years, Mr. Krishna Menon has to his credit (or discredit?) a long record of indefatigable toil in the cause of world communism. In public life the Acharya stands for integrity, probity, sincerity and humility, while Mr. Menon stands for duplicity, cunning, showmanship and insolence. In one word while the Acharya exemplifies in himself what is best and most enduring in Indian life and culture, Mr. Menon represents the dazzling but most deceptive phases of a hybrid culture having no deep-roots and firm moorings in the Indian soil.

But the issues involved are still bigger and more important. The Acharya has always advocated a firm

independent and non-allied foreign policy and insisted upon India's judging every issue coming for discussion before the U.N. on its own merit. On the other hand Mr. Menon has always interpreted India's foreign policy on major issues such as Atomic Tests, Tibet, Laos, Congo, Colonialism, Red, Yellow or White etc., in a way which clearly indicates his pro-communist leanings. In matters relating to India's defence, Mr. Kripalani on many occasions has had to cross swords with Mr. Menon in the Parliament. He has publicly charged the latter with having demoralised India's defence forces by injecting among them his neo-communist politics. He has accused Mr. Menon also of indirectly encouraging Chinese aggression on India by treating Chinese occupation of 12,000 square miles of Indian territory as a mere a border incident and not as a grave attack on India to be hurled back.

Thus, no two contestants in an election could be so widely separated from each other as Kripalani and Menon are, in their attitudes and approaches towards questions affecting the vital interests of India. The venerable Acharya having had to fight hard for India's freedom naturally now feels sad at these dirty politics of Mr. Menon which, so to say, imperil India's very existence as a free nation. Having been a life-long advocate of a democratic form of society, he has every reason to be pained at the sight of Mr. Menon and Mr. Nehru trying to regiment slowly the life of the Indian people on the Soviet model through their political and economic Plans and other subterfuges.

The Acharya, therefore, has staked his all, even his political future by taking up this election fight against the Evil Genius of Indian politics, that is Mr. Menon, for preserving national integrity and saving India for democracy and freedom. A heavy responsibility is therefore cast on the voters of Bombay north. By casting their overwhelming vote in favour of Acharya Kripalani, they should now give a stern and clear warning to the power-drunk Congress Bosses that people are in no mood to tolerate any longer persons, however powerful and big, who compromise with the honour, dignity and integrity of the Nation.

"BETTER DEAD THAN RED"

By carrying out the threatened fifty and even seventy five Megaton Explosions, Russia has shown that she has scant regard for world opinion as reflected in the resolution of the United Nations and the numerous appeals made to Mr. Khrushchev by other countries individually to desist from the mad venture. It is however remarkable that though the threat when initially held out by Mr. Khrushchev filled the world with great apprehensions about the possible baneful effects of these tests on human life, the actual explosions have been taken in political circles with comparative contempt and disdain that they so richly deserve. The one effect of this current series of nuclear explosions has been that it has thoroughly exposed the "peaceful" pretensions of

Russia and her dishonest profession of 'co-existence' with the non-communist world.

Politically, by carrying out these tests Russia has lost heavily in prestige and honour, both among the allied and non-allied nations of the world. Militarily speaking, such nuclear explosions have failed to make any impression on the other side of the barricade. As Mr. Dean Rusk, the U.S. Secretary of State has put it, such monster nuclear weapons are "useless and unnecessary," from a technical point of view, and as such the U.S.A. decided long back that it was not worthwhile to manufacture them though it had all the capacity and resources to do so. The Deputy Secretary of U.S. Defence has confidently declared that "the retaliatory force of U.S.A. is of such lethal power that an enemy move which brought it into play would be an act of self-destruction." He has further emphasised the superiority of America and her allies in nuclear warfare and has expressed the firm determination of the Allies of the free World to equip themselves militarily in a way that will be respected.

Despite this impressive military strength of the U.S.A., it is reassuring to note, that she has proposed a positive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty instead of a new Moratorium called for in the resolution of the United Nations.

All these facts revealed by military experts and diplomats of the Free Nations will surely cheer up the faint hearts whom it is the sinister design of Russia to terrorise by her nuclear-rattling. Those who still cherish Freedom and Liberty as the prime necessities of a worthy and purposeful life, now should boldly stand up to this naked and unabashed death-dance of Russia and expose the utter futility of her terroristic methods in a cold or a hot war. They must now make it quite clear that iron has entered their souls and they are prepared to carry on a determined and relentless fight against this communist menace to peaceful and civilised life of men, with the watchword, "BETTER DEAD THAN RED".

THE COMMUNIST MESSIAH

Mr. Khrushchev's recent speeches and reports have a ring about them which can be found only in the utterances and writings of self-styled Messiahs and Prophets out to save the world. How this Red Prophet proposes to create the very 'Heaven of Peace' on this Earth has been clearly and unequivocally explained by him in his report submitted to the 22nd C.P.S.U. Congress. It says "Atomic and Hydrogen weapons in hands of the Soviet people, builders of communism do reliable service to the cause of peace." Thus to Mr. Khrushchev, World-peace means only world domination by the communists with the aid of nuclear weapons.

This Messianic and imperialistic creed of communism is further defined by what his Draft Programme has to offer as a revealed truth to other developing countries like India who have lunched on the socialist path. Its chief premise is that "in

all countries, irrespective of the level of their economic development, territorial size and population, true progress is feasible only under socialism," and further "the experience of the U.S.S.R. has shown that people can achieve socialism only as the result of socialist revolution and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

What would happen to the communist countries which deviate from this path ordained by Moscow under Mr. Khrushchev's Dispensation has been clearly pointed out by the rough treatment meted out by Mr. Khrushchev to the leaders of the Albanian communist party. He has now peremptorily demanded that Albanian Communist Party should, forthwith, dismiss these heretical leaders.

It is therefore no wonder that Mr. Ajoy Ghose the "faithful" Secretary of the Indian Communist Party bestowed fulsome and unstinted flattery and encomiums on this Messiah and his Sermon at C.P.S.U. Congress.

For he very well knew that not everyone who called himself a Communist would enter the Gates of Communist Paradise unless he did the will of Mr. Khrushchev, the Almighty Lord of the Communist World.

NONVOILENCE OR FREEDOM?

At the Seminar on Portuguese Colonial Possessions held at Delhi, Mr. Morarji Desai, to the great amazement as also the illconcealed resentment of Goan Fighters for freedom and African leaders assembled there, attempted to play the role of the Apostle of Nonviolence. He declared that India would not stray away from the nonviolent path of Freedom she had learnt at the feet of Gandhi. This statement ran directly counter to the policy enunciated by Mr. Nehru in his inaugural speech at the same Seminar that the Government of India would not hesitate to employ even military methods to free Goa.

Apart from the fact that Mr. Morarji Desai is least qualified to canvass nonviolent methods, in view of his none too creditable performance as the Chief Minister of Bombay, during Maharashtra linguistic disturbances, the truth must needs be told again and again that Gandhiji's non-violent methods had completely failed in 1942 to bring freedom to India. It was the subversive underground movement of 1942, the R.I.N. Revolt and the historic fight put up by the Hindustan National Army of Subhash Chandra Bose which exerted a greater pressure than the Congress movement, on the sympathetic Labour Government which was in power in Great Britain, to grant freedom to India in 1946.

Which clearly proves that the claim sometimes made that Gandhi discovered a novel non-violent path of freedom is no more than a myth and a fiction.

India's traditional Political science, it must be remembered, does not rule out the use of force (Danda), when persuasion (Sama) and "Give and Take" (Dama) have failed.

Mr. Nehru, therefore, should not hesitate to brush aside Mr. Desai's totally untenable and dogmatic ideas about non-violence and hasten the liberation of Goa by resorting to military methods if need be, and thus pave the way for the final and complete liquidation of the most violent and savage Portuguese Colonialism in Africa and elsewhere.

HERE AND THERE

The U. P. Government has dropped the proposal to launch a judicial enquiry into the recent communal disturbances in Uttar Pradesh, following high-level talks in Delhi. This decision has been taken for fear that communal passions might be revived by such inquiries. But the prosecutions against those who are detained for having fanned communal hatred, will be proceeded with—presumably because most of these persons are likely to be the rivals of the Congress candidates in U.P. A fine example indeed of Congress brand of democratic practice and secular justice!

The Chinese Red conquerors of Tibet are reported to have relaxed restrictions on religious practices in that country. The Communist must have now realised that this "Opiate of the Masses" as Lenin called Religion, is more powerful than the 'Opiate of the Communist Creed in dopting the starving people of Tibet into forgetting their worries of their day-to-day existence.

Mr. Khrushchev suspects that when Western Powers talk about "Freedom of West Berlin," what is implied is "the occupation of East Berlin". His suspicion is perfectly understandable. For he knows only the communist terminology which allows two different meanings to be attached to the same word, one, 'common' and the other, 'dialectical', even as Vedantism attaches two meanings to a word one 'metaphysical' (Adhyatmika) and the other, 'practical' (Bhantika). To cite an apt illustration, when Mr. Khrushchev speaks of "signing a German Peace Treaty", he really means "signing Germany's Death Warrant as a free nation."

Professor B. R. Shenoy writes in The Indian Express, "High rates of economic growth go hand in hand with economic Liberalism. Freedom is the life-breath of Progress." But Indian Planners stand not for economic growth but for "Growthmanship" and Regimentation is its life-breath.

A News Item: Nehru told Foreign and Indian film stars that he was also an "Actor" like them on a world stage.

Aspects Of National Integration

By M. A. Venkata Rao *

TO the communal outbreaks in Jabalpur with their overflow into wide areas in Madhyapradesh and the earlier complex Bengali-Assamese bloody conflicts, we have now to add the Aligarh university incidents with their explosions in the towns of U.P. The Aligarh disturbances have followed close on the heels of the Delhi conference on National Integration, as if to remind the participants in it, official and non-official, of their signal omission of the role of the Prince of Denmark in the play of Hamlet. This "prince" has had significant influence in complicating the Assamese conflict as well. The conference failed to take into serious account the problem of the assimilation of the Muslim in the current Indian national society.

Though the conference itself failed to go to the root of the matter, (the bulk of the members skirting round the central issue and skating thinly over the boiling cauldron, not daring to lift the lid,) there has been some amount of thinking on the aspects of promoting the requisite degree and quality of national unity. It is a beginning and needs to be followed out into the deeper problems of social psychology, historical roots and cultural complications together with their educational repercussions.

The controversy that has appeared in the public press so far has revealed the existing fissures in the thought of the intelligentsia in all their crystallised form. There is need for participants to consider rival views with an open mind, bringing impartial knowledge in its relevant fields to bear on the many-sided problem.

There is first the radical view appearing confidently and dogmatically in the Royist groups that *nationalism is an evil* and need not be, indeed should not be, encouraged at all!

If this point of view prevails, the problem disappears. There need be no national integration, which ceases to be a desirable objective.

Before dealing with national integration, we have therefore to consider and decide on the status of the national idea in social affairs and internal political policy. If Indians do not and need not constitute a nation, there is no need to insist on the minorities developing a national outlook. Perhaps the detractors of nationalism, also consider that it is the majority that is the greater sinners in this matter. And if they need not adopt a national outlook, why blame them for communalism?

And it is clear that this group inweighs at the same time at what is called communalism and aligns itself with the Nehru group in regarding it as the nigger in wood pile.

The late Mr. M. N. Roy shed his Marxism when he saw the excesses of Stalinism but he retained his

abstract internationalism which was a part of it.

This problem of the status of nationalism needs to be clearly thought out today.

If nationalism is wholly evil, what is the problem in the Congo?

The central problem in the Congo is the prevalence of tribalism, the mentality of thinking and feeling in terms of the old tribal groups. The consciousness of kind of which sociologists speak as the bond of society is in the Congo yet tied up with the old, primitive kinship groups. The result is that it is the most natural thing in world for members of tribal groups to obey their leaders spontaneously even when they suggest courses of action hostile to other tribal groups and to the unity of the Congo as an inclusive modern State. There is no national society yet in the Congo to support a modern State. And if nationalism is an evil, the tribes should be allowed to form their own small states.

If we do not wish to call this "consciousness of kind" by the name of nationalism, we have to invent and use other equivalents such as "social cohesion" and "area of social co-operation." Thus we will have to re-introduce (in other terms) the fact that expel from the front door.

Now in India too there is a similar problem, though at a more advanced stage but carrying many factors of nationalism that can be welded into the degree of social cohesion necessary to support the manysided activities of a modern State as a member of the comity of nations.

A number of other problems have erupted in the desultory discussion that has appeared in speeches and public press on the issue of national integration which have had the effect of raising necessary red herrings across the trail and darkening counsel.

One such is the role of culture. There is a sharp ambivalence of attitude about this question among leaders.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan spoke in this connection of the necessity and value of remembering and using what he called the *national ethos*. He did not define what he meant by this phrase. As the most distinguished spokesman and salesman of Hindu culture to the modern Western world (and to westernised Indians as a byproduct) he may be correctly presumed to have meant Hindu culture by his words.

This raises the question of how to use Hindu culture to strengthen national unity today and to motivate high patriotism without leaving non-Hindu elements of the citizenry in the cold.

One difficulty is that any stress on Hindu culture in educational institutions is the assumption it will

involve the *closed medium* of ideas and ideals. For, the old philosophical vision will have to be presented as the ultimate truth. This will involve regimentation and the inculcation of a *closed mind* refusing the dynamic fertilisation of ideas so essential for growth. If Hindu morality, as in its idea of dhama is founded on and is inextricably entwined with the Vedantic view of life, the onslaught of modern scepticism and materialism will remove its intellectual foundations and moorings. What remains of *dharmā* and vedanta after the dissolution of the idealist philosophy embedded in them?

Also, dharmā is mixed up with notions and practices of caste and subcaste in which are embedded ideas of ceremonial purity determining touchability and untouchability in food social contact and inter-marriage. If these taboos and practices fall away, what remains of dharmā?

I do not suggest that nothing will remain of any value. But this job of disentangling what is living from what is dead in Hindu culture to be undertaken and carried out successfully before any creative use can be made of Hindu culture for modern purposes — national and ethical and sociological.

One aspect of such interpretative study would be the finding of equivalents for the valid ideas of Hindu culture in rival religious and social systems — Muslim, Christian and Jew. There is a common fund of ethical ideas and value as between Buddhism Hinduism and Jainism, though the former has culminated in a philosophy of *Sumya* or nihilism and the latter has persisted in a pluralist vision of the universe as a cosmos of atoms and souls. Except for the greater stress on asceticism, there is no gulf of feeling, no feeling of foreignness as between Hinduism on the one hand and Buddhism and Jainism on the other. This homogeneity of ethical substance, vision and values with Nirvana, Kaivalya and Moksha as equivalent ultimate ideals and dharmā and punya corresponding to each other in social and individual morality has now to be carried over to include Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Jew. The essence of the problem is to reconcile the Semitic outlook of these cultures with the Greek-like universal outlook of the Hindu heritage. Even Jawaharlal Nehru refers to the similarity of Greek and Hindu cultures in their universality, rationality and tolerance in his *Discovery of India*. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has dealt with the clash of Greek, Semitic and Vedic cultures in his *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*.

The other way favoured by Royists and those of their way of thinking is iconoclastic. It is to proceed with making a clean sweep of the entire heritage of the past, the vedantic heritage of *brahma*, *atma*, *jnana*, *bhakti*, *karma*, *japa*, *tapas*, *dhyān*, *yajnya*, *dana*, *dharmā* (*varna* and *ashrama*), *rajyadharmā*, *kirtan* and *satsang* etc. The proposal is to begin *de novo* with basic assumptions on matter and nature, society and morality, reason and social co-operation on the basis of mutual interest. Some people also call for a renaissance on the model of the European renaissance.

In Europe, the renaissance took the form of a return to the Greek view of life and nature with its supposed rationality and secularism.

Indian reconstruction is to proceed according to this point of view on universalist and humanist lines *without introducing nationalism* as inspiration. This view identifies nationalism with tribalism, chauvinism and immorality with the slogan my country — right or wrong — and the whole series of aberrations leading to the violence and disruption of Nazism and Fascism.

If this is the truth about nationalism which makes it unsuitable as a motivation to social reconstruction for the purpose of harnessing devotion to social service, Nehru's conference on *national integration* was misguided. So will be the appeal to minorities to adopt nationalist attitudes in tune with the rest of the citizen population. The majorities may then retain their caste group consciousness and the Muslim and other minorities may retain their exclusive ambitions? We have not yet seen the radicals asking Muslims and other minorities to give up their group consciousness, their exclusive social unity and become heart-free, single unrelated individuals.

If all citizens jettison their communal consciousness and regain their status as individuals, the new work of social co-operation would then proceed smoothly on the basis on individual and enlightened self-interest which would provide for a mutual adjustment of clashing interests.

The protagonists of this point of view should go on to develop their social philosophy more fully and offer creative ideas to serve as the cement of society without nationalism and inherited culture. It should also serve as the substance presented in education, character training and citizenship. It should produce in young and old (after the destruction of the past and creation of a *tabula rasa* in their minds), a new code of ethics and scale of values. These should be based on experience elaborated, clarified and defended by reason without appeal to any super-sensible realities or values.

The works of the late Mr. Roy are a beginning in this line, particularly his last considerable work in two volumes — *Reason, Romanticism and Revolution*.

Endless problems arise in the use of culture, old or new, eastern or western in national education.

We have room here only to refer to one such question and that is the use of history.

Pandit Nehru complained at Madurai (before the AICC) that Indian textbooks of history gave too small a proportion of space to bring out the creative achievements of Hindus before the Muslim period. He referred in particular to the assimilation of the barbarian clans of the Hunas and Scythians in Rajput royal families.

(continued on page 8)

Muslims & National Integration

By M. N. Tholal

NOW that the problem of national integration is before the country, it behoves us to understand its inherent difficulties. We have been tinkering with the problem so far, mostly because most of us do not understand the nature of the problem. The problem of national integration is, at least in the North, one of the integration between Hindus and Muslims, lack of which has been evident in the rioting between the two communities. During British rule we used to say it was the work of *agents provocateur*. They are no longer there, but the rioting persists. That proves that it was not their work. Personally I have never believed in the *agents provocateur* theory. I have always believed that the faith of the Hindus and the Muslims being what it is, antagonism between them is natural, and, if there is to be emotional integration between them, attempts should be made to alter the beliefs of those which stand in the way of national integration.

The Hindus believe in freedom of thought and in 'live and let live.' No one can deny that. In fact

(Continued from page 7)

He had in mind the principle of creative synthesis of ancient Indian kingdoms in Southeast Asia which they dominated culturally for a thousand years.

He had in mind the principle of creative synthesis operating on the ground of tolerance for different views and races.

But he forgot that the work of *assimilation stopped with the coming of Islam*. Far from the invaders assimilating indigenous culture, they made their converts erase their inherited culture from their minds, roots and all. The descendants of converts threw their Indianness and adopted Islamic history and culture and looked back to Mecca as their source and took pride in panislam outside India.

This failure of assimilation is now posing the gravest problem before Indian Polity. India as a political entity on present mixed foundations as a secular democracy has no future until this problem of assimilation is solved before separatist trends assume crucial influence as at the time of the Partition in 1947.

The crux of the problem is that Muslims look to Islamic history and revival for their hopes for the future and Hindus look to their immemorial culture for theirs.

Muslims rejoice at every Muslim victory over Hindus in the past and Hindus rejoice that turn over every victory over Muslims. Hindus respect Shivaji, but Muslims hate him. There is need for deeper analysis of the problems of cultural assimilation than has been made so far.

they believe in it to such an extent that they are prepared to tolerate even the intolerant. Personally I regard that as a great blunder, for, once the intolerant get into power, there is no question of the tolerant getting into power again. To tolerate the intolerant therefore is to invite the end of democracy. For the intolerant, our motto should be something like the Persian proverb, "Gurba kushtan roz-e-avval", (Nip the evil in the bud.)

Christians are enjoined to love their neighbours as themselves, regardless of the faith of the neighbours. But what about Muslims? We failed to tackle the Muslim problem and the result was partition, which has made the solution of the problem much more difficult. Even now we can afford to neglect it only at our peril. But one can hardly tackle a problem unless one understands it. I propose therefore to make it easily understood with the help of some books of Islam and my admittedly inadequate knowledge of the Holy Koran.

Islam divides the world into two parts, believers and infidels or kafirs. The believer is in a state of perpetual war with the infidel, and this right and duty of eternal war can only be suspended. "Make war," says the Holy Book, "on those who believe neither in God nor in the last judgment, who do not regard as forbidden what God and his Prophet have forbidden, on those who do not profess the true religion, until they, humbled in spirit, shall pay tribute with their own hands."

DOCTRINE OF CONSTRAINT

The Mussalman escapes from all propaganda. He even escapes from violence, because Islam authorises him to bow for the time before superior force, when circumstances require it. The religious law in no way imposes upon him an attitude which might expose him to danger or to reprisals. It even permits him, in case of extreme peril, to transgress the dogmas. The commentators on the Koran quote numerous examples of this liberty. Ammar ben Yassir was excused by the Prophet himself for outwardly praising pagan gods and insulting Mohammad, at a time when in his heart he was firmly attached to the Muslim faith. This procedure was permitted by the earlier doctors of the Law. Afterwards the employment of ambiguous expressions was recommended as well as, as far as possible, words of double meaning, in order to wriggle out of proclaimed beliefs. The practice was called "taqiyyah" after a passage in the Holy Koran. (Chapter 3, V. 27.) It was used by the Shiites in their propaganda against the Ommeyyads. The Mussalman may therefore bend to non-Muslim authority when he is not strong enough to resist. He may even make terms with it and accept titles and favours. But as soon as he feels he is in a position to revolt, he should immediately do so. It is an imperative duty.

An original conception of the Prophet was his prohibition of martyrdom. He frequently insisted on this point: the Mussalman should not suffer for his beliefs. If he is the stronger, he ought to impose them. But if he finds himself too weak to resist with any prospect of success, he should submit for the time being to every foreign law that is forced upon him by violence. According to a fundamental precept of Islamic law, the dogma of constraint, his powerlessness takes from his conduct all blameable character. For him to obey a non-Muslim power, or even one hostile to Islam, is not to abjure his religion, but simply to avoid useless suffering. He makes a semblance of yielding but preserves in tact in his heart his faith and his ideas. Whatever his attitude, a Muslim never ceases to be a Muslim. As soon as the power that renders the constraint effective ceases, he must immediately throw off the law imposed upon him, under penalty of incurring eternal punishment.

By the dogma of constraint, the Muslim is protected from all violence. Whatever the circumstances and the vicissitudes, his conscience remains in tact. Under the threat of force, he can bind himself by the most solemn oaths, but they are more empty words. This is an example of the theory of "scrap of paper" which the Germans have made notorious. The merit of martyrdom disappears, but abjuration becomes impossible. The result is that the brain of the believer is unassailable, impenetrable, irremediably closed to all outside ideas.

THE HOLY BOOK SUPERCEDED

Prophet Mohammad did not anticipate an intransigence carried to this extreme, as he himself never hesitated to borrow from other religions whatever he thought would be useful. How then has Islam, contrary to the spirit of the Koran, become intolerant? The answer is that the Koran no longer influences individuals. It is not the Koran that directs and regulates the conduct of the Faithful. The Holy Koran is not, as is generally believed, the civil and religious code of the Mussalmans. It is true that it contains potentially the whole of Islamic legislation and constitutes a sort of quintessence of the laws, but it cannot replace them. The Caliphs, the successors of Mohammad, in accordance with the doctors of the Faith, forbade all expositions of the Holy Koran outside the four outside commentaries, which from that time down to the present have formed the Corpus Juris of Muslim nations. This body of law, sanctioned by the unanimous accordance of peoples and princes, is the law of divine authority, according to their belief, like the Holy Koran of which it is the expansion.

This work was accomplished in the second century of the Hegira, in a period when Islam, triumphant and commanding irresistible material force, had no longer any need to use tact in dealing with authority but dictated its will to all nations and enforced it by violence. The leaders of Muslim armies confronted the Kafir and the infidel with the formula: "Abjure or die: abjure or be a slave"

Thus to gain a knowledge of the real doctrine of course must be had not to the Holy Koran but to the interpretation of the Koran made by learned doctors of the Faith. They have fixed the doctrine and rendered it definitive, unchangeable and in consequence imperfectible. And as among Muslims it is Islam, which has influenced the Muslim nations, the law of religious inspiration and regulates every act, it has been impossible for them to accept any progress, even in matters that do not affect the faith, as, for example, matters of an economic or scientific nature.

It was to avoid any variation of the religious dogma that the Caliphs decided to lay down exactly the spirit and the letter in the works of four orthodox doctors. It is forbidden to make any interpretation of the sacred texts not sanctioned by these works, which have fixed the dogmas beyond all possibility of change, and by the same stroke have killed the spirit of initiative and intelligent criticism among all Muslims, who have thus become, as it were, mummified to such an extent that they have stayed fixed like rocks in the rushing torrent that is bearing the rest of humanity onward towards progress. From the second century Hegira onwards, the doctrine of Islam, reduced to the simplicity of Arab conception, has carried on its work with perfect efficiency, inasmuch as it governs every act of the believer's life. It takes charge of him in his cradle and leads him to the grave, through all the vicissitudes of life, never allowing him, in any sphere of thought, the least vestige of liberty or initiative. It is a pillory that only allows a certain number of movements previously fixed upon.

DIFFERENT SPIRIT

The spirit of the orthodox interpreters of the Holy Koran is different from that of the Prophet. The Prophet's intention was to appropriate from other nations everything that seemed capable of strengthening his doctrine and attracting disciples. It was a liberal conception that might have made Islam the universal religion. Unfortunately the Doctors of the Faith have made any accommodation or any addition impossible. By their action a blind fanaticism has replaced the liberal spirit of the Holy Koran and has killed any germ of progress in Islam. The immutability of its institutions has aided in moulding individuals and whole nations. It is this that explains how Muslim nations have remained and still remain insensible and even hostile to western civilisation.

The believer cannot accept, without abjuring, any truth of whatever nature, if it is not Islamised, that is to say, unless it is proved to him that it is supported by one of the sacred foundations laid by God and his Prophet. But it is not permissible for any one in Islam to establish this proof. It is therefore impossible to introduce into the Law, and consequently into Society, modifications dictated by the evolution of ideas and the progress of science.

Among Muslims the religious law is at the same time the civil law. God is the legislator. Every act

(Continued on page 12)

Indigenous Art—Forms Of Kerala : THULLAL

By-K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy

THE most popular and interesting variety of indigenous histrionic entertainment in Kerala is *Thullal* which belongs to the realm of story-telling. It was originated by Kunchan Nambiyar (A.D.1705-1770) one of the foremost poets of Kerala who composed more than sixty *Thullal* poems to be enacted for the delectation of the people. One of the many indigenous dance recitals provided for the sight-seers during the festival season in the temples in Kerala, *Thullal* holds the audience spell-bound from start to finish.

NEW HISTRIONIC ART

The circumstances which prompted Kunchan Nambiyar to invent the *Thullal* and perform it are Nambiyar who had come to Ambalapuzha aspiring intriguing. The time-honoured duty of the persons belonging to the caste of Nambiyar was usually to play on the *mizhavu*, a kind of giant copper drum, in temples during the performance of *Chakkyar Koothu*, a form of indigenous dance recital in which an actor of the Chakkyar caste recites Puranic stories in Sanskrit, and explains them in Malayalam, enlivened with frequent sallies of wit and humour, most of them at the expense of the audience. On one occasion Kunchan Nambiyar was asked to play on the *mizhavu* for a *Chakkyar-Koothu* scheduled to be performed in the Koothambalam (theatre hall) of the famous Sri Krishnaswami Temple at Ambalapuzha. Kunchan Nambiyar who was well-versed in Sanskrit was at the time one of the many wits who had flocked to the court of the Raja of Ambalapuzha (the "porca" of the Portuguese and the Dutch writers) to seek their fortune and earn royal recognition. In the absence of the usual drummer, Kunchan Nambiyar had to officiate. Nambiyar who was not a master drummer failed to accompany the Chakkyar on the drum to his satisfaction. Teh Nambiyar missed the tala or rhythm several times. The Chakkyar, an accomplished actor of great fame, was awfully annoyed with Kunchan Nambiyar. The Chakkyar in his uncontrollable wrath ridiculed the Nambiyar in the presence of the audience for his shabby performance on the drum. The critically-minded audience broke into peals of laughter and made fun of Kunchan after honour. Kunchan Nambiyar who was put to shame lost his temper and he took a vow that he would humble the proud Chakkyar in a singular manner and thus wreak vengeance on him who had the audacity to insult and humiliate him in public.

Crest-fallen and deeply worried Kunchan Nambiyar sneaked into his residence and ensconced himself in a room. That night Nambiyar had no sleep. With tears in his eyes and a heart overcome with grief he prayed to Lord Sri Krishna to enable him to score a victory over the arrogant Chakkyar. Nambiyar's capacious brain was busy. His fertile imagination and

sharp intellect came to his rescue, and he evolved a new form of story-telling that night.

The next afternoon Kunchan Nambiyar went to the temple and took his stand opposite to the performing Chakkyar. The Chakkyar was amazed and perturbed to find a figure attired in picturesque costume, challenging him with an entirely new and aggressively interesting type of dance form. Nambiyar performed the *Thullal* to the accompaniment of a drum and a pair of cymbals. The appearance of Nambiyar in such strange costume, and the novelty of his performance attracted the audience who were listening to the Chakkyar to such an extent that they left the Chakkyar to himself and gathered round Nambiyar. The Chakkyar driven to the humiliation of facing an empty theatre hall and the jeers of his rival performer, retreated in shame. Thus the intrepid Kunchan Nambiyar scored a victory over the Chakkyar who had strongly reproved him the previous afternoon. This is the most popular version about the origin of the *Thullal*. The author of the "*Kerala natana Kala*" however, contends that Kunchan Nambiyar, a dependent of the Ambalapuzha Raja's family, composed *Thullals* for being sung by the artists and combatants during the festival season in the temple at Takazhiyil, and that Nambiyar was asked to compose the *Thullal* songs by Mathoor Panikkar, the Prime Minister of the Raja of Ambalapuzha. The Author of the supplementary note—Malayalam Language and Literature to the authoritative publication the "*History of Kerala*" considers this version to be more plausible than the first which says that the *Thullal* was the outcome of the righteous indignation of Nambiyar.

AN ORIGINAL CREATION

The first *Thullal* composed and enacted by Kunchan Nambiyar had as its theme the story of "Kalyanasougandhikam", that colourful and intriguing episode in the Maha Bharatha wherein Bhima, at Draupadi's behest wanders in search of thrilling adventures. This interesting story, Nambiyar recited in simple, sweet Malayalam verse, enlivened with frequent illuminating flashes of wit and humour, illustrated with appropriate gestures. This new art form made a straight and powerful appeal to mass minds and won great popularity. The popular language, rich humour and pungent criticism of men and affairs of Kunchan Nambiyar's first *Thullal* disclose that he borrowed liberally from the literature of *Chakkyar Koothu*. The quaint costume and the simple gestures employed by Nambiyar were, no doubt, borrowed from the technique of *Kathakali*: the famous dance drama of Malabar. But the art form *Thullal* as a whole was entirely an original creation. The homely and beautiful language of the *Thullal*, its variety and vigorous and rapid metres, its flow and

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Inflation And Economic Growth

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

ONE of the serious problems that we face today is the problem of inflation. Inflation may be defined as the state of affairs where the money income of community is increasing faster than its real income. In other words it means the total money supply is increasing faster than the total output of goods and services. Thus by inflation we mean a steady rise in the general price level caused by an increase in the level of money incomes relatively to real incomes or the goods and services available over a period of time. Except for a short period of three years from 1958 inflation has continued to vitiate our economy since 1939. Our rulers have miserably failed to tackle this serious problem and at present the prices of all goods especially of foodgrains are increasing and as a result of this, economic growth has not made a satisfactory progress in comparison to the amount that our planners have invested during the two five year plans. Our planners intend to reach the "take off stage" during the Third Five Year Plan but it is doubtful whether we will be able to achieve it when the prices are rising. Stability of prices has been the major problem for Indian Economy today. The problem has become very acute due to sharp rise in prices during the Second Five Year Plan period. Unless prices are stabilised within a reasonable limit, the economic goals envisaged in Third Five Year Plan may be difficult to achieve. In official circles it is believed that some rise in prices in developing economy is apart of the strategy of the economic growth in which demand for goods and especially for consumer goods increases more than their supply in the short period. But it must be said that the condition becomes critical when the rise in prices is inflationary. At present the rise in prices is inflationary and from the available data we find that the rise in prices in India has been the highest in the world. Taking 1953 as the base year the index number of wholesale prices touched its peak of 121 in India in June 1961 followed by Egypt 119; the U.K. and Costa Rica 116; The U.S. and West Germany 108 and Japan and Canada 105. During the First Five Year Plan there was no great rise in price but during the Second Five Year Plan the prices increased by six per cent per annum. Unless this trend is reversed in Third Five Year Plan the goal of achieving "take off stage leading to self sustained growth" will not be realised.

The Planning Commission and the Government have accepted the necessity of stabilising the prices. If prices are allowed to rise, then the costs of various

projects would increase and this would upset the calculations and in return that would require more outlay which will give further push to the rise in price level. As a result of this, consumers would suffer greater hardship and they would not be able to increase their savings. Due to fall in the value of money their limited incomes would not suffice to maintain their low standard of living. If savings are reduced then investment will have to be curtailed and if this is not feasible, then investment will have to be based on more taxes or on more doses of deficit financing. In the Third Five Year Plan, Government intends to increase taxes to the amount of 1710 crores and this will definitely have an effect on price level. If prices rise then the cost of living of the labourers would increase and they would demand higher wages and if their demands are conceded, the cost of production of industry would also tend to rise. In order to implement the Third Five Year Plan successfully, it is absolutely necessary to stabilise prices and unless this is done, economic growth of our country would be retarded.

There are various reasons for the rise in price level. In the first place production of goods has not kept pace with the demand. Due to satisfactory production of rice and wheat and secondly because of larger imports of these two commodities under P.L. 480 the prices of these two commodities tended to stabilise but the position of other grains has remained fluctuating. The prices of industrial raw materials have also increased.

Secondly an increase in money income of the people on account of various projects undertaken by the Government during the Second Five Year Plan the supply of the consumers goods has lagged behind the demand and this has resulted in the rise in the price level. The industrial policy of the government is therefore responsible for inflation, because it has starved the consumer goods industries on one hand and on the other has shifted heavy taxes as an element in prices of goods consumed by the public.

The large amount of deficit financing during the Second Five Year Plan is also responsible for the rise in price level and this fact has been admitted by the Planners. In addition to the above major factors there are other minor factors which have also played their part to push the prices up. In our country there are a large number of middlemen between the producers and consumers. These people exploit the situation to their advantage when there is any shortage of goods or when there is a sudden rise in demand.

To maximise their profit they manipulate prices and as consequence of this prices rise further. The rise in prices has not only increased the costs of various projects during the Second Five Year Plan, but whatever increase has been effected in our national income has been wiped off due to rise in prices particularly for low and middle class people. The standard of living of these people has gone down and they cannot be expected to tighten their belts for a very long time. Stability in prices is therefore an urgent necessity for the rapid growth of our country. Stability of prices does not mean keeping the prices constant or fixed at a predetermined level. What is needed is that prices should fluctuate within permitted limits. In other words, price stability indicates prevention of a rise in prices beyond a maximum limit and a fall below minimum limit. Under the present conditions it is rather difficult for the prices to fall below minimum limit but if such eventuality arises, then Government should take steps to safeguard the interests of the producers.

It is said that price control and rationing of food grains would stabilise price level but it must be remembered that both these measures would result in pushing the commodities into the blackmarket; this will reduce the supply and make the price situation worse than before. The main cause of inflationary rise in price level in India is deficit financing. As a result of this, purchasing power in the hands of the consumers has increased more rapidly than the supply of goods and services. If we try to mop up the excess purchasing power by fiscal measures the price level instead of falling would tend to go up. Additional taxation would reduce the capacity of the people to save which will reduce the capital formation. Capital shortage which is one of the characteristics of underdeveloped countries will become worse. This will hamper production and give further push to a rise in prices. The only effective remedy to stabilise price level to cure inflation is to regulate the rate of deficit financing in a such a way that it does not exceed the rate of economic growth. It is proposed that during the Third Five Year Plan deficit financing to the tune of only Rs. 550 crores would be resorted to, but actually deficit financing will be much higher on account of the farce of fixing the physical target in the public sector at Rs. 8000 crores while keeping the financial target at Rs. 7500 crores, the overestimate of foreign aid and a gross overestimate of additional tax revenues for financing the Third Plan. It would not be surprising if the level of deficit financing in the Third Plan is actually double of what the Planning Commission has estimated". This would increase the purchasing power in the hands of the consumers and inflationary rise in the price level would take place. It is not easy to keep the level of deficit financing within safe limit when the public sector is allowed to play a dominant role in Third Plan.

In a developing economy only effective method to stabilise price level is to increase production of consumer goods which will absorb some of the increased purchasing power in the hands of the con-

sumers. To increase production, free scope should be given to the private enterprise. Ideological considerations should find no place in framing a policy for the economic growth of our country. If more and more scope is given to the private enterprise that would result in more production. As a result of this, Government would be able to achieve twin objectives of not only stabilising price level of consumer goods but also it would reduce the volume of unemployment which has become acute at the end of Second Five Year Plan. If necessary, Government should not hesitate to import limited supply of commodities in spite of foreign exchange difficulties. To accelerate economic growth of our country Government should adopt a realistic policy of stabilising the price level of consumer goods, and that can be done by adopting free market economy. Planned economy is detrimental to economic growth.

Free Trade An Answer To The Export Problem

Recognition is growing that free trade is not somewhat outworn nineteenth century doctrine irrelevant to the needs of today but a vital necessity if Britain is to earn an honest living and pay her way. Moreover the simple truth is gaining ground that this country can at any time she chooses reduce—or abolish—her own trade barriers to her own immense benefit whatever other countries may or may not do.

—Land and Liberty

Communist Paradise

Shopping difficulties and, in some places, an insufficient number of stores, are among the complaints seen increasingly from communist countries. Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria are particularly vocal on this subject. At a housewives' meeting specially held in Prague to vent their grievances a woman said she had to spend almost every morning queuing for eggs and potatoes. Cooking ingredients were often not available for days at a time and to buy fruit one had to go from one shop to another. To obtain spares for domestic machines such as refrigerators a house-holder has often to travel to another town. Bread was readily available but often loaves were short in weight and quality was below standard.

—Statesman

Reasonable Rate Of Growth

The modern democratic State has a duty to secure not the most rapid growth, but the most rapid reasonable rate of growth. It must be reasonable in relation to preservation of individual and corporate freedoms, to social and political stability, to availability of enough resources 'in reserve' to meet new situations and techniques and demands, and to the stability of all money values, costs and prices upon which calculations for the future must be made.

—Graham Hutton

★ Equalizing Opportunities—I

Next step For Mankind

By Wendal Bull

"Of the fourteen major problems of living, perhaps none is so pertinent to a peaceful world as the Possessional Problem: Who shall own or hold land, money and other goods in order that every person may live a good life? Yet how rarely is this the centre of public discussions of war and peace? Usually such discussions deal only with political negotiations, disarmament, or various types of world government. Our thousands of person working, picketing, writing, languishing for peace—how familiar are we with the various "solutions" to the Possessional Problem?—the alternative ways of dealing with land, money and other goods so that people everywhere may live in peace? A leading pacifist recently showed his audience the elemental fact that the world is divided into the City of the Rich and the City of the Poor, that if peace is to come, this must be changed. We listened for a way; but to our dismay he said, "I have no idea what the answer is." Most of us don't like the Communist answer—an authoritarian State owning the land and money, and distributing goods "according to the needs of the individuals." Many of us don't like the Western way, in which government grants privilege to some persons in land and money, and then says, "Now everyone is "free" to compete and scramble for what they can get." This obviously results in the Rich and the Poor, with imperialism, advancing to international war capable of world annihilation. Some of us see a third way, which Wendal Bull begins to spell out in his "Next Step for Mankind."

Our friend of many years, Wendal Bull, shares this concern for peace and the economics of peace. Two years ago he undertook to do a study for us, showing how current land and money usages result in exploitation and war, and to indicate new directions. His article here is the result. We present it with confidence that you will be challenged, with a warning that you will not find it easy; with an invitation to study it carefully."

—From the Editorial Comments of
Milfred J. Loomis in Balanced Living.

THE unimaginable catastrophe of thermo-nuclear war which is now being prepared, threatens to ruin all life on earth. This suicidal contest does not originate in the differing ideologies of Communism and Capitalism. It does not originate in the fundamental nature of men. It is the full, and perhaps final, flowering of ancient customs and assumptions

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which all political partisans unconsciously and with unanimity embrace.

If disarmament, or peaceful co-existence, or world government, should be achieved before the customs underlying men's inhumanity to men have been examined and corrected, the basic errors will manifest in other forms of social ailment. For this reason it is fitting to give some attention to preventing the causes of wars. Even in this dreadful time when stopping the next war is our most urgent concern, let us also consider what we mean by "peace" and societal "order".

The only kind of "peace" known to civilised governments has been that kind which is enforceable by armed might. The only kind of commerce legally recognized by our governments involves privileges for the mighty and privations for the beaten. It is customarily assumed the world around that societal "order", both domestic and international, depends upon the successful domination of superior armed might together with the submission of all who would oppose any particular administration of it.

These are invalid assumptions and false goals.

Our understandings of peace, of justice and of lawful order are intimately connected with our understandings of economic values and property. Unethical, though legal, economic practices are the material and the spiritual incentives to war. Let us examine some of these connections.

To understand and to correct the unethical features of our economic behaviour is largely to dispel the fear which is at the root of our reliance upon armed might as the ultimate sanction for lawful order at home and in international affairs. To pursue the ethics of economics is to part company with the political economists.

The basic premises and the teachings of political economists are materialistic and non-ethical. The materialism is indicated in their usual definition of what economics is all about, namely, wealth. Their avoidance of ethical considerations is supposed to insure an objective and scientific approach to the realities in the field.

It is possible to develop an understanding of economics which is in harmony with the basic ethical values of our culture. To this end I define economics as pertaining to the relations of men in their efforts to make a living. The key to the kind of relations which I consider ethical is in mutually voluntary responsibility, exercised by equally sovereign men and women. This ethic is distinctly akin to the ethic which inspired both Protestantism and Democracy in the former days when they were inspired. (Compare Stephen Pearl Andrews: *The Science of Society*, p. 7, sold by School of Living.)

For a very long time, longer than history records, fear has been the central motivation of our social order. Fear manifests in the governments of the mighty as coercion, with threats and examples of corporal and/or capital punishment for those who dare to disobey, lest the tables might be turned. Fear manifests in the consent of the governed as subservience. Lest they might suffer a worse fate, the beaten honour the privileges and the "authority" of the mighty.

Compulsion and subservience are at bottom the master-slave kind of human relations. However concealed by "democracy," however unsuspected by men who suffer the illusion that they are free, fear, manifesting in punitive law enforcement on the domestic scenes, and breaking out as war on the international scene, determines the basic patterns of our lives.

The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the U.S.A. are revolutionary documents. They are great for the same reason they are revolutionary. They are great revolutionary because they show capable efforts to meliorate the ethic of fear and subjection with the ethic of faith in men.

My concern with economics carries into the fields of land tenure and monetary policy the ethic of faith in equal rights for all normal men. In these elemental economic relationships the order of compulsion and subservience still holds away. An informed people can and will replace the master-slave kind of economy with economic order of mutual respect and fair play.

Our peace and safety are today more endangered than protected by the armed might of governments. We are endangered not only by the overt threat of annihilation by modern warfare but also by the insidious growth of irresponsible disaffection for the general welfare which punitive governments tend to generate. I propose that we move forward morally, toward more individual responsibilities, more nearly equal opportunities for all, more voluntary assent and less coercion and submission in our associational life.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

According to the American Declaration of Independence, governments are instituted among men in order to secure the unalienable rights with which all men are endowed equally by their Creator. This was plainly a declaration of faith in men rather than in the might of governmental authority. If we honour to see to what extent that faith has proven valid, it as such it behooves us to investigate the record and to learn what kind of actions it may have called forth.

The history of the United States of America shows that no human rights have been secured (made fast) by the government which have not first been understood by the people, and then persistently, often sacrificially, struggled for and demanded by the people. Consider for example the history of the right to vote for public office-holders. In colonial days the denial of the franchise to slaves and to women could not be construed as any infraction of the principle of equal protection under law. In some colonies

even white men were not allowed to vote unless they owned property and/or belonged to the approved church. What today appears as outrageous discrimination was then perfectly legal and orderly. Custom and law decreed it so. Only an imaginative idealist could be expected to challenge that established order in which "equality under law" could not possibly mean voting rights for slaves and women.

Today most of us regard equally free access to the polls as a right of which no adult citizen should be deprived, except as punishment for crime. The younger generation is inclined to accept equal voting rights as an obvious necessity of fair play in a people's republic. But what tremendous struggles were waged in order to expand the popular understanding to equal rights, even up to this elemental point of equal access to the polls! Indeed (here one is ashamed to concede the fact), this struggle is still being waged, at terrible costs. Millions of United States citizens have not yet asserted this right. Where these citizens are today demanding access to the polls they are being mercilessly opposed by the fearful defenders of a way of life that requires the submission and subservience of half the population. Most of these un-franchised citizens have not even begun to ask for this simple political right. They suffer a status little better than that of their enslaved ancestors, for fear, obviously, of the prospect of savage opposition from the local official and unofficial "authorities".

Thus we have noted an historical illustration of the kind of initiative and persevering action men must take in order to win freedom of access to the polls. It seems hardly possible that this struggle is still going on in a country which boasts of the people's freedom. It should serve as a stern reminder that responsibility for progress toward more nearly freedom cannot be in the hands of the government, but must always be in the hands of the people.

Apparently men and women do not embrace the ideal of equal freedom without serious difficulties. We have difficulty first in understanding the logical implications of the ideal in any area where it has not been put into effect. We have difficulty, secondly, in making the necessary changes in our habitual attitudes and ways of thinking and feeling. And finally we have difficulties in persuading others in order to accomplish the needful practical changes for the realization of any new understanding of equal rights. I think it may be safely said that growth in the popular conception of what equal rights means always involves the breaking down of inhumane customs. And at the same time it always involves the building up of self-confidence and responsibility in the hearts and minds of the oppressed. The oppressions of the mighty have seldom, if ever in the world, been really set back (though they have been curbed and reformed here and there) until after the subservient have risen up with new understanding and new faith in themselves.

(To be Continued)

grace, and keen sarcasm, contributed to the popularity of new dance-recital which for a time threw into the shade the *Chakkyar Koothu*.

THE PERFORMANCE

Thullal is performed usually during day time. There is only a single performer who is called Thullakkaran. He is assisted by two musicians, one who leads the song and plays on the cymbals, and the other who beats the *Maddalam*, a kind of drum, and keeps time. The actor sings as well as dances, making appropriate gestures to explain the meaning of the dance. The performance begins with invocations to God Ganesa and Goddess Saraswati and to the Gurus. The recital of the story follows next. The *Thullakkaran* or the person who performs the *Thullal* recites a few lines which are repeated by the drummer. The actor simultaneously with this interprets the meaning of the lines repeated by the drummer, through suitable gestures. No curtain is used in a *Thullal* performance. The actor when he feels tired snatches a brief spell of rest by turning his back to the audience. A typical *Thullal* performance would take about two hours.

DISTINCT FORMS

There are three distinct forms of *Thullal*, known by the names of *Ottam*, *Seethankan* and *Parayan*. Of these, *Ottam Thullals* castly the most popular, both because the majority of *Thullals* are written in this form, and due to the variety and vigour of the metres employed in these exquisite literary pieces. An eminent scholar has said that the pure *Ottam* is more vigorous than the *Seethankan*, while the *Paravan* is the best suited for the pathetic style. A careful study of Kunchan Nambiyar's first *Thullal* "*Kalyana Sougandhikam*" reveals that he began with writing the *Seethankan* and *Oottam* styles of *Thullal* and finally took to writing those of the *Paravan* type. While the first two varieties of *Thullals* are overburdened with literary embellishments are avowedly outstanding for their beauty of sound, sweet cadence and uncontrolled outbursts of caustic humour, and are mainly intended for attracting audiences, the *Parayan* style of *Thullal* excels in literary craftsmanship and artistic perfection.

The costume and make-up of the *Thullal* actors, especially the performer who enacts the *Ottam* style, are picturesque. The *Ottam Thullal* actor's make-up is quite an elaborate affair, which takes nearly two hours. He wears a fan-shaped crown inlaid with tiny bits of coloured glass, and an exuberance of gilt-work. A resplendent breast plate embellished with multi-coloured spangles, shells and glass pieces hangs from his neck to the waist. Two wooden plaques similarly ornamented are tied to his shoulders. He paints his face light green and colours his eyelashes with collirium. He reddens his eyes by applying (*Solannum pubescens*) the flower of the *Chunda*. The lips are painted red. Two long lines drawn from the corners of his eyes to the ears right across his temples, add to his dignified appearance. A vertical mark of sandal wood paste is put on the actor's forehead. Bangles adorn his wrists. A

scarlet skirt is worn around the waist. A large number of four inches broad tapes of scarlet and white cloth with loops at the bottom are tied above the skirt. Strings of tiny bells are fastened around his legs. These tingle rhythmically when the actor dances.

The *Parayan Thullal* actor's make-up is simple, but no less striking. His head gear is a fan-like crown made of young coconut fronds. Like the *Ottam Thullal* Actor, the *Parayan Thullal* Actor also adorns his chest with garlands of heads. He attires himself in a short scarlet skirt, with a large quantity of looped tape white in colour.

The actor who performs the *Seethankan* style of *Thullal* wears a conical head dress, elaborately and exquisitely ornamented with coloured heads. Rows of garlands of multi-coloured heads adorn his bare chest. Decorated wooden plaques are tied to his wrists. He wears a scarlet cloth around his wrist reaching up to a foot below the ankles. A narrow strip of white cloth which serves the purpose of a belt is tied over the scarlet cloth. The white cloth has an elongated knot on either side.

CENSOR OF HIS AGE

The literary form of *Thullal* is Dravidian and the language is more popular than literary. The *Thullals* are based on episodes in the "*Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*." The variety of rapid metres, eminently suited for narratives, the direct style and straight appeal to the mass mind; the rich cadence, sparkling humour subtle nuances these distinctive features of Kunchan Nambiyar's *Thullal* have contributed to this lasting greatness as the foremost literary man of his age, and as one of the two greatest writers, who by the extent and quality of their literary activity, liberated the Malayalam language from the bonds of Sanskrit literature and gave it her own soul.

Kunchan Nambiyar is by popular consent the foremost humorous writer in Malayalam. His *Thullals* which are full of rhyme, beauty of sound and depth of thought, embody caustic criticisms of social conditions and violent outbursts of rich humour. This fearless poet has spared no community from his sallies of wit. He made it clear that he was not prepared to please any one. His *Thullals* abound in rich didacticism, and satire. With consummate dexterity this literary genius has discussed contemporary society in his poems by the clever use of scenes and situations. He has pictured the gluttony and exploitation of the Brahmins; the idleness, arrogance and intemperance of Nairs; the suicidal schisms among the chieftains; the cowardice and incompetence of the military; the foolishness and temerity of physicians; the intrigues of courtiers; the silly pomp and pageantry of the wealthy; the stupidity of the astrologers; the advent of the Western Nations and their interference in the internal affairs of the country, and many more. His caustic humour and penetrative insight coupled with his picturesque eloquence render his works immortal. As a critic Kunchan Nambiyar is fearless, original, incisive. He is the creator of a literature unfettered by tradition, and distinctly new in form and technique.

An eminent scholar says of Kunchan Nambiyar: "He was the censor of his age, he had profound scorn for humbug and sham, and against all such things he has directed his acid epigrams. His allusive satire on popular morals and manners must have had its biting effect on the people beyond the power of rod or sermon. He loved Malayalis and, therefore, wished to direct them in the way they should go. Kunchan Nambiyar was, nothing, if not humorous. This humour, warm and all-embracing, bathed his ideas in a genial and abiding light".

A LITERARY GENIUS

In Kunchan Nambiyar's *Thullals* which rely for their popular appeal in their overwhelming humanity, there is real art and spirited propaganda, which conceals and surpasses both art and propaganda. He plans and develops his works with consummate skill. In his hands the *Thullals* became a passionate and powerful plea for "better life for all". With meticulous care and multitude of picturesque details, he composed his *Thullals*. He made the maximum use of the arts of the painter, sculptor and musician to the extent the medium of mere words will permit. His *Thullals* are saturated with an atmosphere compounded with love and hate, beauty and brutality. His style is flexible and is a perfect medium for the vivid and powerful expression of various emotions, tender or strong, slow or swift, as the spirit of the moment may require. Kunchan Nambiyar has very cleverly put into the mouth of his characters who appear before us in flesh and blood, great home-truths about men and matters of his own times. Through his *Thullals* he has given an impetus to the cult of devotion and the appreciation of nature. "His love of his mother-tongue, felicity and ease of expression, richness of imagination, sparkling humour and subtle nuances, great understanding of the human mind and intense love of nature all mark him out as a literary genius for all time".

Artist, Preacher, Propagandist, Poet, Actor, Critic, Satirist, Inventor and Political Philosopher, Kunchan Nambiyar, is verily a 'Superman' in the literary realm of Kerala.

(Continued from page 9)

of the Believer; whatever it may be, depends upon His will and is submitted to His judgment. This conception has made of Islam a society under theocratic government. It is abundantly clear that any such society, obstinately hostile to all evolution and progress, can only stagnate outside the civilising currents that are bearing humanity towards the future. To rise out of its immobility, it would have to deny its faith, but no Muslim in any part of the world has thought of such a thing without horror. It is this fact, which is surprising more than anything else in the history of Islam. How has the Prophet and his word, the word of God, been allowed to be superseded by the meaning given to that word by four doctors, howsoever learned they might have been. It may or may not be good politics, but it is

certainly not religion. In the name of cohesion the Prophet has been given a distant second place after the four learned Doctors of Islam. The Mussalman bows to these four doctors of the Faith but on his lips is the phrase "Mohammad Rasool-illah" (Mohammad is the Prophet of God.) The fact of the matter would appear to be that both God and His Prophet have been forgotten except as a war-cry, and in their place an interpretation of their word has been forced upon the Muslim world. This interpretation has not been sanctioned by God and, since Mohammad was the last of the Prophets, no Prophet could descend after him to certify at the instance of the Almighty that the interpretation of the Four Doctors was the true interpretation. And since the validity of an interpretation is always a matter of opinion, it is indeed surprising that the interpretation should not have been challenged seriously by some of those in a position to do so.

On behalf of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema Maulana Hifzur Rahman has been saying that he believes in a secular state, he cannot but condemn the conception is not prompted by the doctrine of constraint dealt with above. That doctrine permits him to go much farther to please Mr. Nehru and his fellow-Congressmen, and need not therefore be taken seriously by non-Muslims, even as it is not taken seriously by Muslims. But if the Maulana really believes in a secular state. It is to be hoped that this declaration of Kufr as outdated and challenge the authenticity of the interpretation of the four learned doctors of Islam. Is he doing so among Muslims? Or, at least, is he prepared to do so among his fellow-religionists? If not, then his claim that he believes in a secular state is mere moonshine dictated by the doctrine of constraint.

(To be continued)

SWATANTRA IN A NUTSHELL

CONGRESS Socialism means concentration of political and economic power in Government. The result is tyrannical regulation of national life. Also it means heavy taxes and higher and yet higher prices: borrowing huge sums abroad, with no thought of how they are to be repaid.

The Swatantra Party stands for the poor man. Its principles are: (1) *First things first* (2) *Build from the bottom*. Its policies aim at: A stable Rupee, more jobs, more food—grains, more small irrigation works, more schools, more roads, more houses, more small industries producing what the ordinary man consumes. "Self-Government means a continuous effort to be independent of Government whether it is a foreign Government or a National Government. Swaraj Government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail in life." This is what Gandhiji said and it is the corner-stone of the Swatantra Party's policy.

—C. Rajagopalachari

The Aftermath Of Make-believe

(From Our Correspondent)

PRIME Minister Nehru told the Vice-Chancellor's inference in New Delhi that there would be no inquiry into the communal disturbances in Uttar Pradesh. (The report of the inquiry committee appointed to find out the truth about the communal disturbances in Madhya Pradesh eight months ago is still to see the light of the day.) The facts of the Uttar Pradesh rioting are pretty well-known, and an inquiry would only have brought out the fact that Aligarh University is a hotbed of communalism. That would have only offended Muslim sentiment and that is something which cannot be contemplated with equanimity, particularly on the eve of the general election. An even more dangerous offshoot of an inquiry would have been the revelation that at Chandausi the shop of a Muslim member of the local Municipal Board, who had refused to sign a no-confidence motion against the Congress Chairman of the Board, was not burnt, though the shops and houses of Muslims in the neighbourhood were set on fire. So far as communalism goes, the difference between a Congressman and a Jana Sanghi is as great as the difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, and Chandausi has proved the proposition.

In any case, after raging and tearing propaganda that the Jana Sangh and the RSS are responsible for the disturbances—they must in that case have been in league with the Muslim students of Aligarh University—it would not do at all to initiate a judicial inquiry to find out that the Congressmen were in fact responsible for arson at least in some places. (A Congressman is among those arrested.) To justify the placing of the blame on the broad shoulders of the Jana Sangh, it would have to be proved that its members successfully incited the Muslim communalists of Aligarh University against the Hindu students as well as successfully incited the Congressmen of Chandausi against Muslims. If the Jana Sanghis can do that, they are nothing short of magicians and it should not be difficult for them to replace the Congress in the Central and State governments of the country sooner rather than later.

Ruling out a central inquiry into the recent incidents in Aligarh University, Mr. Nehru said it was important to help the University "regain its equilibrium" and make it go "in a truly national and secular direction". How an institution can recover something it never had passes one's comprehension, but Mr. Nehru lives in a world of make-believe where anything is possible. Also, according to him, "there is nothing to get vastly excited about" in those inci-

dents—presumably because the Jana Sangh cannot be held responsible for them. An inquiry would only result in mutual mud-slinging, he said, and that too among students as well as professors—an undoubtedly highly undesirable objective. Mr. Nehru was therefore in a philosophical mood. "Things cannot be imposed," he said, "they have to grow". At Aligarh they do not seem to have grown with learning during the many decades of its existence. He might have said they have to be fostered, but that requires application foreign to the mercurial and the scatter-brained.

A FLY IN THE OINTMENT

Mr. Nehru believes in shock-treatment; the shock generally consisting in losing his temper with the wrong man at the wrong time. This time, without Mr. Nehru figuring in it, "both the students and the others had received a shock," as he put it, "and we must take advantage of this shock and try to improve the situation." What makes Mr. Nehru think that the students and the others (i.e. the Vice-Chancellor, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and the professors) have received a shock? Col. Zaidi, the Aligarh Vice-Chancellor, had an interview with the Prime Minister a day earlier. Shrewd propagandist that the Colonel is, he must have told Mr. Nehru how shocked he and everyone else concerned was at what had happened at Aligarh and what had followed those happenings. To prevent the Government from finding an escapegoat in him, he found an escapegoat in the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, who suddenly emerged as the leader of the communal element at Aligarh University with a majority in the Executive Council. The Vice-Chancellor is a great lobbyist and he must have been briefed by his friends of the Jamiatul-Ulema as to how to appear before Mr. Nehru. He was shock personified when he did so. No wonder the Prime Minister was convinced, though he himself is an actor of no mean order. The Act was over. And the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor in a joint statement immediately said that whatever differences there had existed between them had now been removed and we have pledged ourselves to work together in the great endeavour of making ours a truly national university."

Mr. Nehru is indeed a magician. (Or is it his 55 lakhs a year to Aligarh University?) No sooner had he given expression to the hope that "there will be greater co-operation among the conflicting elements than the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor issued the joint statement removing all their alleged differences with a stroke of the pen! That is the sort of thing that pleases our Prime

Minister immensely—this “Jo-Hukum” business—no sooner said than done! “Greater co-operation among the conflicting elements” presumes co-operation among conflicting elements, but then Mr. Nehru’s politics is full of presumptions, often mutually conflicting.

But there is a fly in Mr. Nehru’s healing ointment. The public can be fooled. The newspapers can be fooled, and they often are. But the man on the spot cannot be fooled. Mr. A. M. Khwaja is one of the oldest residents of Aligarh as well as a great nationalist. He knows more about Aligarh University than all the Indian journalists put together. The fact that, as a member of the Executive Council of Aligarh University, he had given notice of a no-confidence motion against the Vice-Chancellor, Col. Zaidi, absolutely belies the latter’s story of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor being the leader of the communal element with a majority in the Executive Council. Had that been the case Mr. Khwaja would have given notice of a no-confidence motion against the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and not against the Vice-Chancellor. Mr. Khwaja has withdrawn the motion on the advice of the Prime Minister after an interview with him. It is obvious that the Vice-Chancellor and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor have been playing with divided cards a game of “mili bhagat”, like Russia and China, to maintain the Status quo at Aligarh University. If the Prime Minister, says a wag, continues canvassing for Muslim communalists, he may soon be President of the Jamiatul-Ulema and what a great honour would it not be for both? But we must not forget that with the elections approaching he has to go all out for Muslim votes.

SEMINAR ON COLONIALISM

Opening the seminar on colonialism Prime Minister Nehru related Portuguese colonialism not only to the present international situation, but also to what he described as the more difficult problem of building up Africa once she was free “out of the morass of colonialism”. In the latter task Mr. Nehru offered India’s help to the best of her ability, while in the former he assured Africans “our thinking and emotions are with you.” Observers have not failed to note that Mr. Nehru has for the past some years been making a bid for African leadership, but Messrs Nasser and Nkrumah have also earned headlines on the front pages of the world’s dailies by following his example and even outdistancing him in the art of claptrap. There may be dearth of followers but it seems there is no dearth of leaders in Africa and these leaders are in no mood to accept Mr. Nehru as their leader. As in Ceylon Mr. Nehru seems prepared to sacrifice the interests of Indian settlers in Africa to his own ambitions in the international sphere. This is something which his countrymen would do well to remember, if they have any national sentiment in them.

Mr. Nehru said Portugal represented the biggest colonial empire today. Obviously the credit of having the biggest colonial empire today goes to Soviet Russia. But Mr. Nehru is too afraid of Russia to

talk of her in disparaging terms. But it is true, as he pointed out, that Portugal has made the best use of the conflict in the minds of the Big Powers which were conditioned by factors of the cold war, as also a desire to help free colonies. The anti-colonialists are obviously doing no service to their cause by training their guns on the western powers—who, as Mr. Nehru said, have a desire to free colonies, and turning Nelson’s blind eye on the colonialism of Communist Powers. Dishonesty does not act as a spur to generosity even in the generous, and the anti-colonialists would be better advised to cultivate a more dispassionate outlook. That would also come in handy when they are free, for, otherwise, they would go to pieces like Congo.

Africa may be wide awake and angry, as Mr. Nehru observed, but what is needed much more than these qualities is unity. The wisest observation in the seminar was made by Mr. Thomas Khanza, who presided over a part of the seminar with distinction. With reference to the desire given expression to by all African and Goan delegates for a common approach to the fight against Portuguese colonialism, he said that it was better to be dependent and united than to be independent and disunited. But unity demands rectitude of a high order and cannot be found in countries where leaders play to the gallery to win cheap applause and to out-distance others in the race of leadership, as happened in India.

One of the delegates called for a “war to save freedom, justice and human dignity”. It is indeed strange that those who mouth such phrases should not realise on which side they must ideologically be. Even in their own interest they should be fishing for western sympathy, British and American, who at least believe in democracy, rather than try to please Soviet Russia by denouncing the Western Powers.

Mr. Nehru said India’s policy towards Goa had not been conditioned not by her “theoretical attachment” to non-violence—the cat is often out of the bag of the loquacious—but by practical considerations. We all know what the practical considerations are. War with Portugal will give an opportunity to Pakistan to grab the whole of Kashmir and to China to approximate her frontiers with India to those shown in her and Russian maps. In other words, war with Portugal will mean war with Pakistan and China too. Inasmuch as we intend wresting the Pak and China-occupied Kashmir from Pakistan and China respectively, we are mentally in a state, of war with those countries. In other words, we are at war with both the blocs, thanks to Mr. Nehru’s insatiable craving for world leadership. In that sense, we are truly neutral at the cost of the country.

In Bombay soon after, Mr. Nehru tried to erase the political consequences of his loquacity in New Delhi by observing, “We have to think afresh now because of happenings in Goa, particularly in the last few months” and “to adopt other methods to solve this problem”. Nothing happened in Goa during the three days’ interval between Mr. Nehru’s two attitudes on Goa and Mr. Nehru’s attempt to think afresh was due mainly to the stress laid by the delegates on

the importance of freeing Goa as a prelude to the freedom of other Portuguese colonies. If a big country like India cannot free Goa, how can the unarmed people of Portuguese colonies free themselves? So the seminar, which began in a low key with Mr. Nehru asking the delegates to give calm and sober consideration to the problem, instead of indulging in mere invective, ended by the same Mr. Nehru declaring, "I have no doubt that Goa will soon be free" (thunderous cheers) even though "when and how we will do it cannot be forecast now". Goa's freedom remains as distant as ever, but Mr. Nehru would not have been Mr. Nehru if he had failed to draw thunderous cheers.

ENGLISH TAKES ITS RIGHT PLACE

The Conference of the Vice-Chancellors at its concluding session adopted a recommendation that English could be the only "appropriate medium of instruction in universities at the present stage". A report, prepared by a subcommittee under the chairmanship of Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University, and unanimously adopted by the Conference said that the use of the regional language as the medium of instruction in part or whole in some universities would be watched with interest. Also, through the Council for the Indian School Certificate examination has come into being an all-India English-medium examination subscribing to the highest standard and maintaining the best attributes of what is commonly known as the Senior Cambridge examination, adapted increasingly to the needs of Indian children. The majority of the universities have recognised the Council examination as equivalent to the present university examination and for overseas purposes the examination has the same recognition as the General Certificate of Education for entry into British universities and professional institutions. No other school certificate examination in India has such recognition.

THE POLICE AND THEIR CRITICS

NEITHER the Police nor their critics are all angels. On the whole, my sympathies are with the Police more than with their critics. We hear of the latter as they are free to ventilate their grievances publicly, whilst the Police have to suffer in silence till the Government chooses to defend them against their critics.

I had occasion some years ago to enquire of the Inspector-General of Police in another Province as to the number of penal laws he was enforcing. He said he did not know, and he doubted if any one person knew, not even the legislators, for the laws were too numerous. Good humouredly, he remarked that the legislators had to justify their existence and earn their allowances, and so they continued to enact an endless succession of laws and relaxed after turning over most of them to the police for enforcement, without increasing the Police force proportionately. The Police were frequently criticised for their failures,

and hardly ever thanked for their successes in detecting crimes and, more so, in preventing them.

The legal tradition, which would let a hundred guilty persons escape than let a single innocent person suffer, adds to the difficulties of the Police. It overlooks the fact that there can be no guilty person without an innocent person having suffered! Crimes are not generally committed in the presence of judges to bear witness to them subsequently. Magistrates are in the habit of giving the benefit of every doubt to the accused and expect the Police to produce enough of convincing proof to warrant conviction. Many lawyers are more interested in securing the acquittal of their pliant, even if they know them to be guilty, than in securing their punishment in the interest of justice. It is small wonder that the Police have sometimes to manufacture some evidence which is more useful than truthful. In the case of sudden outbursts of violence, the Police have to act on the spur of the moment, while facing imminent danger to themselves, while their critics can condemn them long after the event and in perfect safety, provided for them by the very same Police!

The job of the Police is indeed hard. It speaks volumes for their devotion to duty in that they carry on so well amidst danger and harsh criticism, and their efficiency is taken for granted. It is necessary that in a democracy the public should evince greater understanding of the difficulties that dog the Police in their task of maintaining law and order and the safety of even their critics.

—P. Kodanda Rao

Book Review

The State and the Citizen: An Introduction to Political Philosophy by J. D. Mabbot, University Lecturer, Sixth Impression 1958.

Huchinson's University Library, London Pages 180, Price 10s. 6d.

THIS is one of the best introductions to political philosophy to appear in recent years and is suitable to student and layman alike. While benefiting from what is of value in the current analytic linguistic method, it keeps within the sphere of intelligible terms and maintains continuity with the best of past thought. Indeed he refers to T. H. Green and Dr. Bosanquet as thinkers who should be used as jumping off ground for further developments necessary to take account of modern experience and controversies.

Indeed the current disputes between socialism and liberalism and individualism concerning the nature and limits of State action and the vexed problem of the nature, use and abuse of nationalism as the principle of social or political unity are all *thought through* in the light of larger principles and not skirted or bypassed.

The book starts off with chapters on Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau to get a starting point.

All three of them use the image of a state of nature as prior to the state of society and state to refine the conditions of the social union and the powers attributed to the state or government. Hobbes thought that without government, man was violent and aggressive in the state of nature. Government came into existence to maintain order and secure life and property. Security was the chief and overmastering value in his eyes. Government was power in essence and lost its title to obedience the moment it lost this power to enforce its decrees. The government may be monarchical or aristocratic or democratic but its power was absolute and nonalienable.

John Locke had a gentler view of man and his nature, even outside the social union. There was no anarchy but there was a great inconvenience in the absence of a magistrate to settle disputes peacefully. The government was therefore given limited powers to maintain law and order, to secure life, property and liberty conferring on it the status of an agent. The society could revoke the powers given to government if it were found unworthy of it.

Thus Locke became the founder of constitutional government and of limited democracy in the modern world whose influence began with the American Declaration of Independence. (1776).

Jean Jacques Rousseau went further and under the same fiction of a social contract redefined the relations between the individual and the State. In his hands, individualism passes into its extreme of collectivism in a mystical form which was made the foundation of a spiritual theory by Hegel combining it with Greek thought.

Rousseau sketched his doctrine of the general will which was the source of law and sovereignty in the state. Every will participated in the general will which was supposed to will always the common good infallibly. Through the social contract or membership in a state governing by consent, the citizen became a member of society which was a moral organism. He obeyed the state but remained free since the law of the state helped to express his own highest desire or will. Thus he could be forced to be free! In obeying the general will, he remained free and received his moral personality.

Hegel built on this foundation and developed his idea of the State as a system of rights arising in a moral organism. The system of rights moves from the family through property and law to the mandates of a spiritual government which expresses the highest selves of all and helps them to attain self-realisation.

While agreeing with the idea of common good expressed by the state, Mabbott repudiates the idea of the state as a *single will*. Neither in the crowd nor group minds like armies and other associations can we discern *any single entity*. Individuals remain distinct though influenced by each other.

Mabbott expands Bosanquet's criterion of state action as consisting in the "hindrance of hindrances."

He is sceptical of the possibility or even the desirability of marking off new sphere as lying beyond state action such as the economic sector.

As regards the Marxist claim for the total annexation of economic power to the state, Mabbott says that the question should be considered without doctrinairism in terms of actual possible consequences for good under any set of circumstances. He thinks that the question of the best economic system lies beyond political philosophy and belongs to sociology or administration.

But here *he goes too far*. For Marxism will end up with the destruction of individual freedom not only in the economic sector but in every sphere including culture. For without competitive economy, the consumer will lose his freedom of choice. And political philosophy surely should have something to say about such loss of freedom under any economic system.

Though Mabbott realises the great role played by nationalism and patriotism in modern history, he thinks that nationalism as a fever of excitement and standard of right and wrong and focus of loyalty is unnecessary for encompassing state unity. He thinks that *public spirit* is enough and that it can be elicited as in the case of Bright, Peel, Haldane and Churchill without the emotions of nationalism.

Surely he is wrong here. He is giving the dog a bad name to hang him! It is not correct to confine nationalism only to chauvinist, hectic, unhealthy extreme forms as in Hitlerism and Fascism. These are excesses but nationalism as a system of feelings or dispositions is necessary as a *motive* in the mind of the citizen. It is in its operation in a normal way that what he calls public spirit emerges.

The current controversy in India about national integration can derive a good deal of wholesome light and correction by a perusal of Mabbott's little book which is full of weighty thought and fine feeling.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

WHAT IS FREEDOM?

EVERYBODY says he's in favour of freedom.

Even the leaders of communist Russia claim to be the only real defenders of *true* human freedom. Peace and freedom are their favourite words, just as the same words are used constantly by our own leaders. Yet, freedom of choice in the daily lives of the people is strait-jacketed, not only in Russia but in the United States as well, and "peace" describes a period of armed truce between major wars.

Why? Apparently it's because we don't know what freedom is. We don't understand the fact that small-scale compulsions within nations tend to grow into large-scale violence among nations. The person who desires to impose his will and view-point upon his neighbours in small ways "for their own good" is well on his way toward imposing his ideas upon all people in large ways, "for the good of mankind."

—F. E. E. Newyork

Swatantra Manifesto

Pledge to End Statism

THE Swatantra Party stands for the principles "that government is best which governs the least and the diffusion of power provides the best climate for the citizen's freedom so that the people may grow to their full stature," declares the party's 5,000-word draft election manifesto.

The draft was released to the press in Bombay by Mr. M. R. Masani, the General Secretary of the party.

Referring to the "sense of deep disappointment" experienced by the people "after 15 years of national independence," the manifesto indicts the Congress for a system "where all real political and economic power and all responsibility are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a party in office."

ORDERED PROGRESS

"In contrast," according to the manifesto, "the Swatantra Party's way of governance is based on faith in the people leading to ordered progress. It keeps the individual citizen with his unquenchable impulse towards self-expression in the centre of the picture."

The manifesto declares that the party stands for the common man serving whom should be the primary obligation of a government. His needs in respect of water supply, housing and medical relief would be looked into by diverting funds now being spent on spectacular and unproductive schemes.

Affirming that "an honest rupee and stable prices are the best friends of the common man," the manifesto blames the Congress for filching from the poor man "the hard-earned rewards of his labour and enterprise by letting inflation loose on the country, resulting in a continuously steep rise in prices from year to year," and promises a reversal of the ruinous policies responsible for inflation.

The party promises a drastic reduction in the "present excessive burden of taxes which hampers production and employment" and a reorganisation and reform of the sales tax, structure to minimise harassment.

Reduction in indirect taxation and regulation of direct taxes are also promised for raising the real income and standard of life of the people.

AGRICULTURAL REFORMS

Announcing the party's resolve to initiate and support reforms in the sphere of agriculture which will bring about harmonious relations among owners, tenants and farm labour, the manifesto declares the party's opposition to "collective farming." The landless agricultural labour is assured "adequate" (as against "minimum") wage.

Pleading for a balanced development of capital goods industries, organised consumer goods industries and rural industries, the manifesto says, "While not

opposed to the development of heavy and basic industries commensurate with the availability of resources, the party rejects the lop-sided priority given to heavy industry to the neglect of agriculture, cottage industries and organised and light industries producing consumer goods which help to make life happy for people with low-grade incomes."

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

The party stands for the encouragement of private enterprise.

The manifesto pledges the party to the rectification of the confusion and corruption "which have entered the economy on account of controls, licences and quotas at the disposal of the ruling party and of the officials taking their cue from that party."

MONOPOLY OPPOSED

Expressing its opposition to monopoly and concentration of power whether in the State or in the free sector, the manifesto promises anti-monopoly legislation and affirms the party's belief in "a dynamic, expanding mixed economy where State and free enterprise work side by side as natural allies in the service of the community and show results by competing on equal terms."

Commenting on the "extra-Constitutional dictation of the Planning Commission," the manifesto says the party will strive for the abolition of that "non-responsible super-government" and restoration of the real and effective supremacy of the people and Parliament.

The current pattern of "centralised and top-heavy planning" is described as of the "Soviet type, involving a series of targets that are not achieved, and of restrictions which are intolerable and which are calculated to perpetuate the regime of the party in power." Rejecting this pattern, the Swatantra Party calls for planning within the limits of freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and advocates planning by a cabinet responsible to Parliament.

FAIR DEAL TO LABOUR

To industrial and agricultural workers, the party assures a fair deal. Conceding labour's right to organise, the manifesto welcomes trade unions managed by workers themselves, but not those which are, as at present, "play things in the hands of political parties." Advocating the principle of good wage for a good day's work, the manifesto suggests "progress sharing" through an increase in wages alongside of increase in productivity.

"More than anything else," the manifesto declares, "the party will give the country a clean administration." It will ensure that there is no interference by politicians in the day-to-day administration. It will also ensure that the Union President and the Governors of States are non-party men,

FOREIGN POLICY

Stressing the need for bringing the country's foreign policy closer in relation to realities, the manifesto declares that the party will adopt a firm and vigilant policy in dealing with the Chinese aggression and "endeavour to rectify the unfortunate impression created in the world that India has a bias in favour of the Communist bloc." The party will remove all political influences responsible for undermining the morale of the Defence Services.

The manifesto says: "During the past few years through the adoption of so-called socialist and welfare-state policies, the Congress party has been acquiring a stranglehold over every aspect of the citizen's life. The ground is well prepared for the perpetuation of one-party rule as in Communist countries.

"The humiliations, harassments and injustices resulting from the permit-licence-raj have opened the people's eyes. The drift towards totalitarianism has been made obvious to the dullest minds. The alignment of Congress policies with those of the Communists and the indifference displayed about foreign aggression have awakened people to a sense of danger ahead. The entanglement of the nation in unredeemable foreign obligations for financing megalomaniac plans has accentuated public apprehension.

"The Swatantra Party hopes that the electorate will rise to the occasion and, guided by those who see the dangers implicit in the situation, will refuse to give a fresh lease of untrammelled power to the Congress party."

Gleanings from the Press

THE SWATANTRA, A POLITICAL

FORCE

It is always tempting for a new party which knows that it is not likely to be called upon to assume office to inflate its promises to the electorate. But the Swatantra party does nothing of the kind in its manifesto. What it promises is not a utopia but a mixed economy in which there will be less of central planning than today, less emphasis on heavy industries and more on agriculture and cottage and light industries, full scope for the play of free enterprise and no government participation in trade and industry. And whatever planning there is will not encroach on the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution before it was amended. For the rest, the party promises stable prices and relief in taxes which it justly regards as oppressive. As the manifesto puts it, "An honest rupee and stable prices are the best friends of the common people."

In the field of foreign affairs the manifesto advocates a less friendly attitude towards the communist bloc than is the case today and "a more vigilant policy in dealing with "Chinese aggression". How far the policies for which the Swatantra party stands prove popular with the people remains to be seen. The party leaders seem confident of doing well in half a dozen States. But the odds against which they have

to fight are only too obvious. The party is new in the field. And it cannot match yet the older parties in its organisation. But whatever the extent of its success in the elections it has already made itself felt in some measure as a political force. That it is clear in its mind as to what it stands for should be an asset to it in the years to come.

—The Times of India

News & Views

ELECTION PROSPECTS OF SWATANTRA PARTY

Mr. Masani told Pressmen that the prospects of party in the coming elections were good in rural areas. He added that the party would be contesting relatively fewer seats in the urban than in the rural areas.

He said that the party would be contesting in a big way in the following eight States: Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madras, Andhra and Mysore. "We are hoping the Congress Governments will be toppled in some of the States and they are Rajasthan and Bihar. In Orissa, the party is negotiating with Ganatantra Parishad Party for coming into electoral adjustments over the Parliamentary seats."

Mr. Masani, in reply to a question, said that the party did not propose to enter into any alliance with other Opposition parties. He, however, did not rule out the possibility of entering into electoral adjustments or understanding with them. These adjustments, he explained, would be more of a negative type of co-operation.

He said that it was the general policy of the party not to contest municipal, panchayat and trade union elections.

MASSIVE SUPPORT ASSURED TO KRIPALANI IN BOMBAY NORTH

What the Kripalani Front has done is to provide Mr. Kripalani, a partyless man, an organizational base in men and resources so necessary to fight the election, leaving him to conduct the campaign in any manner he likes.

A favourable factor is the mutual agreement reached by the three parties supporting Mr. Kripalani in regard to the choice of the candidates to be put up for the six Assembly constituencies in North Bombay to afford maximum support to Mr. Kripalani. It is the voting support at the level of the Assembly constituencies that contributes to the success of a parliamentary candidate. The PSP is credited with a strong organization in North Bombay which enabled it to win eight seats in the Municipal Corporation, all from this area in the last municipal elections. The Jan Sangh is also said to be fairly well organized in North Bombay. The influence of the Swatantra Party alone, which is fighting elections for the first time, remains an unknown quantity.

TRIUMPH OF THE CHARTER PRINCIPLES

SOON after his election as acting Secretary-General of the U.N. today, U Thant of Burma announced that he would appoint America's Dr. Ralph Bunche and Russia's Mr. Georgy Arkadev to be among a "limited number" of principal advisers with whom he would work "in close collaboration and consultation in a spirit of mutual understanding." Mr. Adlai Stevenson, leading a round of tributes, said: "There will be no veto in the secretariat and no weakening of the office of Secretary-General. The principles.....of the Charter have been fully preserved."

He praised U Thant's "independence of mind and spirit, his high intelligence, energy and idealism."

FLIGHT FROM COMMUNISM

ROF Ernst Bloch, a leading East German philosopher was on a visit to Tubingen University in West Germany when Berlin border was closed on August 13 by Ulbricht. Prof Bloch decided not to return to East Germany. *The Times*, London, reports.

"Professor Bloch, aged 76, is said to have lost his post at Leipzig University early in 1957 after he failed to toe the Communist Party line. He lived in the United States during the Nazi era and returned to Germany in 1949 to teach philosophy at Leipzig.

In a letter to the president of the east Berlin Academy of Sciences Professor Bloch said: "After the events of August 13, which make one expect that there will be no more room to live and work for those who think independently, I am no longer willing to expose myself and my work to undignified conditions and to the threat, by which alone these conditions are being maintained.....at the age of 76 I have decided not to return to Leipzig."

MOSCOW NOT KEEN ON CHINA'S SEA IN U.N.

There are indications that Moscow's interest in this issue has waned. Communist China, if admitted to the U.N., would then be able to make direct contacts with the Western Powers and may, in a short time, emerge as the principal speaker of the Communist world.

PLIGHT OF EDUCATION UNDER CONGRESS RAJ

THE additional outlays required for education in view of the unexpectedly large rush of children to primary schools will have to be met by the States themselves either by raising additional resources by making suitable adjustment in their Five-Year Plans.

There is no possibility of Centre assistance on a larger scale than what has already been determined. The Centre is hard-pressed to finance its own commitment.

The Council for Elementary Education stated last week that about Rs. 60 crores more would be needed for primary education in view of the tremendous spurt in enrolment to Class I which had far exceeded the Plan estimates.

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