

the

# Indian Libertarian

Price 25 Naye Paise

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

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY  
AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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



## IN THIS ISSUE

Vol. VIII No. 11

September 1, 1960

	PAGE		PAGE
EDITORIAL .. ..	1	Communist Capitalist by Edward J. Webster ..	12
National Introspection by M. A. Venkata Rao ..	4	Mythical World of Kremlinology by James Burnham .. ..	14
India's Enemies are Nehru's Friends by M. N. Tholal .. ..	8	DELHI LETTER .. ..	15
Lokayata: Indian Materialism by S. Ramanathan	10	BOOK REVIEW .. ..	17
RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT	I-IV	CLEANINGS FROM THE PRESS ..	18
		PERISCOPE .. ..	19

## EDITORIAL

### INDEPENDENCE DAY REFLECTIONS

THE Independence day reflections of August 1960, the thirteenth year of national freedom, have naturally been sombre and troubled by the spectacle of fissiparous tendencies revealed in several provinces. The gravest event importing serious damage to national unity, (the worst since Partition) has undoubtedly been the Assamese—Bengalee conflict issuing in regular organised riots and attack on Bengalees in most towns of Upper Assam and in Cachar. Even remote interiors in which refugees from East Pakistan had brought virgin land into cultivation and rehabilitated themselves were also the scene of fratricidal strife.

Leaders in important positions and organs of public opinion like newspapers vied with one another in exhorting the nation to revitalise their consciousness of national unity and to cultivate afresh a deep consciousness of national patriotism covering the whole country and the entire people from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, from Gujerat to Assam. The presence of the Chinese invader poised on the northern frontiers getting ready to spring from his high Himalayan altitudes on the plains of Hindusthan should, it is pointed out, make us close our ranks, forgetting all lesser loyalties in the presence of the

common danger. India has achieved freedom after a thousand years of subjection to foreign rule, for the whole country had rarely if ever been united under one free and sovereign Government of indigenous rulers since the days of the Mauryans. Even the Mauryans left out the deep South, though they made up for it with the inclusion of Afghanistan into the Indian imperial system.

The Assamese misbehaviour is only a symptom of a disease that seems to pervade the whole country. The Biharis have their own quarrel with the West Bengalees with regard to certain border areas. The Orissans claim the return to them of the district of Saraikella and its adjoining areas. The Sikhs want a part of the Punjab carved out for their exclusive domination and point to the analogy of Maharashtra and Gujerat. The Nagas have just secured a State for themselves though with their population of only 4 lakhs, they can hardly have a viable State. In some respects, they have got more than a State or a State more like Bhutan in semi-independence with more autonomy than even Kashmir, for they will have a constituent assembly of their own which will draw up their own constitution with complete autonomy! India has only the privilege of paying to the tune of four crores per year and more! She can keep accounts, it seems, while the spending will be in the hands of Dr. Ao and his henchmen!

They refuse even to let their State be called Naga Pradesh or even Naga State. They insist on its being called Nagaland. Even the association of their land with the name of Bharat or Hindustan is anathema to them! They stick to their theory that they are not Indians at all, just as Mr. Jinnah insisted that Muslims are not Indians but a separate Islamic nation.

This is the secret of their refusing subordination to any Ministry of the Central Union except that of External Affairs! Shri Nehru has conceded these dangerous demands of the Nagas. He is a poor negotiator with the enemy, as has been proved every time he has parleyed with them. He conceded entry of Muslim League representatives into the Interim Government of 1946, though Mr. Jinnah had refused to join the Constituent Assembly. Lord Wavell asked and Nehru yielded! The result was Pakistan. Nehru was the father of Pakistan. He has been the author of Andhra and Tamil Nad and the other linguistic provinces. He has sponsored Nagaland now. He will without a doubt concede Sikhistan before long. What will he do when the other Hill States, Dravida Kazagam, Moplahan advocates, Ittehad-Ul-Muslimeen wallas of Hyderabad, the Konkanis of Maharashtra, the hill states of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh demand their Jharkhand? He will concede these and other chunks of territory to separatist groups all over the vast country! The great work of integration achieved by the redoubtable Sardar is now being dissolved before our eyes.

And we do not find any widespread agitation in favour of national unity set afoot to bring pressure to bear on Shri Nehru, who is for all practical purposes a veritable Dictator.

### **The Indian Libertarian**

*Independent Journal of Free Economy and Public Affairs*

Edited by MISS KUSUM LOTWALA

Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates:

Annual Rs. 6; Half Yearly Rs. 3

ADVERTISEMENTS RATES

Full Page Rs. 100; Half Page Rs. 50; Quarter Page Rs. 25.

One-eighth Page Rs. 15 One full column of a Page Rs. 50.

BACK COVER ..... Rs. 150

SECOND COVER ..... Rs. 125

THIRD COVER ..... Rs. 125

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

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

Arya Bhawan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

### **AN IDEOLOGY FOR NATIONAL UNITY**

We need a new or vitalised ideology for restoring or strengthening the consciousness of national unity.

Exhortations like those of Dr. Rajendra Prasad on Independence Day are useful but sadly insufficient. For an ounce of practice is worth a ton of theory or preaching. It is up to Dr. Rajendra Prasad to oppose the fissiparous concessions of his own Prime Minister. What was his reaction to Nagaland and his views on Sikhistan, Jharkhand (Madhya Pradesh hill tribals State demand), Dravidasthan, Moplahasthan etc.? To preach unity and to acquiesce in policies making inevitably for separation of chunks of territory of vast dimensions does not make sense and does not argue any strong sense of responsibility and integrity on the part of the revered President. An inoffensive, goody goody character is not enough to preside over the country at such critical times as these!

Dr. Rajendra Prasad has nothing to offer as an incentive except the example of Gandhi, which is not enough for motivation today.

The disciplined (disciples) chelas of international communism are in our midst. They ruled for two years in Kerala. They coolly affirm their loyalty to Red China in supersession of their Indian loyalty! There is an international socialist loyalty traversing that of bourgeois nations or nations under bourgeois rule.

The appeal to India culture is ambiguous. Both Bengalees and Assamese share the same Indian culture but that has not prevented them from flying at each other's throats!

The Sikhs emerged as defenders of Hinduism from the persecution of the Moguls. But today under Master Tara Singh, they stress their greater similarity to Muslims in their Book Worship and their ritual without the use of image worship. They are ready mentally to massacre Hindus even as they massacred the Muslims in the Partition riots!

The editorial of *The Radical Humanist* suggests the adoption of a humanist philosophy to bring our embittered and alienated peoples together. But this proves or demands too much. If humanism is to heal the breach, we will have to distinguish in man's nature, trends and impulses making for bloody conflict from those making for harmony, peace and cooperation.

And what is the basis for this distinction? Man is a bundle of instincts which are physiologically and materialistically operated. Physiology and materialism know no values.

And if they have, why stop at nationalism? The Chinese too are human. Hitler, Stalin, Himmler and Eichmann the Gestapo fiend were all human beings. What is the basis and justification of national boundaries and national loyalties? And

why exclude Islam? Why not concede Islamic rule over India without a fight? For are not our Islamic brothers human beings too? Obviously this philosophy of humanism needs further thinking before it can offer an ideology adequate for the sort of social unity needed for national business in peace and war.

The editor of *Mysindia* says that the preaching of nationalism will not do either. He wants actual justice to be done to aggrieved people like the local Assamese who were denied jobs. But what is justice in the matter of Sikhistan? Justice to Sikhs may involve injustice to Punjabi Hindus! Justice to non-Brahmins in education and government service in the sense of reserving places for 160 sects and subcastes will surely mean injustice to men of merit in all groups?

The Assamese who rioted against the officers of the Assam Refinery Plant wanted jobs, because they were Assamese and the Plant was located in Assam as a result of their violent agitation. Places should be left vacant until Assamese are trained—this was their plea!

In Mysore, it is said that for years educational posts have been kept vacant denying education to students of several years in many interior places rather than fill them up with teachers of the advanced community!

It should be remembered that human psychology is such that it wants good things and privileges even in the absence of qualifications! It is the absence of qualification that makes many fight for privileges!

Further, the preaching of national patriotism is ineffective only where the preachers in office are insincere and contradict their sermons in their actual deeds and practice. National patriotism should be applied in administration and patronage in strict justice in accordance with merit. It is only then that it will become effective in daily life.

What is wanted therefore is not the banishment of humanist philosophy or the depreciation of national patriotism but their application in administration, social life, commerce, industry and education more sincerely and constantly than before. Whatever the theory, if people actually see equality and appreciation of merit in daily life, if leaders practice what they preach, there will be a great improvement in national affairs.

### THE INDIAN AIR FORCE IN THE CONGO

Three sets of air crews and ground engineers from the IAF have been sent to the Congo as our contribution to the UNO healing service in that disturbed new State, which has met heavy feather from the day of its Independence. An Indian general is appointed the Secretary-General's special Aide in military matters in his handling of the Congo tangle.

As in Korea, Vietnam and Egypt, Indian armed forces are helping the cause of international peace

in a distinguished manner, that has elicited appreciation from all.

The Army and Civil Service have on the whole risen to the occasion. It is the politicians that have failed the country. They are absorbed in the game of power politics trying to cash in their Congress membership in terms of power and pelf.

### MR. DANGE'S FOREIGN MONEY

It was revealed in answer to questions in the Lok Sabha by the Finance Minister that Mr. Dange has been operating on large sums deposited in a London Bank drawing as much as a thousand pounds per month often. The total funds amount to sixty lakhs of rupees worth and more. But the crime lies in keeping the transactions unknown to the Reserve Bank and thus contravening the Foreign Exchange Regulations. This has been going on since 1947, it seems. The Government have come to know of the illegality and offence only a few months ago.

But why did they not arrest the guilty person as they did many others accused of similar charges? The Finance Minister showed great reluctance to reveal even the name of Mr. Dange. It is only when a Member said that henceforth Parliament would have to regard every member of the Communist Party as guilty of similar offences (or sharers in such illicit import of foreign exchange), that the name was revealed! The funds were transferred to London through or from Prague. Did they originate from Soviet Russia itself? The Finance Minister would not say.

Mr. Dange has been Vice-President of the International Worker's Union which is an organ of international communism. He gets these funds for communising labour unions in this country turning their loyalties to the Soviet fatherland, thus destroying their national sentiment for Indian allegiance.

Mr. Nehru conceded that communists obtain funds from abroad in various ways. Sale proceeds of Indian goods in rupees to Russia may be made available to them in part. Sale proceeds of Soviet books are supposed to be turned over in large part to the CPI. A questioner in the Rajya Sabha in the last session sought to elicit the fact that payments in rupees to Russian engineers in Bhilni Steel Works are in part given to the Indian Communist Party leaders! Government spokesmen did not attempt to deny it nor would they furnish any information in their possession. There is something sinister in this whole policy of keeping the infiltration activities of communist agents secret in this country. Government should on the contrary make full information available to the public so that they may not become helpless victims of Communist machinations to turn the country over to Soviet Communist control in an emergency of popular upheaval.

The Government has a dangerous tendency to hide the activities of enemies of the country, pre-

sumably to avoid unpopularity for not being able to prevent them or with a view not to offend Soviet countries!

### **IAF OFFICERS DISMISSED FOR LEAKING INFORMATION TO FOREIGN COUNTRY!**

There has been a most disturbing statement by the Deputy Minister for Defence Mr. Majithia in the Rajya Sabha on August 16. He said that two air force officers were recently dismissed from the service for activities calculated to prejudice the security of the country. It was elicited that they passed information regarding the flight programme of our plans to a foreign country! It may be recalled that at the time of Pakistan's shooting down of our aeroplane (Canberra), there were rumours that information regarding its flight timings and route was passed on to Pakistan by our own officers! It was too bad to believe. Now the information of two officers being dismissed confirms the rumour. It was denied that information issue out of Air Headquarters. It might have issued out of a separate office but that information was made available to a hostile State by our own officers resulting in the shooting down of the costly plane remains verified.

Now who are these extra-territorialists and what was their motive in betraying the country? Was it merely money? Or was there a further and wider motive—Pan-Islam or pro-Pakistanism?

Indians are entitled to know these facts. Government's hush hush policy will recoil upon them as being insufficiently and culpably interested in shielding enemies to the detriment of the security of the country.

And is mere dismissal enough punishment for military betrayal? They can recoup monetary losses with the help of their patrons across the border!

Why were they absolved from Court Martial? Our softness towards treachery is itself treacherous and cannot be tolerated by citizens.

### **BASELESS FEAR? REVIVAL OF MUSLIM ORGANISATIONS**

The all India Muslim League has received a fillip after the Kerala joint electoral campaign with Congress and PSP.

Mr. Mohammad Ismail was in despair in 1947 with the founding of Pakistan. He called on Jinnah at Karachi who asked him to keep up hope and not despair. He meant the hope of getting all India for Islamic domination! Mr. Ismail now comes forward boldly and asks his fellow religionists to:—**Organise and fight!**

The Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen founded by the notorious Kasim Razvi is revived in Hyderabad. They stood for Corporation elections and won 18 seats to the surprise of everybody.

Now Mr. Zakaria tells us (Times of India 14 August) that though other Muslim organisations are also revived like the Jamiat-e-Islami in Delhi and two in Bhopal, there is no reason for fear and that the Muslims as a body do not pay heed to them. He blames Hindus for showing alarm and excitement at news of revivals. But what is his ground for thinking that these organisations are not anti-national?

---

## **National Introspection**

**By M. A. Venkata Rao**

---

**I**NDPENDENCE DAY has as usual occasioned a certain amount of stock-stocking, the striking of a balance sheet of national affairs in a mood of introspection on the part of leaders of thought—statesmen, administrators, editors and publicists of standing from all parts of the country and all walks of life.

This time Independence Day has been overshadowed by a tragedy of extraordinary dimensions recalling the terrible holocaust accompanying the Partition of the country on the advent of independence in 1947. This is the fratricidal strife in Assam between Assamese and Bengalees. Bengalees have been in Assam (since the British took it over in 1825) as assistants in administration in minor capacities, petty trade and contracts. They soon developed into the principal educated class

assisting the British in administration. They developed the usual professional ranks of lawyers, doctors, teachers, technicians and got rooted to the soil. But having a developed language, literature and culture, they lived their own life more or less isolated from the surrounding Assamese and hill tribals whom they came to regard as somewhat inferior to themselves—the people of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Rabindranath Tagore.

Nationalism is usually a psychology of the middle classes with trade and industry and professional or learned classes and bureaucracy as its social feeders. These classes were largely furnished by the Bengalee who filled the upper and middle ranks of society in Assam as in Orissa and other underdeveloped areas like the Himalayan terai near Nepal and Bhutan.

As the Assamese gradually rose into educated ranks throughout the last century and a half, they found themselves competing (at first on unfavourable terms) with the ubiquitous Bengalee. This did not make cordiality between the two groups any easier!

As the British began to develop power to Indians from the days of the Montagu Chelmsford Reform in 1919, the struggle for power between the local Assamese and the immigrant Bengalees (as between Hindu and Muslim generally throughout the country) became aggravated and gave rise to embittered feelings.

With the advent of national independence in 1947, the pent up emotional reservoir began to strain at the dams of decency and national sentiment. The competition with other States—Maharashtrian, Punjabi, Andhra, Tamilian, Bengalee in Bengal, Bihari, Uttar Pradesh began to oppress the Assamese leading classes. They wanted to be in Assam what the Bengalees were in Bengal, the ruling race in their own home ground. They developed the usual historical and cultural supports for such a claim based on historical research and linguistic achievements in epic and song etc. They claimed for Assamese a rank equal to that of Bengalee and Hindi and so on which was conceded by the Constitution of 1950.

But their social and political maturity and competence did not support their ambitions. They had to go a long way to become self-sufficient in technique, general education, capital enterprise, administrative experience and tradition. These would take some time. Meanwhile other provinces were making headway. Sri Nehru's socialistic pattern of society with its Five Year Plans put huge powers of expenditure into the hands of local leaders. The Assamese were impatient for the full panoply of Provincial sovereignty on a level with other States. Meanwhile their educated and semi-educated groups began to experience ever more rivalry at the hands of the children of the local Bengalees, who wielded more power than themselves on account of their position in the services and the ruling party circles.

The way in which the Assamese forced the Central Government to instal one of the Oil Refineries in Assam through bitter and violent agitation should have been a warning to the Central Government and Congress. But it is clear by this time that they have isolated themselves from the main streams of public life. They have proved unable to understand and guide the social forces released by the new life of independence everywhere.

Officers appointed in the Refinery (naturally from other provinces) received threatening letters from local Assamese, asking them to quit Assam on pain of murder and assault! There were riots at the Works by unemployed and others on the ground that local Assamese were passed over in jobs. There was not much justification for the complaint since qualified persons were not to be had locally and all local applicants with any qualification were en-

tertained in some way or other. But public relations were poor. The Assamese should have been taken into confidence and shown how their candidates would be trained as rapidly as possible and the maximum possible opportunity would be given to them. The Assamese should have been made to feel that the undertaking was their own and their protective instincts should have been mobilised. Identification with the local environment on the part of the leaders in charge of the enterprise should have been made easy by human relations opened up with them. The all-India officials and leaders like the Chairman Mr. Feroze Gandhi behaved as if they were as foreign to the people as the foreign nationals (Russian or Rumanian) who were assisting the concern as a matter of policy pertaining to international communism!

Congress leadership has shown that it is unable to rise to the height of its opportunity and responsibility as the new Indian governing class entrusted by history with the high purpose of rebuilding the fortunes of the country as an independent, prosperous member in the modern comity of nations. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, the new Congress President from Andhra was right when he confessed that the Assamese tragedy betokened a "failure of leadership." He meant failure on the part of the local Congress party groups e.g. the provincial congress committee, the parliamentary or assembly congress party and so on. But the failure is really that of Congress as a whole in its central party and governmental leadership. It is the failure of Nehru and Pant, Rajendra Prasad and Rudhkrishnan, Dhebar and Sanjiva Reddy. Leaders from every province—Maharashtrians, Gujeratis, Mysoreans, Biharis, Bengalees, UPians, Rajasthanis, Madrasis, Andhras, Keralans—are all represented in the Congress hierarchy and High Command. They are all to blame for the tragic fiasco in Assam—a regular civil war, Assamese being led by educated elements and with the passive acquiescence of the local members of the police and other administration. Even congressmen themselves were seen attacking and looting Bengalee middle class, respectable houses. All the horrors witnessed in the Hindu Muslim civil war around 1946-47-48 in northern cities (and countryside as well e.g. Nonkhali in Bengal) were enacted in this fratricide strife in the independence era.

The scale of the disturbances is staggering. It covered the entire Assamese area above the Brahmaputra from the vicinity of Kalimpong in the West to Dibrugarh in the East—rural areas as well as townships. In Nowgong alone some 8,000 houses were set on fire and the total number of homeless refugees reached 50,000! They are a new kind of refugees to be rehabilitated in their own homelands, to be protected from their own fellow citizens!

In the case of the Hindu-Muslim conflict, we had the excuse (as trotted out by Mahomed Ali Jinnah and his followers) that in culture Hindu and Muslim were opposed in every particular. If

the Hindus worshipped images, the Muslims abhorred them and were eager to break them. If the former grew their hair on the head, the latter grew theirs on the beard downwards and so on through the sorry list.

But here in this conflict, Bengalee and Assamese belonged to the same culture, worshipped the same deities and in the same general way. But the bonds of cultural unity were cut asunder by economic rivalry exacerbated by political jealousy. For land and woman, man will wage all-out wars setting aside every other scruple stemming from cultural similarity and long term interest. This is a truth that came home to Indians in a burst of shame and sorrow in these unfortunate incidents in the Northeast. Even the presence of the Chinese invader nearby across the NEFA border did not help to control the outburst of hostility between Assamese and Bengalees.

But the purpose of a national introspection is not the apportionment of blame as such. The main goal of the analysis is to lay bare the real operative causes of the social catastrophe so that the nation and its leaders may be enabled to remedy the disease. Short term measures such as rehabilitation are no doubt necessary and are being taken. But the more important task is to bind the wounds inflicted on the national mind and heart and stimulate afresh the broken bonds of social fraternity and national unity—what the sociologists call **consciousness of kind**. All Europeans have a "consciousness of kind" derived from their traditions of Greece and Rome and Christianity and modern leadership in science and nationalism and progress. But every European nation has fought every other in history and even today, the development of European unity to support a common government or even a common economy has been so difficult.

Cultural unity is very useful and even necessary in the long run for sustaining a modern national state and economy. But it is not enough by itself. Over and above this cultural affinity, whether of the past or stemming from a common hope for a common shared future of national greatness and opportunity the will to be a nation should animate all. This is the deepest lesson that our leaders have to learn from the present failure in Assam and elsewhere.

Economic opportunity (through such programmes as the Five Year Plans) needs to be supported on the psychological side by common feelings of participation in a great adventure of nation-building. This is a moral dimension that is inescapable and which has been the dimension in which we have failed signally!

It is important that the Assamese citizen should find suitable opportunity for self-development in his own province. But he should not exclude the Bengalee or hillman or other persons from other provinces from a share in the development of Assam. The only consideration for jobs should be individual

qualification. Other provinces too should not raise any barrier to the entry of Assamese into their nation-building activities in private trade and industry or government undertakings in the public sector.

This ill-feeling between locals and outsiders from other provinces exists in every province. In Bangalore, there is a bitter complaint that local talent is systematically ignored in the big all-India undertakings like the Hindusthan Aircraft and Hindusthan Machine Tool Factory. The reason is that the appointing authorities of subordinate personnel are Directors from other provinces. If he happens to be a Bengalee, Bengalees crowd the services in his domain to the neglect and exclusion of local people! There is much in this complaint. In Bengal, subordinate positions in industry and trade were transferred gradually from Bengalee families to Marwari families as the Marwaris purchased one after most of the big concerns left by the British during and immediately after the war. Many Bengalees have thus been dispossessed, which has naturally developed a sore gulf between local and outsider in Bengal too. If the Assamese problem is not solved without further delay on the psychological plane as well as on that of economic opportunity, horrible repercussions as between Bengalee and Marwari and Madrasi in Bengal are likely to show themselves to the further detriment of national unity.

Apart from these measures of rehabilitation and reconstruction, we have to notice another aspect of all India democratic leadership. The drawback revealed in such sombre colours in Assam is but another avatar or appearance of the defect of Congress leadership and Governmental statesmanship that has shown itself in a number of other occasions of crisis and turmoil in other parts of the country in recent years.

The refusal to institute an inquiry into the large scale police firings in the Bombay for Maharashtra and Mahagujerat agitations of 1956, is a case in point. In and around Bombay, it was freely stated that deaths in police firings amounted to the huge figure of 500! Foreign news correspondents (who were on the spot and had exceptional opportunities to observe the scenes and contact the people in all their ranks) put the number at around 250! The Government insisted that the number was not more than a hundred! Even granting that the Government estimate is correct, a hundred persons killed in conflict with the police by local citizens in a democratic set-up seems incredible and far in excess of the requirements of the situations. Feelings ran high but Congress and Government refused point blank to institute an inquiry into the justifiability of such huge massacres. In a country where the rule of law prevails, even in nondemocratic regimes, the judiciary has the right of reviewing executive acts to see whether they were within the provisions of law. The law permits harsh suppression to Government but the action should be justified by necessity. The necessity and justifiability should be testified to by a court of law

impartially weighing all available evidence to which it should have access. This is the essence of good and ethical government.

This refusal of the Congress Government marks a great failure in living up to the canons of civilised government. It may be that the unruly mobs forced the police to fire but the courts should have the last word whether it was justified or no. The executive should not usurp the right of the judiciary.

It is clear that Congress refused the inquiry fearing unpopularity. The popularity and voting influence and perpetuation of power became more important than justice and civilised government to the party in power.

A similar failing revealed itself in the long rope given to the "criminal" government of the Communist Party in Kerala. They should have been dismissed on the very first day when they released criminal party murderers from prison. Is party membership a privilege that raises a man above the law? One law for party and another for non-party men! The government was dismissed only after a tremendous agitation led by a coalition of groups outside the political parties all of whom were tarred with the same brush as congress and communist party! Here again the communist party refused inquiry into police killings and the Congress Government did not insist on it!

Another major omission (which may justly be called a crime on the part of Congress party and Government) relates to the refusal of judicial inquiry into the Ramanathapuram Riots in Madras State. It was a major case of the failure of Government in maintaining law and order. A group opposing Mr. Nadar and led by Mr. Thevar, an independent-minded follower of Subash Bose, clashed with groups habitually supporting Mr. Nadar, the Chief Minister. Whole villages numbering five hundred and more seemed to have moved out to hostile villages and sacked them, burning and killing on a large scale! Police had to open fire with the result that a few were killed. The scenes enacted in these unfortunate proceedings were reminiscent of the old polegar days when petty village war-lords called nayaks sometimes established their own small areas of governmental sway. The internecine strife among them would often end up in the victory of one of their number who when endowed with military capacity would bring large areas under his sway. This would be the birth of new States with considerable territorial extent. Today under the facade of Western parliamentary forms of rule, we have just below the social surface in India the old force of group or tribal loyalty ready to break up modern life and reintroduce old forms of tribal and personal government, lowering the quality of life catastrophically. This is the real fear that haunts thinkers today when sad events such as those of Assam take their thoughts to the roots of society and state.

Judicial enquiry should not have been refused in this case as well. Only an official report was ordered! Congress men in these instances put their party interests above national good.

Parliamentary discussion on Assam has been postponed. President's rule has been refused as this would increase the embitterment between Assamese and Bengalee and would do more harm than good. But an impartial inquiry into the actual events and atrocities and outrages should be instituted without delay or hesitation. Crimes should be punished without fear or favour. We should have the courage to look the horror in the face. Any genuine repentance is only possible if crimes are unmasked and acknowledged and punishment taken in a humble spirit of self-purification. Law and order, the sanctity of life and property, the respect for peace and decency—these belong to the mission of government as such, democracy or no democracy. Only a ruling class willing and able to fulfil the primary obligations of impartial justice, undeflected by party considerations or provincial bias, can develop the merit essential for democratic power.

No society can rise above the level of its moral life—its effective motivation or its ethos. Russia suffers today from the inheritance of the corruptions of its erstwhile Czarist police. We suffer from survivals of narrow loyalties derived from caste and province.

### BORSODI CHALLENGES ASIA

- 1 To replace nationalism with decentralization;
- 2 To adapt modern technology to family and village life, and forego urbanism and industrialism;
- 3 To educate for balanced living instead of Western "culture"

Read

### THE CHALLENGE OF ASIA

By Ralph Borsodi

1957 237 pages Price Rs. 6/-

Prof. P. Kahol, Punjab University, says:

"'Challenge of Asia' is one of the rarest discoveries of my life. It is a masterpiece of coherent thinking, unbiased analysis and essentially humanistic outlook. I have not yet come across another book so complete in all respects. I am passing it on to such of my students and colleagues as have a capacity to appreciate analytical thinking and to accept an ideal in life intelligently."

Available at:—

Libertarian Social Institute,  
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,  
BOMBAY 4.

# India's Enemies are Nehru's Friends

By M. N. Tholal

**W**ITHIN a year of its formation—in fact since its very start—the Swatantra Party began influencing the policies not only of the National Congress but also of its leader, Mr. Nehru, for from his policies stem his attitudinising and his posing and his general behaviour, of the last of which it may be said that it has considerably changed since Rajaji gave a fright to the leaders of the Congress Party by accepting the leadership of the Swatantra Party. An immediate result of the challenge from the new Party was an immediate halt to the drift to the Left which had been in evidence since the Congress accepted the socialistic goal. And an immediate consequence of this result was more power in the hands of Govind Ballabh Pant, the Rightist Congress leader.

The fright was born of the eminence of Rajaji in the Indian political field and the greater authority with which he could—and did—interpret Gandhi. Mr. Nehru, who had all his life differed from the Mahatma on almost all major problems facing him, has had no qualms of the conscience in palming himself off as a true disciple of the Mahatma—in fact the only true one—since his position as Prime Minister, with plenty of patronage to disburse, forbade every one who could do so to enter the field as a competitor. Rajaji began showing that, in this respect at least, Mr. Nehru was a pretender, with the result that the name of the Mahatma on Mr. Nehru's lips is not now so frequent as it used to be. The bluff has been called.

## FREEDOM AT LAST FOR CONGRESSMEN

In his welcome address to the General Council meeting of the Swatantra Party, the Chairman of the Bombay branch of the Party, Mr. Murarji J. Vaidya, rightly observed that the Swatantra Party had come as a challenge, for the first time among the free nations of the East, to the dangerous and growing attempts of pseudo-Communists, fellow-travellers and misguided and confused intellectuals taking delight in calling themselves progressive Socialists and "Atomic-age thinkers" to drag the poverty-stricken and illiterate masses of Asia and Africa down the dark Canyons of miserable slavery and inhuman regimentation, devoid of the refreshing breath of individual liberty—the most precious possession of civilised human beings. The party has still to make its impact on the free nations of the East, but there can hardly be any doubt now, with over half a million members already on its registers, that it will do so as soon as it gets into its stride in India.

THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

I have said above of the fright the new party gave the Congress leader, Mr. Nehru. Can any one imagine a member of the Congress Legislature Party making a year earlier such a scene, as Mr. Mahavir Tyagi recently enacted, against Mr. Nehru, without being summarily expelled from the Party? Can any one imagine a Congress M.P. making the kind of observations on China that Mr. Raghuvira has been making openly in Press conferences—and doing so with impunity—before the birth of the Swatantra Party? Can any one imagine a man, who is a critic of Mr. Nehru's policy towards China, being elected secretary of the legislature party—of which Mr. Nehru is the Leader—before the advent of the Swatantra Party? As a Congress leader confided to me the other day, the Swatantra Party has given Congressmen a good deal of freedom—freedom to think and freedom to give expression to their opinions—for the threat of disciplinary action no longer hangs over their heads like the sword of Damocles. The Swatantra Party is there for every man with a just grievance to join and simultaneously weaken the Congress. Rajaji is sitting right in front of the Congress House, to welcome every Congressman with a conscience. As Ahmed put it then in a cartoon, the Congress President, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, is pointing to Rajaji and telling her father, "See, Papa, the squatter!" And Papa doubtless has his own apprehensions.

Mahatma Gandhi exploited our slavery to become our dictator; Mr. Nehru has been exploiting India's poverty to assume that role. This gives him a kinship to the Communists, for the latter also live by exploiting the poor. (Witness the tremendous strides Soviet Russia has made in all directions with its people still unable to afford the bare necessities of life in civilised countries.) Had both of these dictators succeeded as lawyers and barristers, the history of India would have been differently written. It was lack of legal acumen in both that made them dislike their professions; while over-ambitiousness made them turn to politics, for all that the latter demands in a country of illiterate people is an awareness of where one's own interests lie. Having failed to make his mark as a lawyer—even under the distinguished patronage of his great lawyer-father—politics pointed out the path of easier renown. And he had no hesitation in choosing the path.

## PSYCHOLOGY OF LEFTISTS

So after a brief spell as a Khilafatist and an ultra-nationalist—what a wonderful combination!—one ending in the Malabar riots and the other in Chauri



Chaura, Mr. Nehru started leaning to the Left. Mahatma Gandhi is said to have had great sympathy with the downtrodden; Mr. Nehru is also reported to have that great quality in abundance. But I have always had a shrewd suspicion that a man who has real sympathy with the downtrodden, and is keen on their uplift, would not try to include his colleagues among them—Unless, of course the proposition is that when (and where) every one is downtrodden there is no cause for complaint. I have a shrewd suspicion that his Leftism was part of his subtle rebellion against his father, against whom he had a grouse since his childhood when his father thrashed him for stealing one of his fountain pens and not confessing it when the search was on.

I know a journalist who became a Leftist when he found that as a result of his affair with his sister-in-law (wife's sister)—which had become fairly well-known as a result of his wanderings with her all over the town—people had started shunning him, almost all except the Communists. I knew another journalist who was fond of female company (but equally anxious that his wife should remain in purdah) being denied it by all except the Communists, with the result that he decided to throw in his lot with them, without of course declaring it, because of his fondness of purdah for his wife. I have had a shrewd suspicion for decades that our Leftists nourish some dark secret somewhere in the recesses of their minds which makes them what they pretend to be. In the words of the famous Urdu poet, Ghalib,

**Bekhudi besabab nahin, Ghalib!  
Kuchh to hai jiski purdadari hai!**

(This selflessness is not without some reason, O Ghalib! There is something at the bottom to hide!) For myself, I must say I have hardly found any Leftist overflowing with the milk of human kindness, and I say this after my experience of public life extending to four decades. I think that if a probe is made into causes of conversion to Communism of young men and women the world over, the result will be a revelation for the thoughtful. The illicit character of the conversion will be thoroughly exposed.

### CONGRESS PARADOX

Mr. Vaidya may be said to have summed up his condemnation of the Nehru Government in a sentence. "It is indeed strange," he said, "that while the leaders of the ruling party are opposed to the Communist Party of India, as a Party, the leaders of the Congress have built up closest possible links and relations with those who are the promoters of international communism." It would, indeed, appear from the present state of affairs that the Home Department of the Government of India is at loggerheads with its External Affairs Department. But there is of course nothing of the kind. Nor could it be possible under joint responsibility and an almost all-powerful Prime Minister. For this

seeming paradox and self-contradiction in the Government's policies—which are bound to spell disaster for the country in the long run—the responsibility rests with Mr. Nehru's thoughtless emotionalism.

It is not enough, however, to rest content with pointing out the contradiction. After all, our leaders are not insane, and the people have not suddenly gone mad with them to applaud this transparent contradiction. The greatest blunder that Nehru committed was his offer of plebiscite to the people of Kashmir at the time of accession of the State to India. If plebiscite means anything it means that the people are free to choose. If the people are free to choose, the accession could not have been final. India put herself in the wrong by offering plebiscite and then further by going back upon the offer. The fact that independent Pakistan is accepting military aid can be no valid reason for going back on the offer, for the offer was not conditional on Pakistan accepting subservience to India in regard to her foreign policy. And we are mighty angry with the United States and the United Kingdom when they ask us to implement our offer of plebiscite in Kashmir.

If we were to try to find out the origin of the "closest possible links and relations with those who are the promoters of international communism" we shall find it lying in the Russian veto of the Security Council resolution, which followed its condemnation of India on the Kashmir issue by ten votes against nil, resolving upon the holding of international plebiscite in Kashmir under U.N. auspices. Russia saved us from disgrace, and we have been paying the price for it. We cannot afford to offend her, for that may mean her joining the Anglo-American bloc to condemn us unanimously and in passing the resolution she vetoed. And as soon as Russia had made sure that India could not ask for Anglo-American assistance to defend her borders, her great ally, China, started marching her troops into India. The ruthlessness of international Communism was once again emphasised by the simultaneity of the Russian veto in the Security Council and the Chinese incursions into Ladakh. It was as if the Russian veto had shown the green signal to China. To obscure the situation, Prime Minister Nehru hid the fact of Chinese incursions from the Indian people as well as their Parliament—thus denying the latter's sovereignty—and thus proclaimed his triumph over the Anglo-American bloc. By thus simply hiding the fact of Chinese incursions, he converted a defeat into a victory for himself. That that victory and that triumph mean disaster for India through subservience to international Communism is of no concern to Mr. Nehru. Indeed, he has gone so far in his zeal against the western bloc that he pretends that our greatest enemies are our greatest friends. Even China which has wrongfully occupied 12,000 square miles of our territory continues to be our friend!

(Continued on page 10)

# Lokayata : Indian Materialism

By S. Ramanathan

**T**HIS is a summary and a review of the book "Lokayata—a study in ancient Indian materialism" by Deviprasad Chattopadhyaya, published by the People's Publishing House, Rani Jahnsi Road, New Delhi.

Not merely schools of Philosophy but all people in general can be roughly divided into two divisions. The one may be called spiritualists and the other materialists. The first consists of people who believe themselves to be religious and put their faith in a super-natural being or beings. The supernatu-

(Continued from page 9)

## IN THE LAP OF RUSSIA

It will in course of time be part of the policy of the Swatantra Party to make the people realise the grave danger facing India from the North. It is a trump card which the new party holds and the manner in which it is able to play that card will be decisive in the struggle that is bound to ensue between the Congress and the Swatantra Party. The people in their heart of hearts are patriotic to the core and will not allow any treachery to the country to go unpunished. Mr. Nehru for all his popularity is not dearer to the people than the country. That was plain enough during his last birthday when the cries of "Chacha Nehru Zindabad" were feeble as well as infrequent. It does not take long to turn the tide, provided those who want to do so go about their job with single-minded devotion. First and foremost, the people have to be made to realise what has happened in the last five years and how it comes about that India finds herself in the lap of Soviet Russia.

Mr. Nehru reminds one of the Hindi saying: *Sari Ramayan parh gaya, aur yeh nahin maloom ki Ram rakhas tha ki Rawan.* (After going through the whole Ramayan he does not know who was the demon, Ram or Rawan.) I am not suggesting that he really does not know it, that he does not know the difference between the United States and Soviet Russia. But he is so sensitive that after committing a blunder, instead of acknowledging it, he is angry with all those who point out the wrong. He is still what he was sixty years ago, the spoilt son—because he was the only son—of Motilal Nehru, and like the spoilt son he takes the fullest advantage of the timidity (born of the affection) of all those around him. It is his sensitiveness that makes him the enemy of the friends of the country and a friend of her enemies.

ral is not rooted to the earth but exists in another world, high above in the sky or in another plane altogether. The second set of people are tethered to the world they experience through their five senses. They do not put their faith in a world of spirits apart from the material world which they experience. This broad division of human beings has existed for quite a long time. In fact this division dates back to several centuries, to the beginnings of existence by men in primitive times. Confining our attention to India, we may say that this division dates back to the age of the Vedas. The spiritualists have always been a small minority and the materialists the vast majority. But an impression has been created that the spiritualists are privileged beings. Gradually the spiritualists, viz. those who put their faith in supernatural beings, have arrogated to themselves a superior position and have looked down upon the others and contemptuously referred to them as Lokayats, the vulgar crowd of materialists. To-day in the Universities, the teaching of philosophy is heavily loaded in favour of spiritualism. In fact lectures on philosophy by college professors are mostly taken up in singing the praise of spiritualism, and condemning materialism. I speak with intimate personal knowledge in this matter. I took my M.A. degree in Philosophy. I studied Indian philosophy under Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, now Vice-President of India. Under the inspiration of the Vice-President, not only the Ministers but everybody dressed in authority and able to inflict a speech on the public talks loftily of the high idealism of the Indian Nation and its special mission to spiritualise the entire world and free it of the demon of materialism.

No wonder that the popular press, the magazines, and the books, are full of one sided propaganda in praise of spiritualism and in condemnation of materialism. It is a pleasure for me, therefore, to come across this book by Deviprasad Chattopadhyaya who has turned the tables upon the spiritualists. No doubt Mr. Chattopadhyaya calls himself a Marxist and sometimes uses the Communist jargon: But his main argument is valid nevertheless. His scholarship is too earnest and profound to be diverted by his ideological prejudices. He bases his argument upon indisputable facts. I intend to examine this novel turn in the history of philosophy in this series of articles to the Indian Libertarian with the kind permission of the Editor.

The author has traced the origin of Indian materialism to the beginnings of man's existence in the world when primitive societies struggled hard against Nature's impediments. The sun, rain, draught and

# The Indian Libertarian

## *Rationalist Supplement*

---

---

### Madame Blavatsky Unveiled

By James Plender

A new biography of the famous Russian mystagogue reveals all we are likely to learn about her amazing career.

---

**M**ADAME BLAVATSKY was one of the most remarkable, and certainly the most picturesque, of the nineteenth century eccentrics. That she was a fraud is beyond doubt, but she was more than an ordinary charlatan and she has left her mark. The Theosophical Society which she founded still exists, and her well-known books, *Isis Unveiled* and *The Secret Doctrine*, continue to find readers. She cashed in on the cult of Eastern mysticism which is still going strong, as the spate of books on Yoga testifies.

She had the wit to see that Victorian spiritualism was too drab to hold the interest of a vast number of credulous people who had not outgrown their infantile belief in what Freud called the omnipotence of thought. Table-rappings were apt to become boring without generous spices from the Orient. These she supplied in full measure, together with fairy-bells and the materialization of roses, teacups, letters, and even Mahatmas from the fastnesses of Tibet.

#### MURKY PAST

Mr. John Symonds has written a new and extremely readable biography of this fantastic personality (*Madame Blavatsky: Medium and Magician*, Odhams, 21s). The modern priestess of Isis is stripped of most of her veils, although the enigma remains. What is so baffling is not that her conjuring tricks succeeded, but the contradictions in her character which the insight of a novelist rather than a biographer is needed to unravel. Mr. Symonds gives the external facts, but what really went on behind the inscrutable mask she wore to the world is still a matter of conjecture. She could not have believed her own lies, but she probably quite sincerely believed in magic. She was completely irreligious but utterly superstitious.

The facts of her early life are wrapped in mystery. For very good reasons her lips were sealed. Nevertheless, a good deal about the wild beginning

can be pieced together. She was born in the Ukraine on July 30, 1831. Her father was Colonel Peter Hahn, and her mother, Helena Fadayev, wrote a dozen romantic novels and died at the age of twenty-seven. Her grandmother, Princess Helena Dolgorouky, was a distinguished botanist who corresponded with British scientists.

At the age of sixteen, Helena Petrovna married the Vice-Governor of a province in Trans-Caucasia, in a fit of pride and pique. She subsequently described him as nearer seventy than sixty and too decrepit for normal marital relations. He was in fact no more than forty.

She tried to run away the day after her marriage, but it was three months before she succeeded. The veil she drew over the period between her flight from General Blavatsky and her arrival in America in 1873 can now be lifted. It was not spent, as she asserted, studying an ancient language in Tibet. She returned to her grandparents at Saratov, and when they found her too hot to handle she was sent to her father in St. Petersburg. Part of the journey had to be made by sea in an English ship, and she eloped with the captain.

There is some evidence that she became a circus rider in Constantinople for a short time. She disappeared with a celebrated Hungarian bass singer, Metrovitch, who informed her family that he had married her. A few years later her grandfather received a letter from an Englishman who also said that he had married Helena and that she had accompanied him on a business trip to America.

When she reappeared in Europe she was converted by the famous Daniel Dunglas Home to spiritualism. After an absence of some years she returned to Russia and acted as a medium at seances in Tiflis. This did not last long and she opened an ink factory in Odessa, and when that failed started an artificial flower shop. She then made what seems to have been her second visit to

Cairo, where she had previously consorted with magicians and snake-charmers, picking up some useful tricks.

The turning-point of her bizarre career was her meeting with Colonel Olcott in 1847. Their collaboration, stormy though it often was, continued for the rest of her life. It began at the farm of the Eddy brothers in the state of Vermont, several hundred miles from New York. It is claimed that the relationship was a platonic one. This may be true, since Helena had probably had her fill of love and was in the mood to turn her mind to higher things. There is also medical testimony that she suffered from a serious disability.

### MAGIC GALORE

The Colonel and his 'chum', as he always referred to her, witnessed hundreds of ghostly figures emerge from a cabinet in the darkened Circle Room of the Eddys. They moved to New York, then to Philadelphia, where two mediums, Nelson Holmes and his wife, Jenny, were in the thick of a heated controversy. One of the spirits they materialized, Katie King, was a beautiful young girl, with whom the ageing son of Robert Owen, who had founded the community of New Harmony, fell heavily in love.

He gave her jewellery which de-materialized, as might be expected. Then the truth came out that Katie was none other than a Mrs. Eliza White. Her confession was a setback to Madame Blavatsky's campaign, but the Colonel's faith in spirits was not shaken. He was, however, considerably dismayed when she suddenly married Michael Betanelly, a man much younger than herself with whom she did not appear to have much in common, and who had to agree not to share the same bed. It was, of course, a bigamous marriage because the General was still alive. When Betanelly sought to break his bargain this curious affair came to an end, and later there was a divorce.

The next phase was to start a Society for the pursuit of occult research. Madame Blavatsky gave out that she was in close touch with adepts known as the Brotherhood of Luxor, who were a branch of the Great White Brotherhood, operating from the Himalayas. They imparted their esoteric doctrines to her by psychic means and so enabled her to write *Isis Unveiled*, which was to be the bible of the newly formed Theosophist Society. She wrote most of it in an apartment in New York which she shared with Colonel Olcott, though they slept on different floors.

At this time she was a striking figure wearing colourful, outrageous clothes and a tobacco pouch hung round her neck. She smoked a pound of tobacco a day, not to mention experiments with opium and hashish. Her book was an unexpected success. Instead of the monotonous back-room séances a somewhat jaded public had the doors opened on the mysterious-East.

This was her line. She satisfied the taste for the exotic so well that spiritual pilgrims turned to Tibet. One of the Himalayan Masters was seen in the night by Colonel Olcott, and that gullible man was convinced it was no dream because his visitor left behind a turban.

There was nothing for it now but to go to India, where mahatmas lived in the flesh. The strange pair were welcomed by the Indians more because of their approval of political aspirations than because of their occult prowess. The Colonel might have been a simpleton in high metaphysical matters, but he was a good salesman and largely thanks to him the new movement gained some influential support.

It attracted the sympathetic attention of A. P. Sinnett, editor of India's leading daily newspaper, though his first encounter with Madame Blavatsky was somewhat damped by her clumsy sleight-of-hand trick with a cigar-holder. She did much better on another occasion when the Sinnetts were members of a picnic party outside Simla. They were one cup short and the obliging sorceress pointed to a spot under a tree and told them to dig. To everyone's surprise a cup was unearthed of the identical set as that laid out on the tablecloth.

It would be tedious to relate the numerous ways in which H. P. B., as Madame Blavatsky was known, continually demonstrated her marvellous powers. Roses appeared out of this air, messages from mahatmas fluttered down from the ceiling, and bearded masters were summoned from their icy caves.

The stock-in-trade of the magician outweighed the angry explosions of the coarse, foulmouthed woman who professed to be a vehicle of a new revelation. Her uncouthness did upset some members of the new Society, and no wonder. For example, on one occasion a guest she did not like asked her to pass the butter, and she sent it hurtling towards him with the words, 'Here you are, grease your soul to hell with it'.

Sooner or later exposure was inevitable. Madame Coulomb, the English wife of a Frenchman, who had lived for some years with H. P. B. in India, quarrelled with her and gave the whole show away. There were charges and counter-charges about money owing and money embezzled. The storm broke in the Indian headquarters at Adyar while H. P. B. was in Europe.

### EXPOSURE

Both she and the Colonel had made a bad impression in the highly respectable London Lodge of the Society. Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, who were more interested in mysticism than magic, doubted the existence of the eastern mahatmas and formed a breakaway movement. Then the Society for Psychical Research took a hand.

(Continued on page IV)

# Men, Gods and Fear

By Eva Ebury

**P**HILOSOPHERS of Greece and Rome argued the question: Did fear create the gods, or did the gods create fear? There are both anthropologists and philosophers today who claim that religion arose from the need of primitive man for "a barrier against fear." This concept asserts a purely natural origin for the god-idea, and is accepted by many Freethinkers. Nevertheless, it is avidly seized upon by the religious and embellished to justify the propagation of lies, under the specious plea that supernatural father-fancies are necessary to ensure mental stability in modern society.

"Fear created the gods," religion, "a barrier against fear." To primitive man, the propositions are as disputable today as they were 2,000 years ago. They are based on the assumption, firstly, that fear was an evil to early man; secondly, that a supernatural agency could provide a barrier against natural evils.

Fear is a necessary evolution in the animal kingdom for the survival of the species; it evolved, as any other of the protective characteristics of animals, and the evolution of fear carried with it the evolution of methods of defence against the things feared. A "barrier against fear" would have meant certain destruction during the million years of man's early struggle. Fear is the necessary weapon of inquisitive man, who only survived among animals stronger, faster, tougher and hairier than he because fear and experience had become related in memory and conscious action to a greater degree than ever before. Man had become equipped to anticipate danger and prepare against it.

*Homo sapiens* was not a stranger to the destructive forces of nature; he did not emerge into an unknown world. He hid from the storm with the creatures of the forest, and found his shelter under the same rocks. When the sun broke through after the storm, it was the same for him as for the beasts and the birds, all chatter and noise and busyness. Man's animal ancestry had equipped him for his struggle for survival; thunder, lightning and fierce animals were necessary and natural fears.

Religion introduced the supernatural fear, against which there is no natural defence. Man, the brainiest of all the animals, had himself created a danger against which he could find no protection. A creature of his own imagination dominated him, enslaved him, took his first born, and first fruits and the best and loveliest of all his first works of art. Man could not run from that, kill it, argue with it; he could only fear.

Gods dwell where men would be most frightened to believe they dwell... in the vault above our heads, whence comes our help or our undoing.

the brightness of the sun, moon and stars, or the rumble of thunder, the gentle rain, or the crushing thunder-bolt. Thus, in my opinion did a man Gods.

first persuade mortals that there was a race of So said Critias, in his play, *Sisyphus*, explaining the origin of religion as an act of a shrewd legislator to place a supernatural policeman in the sky.

Fear is the deadliest weapon of the priest. After preparing man's mind with dread of the supernatural, he invented an eternity: a celestial law-court, with the god its judge and the priests its jury. The last turn of the rack had been given. Wretched man, who had overcome all his natural enemies by strategy and cunning and had struggled from the crouching denizen of a cave to erectness of posture and wealth of possessions, had become a prey of "terror-speaking tales of the seer." As Lucretius wrote:—

If men saw there was a fixed limit to their woes, they would be able in some way to withstand the religious scruples and threatenings of the seers.

As it is, there is no way, no means of resisting since they must fear after death, everlasting pains.

Pagan philosophers discussed origins of religion and priestcraft. Perhaps we cannot yet answer the questions, but we understand more today of early man. We know, by inference, that primitive man had no religion. Language, communication of ideas, communal morals and codes and the ability to support parasitism in a tribe were necessary before priestcraft could arise. Language only evolved as the inherited noises of animal type became inadequate with the use of communal tools. The communication of ideas was impossible until language had advanced beyond the naming and distinguishing of objects to the distinguishing of the functions of objects. This would be the age of primitive animism; movement and life appeared synonymous.

"Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the Levite as long as thou livest upon the land." So the priests of Jahveh instituted priestcraft amongst the Semites, and thus was the parasite class instituted for the Jew, as it had been for the peoples around.

Our ancient philosophers understood well the purpose of religion, if not its origin. Polybius (166 BC) asserts:—

What the rest of mankind desire, is the foundation of Roman greatness, namely superstition. This element has been introduced into every aspect of their private and public life, with every artifice to awe the imagination, in a degree, which could not be improved upon. Many, possibly, will be at a loss to understand this; but my view is that it has been done to impress the masses. If

it were possible to have a state in which all the citizens were philosophers, perhaps we might dispense with this sort of thing. But the masses in every State are unstable, full of lawless desires, of irrational anger, and violent passion. All that can be done then, is to hold them in check by fears of the unseen and other shams of the same sort. It was not for nothing, but with deliberate design, that the men of old introduced to the masses notions about the gods, and concepts of the after-life.

What a modern ring these arguments have!

No, despite the assertions of modern anthropologists and philosophers, religion has never played a beneficial part in man's existence. Its role today is the role it has always had, to produce the fear that it pretends to assuage, and to use that fear to prevent the economic and mental progress of man. Religion, priestcraft, the rule of mental and physical authority must go, before man can become master of his environment and arbiter of his own future. We shall not start much further forward mentally than our ancient philosophers, but we are equipped today with better tools and have the power within our hands to make a saner and more prosperous world.

One more quotation from an old master, Lucian, born 120 A.D. by the Euphrates, writing of Alexander the oracle-monger, and the riches he had gained by the sale of his oracles to the superstitious people of Italy and the East. He describes the opposition that the Epicureans began to organise against Alexander, and how he, in his hate, and in true religious fashion, had burned the most famous of the books of Epicurus, and cast its ashes into the sea, saying "The dotard's maxims to the flames be given." Lucian then makes this comment:—

The fellow had no conception of the blessings conferred by that book upon its readers, of the peace, tranquility, and independence of mind it produces, of the protection it gives against terrors, phantoms, and marvels, vain hopes and inordinate desires, of the judgment and candour that it fosters, or of its true purging of the spirit, not with torches and squills and such rubbish, but with right reason, truth and frankness.

Epicurus was a secularist, and happiness was his moral guide.

—The Free Thinker

#### HE CREATED THEM ALL

All things bright and beautiful,  
All Creatures great and small,  
All things dread and terrible,  
Lord God did make them all.  
The tape worm and the serpent,  
The polio germ and 'flu,  
Paralysis and liver-fluke,  
They have their places too.

—Daphne Gray.

(Continued from page 11)

Madame Coulomb's revelations had the ring of truth, though denial was only to be expected. She said that the mysterious letters which were dropped into the laps of the faithful came from the branches of trees or through floorboards. There was a simple contrivance worked by a string.

As for the astral body of Koot Hoomi, Madame Coulomb confessed that she had made the jacket for an effigy and its face was painted by Madame Blavatsky. It was carried on the head of M. Coulomb. She produced letters from Madame Blavatsky to prove her point and they were vainly denounced as forgeries.

There was a further blow when Henry Kiddle, an American lecturer on spiritualism, identified a message from Koot Hoomi as a plagiarized version of a speech he had made some time before. Accusations of fraud were now openly made, inviting a libel action, but H. P. B. refused the challenge.

In 1885 the Society for Psychical Research published a report in 200 pages, based on investigations in India. 'For our own part' it said, 'we regard her (H. P. B.) neither as the mouthpiece of hidden seers, nor a mere vulgar adventuress; we think that she has achieved a title to permanent remembrance as one of the most accomplished, ingenious and interesting impostors of history'.

Bloody but unbowed, this formidable and audacious woman went on with her magnum opus, The Secret Doctrine. This mishmash of gnostic speculations purported to be based on a sacred book to which she had had access in Tibet. The original, she claimed, was written in a language called Dyzan, unknown to philology.

A serious illness nearly prevented the completion of the book. She recovered miraculously of course—and left the Continent for London. Then occurred another landmark in the history of theosophy. When The Secret Doctrine was published in 1888 W. T. Stead asked Annie Besant to review it.

Annie Besant was a free-thinker who had worked with Charles Bradlaugh. She called on Madame Blavatsky and as a result of that fateful interview abandoned her former views and became the leader who was to transform the fortunes of the Theosophical Society.

Madame Blavatsky was better at making enemies than friends, but she certainly knew how to influence people. She lived in a twilight world of fraud and fantasy and in an earlier century she would have been burned as a witch. Mr. Symonds has told us much as we are likely to know about her amazing career, but we can only guess at the strangely split personality whose most incredible phenomena were not the 'miracles' but her own life.

—The Humanist

flood created obstacles in the attempt of people aboriginal to draw their slender sustenance through agriculture. Agriculture seems to have been the occupation of women in ancient times when people lived as tribes. The nature of the human male is predatory and finds expression in physical wrangles with other men, in hunting and in other violent occupations, while the female of the species, who has a softer body and a gentler nature, discharges the more laborious and painful task of carrying the child in her womb for nine months and bringing it forth into the world in suffering and pain and then nourishing it and bringing it up through its tender age. She is naturally endowed with greater patience and has faculties which find expression in peaceful pursuits. In ancient times women found their natural occupation in agriculture which involved the tending of seedlings and safeguarding them against the ravages of the seasons, until they matured and yielded fruits. Since food production was vital for human existence, the tribal civilisation was dominated by the woman. The female had the onerous responsibility of not only giving birth and bringing up the coming generation but also of growing the plants which would feed the entire tribe consisting of the young and the old of both sexes. Mr. Deviprasad Chattopadhyaya's thesis is that women dominated matriarchal societies of primitive times and were governed by the materialist attitude towards the world at large. They were too near Nature to adopt the sophisticated idealist view that Nature was unreal. They believed that the world before them of trees, plants, the earth, mountains, rivers, the sun and the moon and the stars, was a reality although it was deeply mysterious to them. The most profound mystery of all was creation, the birth of the child and the growth of the plant. This mystery of the vegetable kingdom is closely allied to the mystery of human beings. Even as the human mother brings up the child, the earth grows the plant. The creative principle was associated with the mother, hence tribal civilisation was matriarchal.

Mr. Deviprasad Chattopadhyaya holds that pre-Aryan civilisation in India was tribal and matriarchal. His argument is supported by modern investigation in pre-history based on the excavations at Harappa and Mohanjodaro, the practices of tantric rituals in Assam and Bengal and the prevalence of matriarchy among the Malayalee people of South India. His position is reinforced by investigations carried on among the tribal communities which inhabit the remoter parts of India even to-day, like the Todas. The Todas lead a life visible to all observers in modern times which is an all fours with the civilisation that obtained in pre-Vedic times. Mr. Chattopadhyaya draws the rather breath-taking conclusion that mankind at large has from the very beginning, till about the beginning of the time of Buddha lived all over the world as a classless society enjoying everything in common and was inspired by a philosophy which was essentially materialistic. The unit was the tribe and not the family. Property was

common and every member had his or her share. There was no disputes as to property and crime was unknown. Sex relationship was loose by modern standards but there were no jealousies leading to violence and murder as is common in later individualistic society.

The author traces a close bond between belief in materialism, the practice of agriculture, dominance of the female and phallic worship. The creative principle responsible for the birth of children and the perpetuation of mankind through the play of the sex function is also responsible for the production of foodstuffs through agriculture by the multiplication and growth of plants. In order to stimulate food production therefore the creative principle embodied in sex must be tapped by the practice of ceremonials of phallic worship.

Mr. Chattopadhyaya thinks that the earlier parts of the Vedas represent this materialistic trend and it was only in the later parts of the Vedic development that individualism, private property, appeared and with these features there simultaneously emerged male dominance and idealist philosophy. The tribal civilisation continued in India down to the time of Buddha who was born in the Sakhya clan. His father was not a King in the modern sense who inherited his kingdom from his father. He was only an elected Chieftain and the clan over which he ruled was a tribe which enforced equal rights for everybody. The change over from the tribal civilisation to individualism took place during the life time of Buddha and before the very eyes of the Master. Buddha resented this change and in a manner counter-acted it by his teachings and above all by constituting his order of Monks who among themselves continued the tribal tradition of common property. The popularity of Buddhism according to Deviprasad Chattopadhyaya lies in the nostalgic longing of the people at large for the restoration of the virtues of the equalitarian society which was fast disappearing. Although Buddha was unable to arrest this change altogether he provided an outlet for people who could not tolerate the new order. He ordained that his own followers should practice among themselves the ancient virtues of equalism which was becoming extinct in the world at large.

How the splitting up of the tribe into independent individual families led to the growth of immoralities, greed and hoarding and finally ended up in the formation of private property, kingship and the modern state is graphically portrayed in the following quotation from "Buddha Dharma" by H. P. Sastri:

"In the beginning people used to feed on love and live in the abodes which was bliss. Feeding on food which was love and living in abodes which were bliss, they lived thus. And whatever they did was dhamma. Then emerged among them the distinction of varna (colour): some had good varna, some bad. Vanity was thus born and with

its birth died *dhamma*. And with it dried up lives and honey on which they were so long feeding. They went on in search of new source of food. They discover the mushrooms and after that the herbs. Then they discovered *salidhana* (a kind of rice-grain. Nobody then had any idea of hoarding. But the idea of hoarding the grain gradually grew in their minds. And the greed for hoarding went on increasing. Along with it dawned the consciousness of the difference between the sexes. To begin with, the idea of pairing was to them a gross violation of morality. Eventually, however, the custom of pairing was stabilised and accepted. And domestic affairs became the concern of the women.

The greed for hoarding went on swelling. They started to cultivate the land which ultimately made the collective ownership of it no longer possible. Land was distributed among the individuals for individual cultivation. Boundaries were determined for the cultivable land of each. It was decided that nobody should infringe upon the other's plot. The arrangement worked for some time.

Later, new complications started to develop.

Someone thought, 'Well this is my land and this much is the quantity of harvest that I reap. But supposing there was a bad crop?' So he resolved: 'Whatever this be allowed or not does not matter. I will pounce upon some one else's field and get the grain.' He stole and was caught by a third person. The third person gave him a beating and called him a thief. He, the thief, cried 'Look brother, I am being beaten. This is injustice.' And thus began theft, untruth and punishment.

Then everybody assembled together and resolved: 'Come, let us elect somebody from amongst ourselves to look after the border of each one's field. He will be strong and intelligent and fair to all. By way of his remuneration each of us shall pay him a part of our produce. He will punish the criminal and protect the righteous and look after the border of each.'

Thus they elected one among themselves. On the consent of all, he became a *raja*. That is why the *raja* is called a *maha-sammata*, the Great Consent."

(To be Continued)

---

## Communist Capitalism

By Edward J. Webster

---

**C**AREFUL analysis of the communist system reveals it as a flimsy texture of frauds. In our title we have linked the words "communist" and "capitalism" in order to examine the most bare-faced of communist frauds—namely, the monotonous condemnation of "capitalism." For more than a hundred years, Communists have paraded their "down with capitalism" slogans and prattled incessantly about what they allege are the ail-embracing evils of capitalism. Meanwhile, within less than forty years, the communist system which the Kremlin gangsters would impose upon all of us has become the most arbitrary, arrogant, rigid capitalism the world has ever known. It is now so easy to make that indictment stick that nobody any longer need be hoodwinked.

Unfortunately, there is a vast deal of confusion concerning basic economic facts of life. For example, what is "capital"? "Capital" is a generic or general term. It includes the entire mass of machinery, tools, instruments, and devices accumulated from past production for use in present and future production. Capital has enabled man so to use the power resources of nature—water, steam, and electricity, conspicuously—as both to reduce the

amount of human effort required for essential goods and services and to do countless things that he could not otherwise do at all. The division of labor and specialization in production that yield thousands upon thousands of luxuries as well as necessities are made possible by capital. By means of capital employed in modern transportation and communication, some of the limitations of space and time have been overcome. We travel across the continent in a few hours; we have around-the-clock reports of world-wide events as they occur; and, if we wish, we may have a message sent around the world in a matter of minutes. Nor should the marvels of modern medicine be overlooked. Not infrequently, a half million dollars may be spent in the development of a single product—which the public straightway takes for granted. Regardless of the form it may take or the manner in which it is applied, practically everything that now contributes to our unprecedented standard of living and to the broad enrichment of our life is dependent upon capital.

### SOMETHING SAVED

But what is "capitalism," that avowed evil for which the Communists pretend to have such bitter hatred? When—after what has in the past usually



been a long process of accumulation or "formation"—major productive activities, such as mining, manufacturing, and the like, are directed by those who own or control the capital required, it may be said that some type of capitalism has developed. Historically, various types of capitalism have been identified: industrial, trade, financial, state, and free enterprise. The underlying similar characteristic of these is that at some time and in some manner a portion of what had been produced was saved or set apart and made available for future production in some area of the economy. No padding of "ideological" gossamer can conceal the fact that all capital so formed and so used must, sometime, somewhere, and somehow, have been "created" in the process of production. It was not pulled out of a magic hat.

At this juncture one point must be emphasized—and remembered. The communist economy, in order to further its aggressive schemes, is more dependent upon capital than is any free nation in the world. Indeed, all of communism's boasted achievements have been made by the use of capital. It is true, of course, that the various tools and devices now used by communist capitalism were not developed in communist states. They had been developed by other systems of capitalism before they were "expropriated" (stolen) by the Communists. But, for the replacement of their present supply of tools and devices as well as for the development of new ones, the Communists must save a portion of their product for use as capital. The point calls for no debate. That which originates as capital, behaves like capital, and does the work of capital, is capital. Neither the method by which it is formed nor the mechanism by which it is controlled can ever invalidate that fact.

All capital is capital, but systems of capitalism differ. Our main interest now, therefore, is to examine the distinctive characteristics of communist capitalism. In what respects is it different? What makes it tick as it ticks?

### EXPROPRIATION

How is communist capital "formed"? In the first instance; as has already been pointed out, much of it was confiscated, expropriated—stolen. But the outrageous lengths to which communist capitalism, as an operating concern, has been willing to go to increase its capital is one of the blackest marks on its sordid record. The entire system of the Communists—wages, plane of living, everything—is geared to that objective. Their boasted "five-year plans" were designed to speed the accumulation of capital, and the degree of their success has depended upon the extent to which food, clothing, and housing were withheld from the hungry, ill-clad, and ill-housed. In order to set up capitalized collective farms, the land was seized and the dissenting landowners were mercilessly slaughtered. Add to that the toil of countless thousands of slave workers in concentration camps, where the depravity of

communist administration plumbed appalling depths. By such methods the communist State has taken—and continues to take—from the "national product" as much as it chooses for use as capital, all of which is owned by the State. The state ownership of capital is a Marxian must and the hard core of communism.

Even more significant than the manner of acquiring capital is the method by which communist capitalism is controlled and directed. The system is a totalitarian dictatorship. Because the State owns the capital, it controls the use of capital without limitation or restraint. Inasmuch as the State thus wields absolute power over productive activity, there is no possibility of the interplay of those factors and forces which make a free market. And that means the virtual control of consumption as well as of production.

### DISREGARD OF HUMAN VALUES

The alleged achievements of communist capitalism must, therefore, be measured by its own operational procedures, not by the yardstick of civilized efficiency. By their own standard they are in violation of the most sacred human rights and human values. By treating persons as mere things—as means to its end—communist capitalism is thus guilty of what must, in any tolerable system of either ethics or religion, be regarded as the unpardonable sin.

As a matter of fact, the Communist Party never has had any respect for, or faith in, the people it seeks to bamboozle with its fantastic fairy tales of a classless society, a State that withers away, and a dreamy future in a welter of sweet reasonableness on flowery beds of ease. Karl Marx himself expressed the party attitude in concise language when he said, "The Communists have over the great mass of the proletariat [the common people] the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement." It is of record that a certain notorious character, speaking before a congressional hearing in Washington some twenty five years ago, expressed the same sentiment in fewer words: "The people are just too damn dumb!"

The vital issue before each one of us is not whether we shall live within some system of capitalism. Over the ages the accumulation of culture in all of its material and technological aspects has been such that productive activity, the making of the things we want and need, will continue to depend upon some system of capitalism. Mr. Joe Doakes will not be making his own shoes or building his own automobile.

### WHICH SHALL IT BE?

But what kind of a system of capitalism do we want and are we resolved to defend in the United States? A few of the ugly contrasts between communist capitalism and our own people's capitalism

(Continued on page 14)

# Mythical World of Kremlinology

By James Burnham

**T**HE qualification for becoming a recognized expert on Communist and Soviet affairs, competent to syndicate a column, write editorials for leading newspapers or guide governmental policy, is an unbroken record of error. It is not enough for a man to be wrong nine times out of ten: wrong, say, on Yalta, the Hitler-Stalin pact, Alger Hiss, Chinese agrarianism, Mikhailovitch-Tito, Korea, Soviet trade prospects, Castro and Guinea, but right on the San Marino elections. You've got to be wrong every time, or you can't make the grade.

The 100 per cent statistic here, extreme as it sounds, is literal, and there is a rational explanation for this seeming unreason. The errors in analysis, estimate, expectation and proposal all derive from a single root fallacy shared by experts and public: from the failure, unwillingness or inability to recognize that the Communist enterprise as an entirety is unalterably and continuously directed to American destruction. With this bottom truth unseen, a man can be correct on a particular item only by accident, and he will always be wrong in general conclusions and basic attitude. Admitting this truth, we can still make plenty of mistakes about how it applies to this or that, but we have at least a compass to keep us pointed in the right quarter.

Since the blowup of the Summit meeting, the experts have been trying to explain—explain away, rather—the abrupt change in Khrushchev's public manner. It does not occur to them that the reason why they have trouble finding a post-Summit explanation is because their pre-Summit estimate was false. If they had understood that Khrushchev was and is the responsible, disciplined

*(Continued from page 13)*

within the framework of our Constitution provide solid basis for the answer to that question.

Communist capitalism is a gigantic monopoly, so sweeping in its activities that it extinguishes some of our most cherished human rights; our people's capitalism emerges from free decisions freely made. The motivation of communist capitalism is cold-blooded authority—a dictatorship; our free-enterprise capitalism is an expression of the democratic process. Communist capitalism builds upon what a despotic government arbitrarily takes from the people; our voluntary capitalism has its being in the foresight, self-denial, waiting, saving, and investing of free persons. But the point need not be labored. The bedrock difference between the two systems is simply the difference between abject slavery and freedom.

—The Freeman

executive of the Sino-Soviet bloc and the world Communist enterprise, there would have been no great mystery about his Paris behavior. The Communist leadership had come to the conclusion that it was not going to get from the Summit what it had expected—major concessions on Berlin as a minimum—and might be headed for a loss of face in the scheduled negotiations. Therefore no Summit. As simple as that.

But the experts had invented, or swallowed, a mythical Khrushchev who was the leader of a mythical liberalizing tendency which seeks peace, disarmament, coexistence, trade and cultural exchange. Small wonder, then, at their astonishment when they saw in action at Paris—a Bolshevik!

## CHOOSE YOUR ILLUSION

To harmonize this phenomenon with their previously painted Khrushchev-ikon, the experts now ask us to believe that Khrushchev was forced to change his policy and manner by: (1) the May 1 flight of the U-2; (2) the Soviet military; (3) Mikhail Suslov and the unreconciled "Stalinists"; (4) the Chinese.

This rationalizing apparatus was foisted on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "There are indications," it reported, "that Khrushchev's attitude in Paris was due at least in part to pressure from his own military and from the Chinese Communists. There are also indications that Khrushchev, at least before the U-2 incident, was identified with the Soviet advocates of a less aggressive, more cooperative course. If this was true, then it would have been in our interest to have done what we could to strengthen Khrushchev's position vis-a-vis the Soviet military and Chinese Communists."

These ideas have been made so familiar that few of us can accept the fact that they are as insubstantial as the once universally believed ideas of mermaids and dragons.

There is no evidence that the Soviet military has a policy line in conflict with Khrushchev's or any policy line at all, for that matter. The last Soviet soldier who held a top echelon political position—on the Presidium—was the man whom Mr. Eisenhower was deceived into considering his friend, Marshal Zhukov. But Zhukov did not "represent the armed forces." He sat on the Presidium as a qualified Bolshevik, not as a victorious captain. And he was dismissed from both his Presidium seat and his military command without a ripple. The brute-faced Malinovsky is not a Presidium member. Our empty-headed commentators specu-

*(Continued on page 15)*

## Bouquets For Principals: Brickbats For Agents

(From Our Correspondent)

**R**EPLYING to the Foreign Affairs debate in the Rajya Sabha on August 18, Prime Minister Nehru devoted considerable time to a reiteration of India's policy of non-alignment. He said that in spite of his many efforts to make the people understand the policy fully and clearly, some had not understood it. The Prime Minister would have been nearer the mark if he had said that, despite his best efforts to explain his policy, even people who had understood it clearly were showing signs of not having understood it at all. And any one can see that the number of people who do not under-

stand, much less appreciate, that policy, is bound to increase in course of time, since the border dispute with China—the main result of that policy—is, on his own showing, likely to last a long time. Indeed, when the result of a policy condemns that policy, where, in the name of all that is patriotic, is the need of understanding it?

As Mr. Jaswant Singh pointed out, India's neutral position in international affairs had "let down" the interests of the country, the USA was giving military aid to Pakistan and Soviet Russia was giving similar aid to China, with the result that India was sandwiched between those two countries and its position had become like that of a man who tried to ride two horses at the same time. Replying, the Prime Minister observed that the criticism that India had no friends "shows a complete misunderstanding of the situation". He was amazed at this and proceeded to explain how:

(Continued from page 14)

lated that Malinovsky went to Paris to keep an eye on Khrushchev. What he was really there for, of course, was to help Khrushchev intimidate these same commentators, and through them the Western public.

### SCREENS AND DIVERSIONS

So also with the fantasy-sprung "Stalinist faction." What, indeed, is Khrushchev, if not first among Stalinists—the recruit, pupil, instrument and comrade of Stalin, creatively adapting, like Stalin before his senile decay, the classic principles and procedures of the revolution to the demands of given circumstance? Nor is there evidence of any difference between Peiping and Moscow that affects their joined and mutually supporting front against the Free World. The Bucharest Communist Summit, just concluded, showed, or should have shown, how neatly the Moscow coexistence line and the Peiping fire-breathing inevitable-war line supplement rather than contradict each other.

How ridiculous the idea is that the May 1 U-2 flight caused the Summit breakdown. U-2 flights, with Moscow's knowledge, had been going on for four years, but they didn't stop Khrushchev's grin while he believed it to Russia's advantage. If the Kremlin had wanted the Summit, a squadron of U-2s over Russia wouldn't have kept Khrushchev home. No one in the West compelled the Kremlin to publicize the Powers flight. The U-2s are grounded, but the Russians broke up the disarmament talks without worrying about an "excuse." When they decided to quit, they just quit.

This rignarole of the Kremlinologues is nothing but a verbal screen, hiding from them and from the rest of us the simple truth that the only thing we can do about the Communist enterprise, if we are unwilling to surrender, is defeat it.

—National Review

"Take the USA. Our relations with them have been good and they are more friendly to us than ever before. Our relations with the Soviet Union are also more friendly than before. How these two tremendous protagonists of the "cold war" can get on with a very friendly feeling for India is an astonishing thing. I do humbly suggest, of which we should be proud... It is a real friendship."

The USA is doubtless friendly to us, despite Mr. Nehru, because she wants democracy in India to succeed. She could be friendlier by supplying us with the latest arms and weapons free of cost and strengthening us beyond our dreams, but Mr. Nehru will not have them even to save the country, simply because his leadership of the unaligned bloc would thereby be jeopardized. So much for his patriotism, for lack of which he has been condemning the Communists.

### SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

Our relations with the Soviet Union, according to Mr. Nehru, are more friendly than before. Did he mean friendlier than the relations before the Chinese incursions? They are certainly not friendlier in the minds of the people of India, who know that, but for the continuous supply of the latest arms and weapons to China, the latter would not have dared to annex 12,000 square miles of Indian territory. Had Soviet Russia been really friendly to us—and sincere in her professions of peace—she would have plainly told China to stop that nonsense on pain of refusal to give further military aid to her.

She has done nothing of the kind. She continues to make China stronger and stronger every day and Mr. Nehru has the hardihood to say, "Our relations with the Soviet Union are also more friendly than before." All his life Mr. Nehru has been suffering from delusions of his own creation and this Soviet friendship for India is the latest consciously created delusion and is bound to prove the costliest of them all—for the country which, unfortunately, has seldom figured in his calculations. Surely Mr. Nehru knows what real friendship is. He must have heard the saying, "a friend in need is a friend indeed." He must have often heard his father repeat the Persian saying:

*Dost aan bashad ki gerad dust-e-dost*

*Dar parchan haale-o-darmandgi.*

(He is a friend who holds the hand of his friend in time of his distress and misfortune.)

It does not require a very shrewd mind to realise which way the wind is blowing in the Kremlin in the matter of the Sino-Indian border dispute. Much is being done and much more will be done to strengthen the illusion that Russia and China are drifting apart, but is the closing down of a Sino-Russian magazine called *Friendship*, in the face of the gigantic military aid that Russia is giving to China, any indication of that rift? One can always make mountains of molehills but that only shows the weakness of the case—and that is what Government's supporters in the country have been reduced to—but an unbiased mind is inclined to ask Mr. Nehru: "Where is the sense in taking pride in not being allied to military blocs when that very non-alignment places the country in grave jeopardy?" And how can our policy be said to be peaceful when, directly or indirectly, it produces conflict? What are our peaceful motives worth—granting that they are there—if they induce our neighbours to annex our territories? India has always been peaceful that way and has always suffered for it. That is the one great lesson of India's history—the other being that "peacefulness" was always born of putting self above the country. The ancient tradition continues and we continue to applaud it. Mr. Khrushchev is beside himself with rage—not at the spur of the moment, be it noted, but on second thoughts—at the U-2 incident, i.e., at the violation of Soviet air space for an hour or so by an American plane and here is our Prime Minister—who supports the Russian Premier in his reactions—talking of good breeding tying our hands and the background of our culture making our voices low. Good-breeding, culture, tolerance, nonviolence, peacefulness—all these are coming to Mr. Nehru's rescue in his defence of a policy which has jeopardised the integrity of the country. It is difficult to deny the truth of the suggestion that everything anti-national has been part of our goodbreeding and everything unpatriotic has been part of our culture, but if we persist in our ancient ways we cannot escape our ancient fate. The same causes will produce the same effects.

The Prime Minister claims that his policy is right. "We try to keep away from the cold war" he says. The cold war is ostensibly wrong because it includes the word 'war': war is wrong, therefore cold war must be wrong. Good enough argument for his ignorant countrymen. Yet, if he were to persuade his real friend, Khrushchev, to withdraw Soviet troops from Hungary and the other neighbouring states, the cold war will be over. So what is wrong with the cold war, despite its unfortunate name?

### RAY OF HOPE!

Anyway Mr. Nehru has a right to keep away from others' quarrels, even if one of the parties is clearly in the wrong. But to say that "we are therefore a check on the idea of spreading warlike mentality" and "because of this there is a ray of hope in the world" is the height of absurdity. For, who has been spreading warlike mentality in China, in the last resort? The answer is clear. Those who believe in non-alignment, in nonviolence, in tolerating foes, in proclaiming their peaceful intentions and refusing to be prepared for war, in condemning the cold war, in keeping the country friendless in the face of threat of war, and therefore unable to face aggression which—and this is a vicious circle—makes them talk of their high culture and goodbreeding demanding tolerance, nonviolence and peacefulness and all those virtues which kept us slaves for a thousand years and are again paving the way for another slavery. From Mr. Nehru's speeches one would be inclined to think that it is not China with whom Russia is really friendly but India.

Our Prime Minister should realise that it is a matter of life and death for the country which he is trying to transform into a personal and a party question. He should at least try to think nationally, and not in terms of victory or defeat in Parliament for his policy, on a question on which right-thinking, patriotic thinking means survival, and petty thinking and personal thinking means certain disaster which may shake the world and unleash a world war destroying humanity or, without it, result in the country's slavery to Communist China for decades. Let him not deceive his countrymen by sounding patriotic in his oft-repeated condemnation of Indian Communists when he has not the courage to prevent the sinews of war flowing into their hands from the country which, according to Mr. Nehru, is really friendly to us. What kind of friendship is this that in time of our trouble this friendly country is financing a party whose members, according to Mr. Nehru himself, are "roaming about" in the border areas carrying on a campaign against India. What is the cleverness in being angry with agents and being friendly with their principals, at the same time? Is there any sense in it? Is there any patriotism in it? Of course, there is a good deal of applause in it, and that is enough for our Prime Minister. The same old claptrap which landed the country in partition, which was proclaimed to the world as Congress victory in the battle against the forces of

imperialism. And the same single-minded devotion to SELF, persisting in propaganda proclaiming his infallibility, contradicted though it may be again and again by news which cannot be hidden for ever.

(The Prime Minister informed the House that about two months ago early in June there had been an intrusion in the North-East when about 25 Chinese soldiers had come across the border up to a distance of about 4½ miles by forest path before they returned on being spotted, although it was definitely agreed when Premier Chou En-lai was here that India and China would not undertake any kind of patrolling or military effort which might bring the two into conflict. As Dr. Hridaynath Kunzru observed, the latest incursion by Chinese soldiers should not be treated as an isolated incident and that the way things were happening across the border showed that many more such incidents could be expected. But Mr. Nehru has for his chief advisers the principals of agents he is frequently condemning and is not likely to profit by the advice of patriots like Dr. Kunzru. His attack on the Chinese Press, which is only the mouthpiece of the Chinese Government, also shows how he is fighting shy of the whole problem.

#### THE ASSAM PROBLEM

It is indeed unfortunate that there should be recrudescence of trouble in Assam when every one had begun to hope that it was over. The Union Law Minister, Mr. Asoka Sen, who visited Assam on behalf of the Government and who had been sending reports to the Prime Minister, spent more than an hour with him on his return to the Capital. His final report is said to contain many drastic suggestions and favours open as well as secret investments into the activities of the major parties involved in the riots. But, it is being asked here, what if the investigations declare the major parties guilty? Will they be suppressed as in Pakistan? The investigation should really begin with the conduct of the Ministers and their deputies, who can at least be superseded; and their deputies, who can at least be over-rated. The truth is that the Union Government is not prepared to do anything which may prejudice the chances of the Congress returning to power in Assam after the next elections and this may prove to be the root cause of greater trouble in time to come.

Mr. Nehru declared in a speech from the Red Fort on Independence Day that if national interests were subordinated to linguistic, caste and communal considerations, it would be disastrous for the country. Quite true. But what about national interests being subordinated to Party considerations, as is obviously the case in dealing with the tragedy in Assam? The situation seems to demand a national government, but this is again out of the question, as the coming into being of a national government will detract from the dictatorship of Mr. Nehru. The Congress President observed the other day that

it was difficult to maintain democracy in Asia, and it is now obvious that events in India are moving in the direction they were moving in Pakistan before a military dictatorship took over the Government.

#### MR. MENON'S LATEST

According to the Press Trust of India, Mr. Krishna Menon denied in Rajya Sabha that he had in one of his recent speeches stated that India's border defences were "inadequate." The Defence Minister told Mr. Jaswant Singh, "I do not wish to assert that the word 'inadequate' may not have been used, but if it was it would be in a context of urging our people to be vigilant."

---

## Book Review

---

EMMA GOLDMAN by Charles A. Madison: publishers, Libertarian Book Club, New York.

This biographical sketch is issued in the form of a pamphlet to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the death of the American-naturalised but Russian-born Anarchist revolutionary, Emma Goldman, on May 13th 1940. Emma Goldman's life (1869-1940) as depicted in this sketch cannot but impress the reader as one, rich in colour, change and variety. Her life was full of vicissitudes, rising at times to the greatest heights of popularity, name and fame, and at other times, sinking down to the lowest depths of despair, disappointment and misery. In everything that she said and did, she poured out her very heart and soul. In private life also, she gave herself away to friends and lovers with a passionate abandon all her own as she did in the case of a fellow-worker whom she married, divorced, and remarried, being moved by the threat of his suicide. John Most, the American Anarchist, became her leader whom, she 'adored' for his impassioned eloquence and incisive mind. But the same person whom she worshipped, she did not hesitate to lash with a horse-whip at a public meeting in New York and denounce him as a renegade, when he disavowed his own theory of "propaganda of the deed," by deriding another anarchist fellow-worker Berkman's attempt to kill Henry C. Frick who had brutally maltreated workers in the great lockout at the Homestead Plant of The Carnegie Steel Company. She stood by Alexander Berkman, her friend and lover resolutely, as in her eyes, he was "the idealist whose humanity can tolerate no injustice and endure no wrong."

#### HOW EMMA BECAME AN ANARCHIST

Being disgusted with the oppressive atmosphere at home and in the factory at Petersburg where she had to work since her age of thirteen, Emma thought of escaping with her sister Helena to Rochester in America "the heaven of freedom and equality" to

join another married sister. Within a short time of her arrival in 1886, she took up a job in the sweat-shop like other penniless immigrants, on a weekly miserable wage of two dollars and a half for sixty-three hours of work and having experienced personally the exploitation of workers, she came to hate the social system which permitted it. Her disillusionment became all the greater by the news of some anarchists having been tried at Chicago and hanged as spics, though it was widely believed that they were innocent. Her blood boiled at this injustice and she threw herself from that time into the Anarchist movement.

Her loveless married life and dreary life at the sweat-shop, led her to change the scene of her activity. In 1889, at the age of 20 she left for New York. Here she developed an intimate acquaintance with Alexander Berkman, a doctrinaire Anarchist, which lasted till the death of the latter in 1935. Thenceforth she became a powerful agitator and speaker. She organised strikes with great skill. During the incarceration of Berkman, she took upon herself the onerous duties of holding Committee Sessions, public meetings, collection of foodstuffs etc., in the unemployment crisis of 1893. She was jailed for 'inciting' people to riots for two years. On her release, she went to Europe and after qualifying herself as a nurse, she returned to New York in 1896 and resumed her activities. For the next twenty years she devoted herself to propagating the Doctrine of Anarchism throughout the continent.

#### HER LIBERTARIANISM

From 1905-1917, she edited a monthly journal 'Mother Earth' till the Postal Censor put an end to it on the eve of the First World War. She brought out, besides, other writings such as "Anarchism and other Essays" and "Modern Drama." The one passion that consumed her throughout was that of carrying on a relentless fight on behalf of "the individual or the groups of individuals against the state or even against the society i.e., against the majority subdued or hypnotised by the state or State Worship." Her definition of anarchism was brief and to the point. To her it was "the philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestrained by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence and are therefore wrong, harmful, as well as unnecessary." In 1934, she expressed her confidence about the future of Anarchism in these words, "I am certain that anarchism is too vital and too close to human nature to die. When the failure of modern dictatorships and authoritarian philosophies become apparent—anarchism will be vindicated." She described Anarchist Communism as 'a social arrangement based on the principle' to each according to his needs; to each according to his ability. But it must be remembered that though the principle was then accepted by Marxian Communists, she and other anarchists differed from Marxian Communists, in their strong opposition to cen-

tralised authority and in their advocacy of complete decentralisation and the Supremacy of the Individual.

She was opposed to all wars unless they were for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism. Therefore in 1917, during the World War, she was again imprisoned and on her release in 1919, she was deported to Russia along with her co-worker and friend Berkman, as being foreigners. This pair had also to leave Russia only after eight months' stay, being greatly stunned and depressed at the ruthless dictatorship of Lenin and his party. Thereafter, they went from country to country as homeless wanderers, to Sweden, Germany, Canada and France. In 1932, in France, she wrote her famous autobiography 'Living My Life.' In 1934, she visited The United States with special permission on a lecture tour for ninety days during which she denounced Fascism and also condemned Bolshevism which was to her 'only left-wing Fascism.' In the Spanish War of 1938, her restless spirit took her to Spain to help the workers. In 1939, she returned to Canada where she drew her last breath on May 13th 1940 "clinging to her revolutionary ideas."

This life-sketch is couched in a style, simple, direct and yet arresting. Her life, filled as it was with romantic episodes, heroic deeds and unflinching idealism could be aptly described as having been nobly lived and even grandly fulfilled. The author befittingly ends the sketch with the words of Ibsen, which Emma herself quoted, before she was deported to Russia in 1919—"It is struggle for the ideal that counts rather than the attainment of it" and truly observes that these words may be her epitaph.

This pamphlet will also help the general reader in having a glimpse into the working of the minds of the much-maligned anarchists who are often "more sinned against than sinning."

—V. Yogeswara Rao

## Gleanings from the Press

### THE UNITY OF INDIA THROUGH ENGLISH

The unity and the smooth running of life in India with its fifteen or more languages require the continuance of the medium which the people have been managing with, for the last many progressive decades viz., English. It is fallacious to mix up feelings of reverence, pride or classical love to interfere with a question of mere mechanical present purpose. Let us not choose the official language for Central and inter-State purposes, as a young man chooses a sweet-heart, but on more reasonable if less romantic considerations.

No one will question the use of any language that finds its natural premier position in the bazaar and the common places of human intercourse. Let

it be what is best suited for that purpose. But when we come to administration and policies of large import, the conversation, be it speech or be it writing, between State and State and therefore at the Centre must be through a medium that has hitherto served well and will continue to serve well with ease and with the least output of fresh human energy, voluntary, or compulsory. I claim it is English and English alone.

What is the public answer to the question? We have it already. No referendum can give a truer answer than the present circulation of newspapers in India. The English language dominates easily in that field and without any political or party interference. The papers published in the English language command by far the largest circulation, and this is growing every day and not diminishing, even when we are engaged in controversy over the imminent ascendance of Hindi on the throne. All newspapers that may be classified as All-India papers are running in English. Not a single Hindi paper can claim to be of All-India character. What more proof can we find or demand for the concrete reality of fitness and expediency? That the most convenient and the most efficient medium for the discussion of policies of administration and State business is English is proved conclusively by the newspapers test. I called to witness this same dumb but convincing fact some time ago publicly and there was no answer or counter-claim. There is no answer possible.

—C. Rajagopalachari in "Swarajya"

## Periscope

### WHERE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE FAILS

It is reported that the police have so far recovered hundred Rupee notes worth over twelve lakhs at Coimbatore printed by an enterprising industrialist. Perhaps the enterpriser is not aware that note-printing is a field in which free competition is not allowed and the sole prerogative for note-printing lies with the Government of India which runs an efficient Security Printing Press at Nasik sometimes working overtime in the process of turning out billions of rupees. Normally the government which upholds the theory that the more money in circulation the more purchasing power the people will have, should have no objection to an excessive quantity of notes: but then it cannot tolerate an industrial rival in its trade of note-printing which is a serious business that should not be left in the hands of ordinary mortals.

### THE TAKING-OFF STAGE

According to information given to the Legislative Council Andhra Pradesh by the Home Minister, Mr. K. V. Ranga Reddy, 2300 persons in Andhra Pradesh committed suicide last year, the chief causes being poverty, unemployment and indebtedness. He said that the number of men who ended their lives was 1027 and the number of women 1,265.

Reports from other states also reveal similar cases of suicide on a large-scale. Apparently these victims of socialistic planning could no longer tolerate the tyranny of oppressive taxes and rising prices. And being determined not to wait until our economy reaches the "take off stage" forced a "take off" on themselves to the other world.

### DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS

Those who claim that India's "high prestige" in the world is solely due to our Panch-sheela nostrums do little justice to our diplomats who peddle our good will abroad. The success of our diplomats lies in their ability to achieve things where others fail (Congressmen excepted). One of the rare abilities of our diplomats consists in outbeating Henry Ford and General Motors in making profits out of automobiles. For instance a senior diplomat sold his 1960 model Chevrolet in Delhi for 80,000 early this month, thus making a profit of over Rs. 62,000 in a single deal, the manufacturer's price being Rs. 10,000. Another diplomat assigned to a West Asian country sold his 1957 model Chevrolet to a car dealer for Rs. 45,000. In April a diplomat sold a 1958 Chevrolet for Rs. 51,000. The import of foreign cars into India being banned by the government, the diplomats can hope to convert the import permits granted to them by virtue of their special status, into a lucrative trade. With such talented diplomats at the command of our Indian embassies all over the world, we should not be surprised if "India's prestige abroad" reaches the moon long before space-man arrives there.

—:o:—

### THINGS THEY SAY

It's strange how unimportant your job is when you're asking for a rise, and how important it can be when you want a day off.

—New York Mirror

\* \* \* \* \*  
Of course women make fools of men—but they get lots of cooperation!

—L. Matheson

\* \* \* \* \*  
I wouldn't help much for me to see myself as others see me. I simply wouldn't believe it.

—Kiwai Magazine

\* \* \* \* \*  
The wise husband meets a marital crisis with a firm hand—full of candy and flowers.

—Wingfoot Clan

\* \* \* \* \*  
Jumping to conclusions doesn't make for happy landings.

\* \* \* \* \*  
We drink to one another's health and spoil our own.

—J. K. Jerome

\* \* \* \* \*  
The man strongly possessed of an idea is the master of all who are uncertain or wavering. Clear, deep, living convictions rule the world.

## WIN A PRIZE !

A prize of Rs. 100/- will be awarded for anyone who sends us an essay not exceeding 50 typed pages on:

### THE ORIGIN OF CASTE-SYSTEM AND ITS ROLE IN BRINGING FOREIGN RULE IN INDIA

The essay must clearly indicate the evil wrought by the caste-system created by Brahminism

The next best essay will be awarded a prize of Rs. 50/-  
It must be type-written, double-spaced on one side only,  
and must reach us by 15th October 1960.

Write to:

The Secretary,  
Libertarian Social Institute  
Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,  
BOMBAY 4.

## THE DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS

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



Write to:

THE MANAGER  
DUNCAN ROAD FLOUR MILLS  
BOMBAY 4

Telephone: 70205

Telegram: **LOTEWALLA**