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## EDITORIAL

### INDEPENDENCE DAY.

Independence Day was observed as usual in Delhi and provincial capitals with subdued enthusiasm. Few people go to the extreme position of saying that freedom has not been worthwhile at all nor that it has been *real*, for the British tricked us into accepting partition and creation of Pakistan. But many people do feel that with Goa still out of our control and Pakistan becoming so recalcitrant and hostile, menacing ever our security and the Kashmir problem still remaining unsolved, our independence has lost much of its savour.

To add to these external difficulties, we have now the eclipsing disgrace and peril of the Chinese Red armies occupying 1200 square miles of our territory in Ladakh, an annexation that took place four years ago but of which the Prime Minister kept the country in the dark. The Chinese may come down into the plains any day. The citizen has no reasonable assurance that he can be held at bay and turned back in the sub-Himalayan plains.

To add to this military danger, we find that in the two wings of the country in the Northwest and Northeast Pakistan has entrenched itself as a sovereign State. *Our gates are in its control!*

The military situation cannot be worse from standpoint of defence. But yet the Prime Minister remains cool and unruffled carrying on as before, surveying

world affairs from China to Peru, sending troops to distant Congo, hinting at the recognition of the provisional rebel Government (so-called) of Algeria, irrespective of what France may think of us, enthusing about his grandiose Five Year Plans and ignoring the swelling discontent of the people on account of rising prices, nepotism and extravagance in public expenditure.

Internal troubles in Assam and the Punjab also threaten disruption.

(a) *Assam.* The Chief Minister at last admits to alarming incursions of East Pakistanis into Assam during the Census operations. The Muslim Finance Minister minimises the numbers as also the Prime Minister who makes light of the peril to Assam of the resulting condition of Pakistani Muslim majority in the border districts.

The recent Hailankandi riots when ten thousand people from around the town, largely Muslims, attacked it to the cry of the slogan—Pakistan zindabad are also ominous.

It is said that in Cachar after the Census the proportion of Muslims has risen from 22% to 55%.

Yet the Prime Minister poohpoohs the idea of any Muslim-Pakistani move to *Pakistanise* this area by infiltration.

The naive faith in Shaik Abdullah that the Prime Minister showed in the face of evidence is rehearsing

itself in Assam.

In Madras, the separatist movements of the various Dravida, Kazagams continue unchecked. Chief Minister Nadar is relying on their support during the next elections. He is far from any thoughts of checking their anti-national activities and sentiments.

Another disintegrating movement stems from the State Governments' policies, particularly in Mysore of reserving seats in schools and colleges to scheduled castes and tribes and other backward and "greater backward classes" amounting to 80 per cent of the population, omitting only the unfortunate Bratmin class. Government jobs are also reserved for them. Not only jobs but also promotions are ear-marked for them. In Andhra State places in Government service are kept vacant for years until suitable backward class candidates are forthcoming. It is enough if the candidate belongs to the required backward community and has only *minimum qualifications*.

It is no wonder that qualified teachers and doctors refuse to go to small towns and rural places on these terms if the Democle's sword of dismissal hangs over their heads when the men of the favoured community appear on the scene.

The State governments and Pradesh Congress leaders are behaving as if *castes are self-sufficient societies* each with *claims to sovereignty* or a share in the sovereignty of the nation. Here is sovereignty of the nation treated as infinitely *divisible* in units of patronage.

How can *national solidarity* grow under these conditions?

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The Congress Committee on National Integration presided over by Mrs. Indira Gandhi has moved only within the circle of these limited anti-national ideas and has been unable to rise to the vision of integral All-India national solidarity, *each man counting as one and no one as more than one* which is the basic principle of democracy.

To add to this lack of integral vision, the Committee recommends *privileges* to minorities (mostly Muslims) which is bound to arouse resentment in the other communities who will naturally feel aggrieved at this favoured treatment.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has made a long and passionate exhortation to the nation from the Red Fort on Independence Day to foster national unity.

But he should note how his Governments in the Centre and in the States are *subverting* national solidarity by their policy of favouritism to classes and communities at the cost of merit and justice. Justice in the administration is the foundation of national unity. This is essential but *not enough*. But without this, no amount of superficial remedies will help to foster the roots of unity. It will only create a facade of unity which will crack at the first touch of difficulty.

### IDEOLOGY OF UNITY. THE NATION ONE AND INDIVISIBLE

Nothing by way of national unity can be achieved in the absence of an ideology of unity accepted emotionally by all classes of the people, irrespective of religion and educational status, economic rank, region, historical memory and theological leadership.

The Muslim Convention held recently at Delhi was supposed to be sponsored by *national Muslims* as contrasted with Muslims of the League Mentality who have a number of organisations of their own more bigotted than the League. The Jame-Islami is one of them. It has been stated by those in the know that it is a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood of Palestine whose Syrian and Egyptian branches were ruthlessly suppressed by President Nasser. They are wedded to unscrupulous violence and ruthless and fanatic devotion to Islamic imperialism.

The old Khaksars are also reviving their activities in the U. P.

Mr. Santhanam, Congress leader, some time Central Minister and Governor of Madhya Pradesh, writing in *The Hindu* on Independence Day pointed out obstacles to national integration, the chief of which was in his opinion the absence of a common ideology. But the common ideology he was thinking of was one as between Gandhism and Nehruism!

He neglected the far more urgently required common ideology which was one to be shared between Hindu and Muslim, which is notoriously absent today and has been absent throughout the period of the struggle for national liberation in the Gandhian era!

The Muslims were finally influenced by leaders who opted for Muslim Rule in a part of India carved out of Hindusthan.

The Hindus on the other hand were prevented from feeling like Hindus in Hindusthan and were forced to acquiesce in a nonexistent common nationalism as between Muslim and Hindu.

This was the blunder that led straight to Partition and is preparing the ground for fresh partition!

Nagaland is only a future forerunner of this trend—being but Christhisthan.

Emphasise culture and history and we are bound to divide India into many societies each with a different historical memory and different aspiration for the future. It is therefore essential to *emphasise the future as a Land of freedom and unity*, and social solidarity. The social and human content of this society can be the ideals of the Preamble of the Constitution: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Justice. These can be seen to be spelled out into the fundamental rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and all the conditions of the good life with personal freedoms and social assistance for the realisation of human interests such as property in home, education of self and children, recreation, movement and occupation, association, expression of thought and speech, freedom of assembly in peace, freedom of worship etc., etc., which are the ingredients of modern free economy and free society. A common ideology in these terms can be worked out in law and constitution and guaranteed by government and parliamentary procedure. Personal differences in religion and art and marriage and social life can be left free to the individual sphere.

This way solves the problem of solidarity and removes hindrances in the way of progress, bypassing religion and sect, region and language.

#### ABNORMAL FLOODS

The Government and all social service institutions should have availed themselves of this opportunity to mobilise fraternal feelings for nationals in distress. A widespread organisation for affording relief to the victims of flood disaster could have been developed. Nothing develops social solidarity so much as sympathetic sharing of sorrow and distress and participation in common works of relief. Like President Kennedy's Peace Corps, Indians from all parts of India, particularly the North could have participated in this relief work showing solidarity with the South in a substantial way. The opportunity for magnificent emotional integration passed or is passing without being used and this is a pity. This shows that our nationalism is yet inchoate and vague and theoretical.

#### ON THE WAY TO SERFDOM?

During this period of earth's history, in which one would normally expect an ever widening ex-

tension of individual freedom from economic intervention by Government, the exact opposite is occurring. The people of the communist nations (about half of earth's population are completely dominated by the politicians and bureaucrats. But even in the so-called free world, government economic intervention is either increasing or threatening to increase.

One would naturally think that the overwhelmingly superior economic welfare and living standards in the free market nations would be sufficient evidence to discredit political controls, but we must remember that it has only been about 150 years since earthman developed his industrial society and he still confuses cause and effect.

Most individuals do not actually favor political intervention in economic affairs but nevertheless are fearful of being without it.

This attitude is bolstered by the dramatic interventions of government during cyclical downswings in economic activity and gainful employment. These interventions usually prevent or delay the corrections in the price and inventory structure that are essential to the resumption of normal production and exchange. They attempt to prevent the consequences of poor judgment. And when the correction has been made there is always the impression that the recovery resulted from government intervention. It is like recovering from an illness despite the wrong medication.

There is another psychological block to full support of the free market. Most of those people who defend it have placed themselves in a position of having to prove that it is perfect. They seldom mention that freedom includes the freedom to make mistakes. In the pursuit of all other personal goals this fallibility is acknowledged, but the politically ambitious champions of intervention have been successful in projecting the idea that, because the free market is not perfect, its freedom must be curtailed.

Most of the people of the freeworld do not fully accept this notion but are sufficiently impressed to favor government controls that presumably prevent serious mistakes by private enterprise. Thus the free market is not permitted to achieve its full potential.

Obviously the chief reason for this confusion is that the true nature and mechanics of the free market have not been popularly described for the layman. Up until recently the literature of economics was limited to technical writings far beyond mass understanding.

During recent years some excellent simplified literature has appeared and has been well received. Should this be vigorously applied in the educational process, it could bring about an understanding of the roles of freedom and intervention in man's economic life. If this is not done the critics of the free market will probably prevail.

—Bureau of Economic and Political Information.

# National Ideals And Social Forces

By M. A. Venkata Rao

**T**ODAY the consciousness of the need for national unity and social cohesion pervading the entirety of the people of the country is spreading to wider circles of thinking people. Mature nations need not dwell consciously on ideals and social forces an excessive pre-occupation with which is not a sign of health. But in the early stages of the formation and growth of national solidarity and social unity, a conscious canvass and education of the people at large, not merely at school and college, is inescapable. Conscious attention and direction are inevitable in the early phases of habit formation, as in learning skills like typewriting and cycling or motor driving. After the skill is mastered, the system of movements involved will work almost automatically with a minimum of explicit attention. So in social growth, conscious deliberation and preaching and learning of the emotions and attitudes constituting nationalism and social cohesion are a necessary phase until they become a part of national character with certain psychological dispositions in-built into its pattern of ideas and motivation. To the British and other advanced nations, the constant reference of Indian leaders and publicists to national ideals and their frequent exhortations to the people to develop national unity may seem immature, abnormal and unhealthy. But today in India at the stage we find ourselves in as an old people having to develop into a modern nation, such conscious canvass of national ideals is inevitable. It is only with time that they become unnecessary as the required habits, customs, dispositions and sentiments become part of the national mind and from the background of the varying moods of public opinion on questions of importance from day to day.

The report of the Congress Committee on National Integration and the proposals of the Government to give effect to its recommendations on new amendments to the criminal procedure code and election rules penalising the excitation of class hatreds and communal divisions are occasioning some discussion of the problems of nation-making among the politically conscious circles of the nation. But the orientation of the discussion is dominated too much by party considerations to be healthy. This prevents their thinking from going to the roots of the problem involving history, psychology and the permanent principles directing the growth of society and state involved in nation-building.

Nations are not built to order—it is true enough. But a conscious directing of public attention to certain ideas, and ideals and a conscious evocation of certain emotions charged with urgent social values making for unity and devotion to public weal do have an effect of consolidation of national energies and promoting national integration.

Recent history provides many examples of such successful leadership in the making of nations or transformation of sleepy, many-centred groups with a vague inherited social culture into monolithic, dynamic, vigorous, purposeful, modern nations that came ultimately to have a great impact on other nations and changed the course of history.

The French Revolution itself is an example of such a creative leadership, though it was accompanied with much destruction and subversion of the old order. Voltaire, Diderot and other encyclopaedists of the previous generation and stimulated a wide-spread efflorescence of intellectual effort, a veritable spring-time of reason. Rousseau added the note of emotion and supplied the content of democracy and republicanism with their accent on the nobility of man as man. He also drew attention powerfully to the great examples of republican virtue and devotion to the public good on the part of the Roman citizens and leaders in the best period of Rome.

French leaders in the epoch of the Revolution spoke enthusiastically of Roman personalities and modelled themselves on their example. But Jacobinism soon ruined the experiment but the stirring emotions of the new national song La Marsellaise and of the great watch-words—liberty, equality and fraternity had a durable effect and were wrought into the new democratic constitutions which were not annulled even by the dictatorship of Bonaparte. The accepted national ideals became permanent *social forces* not only of France but of Europe and of the world generally. The Indian constitution has adopted them in its Preamble adding the word *justice* to do duty for the Indian heritage connoted by *dharma*.

Germany was divided into a hundred states of whom Prussia was the biggest. They all collapsed before the onslaughts of Napoleon's revolutionary armies. The humiliating experience made German thinkers do some agonising reflection. Under the lead of the Prussian monarchy, they revolved a plan for the many-sided revival of Germany as a single great nation inspired by nationalism and constitutionalism, if not democracy. They paid great attention to education and sent teachers to Switzerland to learn the new methods of Pestalozzi. They set up a system of national schools and universities and stimulated science and industry all round. It was a deliberate process of nation-making by directing the attention of the people to accepted ideals and firing their imagination with noble objectives of devotion to the nation. Fichte gave stirring Addresses to the German nation which stirred their sleeping patriotism in terms that recall to us the *karma yoga* of the Bhagavadgita. Hegel gave a philosophy that gave a vision of world history as the expression of the

world spirit in freedom with Germany as the latest exponent of European civilisation and supported the idea of the nation-state as the bearer of a historical mission.

Later Nietzsche gave an anti-democratic and aristocratic twist to German nationalism by his doctrine of *The Will to Power*. This book became a Bible of German Youth and its poison fruits were reaped later under the Kaiser and Hitler. But the fact remains that it is possible for leaders to seize hold of the national imagination and emotion powerfully by the presentation of attractive ideals that call forth their devotion and absorb their energies. Powerful nations are built in this way.

Another recent example apart from that of Italian Fascism and Russian Communism is the remaking of Japan in the last quarter of the nineteenth century into a powerful modern nation by the devoted and concentrated leadership of the new clan leaders who came to power after removing the ancient ruling Samurai family of the Shaluns. They Westernised Japan through intelligent imitation of science, industrial methods, technology, education and political institutions. But they retained their patriotism, social sentiments and reverence for their Emperor who was a symbol of the old order.

Today we in India are in a similar stage of nation building. But the leaders at the helm have not shown themselves sufficiently aware of the possibilities of this psychology of national statesmanship. They allowed fissiparous tendencies to grow unchecked all these years after independence and are not belatedly waking up to the problem of preserving and strengthening national unity. But even now they have not envisaged the problem on the broad plane of nation-making on the lines of Europe and Japan, just mentioned. They have started on the process from the standpoint of preserving party superiority by appeasing Muslims and other minorities!. To please backward groups, they have adopted the disintegrating policy of dividing State patronage into hundreds of channels of sects and groups on the grounds of backwardness and "greater backwardness"!.

In India we have had a ferment during the nineteenth century from the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Roy's work partook of a religious *reformation* as he was impressed with the monotheism of Islam. He studied the Upanishads and started teaching their universal and rational ideas of cosmic spiritualism which transcended the polytheism of the Vedas. The result was the Brahma Samaj, a new reformed sect without caste and without image worship. The Samaj of Swami Dayanand went to the Vedas for inspiration and stressed the monotheistic interpretation in many hymns but retained the fire sacrifice, *homa* dropping animal offerings, using only butter and ghee instead. But his contribution was the extension of Vedic privilege to untouchables, women and sudras thus universalising it. The new sects abolished many old bad practices such as suttee and prohibition of widow remarriage. The leading notes were humanism, return to the spirit of the injunctions, universalism and nationalism.

Next we have Swami Vivekananda spreading broadcast the vital ideas of the Vedanta and dharma and social ideas of surviving validity in the interests of a spiritual nationalism. He did this in modern language in terms intelligible and appealing to the educated modern Indian who wished to preserve whatever was of permanent worth in the past.

Sri Aurobindo developed a re-interpretation of the Vedic philosophy (vedanta) in his *Life Divine* and of the Bhagavad Gita in his *Essays*. They adumbrated a new spiritual nationalism accommodating a broad universalism. He popularised the Yoga as a form of self-discipline and education. He used the modern doctrine of evolution to give a picture of the stages of social and cultural evolution leading up to an age of the super-man and even super-nature. The old ritual was dethroned from its role of magical efficacy. Moral and social ideals including national service and national power were substituted in its place.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak wrote a commentary on the Gita in a spirit of national service and patriotism using the appeal of the old gospel of *karma yoga* or disinterested action: *nishkama karma*.

Lala Lajpat Rai seconded all these efforts from the Punjab but added a vast educational effort together with an effective programme of the uplift of untouchables on Aryasamaj principles.

Mahatma Gandhi used all these national revival methods, images and symbols and set an example of whole-time devoted activity for national freedom depending entirely on the public for livelihood for himself, family and his followers—ashramites and others.

In this period of the struggle for national liberation the ideals of a free society and nation advancing in all dimensions—Science, the arts and crafts, modern industries and social service ending in better distribution of the goods of life became acclimatised as accepted national ideals. They became *special forces*.

Gandhi spoke of *Rama Rajya* to indicate these social ideals and forces.

But Jawaharlal Nehru introduced the leaven of Marxist Socialism. Gandhi ignored it so long as he bowed to his authority but after independence, after Gandhi and Patel passed away, Nehru has had his own way. He has jettisoned the old cultural nationalism with its roots in a renovated culture and has made Congress, parliament and the country accept the "socialist pattern of society" as the sole social ideal and force, sole national goal of policy.

But unfortunately it is a replica of the Russian model in every particular except (in intention) the dictatorship of communism.

The country is at the cross-roads today.

Is India to shake herself free of the shackles of Marxist socialism-communism of the Russian model

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# The Fat Is In The Fire

By M. N. Tholal

ON the day Master Tara Singh began his fast unto death, there was one thought uppermost in the minds of all those who are conversant with the background of the fast and that was: Master Tara Singh would not have even threatened a fast unto death had Sardar Patel been alive, or a man of his determination and calibre been in charge of the destinies of the nation. In other words, and it is an open secret, Master Tara Singh has been banking on the softness of Mr. Nehru. In yet other words, if Mr. Nehru had declared firmly and unequivocally that there would be no Punjabi Suba at least till the Congress Government headed by him is in power, Master Tara Singh would have thought a thousand times before risking his life by a fast unto death, and every time he would have come to the conclusion that a fast unto death under the circumstances would be nothing short of pure suicide.

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and to go back to pre-Nehru ideals of nationalism and democracy?

But what is the *social content* of such nationalism and democracy?

Nationalism in sociological effect is an inheritor of the psychology and emotion of the joint family. It extends the kinship emotions to the members of the larger society formed by the merger and amalgamation of several tribes.

This process is not complete in India as the survival of caste feelings show.

A great and necessary national ideal is to effect a mixture of blood through inter-marriage so that a common nationalism may be strengthened. National unity will be incomplete until this is done and marriage becomes an individual matter and not a matter of families, castes and *gotras*.

The result must be that no man should feel that he is alone and an orphan in misfortune. He must feel that he is one of a family of 430 millions all bound up with one another as limbs of one organism.

The sociological meaning of democracy is equality which expresses itself in a continual remoulding of institutions in every sphere of life until equality of opportunity as between citizen and citizen is no longer a mockery as it is today but a living principle of social dynamics and administration.

Then the fundamental rights will begin to articulate the conditions of human realisation and become powerful social forces. To convert national ideals (of liberty, equality, fraternity, justice and fundamental rights) into living social forces is the function of statesmanship and of educated leadership generally in every walk of life.

When all is said and done, Master Tara Singh has no case from the patriotic point of view, and any one who says or thinks that the patriotic point of view should not override all other points of view is a traitor to his country. Master Tara Singh has no case because he knows—and no one knows it better—that, whether he wills it or not, the Punjabi Suba of his conception would only be a stepping stone to an independent Sikh state, of at least all the Sikhs of the Punjabi Suba and even outside it would insist on putting their shoulders to the wheel to transform the Punjabi Suba into an independent Sikh state. Expediency demands that this salient aspect of the matter should be suppressed by those who are demanding Punjabi Suba; and it is being suppressed. But that does not mean that every Sikh, like every Hindu, does not, feel the truth of it in his bones.

## HOMELAND AND FREEDOM.

Whatever he may say now, Master Tara Singh has made his demand amply clear. "The Hindus got Hindustan," he said for years, "the Muslims got Pakistan. What did the Sikhs get?" If the question means anything, it means that the Sikhs are an entity separate from the Hindus, and as such they deserve a "homeland" of their own. And if his intentions were not made amply clear by his demand for a "homeland", he has been going farther and saying, "what we want is Azadi. The Sikhs have no Azadi. We will fight for our Azadi with full force. Even if we have to revolt, we will revolt to win our Azadi." (The quotation is from the official stenographer's transcript of the proceedings of a meeting between Master Tara Singh and Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, then Chief Minister of Punjab.) In the homeland of the Sikhs, it has been stated times without number, the Sikh religion will be supreme and the Sikhs will predominate and rule.

It is almost inconceivable that Mr. Nehru could have had prolonged negotiations with Sant Fateh Singh if he had before him some of these blood-boiling utterances of Master Tara Singh before him. (This casual manner of dealing with major issues may not bespeak a high sense of responsibility in our Prime Minister, but there is no denying that it has become a habit with him, carrying him on the wings of his multifarious moods.) Master Tara Singh's case is based on a tissue of lies. "I do not want to die" he says, "but while living, I do not want to see the Sikh Panth **INSULTED** and the Sikhs treated as inferior to their communities." Who has insulted the Sikh Panth? It is no use waiting for an answer, because it will never come, but it is upon the assumption of the Sikh Panth having been insulted, that Master Tara Singh wants a Punjabi Suba—to protect the Panth. It is only after gaining the Punjabi Suba that it will dawn on Master Tara Singh and his followers that a Sikh army is necessary for the

protection of the Panth, and its protector, the Punjabi Suba!

### A PAMPERED COMMUNITY

No community in India has been so pampered as the Sikhs and their share of the loaves and fishes of office and business and industry is beyond all proportion to their population. The Sikhs form 30 per cent of the population of the state Punjab. In a seven-man Cabinet four, including the chief Minister, are Sikhs. The Speaker of the State Assembly is a Sikh. The Chairman of the Upper Chamber is a Sikh. The Chairman of the Public Services Commission is a Sikh. The executive of the State Congress Party is predominantly Sikh—among them the President, one of the general secretaries and more than 50 per cent of the members of the working Committee being Sikhs. Similarly the leaders of the Swatantra and CPI parties are generally Sikhs. In the state's administrative services the Sikhs are over-represented in almost all departments of the Government, while they dominate the police and agriculture departments. Of the 17 secretaries of the Punjab Government, nine are Sikhs, six Hindus and two Christians. Out of 18 Superintendants of Police 11 are Sikhs. The Inspector-General of Police and his Deputy are Sikhs. Two out of three Financial Commissioners are Sikhs. In the country where the Sikhs form 1.7 per cent of the population a Minister of Cabinet rank, a Deputy Minister and the Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha are Sikhs. In the Army 15.1 per cent of the other ranks and 21.7 per cent of officers are Sikhs.

We should have no truck with liars and give them the impression that their lying is proving fruitful. All these lies are being broadcast by the Akali Dal with the knowledge that the masses of the ignorant Sikh peasants will swallow them. Here is an Akali Dal resolution which speaks for itself:

"Ever since the Congress leaders have come to supreme political power in the country, they have dealt with and treated the Sikhs as if they were an alien people under the heels of a conquering race and colonial power, invested with the mission of subjugating and absorbing subcultural peoples. It is from this basic attitude that gross discrimination against, and sustained oppression of, the Sikh individuals and masses has proceeded in post-partition India as a consequence of which the growing unrest, continuous agitation and spiritual tribulations of the Sikhs have marked the Indian scene during the last twelve years and more."

There is by implication a hint in the resolution that the Congress leaders and their followers belong to a particular community like the Brahmins and are out to subjugate others. Even the most vehement opponents of the Congress cannot, without being altogether untruthful, charge that body with that type of communalism, for in the Congress there are members of all communities, without any community predominating by virtue of its caste or religion. Indeed,

the charge against the Congress has been that, in order to gain Sikh votes, it has been pampering the Sikhs in the Punjab and statistics reproduced in brief above fully support that charge. The Hindus of Punjab, particularly of the Punjabi region, where the Sikhs predominate are more loudly opposed to the Sikhs than the Hindus of the Hindi region. The former doubtless have their reasons in Sikh fanaticism, which the latter and the Hindus elsewhere do not feel. These baseless charges made against the Congress Government, and by implication against the majority community, have been publicised in the country and outside it among the Sikhs in particular, on the principle, doubtless, that if you only throw enough mud at a person some is likely to stick.

### APPEAL TO HINDU SENTIMENT!

And yet Master Tara Singh has the effrontery to appeal to Hindu sentiment. The Hindus have responded to Master Tara Singh's appeal in the only manner they should have done. One of their leaders, Swami Rameshwaranand, has gone on an indefinite fast as a counterblast to Master Tara Singh's fast and I have not the least doubt that almost in every Hindu home three cheers have gone up for Swami Rameshwaranand. In any case, his fast is receiving equal publicity side by side with that of Master Tara Singh. I feel like taking my hat off to Swami Rameshwaranand, although, as an agnostic, I have all my life been averse to having any truck with Swamis and Mahatmas, who have always been suspect in my eyes. (After I had nonco-operated from M.A. Final, Dr. Morarilal Rohatgi of Kanpur, a Congress leader of my hometown, wanted to introduce me to Mahatma Gandhi, who was putting up with him early in 1922. I advanced a few paces with him towards a spot where Gandhi was resting in his loin cloth. The loin cloth upset me and I had myself excused. Dr. Morarilal thought I was feeling shy, but the truth was that I recoiled at the sight of a man in loin cloth—such was my repugnance for the garb of holiness and piety) I can visualise the Sikhs gnashing their teeth at the side-by-side reports of the daily progress of the fasts of the two leaders.

The Hindu leader has done his duty, but our Prime Minister has still to do his. Now that the fat is in the fire, it is the obvious duty of the Prime Minister not to minimise the harm the fast can do. There can be no denying that the fast can do a lot of harm, the Sikhs being what they are—an inflammable community. Nor can it be taken for granted that Master Tara Singh's followers will not try to inflame Sikh feelings in order to bring about rioting and disturbances. For, to allow Master Tara Singh and his successors to die without any violence disturbing the peace of Punjab, is to make the fast an utter failure. After all the threat of Master Tara Singh lies in the consequences in the wake of his death as a result of the fast. If there are no consequences beyond the death of a few leaders, the fast unto death would prove a damp squib. Not only that. The fasters will become the laughing stock of the people, including the Sikhs.

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# Integration

By P. Kodanda Rao

INDIA has every reason to be proud of the progress, both absolute and relative, that she has made since independence in all branches of national activity, agricultural, industrial, social, scientific and political as well as international. One indicator of it is the rise in the expectation of life from 32 in 1941 to 47 in 1961, in spite of the great increase in population. Another is the premium that the Indian rupee commands in the neighbouring countries. Most gratifying of all is the survival of democracy in India while in many other countries in the world dictatorship, often seized by military usurpers, has displaced it, sometimes by violent revolution. India counts high in international affairs, and her opinion is respected and her support is canvassed. There is thus much to be thankful for and to rejoice over.

But the rose is not without its thorns. Progress has been accompanied and slowed down by handicaps and dangers to her national integrity. Fissiparous tendencies have attained most disconcerting pro-

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During a visit to the Prime Minister soon after independence, I heard him shouting at the top of his voice at a few Hindu refugees from Dehra Dun: "*Aap kya samajhte hain...Yeh Government hae. Golion se urha denge.*" ("What do you think? This is Government. We'll blow you up with bullets.") The provocation came not from the poor refugees but from some Maulanas who had a few minutes earlier complained to him presumably against the Hindus. The Hindu refugees only came in the way when his eyes were literally bloodshot and he gave vent to his wrath. A Hindu woman in the party shouted back at him in a still louder voice and that calmed the Prime Minister. She said, "We have seen our relatives killed before our eyes. We have seen our daughters criminally assaulted before our eyes after their clothes were torn from their bodies. We are not afraid of your bullets, Panditji, go ahead with them, but remember we can destroy your Government in a minute." Her words still sometimes reverberate in my ears. I wonder who that woman was. I would like to see her just to pay my respects, something I have never done in life.

But the time would appear to have never come for the Prime Minister to give expression to those fiery sentiments in the interest of peace and tranquility, lest the Akalis take to violence, thinking they would thus have their way. This is no time for goody-goody bunkum. The Prime Minister should know that, if he is serious about not conceding Punjabi Suba—elections or no elections.

Some of them were current in pre-independence days and were fanned and exploited by British imperial rule, which, Dadabhai Naoroji had condemned as "un-British". They have grown to the danger have been either inappropriate or inefficacious and exploited by Indian politicians in the most "un-Indian" manner. The remedies to check the danger have been either inappropriate or ineffective.

National integration of India in modern times was promoted by Indians who were educated in the English language, literature and history during the last about hundred years. Though it was confined to a small minority, it was the common all-India link, which enabled Indians from all parts of the country to communicate with one another and forge a common national spirit and inspire a common urge for national freedom. In 1905 Gopal Krishna Gokhale was able to record that the results achieved by them were most gratifying.

"The growth during the last fifty years of a feeling of common nationality based upon common traditions and ties, common hopes and aspirations, and even common disabilities, has been striking. The fact that we are Indians first, and Hindus and Mohammadans, Parsees or Christians afterwards, is being realised in a steadily increasing measure, and the idea of a united and renovated India, marching onwards to a place among the nations of the world, worthy of her great past, is no longer a mere idle dream of a few imaginative minds, but is the definitely accepted creed of those who form the brain of the community — the educated classes of the country."

Unfortunately that very year saw the Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon on a communal basis. It was soon followed by Lord Minto's separate and excessive representation for Muslims. It ultimately ended in the Partition of India itself in 1947 on a communal basis. The joy of Independence was marred by the Partition.

The Indian Constituent Assembly made a heroic attempt to promote national integration by the abolition of communal electorates. It, however, weakened it by recognising for political purposes the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes, while seeking to mitigate the evil by limiting the special treatment to ten years from the commencement of the Constitution. When the ten years were over, it has unfortunately been extended to another ten years. It is very doubtful if it can ever be eliminated. Art. 335 of the Constitution enjoins that in making appointments in Government services, the claims of Scheduled Castes and Tribes shall be taken into consideration. This is a permanent injunction, and



RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT

Mrs. Kunjitham Guruswami

By S. Ramanathan

It is with great sorrow that we record the death of Mrs. Kunjitham Guruswami on the 30th July, 1961. She was the first woman Educational Officer of the Corporation of Madras. That was her official status. But she was better known throughout the Tamil country as a leading Rationalist. Thirty two years ago she graduated from the University of Madras and married Mr. S. Guruswami, a fellow graduate two years older than herself. They belonged to different castes. Mr. Guruswami was born in one of the so called superior non-brahmin castes in South India. The marriage created a sensation and all the relations of Mr. Guruswami boycotted the couple. But their fervour for social reform grew with the strength of opposition and to-day their marriage serves as a shining example for the entire youth of the country. They have always been in the forefront of the reform movement and Mr. Guruswami was imprisoned thirteen times for various acts, all integrally connected with Social Reform and rationalism, known in the south as the self-respect movement. Mrs. Kunjitham supported all her husband's activities by her writings and by her speeches in spite of the fact that she had to observe certain restraints owing to her official position. The couple was wedded to poverty but has reared a son and a daughter and educated them, one to be an Engineer and the other a Doctor.

Mrs. Kunjitham's life ended in tragedy which amounts to martyrdom. Towards the end she fell a victim to the fell disease of cancer, for which there is no cure yet discovered. Cancer is a flaming pointer to the short-coming of science in this age of scientific triumphs. People who suffer from cancer are not told about their ailment. Relations and doctors tell white lies so that the victim may not know that he suffers a malady for which there is no cure and is face to face with death. Even doctors when they contract this disease are fooled by fellow doctors into believing that they suffer from something else for which there is a cure. But it happened in the case of Mrs. Kunjitham that the distinguished surgeon who operated on her was obliged to tell the truth. Normally such a revelation would have accentuated the suffering and would have created an emotional upsurge which would have put an end to the life of the patient very soon. But Mrs. Kunjitham reacted to the crisis in her life in a different and brave manner. She carefully made a list of all her friends and sent for them one after the other. She told every one of them about the incurable nature of her disease and took

formal leave from each. She lived for nearly three months enduring this agony and kept full consciousness till very end.

All that has been said above may sound trite to some. Reformers as well as leading Rationalists have died before now and some of them surely must have died of cancer and a few could even have an inkling as to the nature of their malady. Mrs. Kunjitham's life is remarkable in that she displayed wisdom in safeguarding her reputation as a Rationalist. Soon after she realised that her days were numbered she sent for the present writer who is the Secretary of the Indian Rationalist Association. She spoke to him the following words which went to his heart and will stay there for ever: "You know me as a Rationalist and an Atheist. I am now on my death bed. I want you to remember and tell others that I die as a rationalist and an atheist". She said these words in calm measured tones and was fully conscious of what she was saying. She said those words because she had read that the reputation of famous Rationalists of the World like Ingersoll were tarnished by false reports spread by relations and friends that they changed their opinions on their death-beds and died as believers, asking forgiveness of God. Mrs. Kunjitham was careful and wanted to avoid the risk run by those Rationalists. She set an example for the entire Rationalists of the World to follow. Her name will live for ever.

We are glad to reproduce below extracts from a letter from Mr. Narsingh Narain, the Secretary of the "Humanist Union" at Naini Tal—Editor.

"I have been reading your views in the Indian Libertarian with much interest, and heartily reciprocate your appeal for unity in our ranks. We are bound to have differences among ourselves; even those who owe allegiance to one Bible and one prophet have many serious differences. We only owe allegiance to our own reason and judgment—this is our most fundamental tenet—and it is neither surprising, nor a matter for regret, that we have our differences."

"In the August issue you ask why we argue about the existence of God at all when we admit that such arguments are an intellectual game of chess without practical importance. The answer is that we don't. I, for one, could not have done so, for I am not a believer in God. What I

(Continued on page IV)

# Thomas Jefferson

By WALTER STEINHARDT.

WHEN, on July 4th, 1776, the Declaration of American Independence went out to the world from Philadelphia, a truly splendid document was given into the hands of mankind. The lofty beauty of the prose, coupled with the revolutionary force of its contents, had an impact that haunts us to this day. The author was Thomas Jefferson, then 33 years of age. Next to Thomas Paine, his life and work is more endeared to Freethinkers than probably that of any other man of his period. "In the Declaration the foundation of the USA, is indissolubly associated with a theory of politics, a philosophy of human rights which is valid, if at all, not for Americans only but for all men", says Professor Carl Becker in his study, *The Declaration of Independence*. But possibly the finest compliment, came from the Rev. Frederick A. Ross, Christian pro-slavery apologist. He wrote in the 1850's his *Slavery Ordained by God*, from which Becker quotes: "All this (e.g. 'that all men are born equal and endowed with certain unalienable rights'), every word of it, every jot and tittle, is the liberty and equality claimed by infidelity".

## SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

Shortly after the signing of the Declaration, the young Jefferson hurried back to his home-state, Virginia. There he did fundamental legislative work for three years, and for us his most important achievement was his drafting of the *Bill for Establishment of Religious Freedom*. The Bill not only separated the Church from the State in Virginia, but laid the basis of this principle for the whole of the USA; a principle which is increasingly being assailed today, mainly by Roman Catholics. In the preamble, Jefferson stated:

Civil and ecclesiastical rulers, being but fallible and uninspired, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, establishing and maintaining false religions over the greatest part of the world through all time. To compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors, is sinful and tyrannical. Our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions—they are natural rights. Truth is great and will prevail . . .

And the Law itself, short and to the point, confirmed:

We enact, that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested or burdened in his body or goods, or shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief, but that all men shall be free to profess and by argument maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.

"The Bill," said Jefferson, "is to protect within its mantle, the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and Mahometan, the Hindoo, and infidel of every denomination." It was a Bill not only of religion, but also of racial toleration. Alas, it did not affect the Negro slaves, of whom Jefferson owned many! And he had to take Tom Paine's rebuff when he said: "Where Liberty is, there is my country". Paine replied: "Where Liberty is not, there is mine". But in 1778 the Bill to outlaw importation of slaves—long advocated by Jefferson—was at last passed. He was justifiably proud of his work in the Virginia Legislative Assembly. So much so that, although he was twice elected President of the USA, only these words upon his instructions appear engraved on the obelisk over his grave at Monticello: "Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of American Independence—of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom and Father of the University of Virginia".

## VERSATILITY.

From 1779 to 1781 Jefferson was governor of Virginia, and it was a particular trying time, for the war with Britain strained the material and manpower resources to breaking point. The revolutionaries, as is well known, were decisively sustained by Paine's *The Crisis*, that tremendous tonic of liberty. The surrender of the British army of Lord Cornwallis to Washington towards the end of 1781, found Jefferson at Monticello, free to devote himself to pursuits of his many intellectual talents in philosophy, astronomy, geometry, applied science, music, architecture, ancient history, etc. He was with Benjamin Franklin, the most versatile man born in America. Both were deists, and made deism "respectable". There he wrote his *Notes on Virginia* giving vent to his horror of the evil of slavery.

In May 1784, Congress appointed him Minister Plenipotentiary in Europe. In France he witnessed the tragedies of bad, wasteful, monarchical government. "Of twenty millions of people in France . . . there are 19 millions more wretched, more accursed and ground to powder than the most conspicuously wretched individual in the whole of the USA," he wrote home from Paris. In fact, "Europe was hell." He urged Americans travelling in Europe to visit the royal courts, so that they might be impressed with the extravagant, wasteful, absurd and often vicious so-called nobles. He wrote some stringent passages in the Thomas Paine manner on this and similar subjects. He hated most monarchs as the enemies of liberty, justice, peace and toleration—his 4 maxims. And when he crossed from comparatively prosperous Holland into poverty-stricken Germany, he observed: "The soil and climate are the same, the governments alone differ. With the pove-

erty, the fear also of slaves is visible in the faces of the Prussian subject".

While across the Atlantic the American Constitution took shape, Jefferson's influence was exercised by many letters warning against any monarchical form of Government which had still a considerable following (Adams, Hamilton). The best schools for republicanism, he said, "are London, Versailles, Madrid, Vienna and Berlin. If any of our countrymen ask for a King give them Aesop's fable of the frogs who asked for a King". He advised, that a *Bill of Rights* should be perpetually incorporated within the Constitution.

In April 1789, Washington became America's first President, and later that year Jefferson sailed back to take up the appointment of Secretary of State. After a Vice-Presidency under his rival, John Adams, he became the third President from 1801 to 1809. 1803 saw his memorable purchase of Louisiana Territory, when he increased the size of the USA, by one million square miles, without the loss of a drop of American or any other blood. The price paid to Napoleon was 15 million dollars, a large sum then, when the average wage was 10 dollars a month, but it was a phenomenal "bargain" and a triumph for the President. It was in 1802 that Thomas Paine was a warmly received Presidential guest. The two men appeared on the streets of Washington arm in arm, and American "society" was outraged. They called Paine the President's "blasphemous crony", fit for the gallows, but the President recognised Paine's greatness.

After the end of his second term of office, Jefferson returned home where he lived another 17 years as the "Sage of Monticello", keeping in touch, by a vast number of letters, with friends and learned men of various countries. He remained always anxious to keep and strengthen the "wall of separation", and in 1813 he wrote to Alexander von Humboldt: "History furnishes no example of a priest-ridden people maintaining a free civil government". His last great work, of course, was the founding of the Virginia University. For six years he worked tirelessly on this project, and 1825 saw the opening with Jefferson the first Rector. He died on July 4th (the "Glorious Fourth") 1826.

What part do his ideas play in the American mind today? we may ask. With the possible exception of Lincoln, Jefferson is still the best personification not merely of liberal Americans but of educated Americans generally. They cherished their "Jeffersonian Heritage", and his name is invoked more frequently than that of any other historic American leader, including Lincoln. The index of Max Lerner's *America as a Civilisation*, contains no fewer than 42 page references to him, against 21 to Lincoln and 39 to W. D. Roosevelt. True, sometimes authors go to absurdities in summoning his name. Dumas Malone, Professor of History, Columbia University, assures us repeatedly (as if this was necessary) that Jefferson, had he been alive to-day, would have had little patience with Fascists and presumably less with

the Communists. In a radio play, written by Milton Geiger, Jefferson is cross-examined by a Soviet Commissar in front of the "Tribunal of the Posthumous Committee of Revolutionary Activities" and, with the vigorous assistance of Franklin, demolishes the fiendish "Red". For sheer childishness, this play, *The Democrat and the Commissar* (performed in 1952) would be difficult to beat. But this was only one of thirteen Jefferson radio plays, and the others were of rather higher standard. In *Danger of Freedom*, purporting to portray Jefferson in 1801, an opponent declares him "to be an agnostic and infidel or worse". After which, the author, Morton Wishengrad, allows a spirited defence of Tom Paine and *The Age of Reason*. We are never allowed to forget, though, what a great and ardent anti-Red Jefferson was!

It is only natural, that the liberals of the USA should cite Jefferson in their alertness to preserve the separation of Church and State, freedom of the press, etc., and it is generally recognised that Jefferson put religious freedom first of all freedoms.

His famous "I have sworn on the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man", is quoted often in every quarter, yet the patriotic *Pageant of America*, a semi-official publication by Yale University Press, tries to tone down Jefferson's part in the establishment of religious freedom. "The successive memorials of the 'Hanover Presbytery'" it states, "had stated these principles well before Jefferson drafted his Bill. James Madison—a devout Christian—bore the brunt of the contest and did most to determine its final outcome". It is interesting to read this pious book's opinion of the Deism of the time:

In the closing years of the 18th century, the moral and religious life of America touched its lowest ebb. Infidelity and atheism became fashionable. Bibles, testaments and revelations, Christian and non-Christian, were denounced and ridiculed as products of falsehood. The shallow Deism of Hume seemed to emancipate humanity from any standards other than momentary desire. (Book 10).

And because of his *Age of Reason*, Paine is made the chief culprit for the alleged decay of righteous and noble American morals. A few pages before, though, the same book reproduces a number of vivid drawings depicting the most gruesome public floggings of one group of Christians (Quakers) by another (who happened to be in power at the time).

Jefferson's home, Monticello, near Charlottesville, Albemarle County, Virginia, is kept as a National Shrine. Since 1923 it has been the property of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, which restored and preserved the house and gardens as they were in his day. Visitors from many countries come to pay respects to the memory of truly great American, and more so, to one of the foremost citizens of the world.

—The Freethinker.

# Gods And Dolls

By VIRGIL McCLAIN.

**E**VEN before a child is able to write its name or add two and two it is taught it was created by a god. At the same time this child is having its mind poisoned it probably is playing with dolls or some other childish toy. As the child matures the toys of early years give way to more advanced toys and later toys become a memory.

The idea of a god—in the majority of cases, continues to occupy a place in the minds of many people. In this respect they still continue to live in their early youth. To many the idea of a god becomes an obsession. To them their very life depends upon the belief in a god. While they cannot define this god—to them it is just as real as anything they can define.

Little does it ever dawn on many of these people the idea of a god might be a hypothesis—something not proved but assumed to be true. It would be just as rational to assume people lived on the planet Mars—but until there was sufficient evidence to substantiate this assumption it could not be considered true. So it is with the idea of a god. There should be something of greater significance than merely an assumption.

Since the dawn of civilization there has never been a single instance to indicate any god was interested in the affairs of man. Floods occur, homes are inundated and many people would drown were it not for the fact they leave that area and go to higher ground. The fact they moved to higher ground cannot be attributed to any god. This is simply the result of rational thinking, the application of a purely secular action. An earthquake occurs, people are in its path, many are killed and more injured, the majority believe in a god, this makes little or no difference. Is this an act of a god or the results of the forces of nature???

Only an egotist brimming over with conceit would be so bold as to claim to know everything. It is common practice for those obsessed with the idea of a god to believe they are more intelligent than those who have outgrown this idea. A man may have obtained all the degrees possible from a school of higher learning and his accomplishments may be outstanding but in the eyes of many unless he entertains the idea of a god he is still an ignoramus.

This idea of superintellectualism, resulting from the belief in a god has no equal in developing hatred among men. In all other endeavors men may find disagreement and still be respected. Many who maintain the belief in a god use the most despicable words of our language to describe those who have discarded this idea. This is an indication they are depending upon their childhood impressions and not mature thinking.

Simply because a person sincerely and firmly believes there is a god cannot and does not make it so. Almost constantly new discoveries are being made and they are being made through the efforts of man and not some god. Years ago dreaded diseases took their toll of the human race—man learned through experimentation certain courses to take to overcome them and today some are very rare. Is it possible some god was so benevolent as to reveal to these experimenters what course to follow?

Down through the ages there have always been some who possessed just a bit more imagination than others. To invent a god and put the fear of this god in the minds of the people would not have been a difficult matter. One thing we do know, gods became very plentiful and practically all tribes sooner or later adopted the idea of the existence of a god. How the idea of a god originated is lost in antiquity. However we positively do know, nothing has ever surpassed it as a money making idea and as long as it continues to produce the cash to maintain a hierarchy of parasites its future is not in danger.

It isn't enough just to believe in a god, it is also necessary to believe certain ones have the exclusive ability to interpret the wishes of this god. That these exclusive individuals only are capable of performing certain acts and should they be performed by others they lack certain benefits. For instance should a marriage be performed by a member of one group another would consider it only a mockery and the parties would be considered as living in adultery.

These people who claim to be envoys of a great god have on too many occasions been guilty of approving hostile action against those who are of a different belief. One group declares all outside of their circle as heretics and advocates they must be exterminated. History of the past clearly proves they have made use of every means to accomplish this purpose.

The dolls are gone, the toys are gone, the disagreements and contentions arising from the idea of a god are the greatest curses facing man today.

Liberal (U. S. A.)

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(Continued from page 1).

have tried to show is (1) that some conceptions of God are not inconsistent with the Humanist outlook and (2) that the question whether such conceptions are right or wrong is not the concern of a humanist, as such."

as such the separate identity of these castes and tribes is to be a permanent feature of Indian policy, and an impassable bar to integration.

Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes have not been defined objectively either by the Constitution, or by commissions, or by the courts or by Governments, but Governments have published lists of them based primarily on *caste*, notwithstanding that the Constitution forbade caste, like race, religion, sex or place of birth being a criterion for political preference. A citizen can change his religion, education, profession, etc. which are *cultural* factors acquired by the individual *after his birth*, but he cannot change his race or sex, which are *biological features fixed at his birth*. In so far as *caste* is also fixed at birth, it cannot be changed subsequently. A citizen born a Brahmin, whatever his education or economic status, cannot become an Untouchable, nor can an Untouchable become a Brahmin. A biological problem can be solved only by biological means, and no other. Inter-caste marriage is the right and effective solution for integration, not reservations in schools and offices, which will only confirm separatism. Individual merit should be the sole criterion for office, and education should be universalised, irrespective of caste, even as political rights have been already universalised. Backwardness due to economic causes calls for economic remedy. Maharashtra and Gujerat have defined economic backwardness as annual income of Rs. 1,200 or less. The Mysore Backward Classes Committee has adopted it for certain purposes. It should be universalised also, irrespective of caste.

The Anglo-Indians are a community based on race. While declaring that race shall be no qualification for political rights, the Constitution made an exception in the case of Anglo-Indians, but limited it to ten years. There is a demand by some leaders of the community that the exception should be renewed on the ground of their "backwardness". It is very refreshing that Mr. F. W. Corbett, M.L.A. and President of the Bangalore Unit of the Anglo-Indian Association, has repudiated the designation of the community as "backward"; he felt that it was an insult to it. His action recalls in some ways the action of the Euro-Africans in Northern Rhodesia, who dissolved their Association last December and merged in the United Independence Party, led by the African, Mr. Kenneth Kuanda. The statement of dissolution said the Euro-Africans were kept apart by the British Government by providing them, with better economic facilities than the Africans in order that they might form a buffer between British Imperialism and African Nationalism. "Many of us have known poverty; but our African parents managed to rear us in difficulties; therefore, we have moral obligations to the African community to which we belong. We are aware that Northern Rhodesia is our home: and that we shall die here. It is, therefore, our duty to mould it." (CONTACT, 18th May, 1961, Cape Town, South Africa). The Euro-Africans felt confident that they would get a square deal from Mr. Kuanda and his party. Would that the Anglo-Indian

and other political parties in India based on religion, race or caste, felt similar confidence in India and dissolved them and merged in a national movement, above all parties, with a view to promoting national integration and progress!

Another post-independence factor which has made for disintegration is linguism. The attempt to reorganise the multi-lingual provinces of India into uni-lingual provinces has been a futile misfortune of the first magnitude. No unit, however, re-drawn can possibly be uni-lingual. Every reorganised linguistic unit has remained multi-lingual, with the difference that the language of the majority is exercising linguistic imperialism over the languages of the minorities, leading to bitterness and violence, destructive of integration. As Dr. B. C. Roy asserted recently, after the violent language disturbances in Assam, all so-called uni-lingual units are multi-lingual, and should be so recognised.

It is also described that in the interest of national integration the present so-called linguistic units should be merged to form larger multi-lingual units, like the present Zones, pending the establishment of an unadulterated Unitary Government for the whole of India. Another disintegrating factor is selfish groupism within a political party for the sake of office. This evil can be checked by substituting the present parliamentary system by an adaptation of the Presidential system. The Executive Government, of not more than ten members, should be elected by the method of proportional representation by the elected legislature, and be in office for the term of the legislature. An individual member of the Government should be removable only by impeachment before a High Court. The decisions of the legislature, unless repeated after a prescribed interval, shall be recommendations, not binding on the Government. This system, or some variant of it, should be tried initially in the Provinces, before being applied to the Centre.

Political Parties do not make for integration but only for the tyrannical imperialism of the winning party at an election over the defeated parties and conspiracies by the latter to unseat the former from office and play the tyrant in turn. The nation needs a national government interested in the nation; a party can provide only a party government interested in the party. The nation asks: "all for the nation and none for a party", but the party answers: "each for his party and none for the nation." No democratic Constitution has recognised the party system, as it would have if it were essential for democracy. In fact, the party system is not only undemocratic but anti-democratic and a pestilential source of corruption and demoralisation. No instrument of the Constitution should recognise political parties. For instance, the Election Commission has no constitutional warrant to recognise political parties, much less on the basis of the fortunes of a party at the last election. As long as the Constitution does not limit the number, strength and age of parties for recognition, the Election Commission is guilty of arbitrary

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## Mr. Nehru Sets A New Example

(From Our Correspondent)

INITIATING the foreign affairs debate in the Lok Sabha the Prime Minister made some observations which cannot stand a moment's scrutiny. Two or three day ago, he rightly said with reference to the sealing of the East Berlin and East German border with West Berlin that something had been done which had increased the tension in the world. And he went on to observe that an agreement could come only after the tension was removed. That is not always true. Indeed, generally agreements are reached to remove tension, and they sometimes do remove tension if they are reached with open hearts.

The Prime Minister proceeded to observe that the problem was aggravated by the fact that the two German states were not allowed to exist by themselves and that the two power blocs held sway over them. This is, indeed, equation of slavery with freedom with a vengeance. Can it be truthfully said that the western Power bloc held sway over West Germany, as the Eastern Power bloc or its dictator, Soviet Russia, holds sway over East Germany? Every one knows that there are free elections in West Germany and that the people of West Germany democratically choose their Governments. It is, therefore, a travesty

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tyranny in prescribing such qualifications for recognition. Parties may be and are often formed after the last election, but they do not, on that account deserve to be ignored. It is best to ignore parties rather than prescribe qualifications for recognition.

It is also very desirable that Ministries, as at present constituted, should resign office when legislatures are dissolved and elections are ordered, and let the Governor and the Secretariat act as the caretaker government till the new ministries are formed. During this period few, if any, ministers are likely to embark on any new major policies, unless they are calculated to give undue help to them and their party at the expense of the country and to the disadvantage of other parties.

Even more deadly to integration is the attempt to substitute Hindi for English as the medium of higher education and administration in India. While the retention of English after independence as it was before it would make for greater integration, the imposition of Hindi would surely bring about another major partition of India. There is no more effective instrument for integration than: *English Ever... Hindi Never.*

(The views expressed above do not necessarily reflect our opinion—Ed.)

of facts for any one to say that NATO holds sway over West Germany. The latter has in her own interest joined the NATO. For, without that alliance, West Berlin would have lost her freedom long ago. That should be obvious to any one who remembers the air lift to West Berlin when road and rail traffic between West Germany and West Berlin had been banned by East Germany under orders from the Kremlin. The puppet state of East Germany, where free elections have not been held since she came into being, is too insignificant to defy West Germany on its own. Even in the case of East Germany it cannot be said truthfully that the Warsaw Pact powers hold sway over her. The Warsaw Pact is only an instrument with which Soviet Russia exercises her will over her satellites, the East European states, whose puppet governments were forced to sign the Pact. Puppet Communist Governments still hold sway there with the help of Russian arms and armies.

### A NEW EXAMPLE

Mr. Nehru has got into the habit of condemning foreign bases, but surely here is a difference between a freely elected Government asking for military aid for self-defence (even if that is without Mr. Nehru's permission) and in return providing bases to the power supplying military aid, for, among others, the purpose of self-defence, on the principle that if they do not hang together, they will hang separately. It almost seems from Mr. Nehru's off-hand condemnation of foreign bases that he does not believe in self-defence or the need of preserving the country's freedom. In that case, of course, the Prime Minister is holding on firmly to ancient Indian traditions of the bullock-cart age. We Indians have never believed in self-defence; otherwise we would not have been slaves for a thousand years, would not have held in fact the world's record for slavery. Even after losing 12,500 square miles of territory to China, we are friendly with that country. In other words, Mr. Nehru is saying "Doesn't matter" without waiting for Mr. Chou En-lai to say, "I'm sorry" in regard to that theft of 12,500 square miles of our territory. We usually say "Doesn't matter" after the offender has apologised by saying "I'm sorry". But Mr. Nehru is obviously no stickler for forms and is setting a new example for the world to follow. No wonder he is so popular with the Communist leaders. And we are friendlier still with the bloc to which China belongs and do not hesitate to mince matters to please the powers-that-be in that bloc.

The Soviet Union and other parts of Europe, the Prime Minister observed, feared the revival of German militarism, adding that this fear was justifiable because Germany had caused two major wars

in this century. Is that why the Soviet Union has about a dozen countries under her iron heel? Fear of revival of German militarism is a very funny reason, indeed, for depriving a dozen countries of their freedom. Fear of Russia used to be advanced as a reason for Britain retaining her hold over India. Russia is much stronger after the last world war than she ever was before it, and that could by the same token, have been a very good reason for Britain retaining her hold on India. But Mr. Nehru would never have accepted the morality of that logic. If the Soviet Union really fears the revival of German militarism—even after threatening a power a thousand times stronger than Germany with annihilation every other day—the proper course for Soviet Russia would be to free the captive nations and persuade them to unite under her to preserve their freedom. Surely, the comparatively small captive nations would have greater cause to fear the revival of German militarism than the power which can destroy in a few minutes vast lands thousands of miles away. Obviously, this fear of the revival of German militarism is mere pretence. It suits Mr. Nehru today to take it seriously, but it is really as genuine as the fear of the tiger which made him devour the lamb, the fear that the lamb would grow up to be an aggressive individual. The whole of our foreign policy is based on pretence and pretention. It is difficult to believe that its author genuinely believes in what he mouths as his convictions, because they cannot stand a moment's scrutiny. Perhaps the author of the policy feels that the people whom he fools are too ignorant to realise the game their leader plays at their expense.

Replying to the debate on foreign policy on August 17, Mr. Nehru referred to a statement by Mr. Chester Bowles, US Under-Secretary of State, that the USA is "committed to the defence of both India and Pakistan, if one is attacked by the other." To use the word "commitment" in regard to India, Mr. Nehru said, was "beyond our understanding", adding, "There is no question of a commitment by any country of any kind of aid to us". Why should the word 'commitment' be beyond the understanding of the Prime Minister or the Government of India? Even if it is, surely Mr. Nehru and his assistants can look up the dictionary to find that the word 'commitment' means a 'pledge', which again means a 'solemn promise'. Our Prime Minister can truthfully say that he never asked for that pledge, but pledges and promises are also made unasked, though in this case the Government and the Prime Minister would appear to have been fishing for it by complaining in various ways against US aid to Pakistan. As commitments can be unilateral and one-sided, it is rather absurd for our Prime Minister to say, "There is no question of a commitment by any country of any kind of aid to us." If he wants to say that we would be slaves again rather than accept military aid from any quarter, there is nothing to prevent him from saying so, and even acting accordingly, for that would be in consonance with our ancient traditions. It is indeed strange that our

Prime Minister should hate all ancient traditions, except this one of trying to embrace slavery at the earliest opportunity. One almost feels like shouting "Bharat Mata ki Jai" after hearing Mr. Nehru talk in that vein.

## TWO MINDS ON GOA

On the question of Goa Mr. Nehru said India reserved the right to free Goa on a "military basis", "The time may come," he observed, "when we would have to deal with the problem through the armed forces"—on the presumption, doubtless, that the people of the Portuguese possessions want to be under the Government of India. The presumption may be correct—to all appearances it is correct—but it should not be forgotten that it is on that same presumption that Pakistan is threatening to attack and annex Kashmir. Mr. Nehru is on this point playing the Pakistan game. "In the context of what is happening everywhere," Mr. Nehru said enigmatically, "we cannot rule out the possibility of using the armed forces against Goa." But the unsoundness of the course envisaged by the Prime Minister on August 17, while replying to the debate, was amply demonstrated by Mr. Nehru himself while initiating the debate on August 16, when he said, "India's difficulty is both moral and practical. Morally, India cannot take military action while preaching peace to the rest of the world. In a practical sense, war with Portugal might lead to war with other countries and create a complicated situation . . ." A very complicated situation indeed, for it is within the bounds of possibility that Pakistan might consider the opportunity a good one to attack India and our "friend" China, with whom we have been having a controversy for some years past over our borders, might take it into her head to establish control over the territory in the NEFA long shown in her maps as Chinese territory. Jolly good going that will be for India! Mr. Nehru's changing opinions show that it is not difficult to forget what is merely a pose. It can indeed be forgotten in a day!

It is however satisfactory to note that on the main issue of the day the Prime Minister has observed unequivocally: "It should be made clear by those concerned that access to West Berlin will remain open."

## THE MASTER'S FAST

Master Tara Singh is losing weight rapidly. Unlike Gandhi he has much to lose. Nevertheless his condition has begun to cause anxiety and it is now being realised that the decision to fast was a rash act. Many are busy finding a way out of the impasse. Mr. Nehru has been generously lending a helping hand in this search for a face-saving device and he has suggested that negotiation should replace the fast. As negotiations have already broken down once, a second series seem superfluous, but the Prime Minister is prepared to waste a few hours of his precious time if that can enable Master Tara Singh to save his life. The Akalis want the negotiations to proceed with the fast, so that the fast's coer-

cive element may continue to operate on the negotiations. As the sands of time run out, the Sikhs are beginning to fear that the great revolt which they secretly envisaged on Master Tara Singh's death may not materialise. After all, shouting "Master Tara Singh Zindabad" is not the same thing as sacrificing one's life for him or for a problematical Sikh state. One thing seems to be certain. The Punjabi Suba is receding rather than approaching with the progress of the fast. That is a result of the response to Master Tara Singh's appeal to Hindu sentiment, which is unanimously against him, as it should be.

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## Book Review

*REASON AND GOODNESS*, by Brand Blanshard  
(Allen & Unwin, 42s).

This is the second of three volumes dealing with the position of reason in the theory of knowledge, in ethics and in theology. Like its successor, *Reason and Belief*, which is yet to appear, it is based on the Gifford Lectures delivered at St. Andrews in 1952 and 1953. The trilogy will represent the solid contribution of a distinguished American philosopher who is not dismayed at finding himself outside the fashionable stream of contemporary thought in the wide field he covers. He grapples with those large questions on which the layman expects the professional philosopher to provide some guidance, though today he is apt to receive a dusty answer.

One of the most striking characteristics of recent philosophy is the preoccupation with ethics; but the interest is almost entirely logical. The focus of attention is on the formal properties of ethical statements—on how such words as 'good', 'right', and 'ought' are used. Nothing is said about the content of such statements. There are discussions about whether we are giving a command or expressing a feeling of disapproval when we say that murder is wrong; but we are not told that murder is wrong—though presumably somebody has to say it. The detached neutrality is the result of the objective foundations of morality being undermined either by the impossibility of deriving values from facts or the loss of religious beliefs. A vacuum has been created, and the problem is a real one which ought not to be shirked although it is maddeningly difficult to solve.

Professor Blanshard examines the principal ethical solutions offered in the past including recent criticisms and alternatives. Apart from occasional flashes of impatience, he analyses them very fairly and finds them seriously wanting. His own solution is in sympathy with the Greek view that goodness lies in the fulfilment and satisfaction of our natural impulses, and that their competing claims can be sorted out and harmonized by reason. This, of course, is in opposition to asceticism and the Christian dogma of Original Sin. 'To say that I ought

to do something is ultimately to say that if a set of ends is to be achieved, whose goodness I cannot deny without making non-sense of my own nature then I must act in a certain way.' The basic need is therefore the cultivation of 'the rational temper'.

Rationality does not merely lie in the sphere of belief but must be carried into practice so that it permeates one's feelings and pervades the decisions of one's will. 'It means to be a practising philosopher. This is a very much harder business', he adds drily, 'than being a mere professor of philosophy. For it requires being what professors of philosophy so seldom are, reasonable men who lead rational lives.'

Professor Blanshard writes with the clarity for which he once pleaded in an essay on the literary style of philosophers. He would disagree with those who make a virtue of dullness.

—The Humanist.

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## Gleanings from the Press

### THE MENACE OF 'THE NEW CLASS' UNDER THE THIRD PLAN.

While the planners are clearly aware that the promise of a better deal for the people cannot be realised without a substantial increase in the nation's production of goods and services, they seem to suffer from an obsession about the danger from private monopolies and the possible growth of inequalities in income and wealth. Under our democratic set-up, taxation and social legislation, as well as an intelligent system of regulatory legislation can well be relied upon to avert these dangers, if ever they become serious. What is immediately to be feared, however, is the likelihood of an unrestricted growth of the bureaucracy and an ill-planned extension of the public sector, which far from bringing about a rapid and economical expansion of production, act as an incubus on the economy. It is here that there is need for democratic vigilance to prevent the growth of what the Yugoslav Communist, Milovan Djilas, described as "the New Class," a bureaucratic elite which batters upon the masses in the name of socialism. The drift towards regimenting the economy through State-sponsored co-operatives are symptoms which need to be watched with as much concern as "the tendency towards concentration of economic power" about which the Planning Commission are worried. Nor should the planners forget that, in the context of Indian conditions, however much there may be need for State initiative and intervention in the economy to promote economic growth, there is equally need for individual initiative and socially responsible action on the widest possible scale.

—THE HINDU.



# News & Views

## A THOUGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE DAY

As August comes round once again, it would be proper to postulate the basic theories on which Indian Independence will have to rest if it is to last. The abdication of political thinking to professional politicians, the substitution of analysis by the study of the mechanics of power, the identification of personalities with policies, all can converge only on the total prostration of the intelligentsia, and its being wiped out by some pettifogging demagogue. It will be then too late to do anything about it. *The Time to worry is now.* ...

—Shanker's Weekly.

## MAHARASHTRA'S CHIEF MINISTER

### VOTES FOR ENGLISH.

Nagpur: Mr. Yeshwantrao Chavan, Maharashtra's Chief Minister said here that English should be the national language of the country.

"It was a language of knowledge, not only for scientific and technological advancement, but also in various fields," he added.

Mr. Chavan, who was speaking at the National Rotary Club here, said: "It will be a tragedy if we consider English as a foreign language.....we cannot afford to give up English."

—"Financial Express"

## PRICE LEVEL HIGHEST IN INDIA

Bombay: The rise in general price level in India was the highest amongst the 28 countries for which comparable figures are available.

With 1953 as the basis, the wholesale price index for India was 121 in June compared to 108 for U. S. and West Germany, 105 for Canada and Japan, and 116 for U. K.

Next to India was Egypt 119, followed by Costa Rica with 116.

In 1961 amongst 28 countries, nine showed a price rise from 10 to 20 per cent, which includes India.

## AUDITORS PULL DVC.

Patna: Various irregularities leading to "infructuous" expenditure to the tune of several lakhs of rupees have been pointed out in the Audit Reports of the Damodar Valley Corporation for the periods of 1958-60.

According to the reports the construction of 85-mile irrigation-cum-navigation canal connecting Calcutta with the coal fields of Western Bengal and Durgapur seems to have been undertaken without adequate study of the traffic conditions and prospects.

The canal has been rendered "unusable" due to the collapse of a bridge constructed at a cost of Rs. 2.3 lakhs. Another new construction to replace the old one has to be constructed at a cost of Rs. 12 lakhs.

## GRAND FANFARONADE FOR "CREEPING BANKRUPTCY"

Madras: "The total outlay of Rs. 11,600 crores for the Third Five Year Plan is "grand, but in the fanfaronade lies creeping bankruptcy", according to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Writing in the latest issue of the "Swarjaya", he said: "The precarious payment position is saved from a breakdown by external assistance obtained from time to time".

Continuing C. R. writes: "The objects make attractive reading, but it is not 'socialism without regimentation', as claimed by the sponsors. This is an obvious impossibility, being a contradiction in terms ... Mr. Nehru's thesis is that socialism will not involve commonly conceived concomitant of suffering regime. This is an impossible notion, and as a promise, it is bound to turn out to be deception".

## "PIE IN THE SKY"

Bombay: A striking advance in industrial production, improvement in agricultural output, specially in foodgrains, and a rise in aggregate investments were the highlights of the Indian economy during the final year of the second Plan, says a Reserve Bank of India report on currency and finance for 1960-61.

National income which had risen by less than 1 per cent in 1959-60, was expected to show a substantial rise in 1960-61. Further deterioration in price level and the balance of payments position, were other features of the Indian economy".

—"Financial Express"

The same mixture as before—wait for the pie in the sky—no jam today, no jam yesterday. That is the carrot held before the Indian public by the sponsors of the controlled economy.

## BERLIN 'TIME-BOMB'—Another "MUNICH"

Bonn: A four-line communique, issued after the meeting between Dr. Konrad Adenauer and the Soviet Ambassador to Bonn, goes to suggest that the Berlin crisis can be written off as a thing of the past.

The communique indicated that the West German Government would take no steps, which would hinder its relations with Russia or worsen the international situation.

This implies a certain amount of capitulation on Bonn's part, not so much to Soviet Russia, as to her own Allies, who have reportedly told West Germany at the Paris meeting of Foreign Ministers that West

Germany should accept the inevitability of the partition of Germany.

### AN UMBRELLA FOR KENNEDY

Bonn: A group of Berlin students sent U.S. President Kennedy an umbrella of the type carried by the British Prime Minister Chamberlain when he met Hitler in Munich in 1938.

"We are sorry to say Mr. President, because of your reserved reaction to the happenings in Berlin, you have, at the moment, become the most worthy possessor of this symbol of a fatal policy" said a group of 20 students in an 'open' letter accompanying the 'gift'.

"Your undoubtedly very determined words were NOT followed by an equally determined action".

The two-page letter, drafted by 24-year law student Hannes Scheidner, demanded that "reaction must finally be replaced by Action."

### BERLINERS CHEER U. S. TROOPS

West Berliners threw flowers, cheered and sounded their motor horns to greet the U.S. troops as they rolled in the divided city after driving through East Germany.

U. S. Vice-President Lynden Johnson handed a letter from President Kennedy to Herr Willy Brandt, Lord Mayor of West Berlin, who was amongst the officials who welcomed the U. S. troops in the City.

### "PROVOCATIVE JOURNEY"

The Communist Party newspaper "Pravda" characterised Mr. Johnson's visit to Berlin as "a provocative journey".

### AND NUCLEAR THREATS, TOO

The Soviet Union's first deputy President Mr. Anastas Mikoyan warned the West that if it chose a war over Berlin, "it may be a nuclear war." Mr. Mikoyan said in Tokyo that the Berlin issue must be solved through negotiations only.

### INDIA-WIDE SPY-RING UNEARTHED.

Bareilly: A major spying operation all over the country, and having close links with Pakistan and other alien countries, has been unearthed with the arrest here of one of its leading members.

According to the Police the arrested person, who describes himself as a Captain in the Indian Army, but who has different aliases, was carrying a bagful of false Army identity cards, and a trunk load of Army uniforms. This bonus captain stayed with a despatch rider, attached to the Army Head Quarters in Uttar Pradesh, and was very familiar with a number of Army officials.

When suspicions were aroused, he was called to the office of the RTO here for interrogation. However, he avoided the interrogations, and escaped, leaving his luggage, which the police claimed con-

tained many incriminating documents. The RTO alerted the Bareilly Police. The Police, however, succeeded in arresting the "captain" at the first-class waiting room of Izatnagar railway station.

When the Police went through the bagful of documents and other luggage they found that the "captain" had close connections with a gang of Pakistani spies on the border areas and saboteurs in Kashmir.

The seized papers are being closely scrutinised by the Security and the Military Intelligence authorities.

How loose and insecure are our security measures is pin-pointed by the chance arrest of this man. The RTO and the Bareilly Police deserve all praise and compliments. But our "panchasheel" Prime Minister thinks otherwise. In the Lok Sabha, instead of appreciating the work of the Police, he belittled them, and went to the length of stating that some petty police officer wanted to get "importance," and has made a mountain of a molehill. And this, too, when the Military and Police investigations are still in progress. After this what conscientious Government servant can have the heart to do his work efficiently?

### COMMUNIST

What is a Communist? One who hath yearnings  
For equal division of unequal earnings  
Idler or bungler, or both, he is willing,  
To fork out his copper and pocket your shilling.

—Ebenezer Elliott.

## Letter to the Editor

### THE GRAVE PERIL OF CONGRESS

### TOTALITARIANISM

Sir,

Congress party's performance during the last fourteen years of its government is as follows:

(a) The country is divided into so many little "Congo", divisions made on the language basis.

(b) Along the Himalayan border we have lost 12,000 square miles, thanks chiefly to the incompetence and errant convictions of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister and his loquacious Defence Minister Shri Krishna Menon.

(c) We are operating gigantic plans, the monetary power being derived from loans taken from every country, regardless of our ability to repay.

But the very act of extending the hand for loans

without commensurate ability to return is an ineffaceable blot on our national escutcheon.

(d) The money thus borrowed from all countries is being utilised to evolve a political and economic system on Communist lines.

(e) The inflationary spiral has a tendency to rise—the Government being unable to control it thus causing widespread misery to the rank and file of the inhabitants of this unhappy country. The much maligned private industry which is being squeezed out of existence, and the public sector which is being notoriously mismanaged, both together annihilate our economy.

(f) While Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru rants from house tops against communalism and in favour of castelessness, it is an undisputed fact that the only party that profits by such propaganda is the Congress Party, which seeks to perpetuate itself in power for ever by such means.

The Congress with its crude ideology cannot measure up to this onerous task of fighting communalism.

(g) Corruption on an unprecedented scale is developing in Ministerialist and official circles, and the malaise has spread from the ruling party to the people at large, proving the adage 'as is the ruler so are the subjects'.

(h) The concept of socialistic democracy belonged to Khrushchev's predecessor Stalin, the Communist dictator of Russia and the Congress grand Moghul of India Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru, the errant thinker is towing the same line with his idea of the Socialistic pattern. Democracy and Socialism, or Communism (which mean more or less the same thing) can never coexist or go together.

The foregoing analysis is not complete but is sufficient to make us feel that something must be done to fill in the cracks and fissures that have been caused in our body—politic.

It is obvious that the present ruling party cannot lead this country to happiness nor can it observe the principle of neutrality, its boasted principle. The ruling party's inclinations towards communist countries are now plain to the meanest intelligence. It is in alignment with Russia and our neighbour China as is evidenced by its shameless toleration of the loss of our territory. What else is needed to demonstrate that if this party is returned to power, there will not be another open and free election, since the country will be rapidly going communist way by adopting the familiar methods of the totalitarian rule?

If this peril is to be averted, the Congress party must be routed at the polls.

Madras.

A. N. Charl.

The following books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library, Bombay:

Davies, S. Gethyn. (Ed.): Central Banking in South and East Asia.

Lifco: Lifco's Big Letter-writer & Little Encyclopaedia.

Robinson, Joan: Exercises in Economic Analysis.

Higgins, Benjamin: Economic Development.

Jain, R. C. and Mohan, M. C.: Modern Drafting.

Cooper, K. S. and Desai, S. K.: Elements of Constitutional Law.

Brink, Victor Z.: Internal Auditing.

Nabokov, Vladimir: Spring in Fialta.

Nabokov, Vladimir: Invitation to a Beheading.

Corelli, Marie: Romance of Two Worlds.

Huxley, Aldous: Time Must Have a Stop.

Brown, Carter: Lament for a Lousy Lover.

Sartre, Jean-Paul: Reprieve.

Thompson, Morton: Cry and the Covenant.

Harman, John: North-West Frontier.

Berle, Milton and Roeburt, John: Earthquake.

Mookerji, Radha Kumud: Indian Land-system.

Dacey, W. Manning: Money under Review.

Sachdeva, T. N.: Public Economics.

Das, Nabagopal: Unemployment, Full Employment and India.

Bensusan-Butt, D. M.: On Economic Growth.

Mulla, Dinshaw Fardunji: Indian Sale of Goods Act & Indian Partnership Act.

Dalal, R. K.: Salient Features of Company Law.

Roy, M. N.: Politics, Powers and Parties.

Duesenberry, James S. & Preston Lee, E.: Cases and Problems in Economics.

Shonfield, Andrew: Attack on World Poverty.

Director, Aaron: Defense, Controls, and Inflation.

Hoselitz, Bert F. (Ed.): Progress of Underdeveloped Areas.

Meade, James E.: Problems of Economic Union.

Simons, Henry C.: Economic Policy for a Free Society.

Walker, E. Ronald: From Economic Theory to Policy.

Taylor, Overton H.: History of Economic Thought.

Murty, K. Satchidananda and Bouquet, A.C.: Studies in the Problems of Peace.

Steiner, W. H. and Others: Money and Banking.

D'entreves, Alexander Passerin: Medieval Contribution to Political Thought.

Sabine, George H.: History of Political Theory.

Killough, Hugh B. & Killough Lucy, W.: International Economics.

Pappenheim, Fritz: Alienation of Modern Man.

## BOOKS FOR YOUR SHELF

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

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