

# Indian Libertarian



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## EDITORIAL

### Kerala

At last the President has acted to remove the stalemate in Kerala. He has taken over the administration of the State through a Proclamation under Article 356 of the Constitution. The article empowers him to take over any State administration if he is satisfied through the report of the Governor or otherwise that the Government of that State could no longer be carried on under the provisions of the Constitution.

The action has raised controversies on several issues both from democrats and from communists and fellow travellers. Communists take the democratic line, as if they were also legitimate and sincere children of democracy, while as a matter of sober fact, they are the most scientific and deliberate assassins thereof. In fact, neither Marx nor Lenin pose as democrats. According to their ideology, democracy is a bourgeois phenomenon and is a class instrument of the capitalists. What they propose to put in its place is the class rule of the proletariat led by the advance guard of the dictatorship of the proletariat, namely, the communist elite. They want democracy only as a stepping stone or ladder wherewith to climb to power. They make use of democratic liberties to canvas public opinion, mislead it by its specialised propaganda on a class basis, fill the poorer classes with hatred for the upper classes and finally seize power on a suitable opportunity when the Government apparatus is paralysed.

The loud thunder of the communists that the Government of India has murdered democracy in depriv-

ing them power in Kerala through the President's proclamation need not therefore be taken seriously. It is a smokescreen wherewith to hide the enormous misdeeds they perpetrated in their role as the legitimate Government of Kerala. They did nothing to forward the permanent economic and social interests of the people as a whole. They did everything to strengthen their own party financially and otherwise.

It was thought that as a body pledged sincerely to a higher order of society which aimed at justice to the common man, the communists would set a record of administration, purer and more efficient and more humanitarian than the governments run in other States by the Congress party.

This expectation however was not fulfilled. The communist leaders in power in Kerala did not set a higher standard of purity in administration. They also lined their pockets in the usual way while they enriched the party systematically.

Contrary to expectation, they unleashed a regular classwar! Toddy tappers, labourers in plantations, workers in public works contracts, servants, official and non-official, were all encouraged to defy and harass their employers. Malefactors were let off from prison before the expiry of their term and many of them started doing depredations as before but now with more courage that they could indulge in crime with greater confidence. They now had a patron in crime on the highest level!

Communist party cadres treated other party men as enemies and set upon them violently time and again. They tried to make it impossible for any rival party to function in a peaceful way. They were intimidated

and assaulted. Their method recalled the tactics of Hitler before he came to power. Long before he came to power in 1933, his black shirts made it a practice to assault and break up the meetings (whether in halls or in open air parks) of all other parties. They had the *freedom of the streets* and prevented others from holding any meetings in public!

Luckily in Kerala, the workers of Congress, PSP, RSP and other groups refused to be intimidated, in spite of murders and assaults. They stuck to their guns and kept their parties in active functioning. It argues a degree of courage and determination on the part of the Kerala workers which is *praiseworthy*.

The Memorandum or charge-sheet submitted to the President by the Kerala Congress party makes out a full and unanswerable case for the dismissal of the Communist Ministry. Their answer does not hold water. It hides the truth behind a thick smokescreen of propaganda.

Moreover, it should be remembered that the Communist party *waged war* against the free Government of India from 1948 to 1950-51 in Telengana, literally a *guerilla war* with *sten guns, bombs and other lethal weapons*. It is only when they were about to be rounded up and destroyed by the Armed Forces of the Union that Acharya Vinoba met their leaders in jail and is supposed to have converted them to non-violence! Their pledge to refrain from violence thereafter was enough for Prime Minister Nehru to exonerate their treachery and war-making against the motherland and to accept them as a *legitimate democratic party!* They should never have been allowed the privilege of recognition as a democratic party.

This is another instance of the perverted democracy of the ruling Congress party. It seems to believe in

democracy without even contrary to nationalism!  
 Democracy only stands for equal rights for all. Can  
 nation ever give equal rights to nationals and aliens?  
 Can the United States and Soviet Russia and China  
 give equal rights to each other's national citizens? Can  
 India treat Pakistanis on equal terms with Indians?  
 Can India appoint General Ayub Khan as India's  
 Chief of Staff?

To put such questions is to answer them.

The question is on all fours with communism. India or any nation outside the socialist or communist camp under Moscow cannot consistently with national safety allow the communist party men in their country equal rights with good national citizens, for their loyalty is first and foremost to Soviet Russia.

Their view of national good is that it consists in becoming a satellite of Soviet Russia!

The CPI has been following the policy of infiltration into national life in all departments including parliamentary life. Their *pretended nationalism* has deceived the people. The recent Tibetan case should have reminded our people of the extra-territorial loyalty of the CPI.

The lesson we have to derive from the Kerala case is that *mere democracy without nationalism is dangerous*. The CPI has no right to full democratic rights, for it uses democracy only to derive power to destroy it in the end.

It should never be forgotten that this is not merely a matter of ideas and doctrine. It is really a matter of *World Power*. The CPI is a limb of international communism backed by Soviet Power ultimately preparing the country for subordination to Soviet Russia! It would be an imperialist slavery far worse than the British from which we have just been freed.

The Swatantra Party is right in declaring that Prime Minister Nehru has made the CPI a respectable party and released forces destructive of democracy and national independence.

The people of Kerala deserve congratulations in realising the danger of the CPI Government to all deficiencies of democracy, good government and rule of law and in battling so unanimously and courageously on a *united front basis* to a successful end. Their success is fully deserved. Their success is success for Indian independence and Indian democracy in spirit and letter.

When the *social compact* that consists in the Government acting as an honest *trustee* of the people in law and justice is dissolved by Government action in contravention of law and justice, the people are entitled to organise for changing it and appointing a different Trustee. This is the doctrine of John Locke the founder of Constitutional Government in Europe and America.

On Independence Day, it is good that the people are reminded of the dangers to national freedom and progress imported by the existence and continued activity in our midst without let or hindrance of organised bodies like the CPI with no loyalties to India as an independent and autonomous nation.

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It is the duty of publicists to reveal the full nature of organisations like the CPI so that the public might beware of supporting them undeservedly with danger to the nation. The number of people who have expressed support to the Kerala communist government in this controversy on "democratic grounds" is surprising and is a symptom of the immaturity and lack of essential information circulating among educated persons in the country.

The fact that Congress Governments had committed similar misdeeds is irrelevant, for Congress is corrigible and has no bonds with a foreign power. The misdeeds of Congress have to be dealt with on a different plane, by normal political action like the founding of the Swatantra party. Congress deficiencies should not lead people to confuse the issues.

### THE SWATANTRA PARTY

The second most important event in the country in the last fortnight is the Convention of the Swatantra Party held in Bombay on August 1 and 2 which was a great success. More than 700 delegates from most States and regions had come—Punjab, Madras, Karnataka, Gujerat, Maharashtra, Orissa, Bihar, U.P., Andhra and Delhi.

The 23 members of the Madras legislature of the newly started National Democratic Congress declared that they would merge with the Swatantra party. They would function as the Opposition party in the Madras legislature. So the Swatantra party will figure in a legislature even before the general elections! The Swatantra is the only modern political party in Madras barring the Congress. The Dravida Munnetra Kazagam is more a social protest against caste and is an expression of an inferiority complex.

The most significant fact about the Swatantra party from a long term point of view is that it has been obliged to seek economic and political principles in accordance with libertarianism and in antagonism to collectivism. Collectivism is the universal trend today choking individual life and initiative and is powerfully operative even in free enterprise America!

The only lasting way in which to combat these forces is to spread sound ideas of liberty in economic and political life among thinking people. They should be applied to current policies such as the Five Year Plans and sweeping measures of nationalisation like the announcement of State Monopoly Trading in Food grains wholesale and perhaps retail as well.

The consequences by way of depriving the people of legitimate occupations, of rising inflationary pulls, of loss of independence in daily life, of the swelling of bureaucracy, of ever-rising expenditures by Government, of the sapping of private initiative and so on, should all be brought home to the people. The public mind should be permeated by ideas of liberty in every sphere of life.

The only way (in the end) of supporting the democratic way of life is by means of the conviction of the people of its transcendent value and their readiness to fight for it.

From this point of view, the work of the "Indian Libertarian" and its predecessors and of the Libertarian Social Institute of Bombay and its branches in Madras and Bangalore assume importance in the public life of today.

These institutions have been studying and calling attention to the value of free economy and free society undeterred by the overwhelming popularity of socialism, communism and collectivism in general. They have been animated by the principle that in the end it is truth alone that will triumph and that so far as human nature is concerned in its economic and social aspects, *freedom is the basic truth*. Man can live and flourish only in an atmosphere of freedom. Freedom is an essential and indispensable ingredient of happiness and self-realisation for man, constituted as he is. No national power, military or economic, can compensate for the loss of individual liberty and the free way of life.

The principles of the Swatantra party are in line with the ideas on liberty and anti-social *free economy* that have been and are being put into circulation by this journal and the Institute and its branches. The conviction of the organisation that some day its principles will find acceptance and return made to them from the inefficient dogmas of socialism has now been confirmed by the birth of the Swatantra party. The *intellectual general staff* of the Party will find much useful material and inspiration in the past numbers of the "Indian Libertarian" as well as in its current numbers and work of the Institute through speeches, discussion sessions, brochures etc. applying free ideas to current problems. Only in this way can a strong body of convinced *workers* be created to support the party in its day-to-day work of canvassing opinion as well as in its work of offering an alternative programme and alternative Government.

### ATTENTION

Scholarships granted to Post-graduate students in Economics, who are able to undertake research in Free Economy from Libertarian point of view. Send full particulars of age, qualifications and occupation etc. to:

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# Second Thoughts On Foreign Policy

By M. A. Venkata Rao

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**A**FTER the Red Chinese assimilation of Tibet in its totalitarian communist society by way of a ruthless genocide, it has become urgent and necessary for us to review our foreign policy. The way in which so many prominent citizens from practically every avocation in life have expressed appreciation of our present foreign policy of dynamic neutrality is symptomatic of the *immaturity* of our public life. It betokens the absence of a live and virile consciousness of the realities of the jungle of international politics. It smacks too much of the superficiality of schoolboy thought dominated more by words than by the meanings behind them.

Even a veteran thinker and statesman like C. Rajagopalachari is reported to have said (recently while in Bombay to speak on behalf of his newly started Swatantra party) that he agreed with Jawaharlal Nehru completely in his foreign policy. Mr. B. Rama Rao (former Ambassador to the USA and Governor of the Reserve Bank) expressed gratified approval of India's foreign policy in a speech before the Bombay Rotary Club and observed that it had brought India much prestige in foreign chancelleries and international circles.

But in spite of these approvals in many circles, there is need for a realistic appraisal of our foreign policy in terms of actual influence and brass tacks. It will be found that there is a strong *prima facie* case for a radical revision.

The major objective of a country's foreign policy is to maintain a true and friendly picture of its people in the imagination of foreign peoples, to develop attitudes of active helpfulness in them and counter act the hostile influence of enemy countries in foreign capitals and circles. It may even extend to the forging of *bonds of mutual assistance* (in case of aggression on one's country) with friendly foreign States. The foreign policy should align the country with strong and just States and forge alliances likely to succeed in any international struggle. We should be *on the winning side in so far as we can judge*. The foreign policy should build itself on the basis of a sound knowledge of the international situation and keep it perpetually fresh and up-to-date.

The agony of Tibet and its disappearance as a national entity for the time (being due to Chinese action and aggression) should cause a re-appraisal of our foreign policy of *panchsheel* with that country.

Our foreign policy of *panchsheel* is based on a certain reading of the international situation. It assumes that it is possible to take a stand midway between the Soviet and free worlds, a position above the cold war.

This is a questionable assumption. A close study of the nature of the dogmas of Marxism, classwar, international solidarity of labour all over the world, the identity of capitalism and imperialism, the identity of peace

and socialism, the role of Soviet Russia as the leader of world revolution making for the world state of the working class, etc. will bring out the true and grim fact that the Soviet State aims at world conquest. It wants to *liberate* all working classes of *all nations* from their own ruling classes and bring them under the full control of the Moscow ruling elite.

Today the major obstacle before the realisation of this ambition of Sovietism is the might and will to freedom of the United States followed by the principal countries of the free world like Britain and France.

This conflict is acknowledged on both sides. The Soviets have *no guilty conscience* about their objective of world conquest! The hostility is continuous and the rivalry in economic and political power is all-pervasive.

There is actually *no middle ground* between the claims of the two major power system. After world war II, Russia got an enormous accession of territory and population. Her Stalinist Plans developed immense military potential. The result is that the Soviets have a *new horizon of world power*. The chances of achieving their goal of world conquest are brought within the zone of practical politics. The United States have had, (particularly since the absorption of Czechoslovakia and the communisation of China under Mao Tse-tung in 1948 and 1949 respectively), to strengthen their defensive armour and concentrate consciously on arms rivalry with the Soviets which has now entered the nuclear field of atomic and H. bombs.

The Russian and Chinese aggregations of military power are clearly *expansionist*. The Chinese charge of *Indian expansionist motives* in Tibet is patently *ridiculous and untrue*. But that does not prevent them from propagandising it day-in and day-out in their controlled press and radio broadcasts.

The Tibetan episode (that is still going on with the Dalai Lama still on Indian soil as an exile and the Chinese tyrants still continuing their communisation of the unfortunate country through fire and sword) points to the need for a re-orientation of our policy.

The late Mr. Dulles was accused of *brinkmanship* and endangering peace during his tenure of foreign affairs in the United States. But today we see that Mr. Khrushchev is playing the *same game of risky brinkmanship* in his challenges to America. He is issuing ultimata one after another and withdrawing them so soon as America refuses to negotiate under threats! His stand on Berlin and West Germany is clearly aimed at wearing down American and allied resistance potential and force them to concede to him full mastery over Berlin, which would remove an advance post of the Western world in the heart of East Germany, his satellite State.

Another fact to be remembered is the rapid mili-

tarisation of Red China. Red China has through its communes got command of its *whole labour force* in military groupings. It can be mobilised for full total war any time. With Soviet Russia's modern armour, China as a military aggregation of immense manpower and fire power confronts us and the free world.

The Tibetan collapse as a buffer State brings us face to face with Red China's aggressive soldiery on the Himalayan passes and trade routes.

They have started *probing* our defences by capturing our military guards and even officers! It appears that they have not yet released the 18 officers they captured in Ladakh some months ago! They are in occupation of the border trade township of Hoti on the road to Lhasa!

The question is whether Indian attitudes of friendship and neutrality as between the blocs are capable of winning the goodwill of Russia and China to the extent of impelling them from refraining from attacking India in the event of war between international communism and the western free world.

We should remember that the great powers have never hesitated when fighting for their very existence to nullify and disregard the neutrality of weak nations. We know what happened to the neutrality of Belgium in the war of 1914-18. We know what happened to the neutrality of Holland and the Scandinavian countries in the second World War. Hitler invaded Norway, Holland, Denmark and Luxembourg without scruple. He refrained from laying hands on Switzerland *only because the Swiss were fully armed* and would fight in their mountains and valleys. Hitler found that he would have to use and immobilise *too many Panzer divisions* which he could not afford in his European war.

This is a lesson for us. If we wish to escape the military attention of Russia and China in any future war of the blocs, we should imitate Switzerland and arm ourselves *cap-a-pie* and be ready to fight any invader—even the Western powers if they are the aggressors by any chance.

It must be noticed that the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai threatened India with trouble in the matter of the *cartographic aggression* or Chinese claim to Indian territory in Ladakh, Bhutan and North Assam. If India did not desist from championing the Tibetan freedom cause and sheltering the Dalai Lama, Chou En-lai threatened that a peaceful settlement of this border conflict would be jeopardised!

The Prime Minister has decided to *forget and forgive* the Chinese absorption of Tibet and to pretend to revert to the *status quo as if nothing had happened!* In pursuit of this policy of the Ostrich, he has raised the question of seating Red China in the UNO! Western Powers who had sympathised with India in her loss of Tibetan buffer status and defence Area, are surprised and pained at India's Bourbon policy of "*learning nothing and forgetting nothing.*"

What will India do in the event of China invading her northern borders? The invasion when it comes will be accompanied by the fifth column activities of Indian communists. There is no doubt of their pos-

sible attitude in such an eventuality. In the Indo-Chinese passages, they sided with China unmistakably and let down Indian nationalism and patriotism. Their loyalties are with Russia and China. That is their ideology.

Professions of neutrality will not suffice to restrain the hands of the mighty aggressors.

#### **In such a situation, two things are essential**

1. One is to arm ourselves thoroughly to the limit of our resources, slowing down our grandiose Five Year Plans of Economic Development. Our armour and preparations both professional (military) and auxiliary (civilian) should be as high and complete as possible. We should cease for a while singing songs of nonviolence unconditional and prepare ourselves psychologically for the duty of national defence with arms and disciplined service in an emergency. Our armour should surpass the requirements of defence against Pakistan. If Food Reserves are built up and full employment in simple, small industries all over the country is secured, people will have heart enough for bracing themselves for the coming trial. Food should be cheap and consumer goods should be abundant. Our economic policies should be re-oriented to this angle. *War may come any day* and it will be too late to prepare after its dread arrival. The Swiss prepared a Food Self-sufficiency Plan a year before war broke out in 1939 and *achieved it in two years*, feeding the people meanwhile on accumulated reserves built up by purchases in anticipation. The Government and Congress should give up the fantastic ideas they are entertaining of a Third Plan twice as big as the Second with targets of Rs. 11,000 crores and taxation levels of Rs. 3500 crores! They should give up the implementation of the Nagpur Resolution on Land Reforms namely Co-operative Farming, Land Ceilings at low levels (reducing all farmers to the level of the small scale subsistence farmer) and monopoly state trading in the wholesale food grains business.

This reform will unsettle agricultural relations and hold back production for years.

The Bombay "land to the tiller" reform of 1956 *has not increased production* but has increased the number of uneconomic subsistence farms and holders, with farmers resuming basic holdings for self-cultivation.

#### **THIS DISASTROUS POLICY SHOULD BE HALTED**

2. The *second line* of re-orientation in our thinking about foreign policy is with regard to the *desirability of alliances*. The present policy of flouting alliances (as if alliances brought war, instead of moderating the chance of war, which is their natural effect) is too jejune and unpsychological. Aggressor nations do not let us off, *if we remain undefended by alliances*. They will consider twice before attacking any nation if that will bring its friends into the fray and increase the

(Continued on page 6)

# Enemies of English or India ?

By M. N. Tholal

I HAVE not been able to see eye to eye with Chakravarti Rajagopalachariar on some matters—particularly his request to the USA to throw all her atom bombs into the sea—but his attitude on the retention of English as the official language of the country—this one fact alone—places him among statesmen of the first order and patriots of the purest hue. The English language, if we look at things with a dispassionate eye, is one of the greatest boons the British have unwittingly left us. The greatest mistake that the British made was to teach us English, for the sake of their own convenience. If instead they had, in the time of Ma caulay, taken to learning the various “native” languages for purposes of communication with the Babus, the history of India might have been differently written.

English is the language of free men and it inspires freedom and revolt from slavery in those who take to it as a medium of learning, just as Hindi (or any other Indian language) is the language of slaves and inspires devotion and unquestioning obedience among its devotees. It produces Rams and Hanumans. It is mere chance that, as soon as the people of India became politically-minded, they found their Ram in Gandhi and have it now in Nehru with themselves—hundreds of millions of them—as Hanumans? The sudden conversion of hundreds of millions of apparently sensible men into devoted Hanumans was not brought about by a magic wand in the shape of the loin cloth—it is no more there on Gandhi’s successor—it was brought about by that to which we

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(Continued from page 5)

strength of the enemy. This is common sense as well as realistic policy. India should insist on this re-orientation.

The Swatantra party has avoided taking a decision on this problem. It has left such controversial questions to individual judgment. There is a hiatus between Mr. Masani and Mr. C. R. on this problem.

The Libertarians should insist on a rational solution of this dangerous problem in accordance with history and political wisdom.

The second change therefore would lie in *forging an alliance with the Western Free nations with America at their head for defence in case of attack. There is no escape from such a course in view of the fact that there will be no middle ground between the contending blocs in the event of world war. The full implications of the required change should be thought out by leaders of opinion and pressure brought to bear upon the Government in time towards a more realistic foreign policy with greater chances of achieving security for the nation.*

were traditionally inclined as a result of Hindi learning and reading that greatest of Hindi books, the Ramayana.

## MIGHTIEST PILLAR OF FREEDOM

We may not openly admit all this before foreigners, but it would be the height of folly to try to refuse to believe it—just as we try to refuse to believe whatever is repugnant to us. For, untruth spells disaster in the long run. That is the one sure lesson of the history of all countries. Nonviolence is the mightiest of all weapons, we were told, and we swallowed this untruth with the greatest gusto. With what result? Pakistan and the unparalleled bloodshed of 1947. Tilak was the greatest enemy of British rule, yet honest man that he was he had something to say on the English language. Unhesitatingly he used to admit that even our desire for freedom was the result of English education. Draw out the implications of this great truth and you will find that English is today the mightiest pillar of the edifice of our freedom.

One Ram and hundreds of millions of devoted Hanumans have so far given birth to one bifurcation of the country. But can any honest mind deny the possibility of every state in the Union having its own Ram with thirty or forty million devoted Hanumans, according to the population of that state. Fortunately or unfortunately, since the country became politically-minded, we have had practically one Ram for the whole country. (The Muslims had their own one and only Ram in the Prophet Mohammad and the result was Pakistan.) But surely this is a most unusual spectacle. And since it is also most undemocratic, a country progressing in democracy may be expected to see the end of it as it matures in democracy. It is quite likely that after Nehru we shall see the end of this one-Ram business. It is almost certain that after his successor—if it is Jai Prakash Narain—there will be no one to claim all-India allegiance on the basis of personality or national service rendered, or both. What then? Is India then to be divided into almost as many countries as there are states today? The prospect will be hard to avoid if we have discarded the English language by then, for reasons into which I shall go presently.

The protagonists of Hindi count upon Hindi replacing English in the course of a few years, but it can never really do so to the extent of becoming the medium of education in the universities of the South or of Bengal. It can never be imposed as the English language was imposed on our ancestors by our British rulers. Hindi-speaking people may be in a majority in the country, but they will never support the imposition of Hindi on the Southerners and/or Bengalees to the extent of depriving their own mother tongues of

the right of being their medium of education. Even if they are foolish enough to try to do so, they will never be strong enough to do so. They can only initiate a civil war. The lesson of Kerala should not be lost on the heart of the Hindi maniac.

### EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Sensibly granting, therefore, that it is out of the question for Hindi to replace English in the universities of India as their medium of instruction, what will the situation be under circumstances in which the educated produced by our universities have no common cementing bond, while almost half of them have a natural grudge against the northerner for having made Hindi the official language of the country, because they can never be as proficient in it as the average Northerner? It is true that we Indians, with few exceptions, could (naturally) never compete with Englishmen in mastery over their language, but now Englishmen are not in the picture and we have equal opportunities, as guaranteed by the Constitution, of mastering a foreign language as best we can.

We are masters of what Englishmen call Babu English. So what? Americans have their American English and, at the worst, we can have our Babu English. Nothing to be proud of, I admit, since we are not—minus our new-found liberties—descended from the British race. But are we going to embrace this false pride and give it first place in our hearts and take the inevitable consequence in a continuous process of division of the country? If we do, it would be nothing new from the point of view of the history of our land. For, is it not replete with instances of false pride making one Raja war against another even when an enemy from outside the country was knocking at its gates?

The retention of the English language as the *lingua franca* of the land will give us one great boon—the sense that justice prevails throughout the land, that there is no discrimination against the southerner or a Bengalee because he is a southerner or a Bengalee. And where there is justice there is peace in the human hearts. We cannot, no one can, enforce injustice without reaping the consequences thereof. Pakistan was born because our leaders had no sense of justice, no sense of fairplay, and not because Jinnah was a fanatic. He was nothing of the kind and every one who knew him—Hindu or Muslim—knew that much about him.

### TRYING TO GO TO PIECES

In Canada, the French are a small minority but the Canadian constitution gives the same place to the English language as to the French and two races have been living together in one country for decades without any rioting and any bloodshed. Have we ever thought of it? The Belgian and the French, the Dutch and the Belgian have greater affinities than, say, the Tamilian and the Kashmiri or the Punjabi. It should be easier to form one nation for the former. The glamour that surrounds Nehru (or that surrounded Gandhi) is (or was) the result of the fight they put up, or at least we imagined they put up (while they were fighting for their petty selves) against British

rule. The memories of British rule will soon be a matter of history. Our freedom fighters are (naturally) dying before our eyes one by one. What when they are all gone? Should we begin trying to go to pieces as we see the last of them decently buried or incinerated? That is exactly what these Hindi maniacs are doing.

All attempts at imposing one's language on others should be scotched at their birth. That we have not done so only shows that we are not real democrats and had only been paying lip service to that goddess in order to replace our foreign masters. I remember my British fellow-journalists of *The Pioneer* telling me in the twenties: "Tholal, the day we leave you will find your people at one another's throat." To this my reply was: "You are telling me! But despite that knowledge I stand for the freedom of my country." "That is the true English spirit," retorted one of them amidst laughter and there was a roar in which all joined when I said, "I see precious little of that English spirit in our paper." (The "*Pioneer*" was anti-Indian in those days.)

What my British colleagues said in the twenties has happened once (in 1947) and we seem to be trying our best to see it come to pass again—this time on a larger front. Can any intelligent protagonist of Hindi as the official language of the country honestly deny that?

I have referred above to lack of affinity between the average Kashmiri and Punjabi in the North and the average Tamilian in the South. But there is considerable affinity among the highly educated in all states and that affinity is born of our having brought up in the English language. I find myself quite at home with a highly educated southerner, much more so in fact than with an uneducated Kashmiri of Kashmir. I feel the former is my countryman and see no reason why he should not remain one. The highly educated are and should be the natural leaders of the people. (The process received a set-back with the advent of Gandhi in Indian politics; we know with what results.) That there is not the same affinity between the highly educated and the illiterate classes all over the land is a fact which may be readily admitted, but is immaterial from the point of view of national integrity. Education will in course of time produce the desired affinity.

The charge can be preferred that the highly educated, so different from the sons of the soil, are almost aliens in their own land. But then are we not trying to nurture a system of government in the country which has never been there? And are not our highly educated just the right type to nurture it?

In our desire to emphasise the unity of the country, we should not altogether forget its diversity or minimise the forces it is liable to produce. In our struggle for freedom against the British we stood shoulder to shoulder, the northerner with the southerner, but with the disappearance of the British that spirit of camaraderie will naturally tend to disappear. If we do not keep that spirit of camaraderie alive, we invite balkanisation of the country. The English language alone can keep that spirit of camaraderie alive all over the country.

# The Struggling Sector

By Y. V. Visveswaran, M. A.

**E**CONOMIC Planning" wrote Barbara Wooten "does not mean the death warrant of all private enterprise nor does it mean the passport to political dictatorship." The plight of private sector today is well known. Public sector and private sector are compared and contrasted in regard to their performances though the former is spoon fed and luxuriously brought up with motherly care and attention, and the latter laid at the mercy of many-sided oppressions. Individual initiative and private enterprise is not given the fullest scope to expand and enlarge. Tracing back to the '1948-Industrial pattern,' when the ideal mixed economy was set afloat and coming back to this post-'Ooty seminar'-period one can see that the private sector has continuously faced a period of trial and tribulations, stresses and strains. The octopus tentacles of the Avadi Star subsequently supported by the 1956 Resolution cribbed and cabined the role of the Private Sector and left it in the lurch. Mr. S. Narayanaswami in a leading daily succinctly put it 'Since the Avadi Resolution became a congress-commandment we see more indiscriminate pillorying of the industrialist and merchant class than ever before.' As far as five years ago the AICC resolution spoke in glorious terms that the Private Sector 'should be given adequate freedom to develop within the limits of the national plan.' The Five Year Plans fondly foster the ideal of 'fruitful partnership, or 'fruitful coexistence' between the two sectors. In spite of the numerous official oppressions, the Private Sector has in the past withstood the onslaught of all state controls and the regulation acts. And to its credit it has blazed many new trails in the industrial field and won the appreciation and approbation of the Planning Commission and the Industrial Finance Corporation. The private sector has contributed a sizeable quota of its own towards the industrial development of our country. But today it has shrunk beyond recognition. Three years back 'The Hindu' editorially questioned as to 'Why should the Indian Private Exporter be denied the fullest scope for trading direct with countries where private enterprise is still the rule, such as Japan? The everhanging threat of Nationalisation is a mighty menace for the rising progressive industrial enterprises. Whether it is nationalisation or socialisation either of them does not augur well for the growth of free enterprise.

Addressing a meeting of the Central Advisory Council of industries recently, Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri has stressed the importance of encouraging 'a friendly rivalry and competition useful to both each trying to prove that it can do better than the other thus leading to greater production.' Though Mr. Sastri's statement 'the Private Sector has to depend a great deal on the Government' tastes bitter yet he has wisely pointed out that it is wrong 'to suggest complete elimi-

nation of those who are outside the public sector and who want to take active part in the great adventure of the development of our country.' And here there is a ray of hope for the Private Sector to survive and thrive. Yet another address recently uttered by the Prime Minister at the 'Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry' has given a greater hope in that the 'existing industries' would not be nationalised 'merely for the sake of nationalisation.' Though the progress made by our country in the matter of Industrial development is commendable, yet it cannot be said that we have made much headway in the Industrial field. The Private Sector should not be treated as the Cinderella of the Indian economy especially when we have to make rapid strides in the Industrial field. As Mr. A. D. Shroff has once pointed out that 'it was surely through the enterprise and endeavour of Private Enterprise that India was put on the Industrial map of the world and attained the eighth place among the industrial nations in the world.' In order to create and maintain an economic justice and to reward the Private Sector for its past and present performances, the present policies of our Government are to be modified and moulded in such a way that it would be conducive to the private sector to spread its wings in several fields and to grow unhindered and unhampered.

## HEARD AT THE SWATANTRA PARTY PANDAL

1. "It is better to be ruled by *RETIRED* men than by *TIRED* men"—Ruthnaswamy.
2. "The Congress despises the big business but is in love with their purses"—H. P. Mody.
3. "Cooperative farming is a fraud and a farce"—K. M. Munshi.
4. "The Public Sector has achieved the double distinction of being expensive and inefficient"—M. R. Masani.
5. "Congressmen never make any sacrifices themselves, but ask others to sacrifice for them"—B. Satyanarayana.



# Keynesian Economics and Underdeveloped Countries

By G. N. Lawande

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**I**T has become a fashion amongst economists and politicians in modern times to apply the remedies of Keynes to achieve economic development of underdeveloped countries. But the Keynesian remedies cannot be applied to all countries unless we take into account peculiar social systems or respective stages of economic development of these backward countries. At the most we can say that the practical advice that Keynes gave was mainly applicable to advanced countries like Britain or America. Keynes always had English patient in view. In this connection, Prof. Schumpeter aptly says "Practical Keynesianism is a seedling which cannot be transplanted into foreign soil; it dies there and becomes poisonous before it dies"—Left in English soil, seedling is a healthy thing and promises both fruit and shade—all this applies to every bit of advice that Keynes offered."

In applying Keynesian economies to underdeveloped countries it is essential to decide the test of underdevelopment, but this is not an easy affair because according to Prof. Viner all countries of the world are underdeveloped. He defines an underdeveloped country as a country "which has good potential prospects for using more capital or more labour or more available natural resources or all of these to support its present population in a higher level of living." From this one can infer that Keynesian remedies are applicable to all countries irrespective of their respective stages of development. But this argument cannot be accepted because there is fundamental difference between advanced and backward countries. Some countries suffer from scarcity of labour while others suffer from scarcity of capital and this makes a great difference in the standard of living of the people in these countries. Abundance of labour and scarcity of capital can be considered as a sure test of underdevelopment of a country. Advanced or developed countries generally suffer from the scarcity of labour. Unemployment of labour in such advanced countries is unnatural as there is every possibility to make use of labour with the help of capital; but same is not the case with underdeveloped countries.

Advanced countries have to make use of the idle capital and once this is done, full employment condition can be attained sooner or later but same is not the case with underdeveloped countries. There is possibility of inflation in advanced countries once the full employment is reached. The unemployment problem in undeveloped countries is of a different kind. The Keynesian analysis explains unemployment mainly in terms of lack of effective demand and to get over it, Keynes stresses various measures pertaining to consumption and investment. It is not possible to argue

that our unemployment is due to deficiency of demand when we see millions of our half-fed, half-clothed people around us. It is thus clear that our problem of unemployment has special features which are not found in western countries. In those countries demand fails to keep pace with the increasing supply of commodities with the result that the prices tend to fall and then the only remedy is to raise the demand by means of fiscal and monetary measures. In our country unemployment is not due to deficiency of demand but lack of economic development. Thus our problem of employment is quite different from those of western countries. In this connection Pierre Mandes France and G. Ardent in their book *ECONOMICS AND ACTION* say "It is not that the problem of employment is non-existent in these regions (i.e. underdeveloped countries) but that unemployment there has a special aspect. There is therefore an employment problem in these countries, but it exists in terms which require a special analysis and special remedies that may partly differ from those included under the concept of employment policy. The latter is only applicable as such to countries that are relatively industrialised, relatively advanced, relatively rich. Moreover it is a field in which a scientific analysis has not yet been able to make sufficient progress to our knowledge for application of it to be made." From this one can easily conclude that Keynesian remedies have limited field and they are mainly applicable to advanced countries based on the system of private enterprise. There is only one solution to the problem of unemployment and underdevelopment in underdeveloped countries and that solution is capital formation. It is necessary to examine how far Keynesian remedies are applicable to solve this thorny problem.

Capital formation can be imposed upon the country by the ruling party by a policy of inflation which transfers wealth to wealthier sections of the country. This was the remedy that Keynes suggested to increase purchasing power of the people by creating new money and this policy is faithfully followed by our leaders in our country in order to implement their ambitious and unrealistic plans. But this method is dangerous in underdeveloped countries where the standard of living of the majority of the people is precariously low. Inflation that will take place as a result of increasing currency would lead to unequal incidence of sacrifice which is essential for capital formation. There will also be popular discontent. Even then this method of extracting saving by the method of inflation has a limited applicability in a backward country where the standard of people is very low. As a result of expansion of currency there will be a fall in the rate of interest which will discourage saving and this is detrimental

from the point of capital formation, and the development of the country will not be good from the point of view of the community as a whole. This remedy will certainly increase inequality of incomes. It must be admitted that this remedy was not strictly Keynesian as he took considerable pains to show that his remedies would remove unemployment without causing inflation and that danger of inflation can take place only after full employment level is reached. In our country, his remedy has not only caused inflation but it caused more and more unemployment. This is mainly due to the fact that our leaders have failed to diagnose the economic situation in our country and applied the Keynesian remedy without taking into account the inflationary pressure that is existing in our country. Keynes never suggested deficit financing during inflation, but on the contrary his remedy was that the State should not intervene in economic activities during rising price level. He advocated State intervention only to compensate for the slackness in private investment at a time of depression. He insisted upon public works in order to provide employment and to finance public works he even went to the length of advocating deficit financing on the part of the State. He defends the State intervention in the following words:

“Whilst, therefore, the enlargement of the functions of the government, involved in the task of adjusting to one another the propensity to consume and the inducement to invest would seem to a nineteenth century publicist or to contemporary American financier to be a terrific encroachment on individualism, I defend it, on the contrary, both as the only practicable means of avoiding the *destruction of existing economic forms in their entirety and as the condition of the successful functioning of individual initiative.*” (Italics mine).

In other words, Keynes wanted State intervention in order to avoid destruction of Capitalism and not to establish socialist pattern of society. He wanted Capitalism to work more effectively as he was at bottom an individualist.

Capital formation by inflationary method has a limited scope in underdeveloped countries and the only rational way to increase capital formation is to increase large volume of goods and services. In this respect Keynesian economics do not give any positive remedy. In a backward country, increased monetary spending will only result in rising prices as production will not increase due to structural deficiencies of the economy. In backward countries, production is not a monetary phenomenon but it is based on various factors. Our agricultural production is not based upon prices in the market and cheaper credit would not promote greater investment as the scope is very limited by scale of production. So the monetary and fiscal policies laid down by Keynes are not applicable to backward countries. Public investment on large scale must be based on deficit financing and at the cost of private enterprise. His monetary policies are applicable to those countries where monetary factors bring about desired changes but in backward countries tradition,

immobility plays an important part. Our problem of development can be solved only if the backward countries dedicate their own resources—human, physical and financial to a sound large scale persistent attack on the basic internal causes of mass poverty.” The main cause of our poverty is the existence of a chronic state of underemployment of available man power due to low level of economic development. It is not an unemployment caused by the lack of effective demand. This wide prevalence of underemployment in backward countries makes the Keynesian definition of unemployment inapplicable. Keynes involuntary unemployment implies an elastic supply of labour at the existing wage level. But disguised unemployment does not belong to this class, for, the people who are underemployed do not feel they are unemployed and that they do not search for further employment. They get some sort of satisfaction from farming as they would get by accepting employment at the current wage level.

Thus we see that Keynesian economic policy is not of much use in underdeveloped country because the problem with which Keynes was mainly concerned i.e. of involuntary unemployment is not existing in underdeveloped countries. The main problem of underdeveloped countries is to raise full employment level by eradicating chronic underdevelopment. This can be done by **SAVE MORE MONEY CAMPAIGN** but this can be achieved only in free enterprise economy. It is the only economic system that provides for growing population and increase in capital. That is the only remedy for the widespread disguised unemployment or underemployment prevailing in our country. It will promote progressively rising standard of living by gradually expanding the national wealth. Keynesian economics do not provide us with an over all solution of the problem of unemployment. According to Prof. Samuelson, Keynes has failed to tackle the technological unemployment. Even a prominent Keynesian like Dr. Klein points out that Keynesian theory does not tell us how to get fair employment. A complete economic theory should tell us how to get full and fair employment. Because “just as the existence of unemployment causes disease in our economic system, preparing the way for disaster, so does the existence of unfair employment create an equally serious disease.” From this point of view, the Keynesian theory is not applicable to underdeveloped countries. For this reason, Prof. Harris tells us “those who seek universal truths applicable in all places and all times had better not waste their time on **GENERAL THEORY.**” So the only way by which we can eradicate underemployment in our country is to proceed as rapidly as possible in the opposite direction to that advocated by Keynes for the West.

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of two GIFT BOOKS from the USIS, Bombay, viz., “THE INVISIBLE CONFLICT” By U. T. HSU and “THE EIGHTEEN STORY PAGODA” By Max Freiter.

# Nehru Must Make His Choice

(From our Correspondent)

**T**HE Communist performance cannot bear comparison with their threats on the subject of the dismissal of the Kerala Ministry and we have had nothing anywhere like the commotion they promised all over the land. It is reliably understood that the Communist policy-makers refused to hold another general election in the state (as advised by Mr. Nehru) with a Communist government in office and thus gain the great advantage that a party in power has in India with a section of the electorate which confuses government with the state and votes for the former, because the Communist leaders were sure that they would not be returned to power with all the other parties dead set against them. A writer in the *Hindustan Times* points out the moral—which deserves to be widely broadcast—that “the intrinsic Communist strength is still small and the only reason it is made to look bigger is that our faith in democracy is not vibrant enough to think of it as not just one of several desirable ways of running our affairs but the only one consistent with human dignity and freedom.”

## FAITH IN MR. NEHRU

Another reason for their refusal to hold mid-term elections was, of course, their faith in Mr. Nehru, reinforced as it was by the unwarranted declaration of Defence Minister Menon that the troops would be available to the Kerala Government to maintain law and order or, more briefly, to shoot down the people. The Communists had some reason to think that it would be inconsistent on the part of Mr. Nehru to advise dismissal of the Kerala Ministry with the foreign policy he has been steadily pursuing of appeasing the Communist countries. That they had some basis for their faith in Mr. Nehru cannot be denied, for otherwise their rule in Kerala would not have lasted as long as it did. The main complaint against the Kerala Government, that it was not being and cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of our democratic constitution, was almost as old as the Kerala Government itself. It has been held to be true, yet the Government was allowed to carry on for more than two years. Is it then for the people to make government impossible when it is not carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution before the President steps in? That makes the public the arbiter whereas the Constitution definitely lays that function down as that of the President. Any one can see who was responsible for the delay in the President taking over the administration of the state. Our indefensible foreign policy has been making our Government ignore the Constitution of the land. The question naturally arises: Has not the President been attaching far too much importance to the advice of his Prime Minister?

In any case, Kerala has taught a lesson which de-

mocrats in the country will forget at their peril. That indifferent patriots like the Catholics and the Muslim Leaguers should have learnt it is a good augury for the future.

## ENGLISH VERSUS HINDI

Mr. Nehru's brilliant intervention in the Lok Sabha which brought about the withdrawal of his resolution by Mr. Frank Anthony seeking to include English in the eighth schedule of the Constitution amounts almost to a volte face on the part of the Congress leader on the subject of Hindi as the national language of the country. Mr. Nehru himself has never been a Hindi maniac but as a leader who has to carry the majority of his party with him he has had to make concessions to those who radically differ from him on the subject.

It is well-known that Dr. Rajendra Prasad's candidature as President in 1950 was strongly supported by Hindiwallahs such as Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon of U.P. and Seth Govind Das of Madhya Pradesh. Tandon rose to power in U.P. as much on account of his renowned selflessness as of his advocacy of Hindi. There was a time when the Chief Minister of U.P. felt he could safely defy Nehru but not Tandon. The language riots in Eastern Pakistan in favour of Bengalee administered the first shock to Hindi maniacs and Mr. Nehru felt constrained to point out at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party that what was happening in Eastern Pakistan should be a moral to Hindi enthusiasts in India, implying that what happened in Eastern Pakistan could happen, say, in South India. That was really the turn of the tide and Mr. Tandon's lieutenants began falling away from him, realising that what they had mistaken for a cementing bond was really a disrupting factor.

The whole controversy on Hindi rests on the question whether it is to be imposed on non-Hindi-speaking people. Hindiwallahs publicly say that they do not want to impose it on others, but that is really what they desire in their heart of hearts. If they do not want to impose it on southerners and others, the latter should be allowed to decide what their attitude is going to be. Mr. Nehru was quick to realise the deception and take his stand against it. If non-Hindi speaking people did not want to learn Hindi, said the Prime Minister unequivocally in Parliament, “let them not,” adding, “This talk of imposition must go.” Those who do not want to correspond in a particular language can, according to Mr. Nehru, have English as an associate language. Who can deny his assertion that by driving out English they would be closing all the windows and severing contracts with the outside world of science and technology which they could ill afford to do when they were on the threshold of an industrial revolution?

## SUPERIOR BEINGS

The Prime Minister was good enough to wipe the tears of those who voiced the grievance that even those who spoke English indifferently passed off as superior beings as compared to scholars and others learned in the national languages. But the question arises: why should they be allowed to pass off as superior beings? Who permits it? Englishmen are no longer regarded as superior beings in India. Why should English be regarded as the language of superior beings by almost everybody in the country? The answer to that question reveals the contempt even Hindi-speaking people have for Hindi. Educated and well-to-do Hindi-speaking people in Delhi are sending their children to Anglo-Indian schools and paying through the nose for it. They have naturally been multiplying fast and making money in the bargain. Although the tuition fee they charge is exorbitant, they have to refuse students for want of accommodation! All this is not exactly an indication that English is on the way to being driven out of the country. At this rate, it may well remain what it is today—the language of superior beings!

### GANDHI REACTIONARY!

Mr. Nehru's denunciation of the Swatantra Party as a party of reactionary, conservative and backward elements in the political life of the country does not come as a surprise to those who have read his *Autobiography*, where he almost goes all out to condemn Mahatma Gandhi as such. But the question arises again—it has been there since he had his *Autobiography* published in 1937: Why does he ask the people to follow Mahatma Gandhi and by implication and assertion suggest that he himself is a follower of Mahatma Gandhi? He cannot deny that he has been practising this species of deception on the people and posing to be a follower of Mahatma Gandhi to gain their loyalty whereas he is in fact and has always been an opponent of what the Mahatma stood for. Is that consistent with his much-advertised moral approach to political problems?

Mr. Rajagopalachari has summed up in brief what Mahatma Gandhi stood for—trusteeship. Nehru has made the same summing up in his *Autobiography* and cannot therefore contradict Rajagi's summing up of Gandhi's philosophy. There is now no way out for our Prime Minister. He cannot condemn the Swatantra Party as reactionary and conservative without condemning the man whom he has been proclaiming his leader all his life in the same terms. One result of the formation of the Swatantra Party will be that it will clear the air of fraud and deception and show Mr. Nehru in his true colours. The latter will soon discover that whatever is old and Indian is not necessarily bad and that whatever is new and foreign is not necessarily good. He has been having the best of both the worlds—Gandhian and Communist. A very clever performance no doubt but hardly convincing to those who have not lost their memories. Mr. Nehru will now have to make his choice and in making his choice necessarily lose the allegiance of at least one of the two opposites he has so far succeeded in hoodwinking.

Ghosts of the past can sometimes be very inconvenient. Mr. Nehru has so far taken reticence for idiocy and been patting himself on back for his cleverness while all the time shrewd men have been seeing through the game he has been playing for his own self-advancement at the cost of his country. He seems to have been thinking he can fool all people for all time. That is a performance too great for any mortal, as he will now begin to see.

### THE SIKH IMBROGLIO

The campaign for the Sikh gurudwara elections scheduled for January has started in right earnest. The Akalis led by Master Tara Singh are condemning Giani Kartar Singh and his friends as "Congress-controlled" agents, while the latter have been trying to expose the cult of personality which makes Master Tara Singh identify himself with the Panth.

The recent exhibition of violence in or near the precincts of gurudwaras has set even the Sikhs thinking. Thus in a way it may be said to have come as a blessing in disguise. Violence is not a one-way traffic. The threat of raising the sword against the Government resolved itself into one of raising it against its agents, fellow-Sikhs who retorted by raising it themselves. A few hundred Sikhs were enough to prove that Master Tara Singh with his cry of "Punjabi Suba" and "Punjabi State" was only leading them to internecine warfare among the Sikhs. In the days of communal rioting in India (when the Muslim League was supporting Muslim goondas) it was urged by some staunch Nationalist Muslims that they should be allowed to organise a force to counter that of the League and one or two riots between Muslim factions would be enough to discredit the League in the eyes of all Muslims but Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence would not permit the organisation or the demonstration and the situation went on worsening until Pakistan was established. Opponents of Master Tara Singh have taught him a lesson which he will not easily forget. The venerable Sikh leader will now remember that he is not the only Sikh who can organise violence. Once he returns to the path of reason and of peace, there should be no difficulty in the Sikhs coming together to discuss ways and means of amelioration of their community.

Giani Kartar Singh and his followers have at a convention founded the Panth Sevak Dal and jathas of this Dal are being formed in villages and tehsils. The followers of Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kairon are organising themselves into the Deshmesh Dal and Mohan Singh of INA fame has been entrusted with the task of making it a militant organisation. Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala has his Malwa Akali Dal, which claims to be the most representative body of Sikhs in Patiala, Sangrur, Ludhiana and Ferozpur districts. The Communist-backed Deshbhagats are a power to be reckoned with by rival factions. The existence of so many parties among the Sikhs cannot but detract from the claims of Master Tara Singh to represent the Panth.

# The Chinese "Communes"

(Contributed)

**T**HE Chinese communists and their supporters abroad repeatedly assert that their "communes" were result of a spontaneous movement of the peasants and that they have not been imposed from above. To what extent are these claims true?

Just as the Russian dictatorship could never tolerate any spontaneous movement from below, neither can that of "Red China." It cannot allow opposition of any sort. No State, much less a totalitarian one, could allow a social force as massive as 500,000,000 peasants to institute "on its own" a complete change in the country's social structure. How could such a movement come into being without challenging the power of the ruling group? How could such a movement be controlled? If it were allowed free rein, what would become of the approximately 50,000,000 Party and Youth League members, soldiers, police and bureaucrats? In all of human history no privileged class or ruling parasitical clique has ever voluntarily surrendered its power.

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The Monthly Review, a pro-Communist publication, goes into raptures over the Chinese "communes." The major part of its March, 1959 issue is devoted to that subject. The article by D. D. Kosambi declares that: "The change from cooperatives was not planned from above nor directed from the top." (page 426) But an article by Charles Bettelheim in the same issue flatly contradicts this:

"The movement to establish started on an experimental basis in the very first months of 1958. The results attained showed the efficiency of this organization, and on the 29th of August last, a resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) recognized that the establishment of peoples' communes was the 'logical result of the march of events.' This resolution drew the broad outlines of the organization of communes and by October, 1958, 90% of all peasant families have become members of communes."

The evidence shows that Kasambi was wrong and Bettelheim was right. Is it credible that 500,000,000 people met, deliberated and discussed democratically, voted and dissolved the old "cooperative" system to set up the new "communes" into which they then voluntarily herded themselves—and all in the space of two months? Bettelheim has let the cat out of the bag. His statements show that the CCP conceived and engineered the whole show. The people had nothing to say, as is evidenced by this further statement.

"The local administration was simply abolished, and the personnel absorbed within the communes, not necessarily as administrators. This covers police, revenue officials, courts and judges and so forth. The commune takes over such of their functions as is still necessary and deals directly with the higher state organs." (page 426).

A conference was held in Hsiu-yang (Honan Province), scene of the first experimental "commune," from July 20 to August 5, 1958, to discuss problems relating to the organization of the "peoples' communes." The directives for their future development were first publicly announced there. It was reported that prizes and special bonuses would be awarded to those members of the "communes" who "Obey the leadership with fervor and who work with enthusiasm." A resolution adopted at this Conference stated that: "The organizations of the Party must exercise control over the commune members under all circumstances."

With the establishment of the "communes," the individuals, groups, associations and trades have all been deprived of their freedom. All social and economic activities are centralized in the clique of party officials who run the "commune" which is responsible not to the people, whose rights it has usurped, but to the "higher State organs." This procedure has nothing in common with the establishment of genuine communes. It is simply a police action.

The CCP and its apologists justify the "communes" on economic grounds. The cooperatives, they say, had become an obstacle to the rapid development of the Chinese economy. It became necessary "to make the great leap forward." The claims of the pro-Commies and Mao Tse-tung himself demonstrate that the economic factor was a minor consideration in the change-over. Bettelheim says:

"Already in 1956 the socialist transformation of China was completed and the contradiction of capitalist society and the obstacles they opposed to the rapid and continuous economic growth was eliminated." (page 436).

Mao Tse-tung, in his famous speech announcing the "hundred flowers" policy, said in February, 1957:

"It is clear then that nothing went wrong with the cooperative movement. How long will it take to consolidate the cooperative and end these arguments about their having any superior qualities? In my view we will be doing well enough if we succeed in establishing the cooperative in the first Five Year Plan and consolidating them in Second."

Mao's speech at that time said nothing about "communes." This major economic policy decision determined the direction of economic development. It assigned ten years of effort to the development and consolidation of the "cooperative" system. Why this sudden reversal? Why this sudden mad rush to establish communes? Something must have gone wrong.

That "something" was the open and passive resistance of many peasants, workers, intellectuals and party members. This accounted for the "hundred flowers policy." Even the edited version of Mao's speech was replete with references to the wide-spread discontent. Thus:

"Certain people in our community were delighted when the Hungarian events took place....They felt there was too little freedom under our people's democracy....They asked for a two party system."

Nowhere is there more convincing proof of the antagonism between the government and the people than in the revealing remarks which follow. After repeating that his government represents the people, Mao declares.

"Certain contradictions do exist between the interests of the State, collective interest and individual interest, between democracy and centralism, between those in position of leadership and the led, and contradictions arising from the bureaucratic practices of certain state functionaries in their relations with the masses."

The "cooperative" system was too loose a form of organization and provided too many opportunities for people to organize discontent.

To facilitate the dictatorship's operation, it finally became necessary to replace that system by the "communes," a more easily controlled form of regimentation. 500,000,000 peasants have been herded into 25,000 concentration camps disguised as communes.

The claimed phenomenal increase in production in the "communes" as compared to the older "cooperatives" does not mean that China has made a "great leap forward" in a socialist direction. It means simply that the tempo of exploitation has been increased. Tremendous economic productivity has been made under tyrannical regimes. Increased production can, instead of promoting freedom, facilitate slavery. Increased production can be used and is to reinforce the power apparatus.

The industrialization of China is being based on the enslavement of the peasantry. The dictatorship came to power through the peasantry and is consolidating itself at their expense.

But how otherwise could industrialization be attained? Russian aid was insufficient. The export of agricultural and industrial products in exchange for machinery, raw materials and consumer goods could not suffice because of the primitive state of China's economy. The only exploitable commodity that China

possesses in abundance is human labor power. The "commune" system makes possible the most intensive exploitation of this commodity. In the agricultural "cooperatives" the peasant gave his property and his labor to the State. In the "commune" he gives also his property and his labor to the State. In the "commune" he gives also his person. He is no longer a person but a de-humanized production unit.

The general picture of regimentation is graphically described by Dr. Sripati Chandrasekhar, prominent Indian social scientist recently returned from extensive travel in Communist China.

"Everywhere men and women of all ages are working day and night. They are dressed in blue trousers and buttoned up coats with collars like the uniform of Mao Tse-tung, the CP chairman.

"Hundreds of thousands of men and women in blue padded coats and trousers look like an endless army of blue ants scurrying to their appointed tasks. This dull uniformity numbs one's vision in the beginning. But soon one grows used to seeing a whole nation in blue uniforms.

"Another thing that no one can escape is the ubiquitous wired radio loud-speaker. The radio blares away at you in the bus, the train and in the trolley, in sleepers and dining cars, in villages, towns, and cities—just about everywhere.

"And what does this radio pour out night and day? It is the most important medium for approved news—news of the nation's progress, industrial output, how to make a smelter, how to defeat the American imperialists, how to be a good communist, how to be neat, how to denounce the rightists and a thousand other things, interspersed with Chinese opera and marching songs. The radio and relaying loud-speaker cannot be controlled and cannot even be turned off."

The Chinese peasant formerly worked a maximum of 200 days a year. Now he "voluntarily" works an average of 300 days a year with two days off in a month. In the "commune", workers belong to units organized into divisions, battalions, companies and regiments. Reveille is at 5 a.m. After roll call, all march to work. Breakfast is at 8 a.m. One and one-half hours are allowed for lunch and the working day supposedly ends at 6 p.m. But with "voluntary" overtime, millions work 18 hours a day. Military training is an integral part of the "commune." The slogan is "One hand on the hoe and One hand on the rifle," but only reliable political activists get rifles and then only after rigid tests.

The Peking Review, a Chinese Communist weekly published in English (Dec. 2, 1958) tells us, how Kwangtung Province won back the leadership in the rat-race of production:

"Lack of understanding of the pace set in other parts of the country and their less-than-tops tempo were the chief reasons for Kwangtung's comparative lag. To win back their leadership in grain production, the people of the province adopted emergency

(Continued on page 15)

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# Socialist Propaganda

The result is increased taxes on the people it impoverishes

Reginald Jebb

**T**O CURTAIL the freedom of a people so that the lazy or inefficient members of the community should be enabled to remain lazy and inefficient is not only to impair the most precious attribute that mankind possesses, but it is also bound in the long run to destroy the economy of the country that practices it.

When the State curtails individual freedom, it defends its action by saying that it is helping the weak

*(Continued from page 14)*

measures, concentrated on close planting and an intensive application of fertilizer. **FOR A HUNDRED DAYS OR SO THE PEASANTS WORKED, ATE AND SLEPT OUT ON THE FIELDS.**

Radio Peking broadcast the interesting information that:

"The July First commune plowed 600 acres of land in six days and one of the production brigade refused to stop work and leave although it was 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning... workers in the number 17 cotton mill voluntarily asked for the abolition of the quarterly bonus... The CP of Honan province suggests: 'If, after day and night shifts on steel-making, the workers participate in a little farm production, they will be refreshed'."

The "communes" are organized along military lines in units that vary from 2,000 to 7,000 families although some have ten or even twenty thousand families. "Labor battalions" can be conscripted from their ranks for any work within or outside the "commune" itself.

Boarding schools are part of the "commune" system, since the children are taken from their parents and live in barrack-like dormitories. They are trained by the Communist Party and taught not to think about their homes. For relaxation, they sing "Formosa is ours" and "Socialism is best," and play with toy guns provided by the "communes."

When parents complained that the children are being deprived of mother love, the China Youth Daily of Peking (Oct. 25th, 1958,) declares:

"Parents should understand that they are going to live in a Communist State where the old and young will be properly taken care of. It is for society to raise and educate them young into a new generation and give the kind of love that no maternal love can hope to compare with."

Families are destroyed and women are mobilized to augment the labor force. Over ninety per cent of peasant households have already been absorbed into the system. They eat in common dining rooms, and sleep in dormitories segregated by sex.

Thus has the State prohibited any form of human association that does not fit into its twisted doctrine. The complete control of life and the enslavement of the individual is carried to heights never before attained by any society in history.

against the strong, that its motives are selfless and therefore impartial, and that it is preventing the exploitation of man by man.

The fallacy in this statement of aims is seldom pointed out. Personal freedom is not oppressive. It is a God-given human right that holds oppression at bay. The first thing that a tyrant does is to deprive his people of freedom. So long as they remain free, he cannot succeed. Those who support the State's claim to restrict freedom of action to itself are equating personal freedom with injustice. That there is injustice in the world and that undeserved hardship exists, all will agree; but remedies of these evils are not to be found by confining freedom to a ruling clique. Nor will any of the State's arguments bear examination.

What, for example, is the State's attitude as regards the weakness or strength of members of society? It assumes that the wage earners of organized labor are the weak members that need help, and it sets itself to nationalize industries and pour money into them, to boost wage rates whenever the cost of living rises, and to solicit popularity by deferring to union demands. But these wage earners are not the weak of today's world. On the contrary, they are backed and protected by one of the strongest pressure groups that exist in industrialized countries. Other bodies, such as professional men, small proprietors, or that heterogeneous section of the population that through misfortune or lack of opportunity is suffering hardship, have none of these advantages; and the State passes them over. They do not fit the artificial category of those with a claim on the country's taxes.

Nor can the socialist State justly claim that it is impartial in its distribution of favors. Those in power are influenced by their desire to remain in power. Their actions are therefore dictated more by a determination to stand well with the big battalions who provide most of the votes at elections than by an impartial assessment of need. Indeed, even if this were not so, the distance at which they operate from life as it is lived by millions of diverse individuals would make it impossible to form sound judgments. Their disbursements of other people's money, so far from giving encouragement to those that need it, produce only a spirit of dependence in the recipients and of frustration among the rest.

Consider again the exploitation of man by man. If a government were really to undertake the task of eliminating this evil (an evil which in the last resort can be cured only by insistence on human rights by the people themselves), it would have to sift all grades of society, for exploitation is liable to occur at all levels. It would have to suppress—to take a single example—the many injustices practiced by the trade union movement where, for the supposed benefit of the mass of members or in the dealings of powerful unions with



others less amply financed, individuals can be boycotted by their fellow members and prevented from finding work, and smaller unions eaten up by their big neighbors. But no socialist government has ever tackled or is ever likely to tackle such instances of exploitation as these. It concentrates its efforts on disputes between management and labor in industry and turns a blind eye to the injustices that take place within the labor ranks. It could hardly do otherwise, for it owes its existence to pressure groups with the most numerous following.

### **SOCIALIST BLUEPRINT OF UTOPIA**

If we want to examine the aims and methods of socialism at firsthand, there is a booklet recently issued by the Labour Party of Great Britain that will enlighten us. It is a glossy document, expensively produced, which sets out under fourteen headings what a socialist government intends to do if it comes into power.

There are two marks that characterize this socialist blueprint of utopia. They are, first, big increases in governmental expenditure, and, second, a bland assumption that all the glittering amenities heralded—in fact, almost everything that is normally considered to be a matter for decision by individuals according to their aptitude and choice—must be organized and handed out by the State.

#### **RENT CONTROL, SOCIALIZED MEDICINE, OLD AGE PENSIONS**

Let us take a few examples.

Under the heading, "Your Home," we read: "The first step must be to repair as far as possible the damage done by the Tories. The Tory Rent Act decontrolled 800,000 rented houses and permitted landlords to raise the rents of the rest. We will repeal it.... We shall stop all further decontrol." That is a good instance of currying favor with a big section of the population in defiance of ordinary justice to the smaller number of owners. Rent control, which the Conservatives began to break down by their overdue Rent Act, had long been utterly unjust as well as grossly wasteful; for, with restricted uneconomic rents, it was impossible for owners to keep their houses in repair. Furthermore, the socialist proposal is hypocritical since houses owned by local governments have no restriction on the raising of rents. In addition to this, taxpayers' money is to be poured out on the compulsory purchase and modernizing of houses now privately owned.

Another example occurs in the section entitled "Health." This deals with the State Health Service which, while converting the medical profession into what is to all intents and purposes a civil service responsible to the State instead of a profession entering into a free contract between doctor and patient, has lavished millions of pounds on the doctoring of people who could well afford to pay for it themselves. The Labour Party proposes to spend a great deal more of taxpayers' money on building new hospitals (which used to be built and supported by private initiative) and by abolishing altogether charges on prescriptions,

dental treatment, and spectacles—charges which are already utterly uneconomic. In a word, it is going to complete the strangulation of a profession and at the same time squander the country's money.

One more example out of the many that might be cited: It is proposed that old-age pensions shall be increased. In addition, there is to be a superannuation pension for those who have paid the weekly stamp charge on their incomes. Much of the extra money needed for those purposes will come from the better-off taxpayer.

### **FALSE CLAIMS OF SOCIALISM**

It is not surprising that these socialist plans should have been criticized on the grounds that they would necessitate greatly increased taxation on a country that is already bearing an almost intolerable tax burden. The planners' reply is that this will not be so, because under socialism there will be a rapid expansion of production. "We shall get the machines and factories working at full capacity," they say. "We shall put the unemployed back to work."

These claims are calculated to influence the ignorant voter in favor of the Party. They are flatly untrue. Unless the State assumes control of all the means of production (which would universalize the wasteful inefficiency characteristic of the present nationalized industries), it would have no power to expand production as it promises. But there is a still stronger refutation of its claims. Great Britain has to export some 30 per cent of what she manufactures to pay for food and raw materials imported, but no government can compel other nations to buy our goods. Therefore, no government can insure that there shall be full employment, for without exports no amount of governmental action could prevent unemployment.

It is this kind of socialist propaganda that is so dangerous. It aims at attracting the general public by what is in fact an exact reversal of the truth. Trade, and with it the maximum use of the industrial population of a country, will succeed in proportion to the excellence of the product combined with ability of management. This requires special training and a free market in which to exercise it, both of which requirements are absent when the State steps in to control industry.

Two conclusions follow irrevocably: the result of State interference in industry will be an increase, not a decrease, of unemployment; and, therefore, the extra money the government spends on socialising a country will come out of increased taxes levied on a people it has impoverished....

—THE FREEMAN, June 1959



# The Orgonomic Concept Of Health And Its Social Consequences \*

By Ola Raknes, Ph.D.\*\*

**I**N spite of the importance of health in our daily life, I do not remember ever having seen a definition of health. The goal of the medical profession is said to be that of making people healthy—and usually it looks as if by this is meant to help get rid of their illnesses or of the symptoms of these. The early psycho-analysts put the goal of their work in somewhat more positive terms, namely to make the patient “capable of work and pleasure.” However, a man can be capable of both work and pleasure without being healthy. Nevertheless, I think this definition points the way—that work and pleasure represent two aspects of biological functioning. One might say that work is the external, objective result of biological functioning, while pleasure is the subjective result.

As a preliminary definition, let us say that health is a condition in which the organism functions biologically without inner resistance or conflict. What is meant in saying that an organism functions biologically, and by what criterion do we determine that this takes place without inner resistance or conflict? There are several ways of finding an answer to these questions. I will choose the historic-genetic approach.

The concept of health that I will now present originally had its roots in the early psychoanalytic goal—to help the patient become capable of work and pleasure. In the first half of the 1920's, Wilhelm Reich (born 1897) decided to investigate as many cases treated psychoanalytically as he could, in order to try to find what it was that in some cases brought about the desired results, while other cases resulted in failures; and to discover why some of the successful cases soon relapsed or showed new neurotic traits, while in other cases the good results persisted.

I shall not consider here the full details of Reich's findings. I shall present those central ones that were found to be uniformly valid. The unsuccessful cases, as well as all the relapses, had this in common: that they had never achieved a satisfactory sex life, while those that had reached the goals of health set forth above and that had not had any relapse, were cases that had achieved a satisfactory sex life.

Reich also decided to find out what a satisfactory sex life really is—a question, which, as far as I know, had never before been made the object of scientific research, either in or outside the psychoanalytic move-

ment... Reich found what he called orgasmic potency to be the condition for a wholly satisfactory sex life. By orgasmic potency he meant the ability to give oneself completely and be literally self-forgetting in a sexual embrace with a loved person of the other sex. Other aspects of this ability are, according to Reich, a capacity for full concentration in work or in a task in which one is interested, and a certain spirit of adventure.

In studying the function of the orgasm, the role it fills in the economy of life and how and why it plays this role, Reich more and more encountered the problem of energy, the question of what energy was at work and how this energy is or may be regarded; that is, the laws governing this energy. For a long time Reich was of the opinion that he was dealing with a special form of electricity, bioelectricity as he called it, which obeyed the laws that were in part different from those of electricity in inorganic matter. Regarding the orgasm from an energy point of view, he found that he could describe it as a biological process in four tempi. These he formulated in the following way: (1) mechanical tension (e.g., certain tissues being filled with blood), which leads to (2) bio-electric charge, which at a certain level leads to (3) bio-electric discharge, which leads to (4) mechanical relaxation. Later, when Reich had come to doubt whether he was in fact dealing with electricity, he substituted bio-energetic for bio-electric in this formula, and later gave another name to this energy.

At the time when Reich still believed he was dealing with electricity, he arranged two series of experiments to find out how this energy manifested itself in biological processes. The first series was designed to find out whether the electrical tension in the body surface varied with the subjective feelings of pleasure, pain or anxiety—as light waves vary in changes in our subjective impressions of color. He found that these variations did occur, but he also found that the electric charges, some few milli-volts, did not satisfactorily explain the strong subjective tensions and the behavior they led to.

The second series of experiments started from the study of the orgasm and the orgasm formula, which in abbreviated form was expressed: tension—charge—discharge—relaxation. Reich had noticed that movements of the same sort are found throughout the animal world, most distinctly in the microscopic protozoa. This seemed to support a thought he had had before, that the sexual energy is nothing but the life-energy itself, directed toward a sexual goal. Were this thought correct it would be natural to think that the orgasm formula would have a much wider field of application and become the life formula itself.

\*\*Orgone therapist, Oslo, Norway. Formerly psychoanalyst and characteranalyst.

\*This paper was originally a contribution to symposium on “The Concept of Mental Health” in the Norwegian Institute for Social Research in Oslo. It is reprinted, slightly abridged, from *Orgonomic Medicine*, Vol. I No. 2, November 1955.

As a functionalist, Reich had already been of the opinion, as had many philosophers and biologists, that the living had its origin in the non-living. It has not been possible so far, however, to demonstrate concretely and experimentally the transition from lifeless materials in such a way and under such conditions that a process of the kind described by the orgasm formula might come about. In the main, he made use of two methods in these experiments: (1) he let sterile and dried organic matter be soaked in sterile water and (2) mixed heated inorganic matter with sterile nutrient broth of the kind used for bacterial cultures. In some of the experiments of both kinds, some microscopic vesicles appeared. These vesicles behaved as if they were alive: they were in constant movement of a kind that was clearly different from the angular, mechanical, Brownian molecular movements; they expanded and contracted; they moved from one place to another; and they formed more or less regular clusters, around which after a while a membrane formed, and the new bodies then behaved as do various well-known protozoa. In nutrient broth they propagated like other protozoa. These unorganized vesicles Reich called bions. When the bions organize themselves they form protozoa. As soon as they are organized, and while they are still partly in the process of organization, they show biological movements that appear to follow the orgasm formula: tension—charge—discharge relaxation. This movement Reich later called biological pulsation, of which the orgasm is only a special instance.

Biological pulsation is, as far as we can see now, the only form of activity which is common to all living beings. Thus it must be correct to call this pulsation a function basic to all life. As long as nothing occurs to hinder this pulsation, the entire organism will take part in it, and we can say that the organism functions freely. If something external threatens to stop the pulsation, the organism will try to rid itself of the obstacle, either by exterminating it or by fleeing from it. If the organism succeeds in doing this while maintaining its pulsation intact, we say it is healthy. If however, the obstacle is allowed to take effect for so long a time that larger or smaller parts of the organism do not manage to take part again in the pulsation, or if the obstacle harms or destroys greater or lesser parts of the organism, we say the organism is ill. If the damage is so great that the pulsation completely comes to an end, the organism dies.

### WHAT IS THE ROLE OF BIOLOGICAL PULSATION IN LIFE ECONOMY?

Briefly, one can say that this pulsation regulates the energy economy in the organism, as in a similar way the beat of the heart takes care of the blood supply to the various parts of the organism. The energy metabolism of the body is regulated by the autonomic or vegetative nervous system, which has to do with digestion and blood circulation, with respiration, with sexuality and with the emotions. One of these—the respiratory system—can to a certain extent be voluntarily and directly controlled by the central nervous system. Through the respiratory system we may also influence the free biological pulsation in the organism.

Without giving any proof of it here, we shall assume the free energy metabolism of the organism to be the basic prerequisite for health, and the free biological pulsation to be the criterion of this free energy metabolism and thus also of health. I shall not here discuss further the kind of energy with which we are dealing, but merely mention that Wilhelm Reich has discovered and demonstrated the existence of a form of energy which shows the same kind of pulsation as we see and know in the biological pulsation. He first discovered this energy as a radiation from living organisms and therefore thought it to be specific to the living, and called it orgone. Later on, he discovered that the orgone exists everywhere just as does the other which the physicists previously postulated. Since then he often called the orgone the cosmic orgone energy. During the years 1945-1955 Reich spent much of his time in research on this energy, on its properties and laws, and on how it might be put to use, especially in therapy and prevention of disease.

Three things are required for free energy metabolism: (1) that the organism can freely absorb the energy it needs through the supply of nutrients, through respiration and through orgone supply, (2) that the energy can freely circulate in the body and (3) that the organism at all times and by adequate movements can find outlets for the energy absorbed. I do not think it has ever been doubted that health demands a fairly even supply of energy. Scientists have recently discovered that the organism cannot absorb the nutrition supply if the absorption does not give a certain feeling of pleasure in the form of a good taste or something similar. For children it may also be a condition for obtaining energy, and thus for health, that they get a direct supply of orgone through living, loving contact with other human beings—through that which American nurseries call “mothering.”

Free circulation and free outlet of energy metabolism, we can discuss simultaneously, since the condition for both is full freedom of movement. This does not mean absolute freedom of movement in the sense that every impulse toward a movement can take its course in that direction and form in which it first is felt. By full freedom of movement we mean, that no impulse to movement is halted, but is, if necessary, given another direction and form. In other words, it is not suppressed, but if necessary, deflected—or perhaps substituted by another which can give a similar outlet for the energy.

Each brake on a spontaneous, natural movement is an interference with the natural biological pulsation which we maintain to be a fundamental prerequisite and criterion for health. As long, however, as the brake on the impulse is not so strong or not of such long duration, that the organism cannot on its own and fairly soon regain its free pulsation, one does not usually consider the brake harmful to its health.

There is, however, a series of obstacles to movement which are either so powerful of such long duration, or of such frequency or systematic repetition that the organism cannot on its own—at least not until long afterward—experience any impulse toward the impeded

*(Continued on page 19)*

# Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore.

Annual Report for the period 14th November, 1958 to 10th July, 1959.

Office bearers: Mr. M. A. Venkatarao, Hon. Director. Mr. P. Spratt, Hon. President.

The routine activity of the Institute consists of running a free reading room and arranging lectures and discussion meetings. The general aim is to develop interest among thoughtful citizens on the implications of free economy and free society and to spread sound ideas concerning democracy.

The papers subscribed for and the pamphlets put on the table and the books stocked in the library are selected to help the purposes in view.

Books and pamphlets expounding libertarian thought in Europe and America as well as those published by the Bombay Head Office are made available to members and discussion stimulated on their ideas.

The response on the part of several groups of citizens has been encouraging who have evinced interest in Libertarianism and current political and economic problems. Much of current socialism and communism has come under critical scrutiny in the meetings held. The ground covered has been very wide and topics are followed into debate in later meetings summoned for the purpose.

The number of potential members who attend sessions more or less regularly may be put at more than 100. There will be more progress if better accommodation for the activities of the Institute is made available.

## DID YOU KNOW ?

- \* The First hydro-electric plant in India was installed at Darjeeling in 1897-98, but the first major hydro-electric station was the one at Sivasamudram, Mysore, State which started working in 1902.
- \* The first steel mill in India was established in 1887

(Continued from page 18)

movement. In the kind of child-rearing which is still the most common, such stopping of impulses is so common that adult organisms that have undamaged capacity for free biological pulsation are mere exceptions. I doubt if I know anyone with this capacity undamaged, though I do know a number who have managed to retain a lot of it or regain much of it.

As you understand, there are not many who can consider themselves healthy, if free biological pulsation be the criterion of health. In America, every tenth person is found to visit a "mental institution", one or several times in the course of his life. If in addition one takes into account all those in psychotherapy and all the more or less nervous or queer persons who neither come to a hospital or seek psychotherapy, we arrive at a very high percentage of mentally ill people.

(To be continued)

at Kulti in Bengal. It came to be managed later by the Bengal Iron and Steel Company.

- \* The Mysore Chemical and Fertilisers at Belagola, Mysore State, 1938, was the first Fertiliser plant in India. Fertilisers were also manufactured as by-products in some iron and steel plants.
- \* India's fish production amounts to a little more than a million tons a year. India ranks eighth.
- \* Ceramic production in India—A recent estimate puts the annual production of glassware at Rs. 3.5 crore and of chinware at Rs. 1.3 crore.

## THE MOST PRECIOUS THING

"Once in olden days wise people gathered around a fire one evening to decide which was the most precious thing. One of the younger men rose and said that the most precious thing was the arms with which men defend their families, their wealth and freedom. If it was not for the arms, he continued, the enemy would take away the land, they would grab our gold and our women and would kill us or turn us slaves." 'No' rose the voice of another. 'The most important thing is gold, for it can buy food and clothes and arms,—everything, even the enemy.' 'The most precious thing is the land, on which we live,' said the third, 'for it is sprinkled with the blood of our forefathers, and our sweat, for it feeds us and our children and when it is threatened by an enemy, men give away their gold, women part with their ornaments and we all take up arms to defend it.' Then rose the oldest and wisest of them all. 'The most precious thing in this world,' he said slowly, 'are the people.' 'What is gold, land, arms without the people? Human beings constitute life, their labour beautifies and enriches the earth. Help the people to live in friendship and peace! Then no one will be in need of arms, people will live without gold, and there will be land for all.'

—:0:—

**Twelve great men blazed lonely, triumphant trails in different fields of science after Marconi.**

**Remember their names and honour them always:**

- Sir Alexander Fleming, the man who found Penicillin.
- John Logie Baird, the inventor of Television.
- Sir Edward Victor Appleton, the discoverer of the Ionosphere Layer.
- Sir Robert Watson-Watt, the man who gave the world Radar.
- Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins, the man who named the Vitamins.
- Sir Robert H. Davis, the inventor of Submarine Escape Apparatus.
- Auguste & Jean Piccard, builders of the Balloon and Bathyscaph.
- Sir Frederick Grant Banting, the discoverer of Insulin.
- Sir Frank Whittle, the inventor of the Turbo-Jet Aero-Engine.
- Wernher Von Braun, designer of the V2 Rocket, pioneer of space-flight.
- Albert Einstein, the theoretician of Relativity.
- J. Robert Oppenheimer, the man who made the Atom Bomb.

# **NEWS DIGEST**

## **INDIA EXHIBITS IN CHICAGO FAIR**

Chicago: India is participating in the Chicago International Fair and Exposition opening here this week. India's exhibit takes up over 7,00 square feet and contains six sections covering India's Five Year Plans and Community Development Projects; business and investment opportunities in India; major items of Indian exports to the United States such as jute, tea, manganese ore, mica and spices; handicrafts; textiles and coir products; and cultural affairs and tourism.

## **PAK FIRING UNJUSTIFIED—NEHRU**

New Delhi: Prime Minister Nehru told the Lok Sabha that the recent firings by Pakistan in the Dawki and other areas were "totally unjustified and without the slightest justification."

Replying to questions by Hem Barua and others as to what steps Government proposed to take to recover Tukurgram from Pakistan, Nehru said that the steps could be diplomatic or military.

In regard to Tukurgram and generally, India's policy was not to undertake any largescale military steps. This was not on any grounds of non-violence, but because of the consequences of military steps.

However, he assured the House that Government was completely alive to the situation on the borders and alert, and if the necessity arose "we shall take action."

*Asked by Premji Assar whether the Nehru-Noon agreement was still valid, Nehru replied: "I am not prepared to answer that in a legal sense. It is difficult to answer it."*

Earlier, the Deputy Minister of External Affairs, Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon, told Shiva Nanjappa that there was no information that land revenue was being realised by Pakistan from the villagers of Tukurgram.

However, chaukidari tax had been demanded from the villagers by the Pakistani authorities.

## **PUNJAB COOPERATIVE SUGAR MILLS**

### **LOSS IN 3 YEARS RS. 43 LAKHS ONLY!**

Three cooperative sugar mills in the Punjab have shown huge losses and, in the upshot, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the three concerns has resigned, it is learnt.

The three cooperative mills—which are situated at Rohtak, Panipat and Bhogpur—were started in 1956 with a capital of Rs. two and a half crores. It is understood that the first three years' running of the mills has shown a loss of Rs. 43 lakhs. The detection of the serious state of affairs in mills has led to the removal of the General Manager of the Rohtak mill, and it is learnt that the closure of the Rohtak mill is under consideration.

Sri B. S. Grewal, Financial Commissioner of the State Development Department—who is the official Chairman of the Board of Directors of the three years—is reported to have resigned from the Chairmanship,

and is being sent on compulsory leave, after which he will presumably be retired from service.

The loss of Rs. 43 lakhs in three years is considered unprecedented. On a rough estimate, the Rohtak sugar mill has shown a loss of Rs. 17 lakhs, the Panipat mill Rs. 20 lakhs and the Bhogpur mill Rs. 6 lakhs.

## **ROLE OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES STUDENTS TAUGHT DEMOCRATIC WAYS**

The American University is one of the bulwarks of democracy inasmuch as "it is a centre for educating its students in their civil responsibilities and in providing the opportunity for its students to achieve their maximum intellectual, personal and social growth," said Mr. Milton Leavitt, Cultural Affairs Officer of the U.S. Information Service, in Bombay on Thursday.

He was addressing the International Forum organised by the Bombay Council of the National Union of Students of India at Khalsa College, Matunga. The forum was attended by more than 600 students and faculty members. Principal A. J. Talib of Khalsa College presided.

The United States already has the world's highest percentage of college students—one out of every four high school graduates totalling some three million, enrolled in nearly 2,000 institutions of higher education, Mr. Leavitt said.

"One of the most exciting recent developments has been the upsurge in international education since the end of the Second World War. About 47,000 overseas students, including over 3,000 from India, and an additional 15,000 Americans are studying abroad," he stated.

## **A WELL-KNOWN FACT**

In U.P. a seven man official Committee headed by a Deputy Minister toured the dry areas of the State to find out the success of prohibition. Their findings have been the other way about. As in Bombay and Madras, illicit distillation of liquor is the most thriving cottage industry in the areas visited by the U.P. Committee.

The industry requires the minimum capital and ensures the maximum return—a bottle which costs barely four annas to distil, fetches as much as two rupees.

It involves a risk, of course, but only a nominal one

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for the State's dry districts continue to be without an enforcement staff worth the name.

All sorts of people, including those that are ordinarily regarded as respectable, are engaged in this new flourishing cottage industry. Almost all pan shops sell *tincture-ginger*, a potent liquor, which is officially a pharmaceutical preparation.

Prohibition has become such a vested interest that there will be strong opposition to its repeal from the cottage industrialists.

### CONGRESS GOVT. IMITATING RED COUNTRIES

Ahmedabad: Rajagopalachari, founder of Swatantra Party, said, he had been waiting for long before deciding to launch the new party and launched it only when he was convinced that it was the only way to save the country from utter ruination. He would withdraw himself from the movement if the Government retraced its steps and dropped its policies of imitation of Communist countries.

Rajagopalachari said the trend of increasing octopus type of Governmental control over the lives of people emanated from Communist countries. The Government, he said, was trying to raise the value of money and properties, ignoring the great teachings of our "Rishis" and traditions or "Dharma."

### ARE THESE FIFTH COLUMNISTS?

There are over 60,000 Pakistanis staying in the country even after the expiry of the date of their visas. About 7,000 such Pakistanis are in Uttar Pradesh alone. Some of them are reported to be associated with criminal activities. A number of them are facing trial in the courts for offences of theft, dacoities, murders and kidnapping.

In Kerala the Congress people who wants to get the

powers are begging the Muslim League for cooperation to use the red ministry.

### INDIAN CURRENCY BANNED IN TIBET BREACH OF PACT BY CHINA BIG FALL IN TRADE ALSO REPORTED

Prime Minister Nehru disclosed in the Lok Sabha that the Chinese authorities in Tibet had recently issued an order, declaring Indian currency and Tibetan currency in Tibet illegal.

This was not in keeping with the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954 in Tibet, he added.

Nehru added it was not clear whether this order had been enforced yet or not.

Indian trade agencies in Tibet were experiencing difficulties in functioning and that there had been a "big fall" in India's trade with Tibet, since the disturbances there, Nehru confirmed.

The volume of trade which in February was of the order of Rs. 15 lakhs imports and Rs. 10 lakhs exports had by June fallen to Rs. 2 lakhs imports and Rs. 3 lakhs exports.

Nehru said that Indian traders were experiencing difficulties in travelling about and getting transport to move their goods.

He had, however, no information that Indian goods in Tibet had been "frozen," as suggested in certain reports.

### PEKING MUST ANSWER THIS QUESTION WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE 400 INDIAN NATIONALS IN TIBET?

New Delhi: The uncertainty regarding the whereabouts of the 400 Indian nationals in Tibet is causing deep concern in the Capital.

## DID YOU KNOW ...

By Scio



According to experts, no two zebras, even those of the same family, are striped exactly alike. Also, they say zebras are white animals with black stripes.



Archaeologists believe the wheel, long regarded as man's most important mechanical development, was invented nearly 5,000 years ago.



Iran's fight against the threat of a new locust plague has been substantially aided by a U.S. grant of 25 tons of Aldrin, a highly effective pesticide.

Most of these are Ladakhis; among them two being senior lamas of Ladakh.

The Indians, who have been able to reach this country somehow, number 50. They have, it is reliably learnt, brought the information that the Chinese attitude towards Indians has changed from warm friendliness to open hostility.

In spite of this, the Indians there, they assert, have been unable to leave Tibet because of the unheard of restriction on their movements.

At the instance of *Kushak Bakula*, Kashmiri's Minister for Ladakh Affairs, a request has recently been made to Peking to provide facilities to those Indians who may wish to return to their motherland.

### MADRAS OPPOSITION MERGES WITH SWATANTRA PARTY

Madras: The Swatantra Party had a very useful accession of strength in Madras last week. The main Opposition Party in the Assembly, known as the Indian National Democratic Party, 21 strong (in a House of some 200 members), has decided to merge itself in the Swatantra Party.

Like C. Rajagopalachari himself, the principal members of the I.N.D.C. were formerly leading Congressmen. (They detached themselves from the Congress at the time of the last General Elections, expressing dissatisfaction with the leadership of *Kamaraj* on various grounds). Originally they called themselves the Congress Reform Party. The present is a second change of party name.

The decision to merge the four-year-old Party with the Swatantra Party was taken at last week's meetings of its Executive and its General Body at Tirchi. President of the Party K. S. Venkatakrishna Reddi presided.

V. K. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Leader of the Party in the Assembly, attends the Bombay Convention of the Swatantra Party.

A convention of the Swatantra Party in Tamil Nad is planned to be held late in August.

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### SWATANTRA PARTY ALLOTTED SEATS IN ANDHRA ASSEMBLY

Hyderabad: The Speaker A. Kaleswara Rao announced in the Andhra Assembly that P. Rajagopal Naidu and Nagineni Venkayya (both Congress) had joined the Swatantra Party. They were allotted separate seats.

The Speaker also announced that the leader of the democratic party group Dr. M. Chenna Reddi and the leader of the Socialist Group, P. Narasingh Rao had informed him of the merger of the two groups to form the "Socialist Democratic Group."

### 20 M. DOLLAR AID TO INDIA TERMS SIGNED AT DELHI

New Delhi: Additional loan assistance of twenty million doolars (Rs. 9.5 crores) has been given to India by the U.S. Development Loan Fund (DLF) under terms of an agreement signed here today.

The loan, to be repaid over a period of 15 years, will enable India to procure heavy and light structural steel, light rails, plates, wires, black sheets, strips and tool, special steel and other steel mill and products, required for industrial projects in the Second Five-Year Plan.

The significant feature of the loan, according to a USIS release, is that it involves no drain on India's foreign exchange resources because repayment will be in rupees.

The agreement was signed at a brief ceremony at the Indian Finance Ministry. Signing for DLF was Winthrop G. Brown, Charge D'Affairs of the American Embassy. N. C. Sen Gupta, Joint Secretary of the Finance Ministry, represented the Government of India.

### FIGHTS ON EVE OF YOUTH FESTIVAL TENSION MOUNTS IN VIENNA

"A.P." and "The Times of India" News Service Vienna: Tension mounted here on the eve of the Communist-sponsored "Seventh World Youth Festival" after clashes between participants and anti-communists.

The sponsors of the ten-day event had appeared to be inviting trouble when they decided to hold the festival outside Communist East Europe for the first time.

Austrian anti-Communist youths had vowed that, if Austria's neutral Government would not ban the festival, they would make sure that "this Communist monster propaganda show" would be unmasked.

First fights occurred when the anti-Communists distributed leaflets among new arrivals. At least one youth required medical treatment for a scap wound.

The official opening of the "Peace, Friendship and Co-existence" festival will be held in the Vienna soccer stadium tomorrow afternoon with parades, speeches and fireworks.

### EFFECTIVE OPPOSITION TO RULING PARTY NEEDED

### MR. SETALVAD DEPLORES CRAZE FOR POWER

Mr. M. C. Setalvad, Attorney-General of India, declared in Bombay on Tuesday that an effective opposition to the party in power both inside and outside the

legislature was very necessary for the proper functioning of democracy in the country.

One of the trends noticeable in India today, he said, was the absence of a strong opposition to the party in power. "We need strong and powerful opposition to spring both in the legislature and outside so that the party in power may be controlled and thus enable the country to have an intelligent Government," he said.

Mr. Setalvad, who was addressing a Rotary Club luncheon meeting at Green's on "Democracy in India," observed that one-party rule all over the the country could mean "tyranny of the legislature." When the ruling party had a large majority, the legislature was apt to disregard the rights of the individuals and undertake all kinds of legislation. If there was a powerful opposition, that contingency would not arise.

### CRITICISM OF JUDICIARY

The Attorney-General said another consequence of single-party rule was the disregard often exhibited in ruling quarters for courts of law. At times, he said, unkind criticism of the judiciary had come from politicians and responsible quarters. Only recently, there was an instance of such criticism which, apart from being very unkind to the judiciary, was really "destructive" of the very foundations of the democratic form of Government.

He said that true democracy was based on the rule of law. What was the rule of law, and whose duty was it to enforce that? It was enforced by the judiciary. If the judiciary was respected and treated in the right manner, the rule of law would prevail and true democracy flourish. Politicians must stop attacking the judiciary. It should be above criticism and deeply respected in the best interests of democracy.

The Attorney-General also cited enlargement of Governmental powers as one of the dangers inherent in one-party rule. He said that in many cases, these powers interfered with the individual rights of citizens. They were not exercised by the legislature directly, but were delegated to certain agencies.

Another "sad feature" of the present-day party system, he said, was that Indian parties did not appear to be set up on well-defined principles, but were simply hankering after power. There had been instances of politicians crossing the floor of the legislature even while a debate was on, drawn mainly by the love of power.

Mr. Setalvad said that the most disquieting feature which was now becoming a "national habit" was the tendency to resort to methods other than democratic to enforce the wishes of a section of the people on the rest.

When such "ultra-democratic" ideas were given full play, it meant damage to life and property. That certainly was not democracy. The very idea of bringing pressure upon a Government by methods that were not democratic was, in his view, repugnant to the true ideals of democracy. That was probably a legacy of the past when agitational methods were resorted to. The people should adopt democratic methods to get their grievances redressed by the Government.

## HUMOUR

Jack: Tony, do you love your fiancée very much?  
Tony: I worship the very ground her father discovered Oil on!

Friend: Kamala, how is it that you married a man whom you hate?

Kamala: Oh! I hate his ways, but I adore his means.

A doctor was aroused in the middle of the night by a phone call from a man to whose family he had not had occasion to render medical services for some time.

"Doctor," said the excited man, "please come over right away. My wife is in great pain and I'm sure it is appendicitis."

The doctor had been sleepily mulling over the medical history of the family and said, "Well, now, it probably isn't anything like that. 'T'll come around first thing in the morning. Don't worry. Probably it's just indigestion."

"But doctor, you've got to come. I'm positive it's appendicitis," protested the alarmed husband.

"Oh come, Mr. Johnson," the doctor said, somewhat irritably, "I took out your wife's appendix almost two year ago. You know as well as I do that she hasn't got another one."

"That's all right," said the husband, "but I've got another wife."

The following books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

*Portrait of Indian Sport*: by DeMello, Anthony  
*Indian Economics*: by Dewett, Kewal Krishna & Singh, Gurucharan.

*Lectures on Economic Principles Vol. I*: by Robertson, Dennis H.

*Lectures on Economic Principles Vol. II*: by Robertson, Dennis H.

*Lectures on Economic Principles Vol. III*: by Robertson, Dennis H.

*Democracy in the New States* by Congress for Cultural Freedom.

*Introduction to Vedanta*: by Rao, P. Nagaraja

*Fall of Mevar*: by Roy Dwijendralal.

*Swan Love and other Kulpati's Letters* by Munshi, K.M.

*Reconstruction of Humanity*: by Sorokin, Pitirim A.

*Studies in Asian Socialism*: by Mehta, Asoka.

*Akbar Vol I*: by Shelat, J. M.

*Akbar Vol. II*: by Shelat J. M.

*Role of Joint-stock companies in India's Economic Progress*: by Jaico Publishing House

*Private Investment: Key to International Industrial Development*: by Daniel, James (Ed).

*Econometric Analysis for Public Policy*: by Fox, Karl A.

*Three Essays on the State of Economic Science*: by Koopmans, Tjalling C.

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