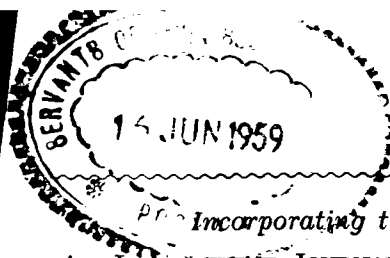


Indian Libertarian



Price 25 Naye Paise

AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS
**WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
 AND LIBERTARIAN DEMOCRACY**

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

Vol. VII No. 10

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June 15, 1959

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EDITORIAL

CRISIS IN KERALA

Crisis is brewing in Kerala where a combination of circumstances—the incredible folly of party politicians, the failure of local Congress and PSP leaders when in power to deliver the goods, the ignorance and indifference of Congress leaders at the national level, the absorption of Congress and PSP governing circles in cashing in on power for themselves and their immediate kith and kin and party adherents to the sheer neglect of the poorer classes, the spectacle of incapacity and callousness in the holders of power, as also the failure to respect the religious sentiments of the Hindu middle classes when their great shrine Sabarimalai was desecrated in a barbarous manner—have all conspired to create conditions of disaffection which the Communists were quick to use for their own advantage.

The way in which they have (since the advent of power to their party in Kerala) entrenched themselves in the field strengthening their party treasury at every opportunity, bending the police and the administrative personnel to their will, dividing the opposition, and so on has been typical of Communist technique.

Today their Education Act has offended Hindus and Catholics. It seeks to bring the teachers of 7,000 private schools under their influence. 4,000 of these are run by the Nairs and other upper class Hindus and the rest are run by Catholics. The Act compels the school managements to choose their teachers out of a panel suggested by the Public Service Commission.

The Nairs are led by their venerable chief Mannath Padmanabhan. All managements have declared that they will not open their schools on 1 June and that they would picket any schools that open. They have planned demonstrations and processions against the Act on a mammoth scale. The Catholics and Anglo-Indians too have joined the Nairs. As the day arrived, the Government of Kerala postponed the opening day to the 15th to gain time.

Mr. Padmanabhan has declared that those Hindus who out of disgust with the communal and anti-Hindu attitude of so-called Congress men in power (as also that of the Praja Socialists) voted for the Communists had realised their great mistake. He said that he would *atone for it* by ousting the Communist Government through mass agitation. The objective thus has expanded to that of turning the Communist government out of office in Kerala. The government got nervous at the strength and universality of the opposition.

Meanwhile the poorer sections too got restive as they did not get as much as they had been promised. Unemployment remained as severe and chronic as before.

Chief Minister Nambudripad interviewed the Prime Minister at Delhi and immediately thereafter came the *dictat* of the Congress High Command that the Kerala Congress should *not* co-operate with the Nair and Catholic movement to oust the Communists!

One reason is of course the soft corner that socialist Nehru has for communists even at the risk of detriment to national interests. We remember the direction given by Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon to Congress in Kerala not to form or join a united front against the communist government.

Another explanation given for this seemingly suicidal policy of making things easy for communists is that if Congress co-operated with the opposition led by Nairs and Catholics, they would be allowing them to become stronger than themselves in popular estimation! The opposition might sweep both Congress and communists out of power in the next elections!

The situation is considered so grave that there is talk of the armed forces being called in. With Mr. Menon as Defence Minister it remains to be seen what use the communist government will make of the army if it is called on to restore order if chaos supervenes. The communists are quite capable of provoking disorder and violence through agents and making use of the opportunity to suppress the opposition by terror. The communist government will give the people a taste of Red Terror. They have filled the Home Guard with party men who have no compunctions and Gandhian scruples about violence. By the time we go to press, developments will have taken place in Kerala bringing the Central Government and the Congress High Command face to face with a crisis of the first order.

The matter is *not merely local* affecting only the people of Kerala. The issue concerns the scope that can be given to communism in local governments in the name of democracy with safety. With the attitude of the communist Party of India to China and the Red bloc generally (revealed so nakedly in the Tibetan crisis), it is unsafe to allow them greater influence and standing in the country. If Mr. Padmanabhan and the Catholics and others are determined to oust the Communist government, nothing should be done to discourage them as *communalists* and so forth. On the contrary every democrat in the country should encourage and assist them as much as possible, chiefly by strengthening public opinion against communism in general and the local party and Kerala government in particular.

The Indian Libertarian

Independent Journal of Free Economy and Public Affairs

Edited by MISS KUSUM LOTWALA

Published on the 1st and 15th of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates:

Annual Rs. 6; Half Yearly Rs. 3

ADVERTISEMENTS RATES

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

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

BACK COVER Rs. 150

SECOND COVER Rs. 125

THIRD COVER Rs. 125

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Those who have such clear extra-territorial loyalties as the communists have should never be given full scope in the opportunities of democracy. For, they use democracy in order to strangle it when opportunity offers!

C. R. AND NEHRU

Sri C. Rajagopalachari, elder statesman, presided over a lecture delivered by Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P. in Bangalore and supported the opposition to co-operative farming. Mr. Masani made out a full case against co-operative farming as a carbon copy of the collectivisation programmes of Soviet countries. Mr. Rajagopalachari pointed out that the essence of co-operative farming is multiple ownership and multiple management and that farming does not lend itself to such collective treatment. Too many cooks spoil the broth. The transfer of ownership and responsibility or management to the co-operative will destroy the initiative and sense of responsibility of the individual owner. It will entail a vast bureaucracy to supervise operations, to keep accounts and to distribute wages and dividends. It will open the door to the swamping of local village life by party politicians and officialdom and prepare the way for central dictatorship. The idea of monopoly trading in food grains by the State linked to co-operative farming is also unsound, according to C. R. He said that the State staff can never be so economical and efficient as the retail trader.

Mr. Masani couched his case against co-operative farming in a general context of socialism - destroying democratic institutions in the long run.

He said that democratic socialism cannot function for long unless free social forces not dependent on government like free industry and commerce, free agriculture and other free vocations all functioning under the rule of law with an independent judiciary continue to function vigorously confronting the government with healthy checks against its tendency towards aggrandisement.

Mr. C. R. has also expressed himself publicly as favouring the immediate formation of a *conservative party* to oppose Congress. Mr. Masani has started actively to gather support for such an eventuality. The idea is to get a liaison between industrial and agricultural interests and have a party supported by both classes—a party pledged to free economy and free society.

Pandit Nehru seems to realise that the open blessings of Rajaji to the move might have serious consequences. So he came out with a scathing condemnation of C. R.'s ideas from Ooty where he was attending a Congress seminar on co-operative farming and other kindred matters.

Beginning with compliments to C. R. as a revered and beloved leader who should be listened to with respect, he lashed out that Rajaji's criticism had no meaning and that he could find no reason or even wisdom in it. He dismissed Masani's speech as "not of much importance" but showed nervous apprehensions that Rajaji's intervention against co-operative farming might strengthen opposition to the extent of forcing him to abandon the idea altogether. Hence the vehemence of his attack. He went on into irrelevancies such as that he was not afraid of anybody, (not even

God!) and that Rajaji's ideas did not belong to the 20th century but to an older time etc., etc.

He did *not* for once meet the point raised by Rajaji, Masani and all other opponents of the scheme of co-operative farming. A few experimental co-operations might be formed wherever farmers volunteer for it but to *force* all farming everywhere into the uniform pattern of collective or co-operative farming seems to be fanatic. Nehru has so far shown himself incapable of meeting just criticisms in a fair way. He creates prejudices by exclaiming—Who can be against co-operation and who can oppose modernisation and the use of science? etc., etc. These are all beside the point. The question does not concern mere co-operation. There is co-operation even among animals that live in herds and packs. Prince Kropotkin has written a monumental work on *mutual aid in evolution* to supplement and correct Darwin's stress on the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest though ruthless competition—*nature red in tooth and claw*, the eagle making a meal of smaller birds!

The issue is whether farmers will agree to surrender the ownership of their lands and consent to work as members of a co-operative farm under the direction of a manager and take such wages and share in the proceeds as may be allotted to them in co-operative assembly meeting or executive council. (This is a question of human nature. And we have had the example of the great difficulties experienced by communist countries in the last 30 years and the sheer terror and force it required to get co-operative farms established. Even now, the free plots allotted to farmers as a concession yield more than the farms themselves in spite of the high degree of mechanisation applied to them. Instead of answering this point, Nehru goes on raising all sorts of irrelevant ideas about co-operation in general, the advantage of science, the need for progress, etc.

It is clear that on the ground of reason and experience, there is *no case for* co-operative farming on a *compulsory basis*.

Agriculturists have been thoroughly roused and are refusing to fall into the trap. They are shouting—*"janti kheti nahi karenge!"*

The Jana Sangh, alone of the parties in the country, has publicly declared itself in favour of peasant proprietorship and unalterably opposed to co-operative farming, which it thinks is sure to slide into collective farming with all its dangers to individual liberty. Not content with declarations, it has commenced calling for peasant conferences in various States, warning the peasants against co-operatives and issuing literature in Hindi, Kannada and other provincial languages.

CORRUPTION IN HIGH QUARTERS

The Government have accepted the exoneration of Mr. H. M. Patel and the proposal to censure Mr. G. R. Kamath—officials involved in the Mundhra affair. They have by this stepped down further from the high pedestal of supporting the judiciary in their judgments against the executive. The independence of the judiciary can be nourished only if the executive sets its own predilections aside and follows its deliverances scrupul-

ously and with due respect. It should teach the public the lesson of reverence for law by setting an example itself.

From this point of view, the action of the Government of India in rejecting the findings of the Bose Inquiry Commission into the conduct of these officials is a blow against sound democratic traditions. It prevents sound conventions assuring the supremacy of law from developing in a healthy way. Democracy is no doubt a form of rule by the majority but the *rule should be in accordance with law*. Majority rule should not degenerate into the rule of the many jettisoning the interests of minorities and vitiating the common frame work of law which is the foundation of society and State alike. It is the willing *consensus* of the people as a whole in support of law which is the framework of social life, co-operation and mutual trust that political thinkers had in view when they spoke of the *social contract* or *compact* as the foundation of the state.

This incident shows that the present Government is determined to claim infallibility and incorruptibility in despite of all evidence to the contrary in particular instances.

There is a proverb that the field whose fences themselves eat up the crops is helpless! So too if the highest organs of government exonerate officials found guilty by judicial inquiry, it is impossible to check corruption at lower levels. This has been the bane of the present group of rulers in the country. They have an ineradicable tendency to exonerate corruption among themselves and their ranks and *hush it up*. This is false prestige. The government will enhance its prestige if they adopt the straightforward course of punishing the guilty through due process of law. It is clear that this is too much to hope for from Congress rulers.

THE DEATH OF MR. DULLES

The Death of Mr. Dulles has removed from the scene of world politics one of the most competent and well-informed of America's Secretaries of State. He was unpopular with Leftist circles and even his supporters sometimes felt that he was too impervious to non-military, human aspects of diplomacy in constructing a Maginot Line around the borders of imperial Russia. But he was a tower of strength to the free world.

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Dulles: A Dedicated Statesman

By M. N. Tholal

It is indeed heart-warming in the extreme to find that even those who were unable to see the greatness of the man in the heat of the controversy over his doctrine have not been slow to realise it in the death of John Foster Dulles. A nation or a group of nations, who can mourn the death of their benefactor in the manner in which they are mourning the loss of the great American Secretary of State, can very well be said to be on the road to survival. And it is not beside the point to observe here that Dulles was fighting for nothing more and nothing less than survival for democracy, for co-existence with Communism he had always conceded. The measure of our mourning today is also the measure of our determination to survive the onslaught of totalitarianism, and that is why the almost universal mourning in the Free World makes one almost happy.

BRINKMANSHIP

Very rightly Dulles came to be equated with what has come to be called brinkmanship. The word "brink" was used by him in a frank exposition of his own policy. Some of us were then inclined to think that, although brinkmanship was the correct policy to pursue, it was a blunder on his part to have gone so far as to put it bluntly in the phrase "on the brink", the more so as his opponents were quick to seize the phrase and, equating it with war-mongering, hold it aloft to show what a horrible man John Foster Dulles was. But great statesmen do not use words lightly and second thoughts convinced the early sceptics of the soundness of the phrase that the moment chosen for the great utterance was indeed high time to make the world realise where it stood and what the inevitable consequences would be of any farther appeasement of Communist overlords. Dulles must have known that he would be courting unpopularity among the timid section of democrats as well as among those who cry "Peace, Peace," as if that were a *mantram* to ensure peace, but the cause for which he stood demanded that he should court that unpopularity and he did it, sure in the knowledge that the passage of time would make people realise the greatness of the posture and its inevitability for the cause of freedom. He thus paved the way for the truth of the present terrible situation in the world to be burnt into the minds of the leaders of democracies, so that there may be no turning back when death should claim him for its own. That is dedication to a cause such as we seldom witness in our own land.

The honours and tributes that President Eisenhower has been showering on the deceased reflect the highest credit on the American President. A lesser man might have been tempted to play down the greatness of the late Secretary of State to show indirectly that the foreign policy he has been pursuing is his own. President Eisenhower has, on the other hand, been indirectly proclaiming from the housetops, as it were, that he was following the advice of his great Secretary of State and that his own greatness only consisted in discovering the greatness of John Foster Dulles. That of course is true nobility, of which we had evidence

earlier in his lending him the use of his own suite in the Walter Reid Hospital as a token of gratitude to a true servant of the State and the choking voice in which he announced Dulles' resignation at a Press Conference. Passionate devotion to a cause, with which we Indians are unfortunately unfamiliar, almost obliterates the distinction between high and low and makes for real brotherhood in which one strengthens the hands of the other, instead of the rest strengthening the hands of the leader at the moment, thereby seeking successfully the loaves and fishes of office for themselves, their relatives and their friends. We in India have been hearing a good deal of loyalty to colleagues and to the party, but we seldom hear of the need of loyalty to a cause.

WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

To revert to brinkmanship for which Dulles rightly became famous (or notorious as the Communists and their fellow-travellers would have it) the best defence of that strategy is to ask its opponents: What is the alternative? To any sane mind, given to thinking out things to their logical conclusions, the only alternative to brinkmanship is yielding to aggression or threats of aggression. There is no other alternative. And those who are determined to keep Communism at bay have to resort to threats of war to avoid war in face of the almost constant threats of the Communist bloc to swallow neighbouring countries. It is interesting to note here that those who condemn the few threats of war given by the late Dulles at psychological moments—threats which if they had been delayed by a few days might have resulted in world war—have nothing to say by way of condemnation of the weekly (sometimes bi-weekly) threats of Comrade Khrushchev which succeeded at least in making our flesh creep—to the delight of his Red comrades the world over—however silly they may sound in retrospect. Those who value peace cannot fail to realise the danger inherent in those constant threats which so closely resemble the cry of "wolf, wolf" that a time may come when nobody would be inclined to take Comrade Khrushchev seriously even when he means business. If Soviet Russia really wants peace, the only conclusion to draw from the recurring threats and warnings of Khrushchev is that they are valueless except as propaganda stunt for the benefit of the weakminded.

But we have cause to rejoice that the task he undertook he had accomplished before the hand of death snatched him from our midst. The broad outlines of policy flowing from brinkmanship are there—his bequest to his successors and his colleagues in the great work of saving the world from Communist domination.

As for us Indians our politically immature and half-baked minds are unable to distinguish the chaff from the grain or even to realise that our foreign policy runs counter to the principles enshrined in our constitution. Who can gainsay that India today is spreading dissension in the ranks of the enemies of

(Continued on page 7)

A New Rightist Party

By M. A. Venkata Rao

The air is thick with rumours of the formation of a new political party to oppose the present ruling party. Apart from the necessity for an opposition party to give meaning to the democratic form of government as well as to set limits to the exercise of power, we have today in our country the phenomenon of a professedly liberal group (swearing by the name of Gandhi and the Buddha and pledged to the realisation of the fundamental rights written into the Constitution) rushing into communist measures in order to save the country from communism! The Avadi declaration of the socialistic pattern of society was intended to steal the thunder from communism. But in the process, the Congress under Nehru's leadership (or dictatorship) is hustling the country into socialistic or communist economy both in industry and in agriculture. In industry and commerce, the Soviet pattern of industrialisation with five year plans weighted in favour of heavy industries with top heavy targets beyond available resources, necessitating totalitarian levels of taxation has been adopted without due reflection as to its economic and political repercussions. The ultimate authority in planning seems to be Prof. Mahalanobis with his Russian colleagues in his Statistical Institute. The prize awarded to him recently by the Soviet academy is a pointer to the appreciation by the authorities of international communism of the significant service rendered to them by the Indian statistician! His service to them lies in the success with which the Soviet pattern of industrialisation with its corollaries of exhausting the liberal economy and ushering in totalitarian trends to control all spheres of economic life has been incorporated in the Indian plans.

The new proposals to use public industry for making profits and to take in hand the entire production and distribution of food grains and industrial raw materials from agriculture, the threat to introduce compulsion in the export trade, to levy new taxes in the next plan period to the extent of Rs. 2,000 crores and to co-operativise industrial concerns in the private sector in line with the policy of co-operativising agriculture launched after the Nagpur session are unmistakable signs that the time is already over-ripe for a new political party to halt these disastrous leftist measures and policies. Sri C. Rajagopalachari has been stressing the need for a conservative party as against the radicalism of the present ruling party in order to conserve the present economic and social order while using it to promote welfare at a normal pace without subverting the foundations of free economy and free society.

It is understood that active steps are being taken by groups affiliated to the Forum of Free Enterprise, the All-India Agricultural Federation and the Independent Parliamentary Group led by Mr. M. R. Masani to form the much-needed rightist party.

The dissident Congress legislators of the Andhra State have announced the formation of a national de-

mocratic party with the present nucleus of forty legislators. News comes from Tiruchi in Madras of the formation of a Conservative party with Mr. Balasubramanyam Iyer as chairman. The Thevar group are Forward Blocist and form an opposition in Madras with potentialities of popular strength over a certain area in the State.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has been stressing in his articles in "Swarajya" and his speeches in Madras and elsewhere that the new party promoters should attack the principles of socialism and not be content with *ad hoc* ideas just to oppose the ruling party. He realises that the entire economic, political and social theory behind socialism should be reconsidered in the light of first principles. It is clear that a stable and progressive party cannot be formed and maintained by bringing together a number of dissident groups—Congressmen frustrated in the matter of party careers, business men afraid of liquidation, journalists disappointed with present opportunities to win a place for themselves in the sun, the unemployed without the support of influential elements in party and government, above all the creedal and hereditary minorities who are accustomed to exploit the majority without limit. It is only in India that the majority is ignored and the minorities obtain the lion's share of benefits. And even the majority is eager to convert itself into a cluster of minorities of sub-sects in order to maximise the chances of obtaining a share of the loot from the treasury irrespective of merit and contribution. In Mysore we have the extraordinary phenomenon of the Government issuing rules for a distribution of government jobs and promotions in government service in accordance with the population figures of 195 sects!

The new party enthusiasts will have to give early attention to this all-consuming tendency of political elements to think in terms of small splinter sects. The first thing that they will have to clarify is the implications for economic and political progress of the meaning of nationalism or unitary or foundational, social or common interest that should over-ride all parochial interests whatever. There is a powerful tendency for economic and caste pressure groups to seek and obtain from politicians in power special benefits by way of trade franchises and tariff concessions at the expense of the general consumer and new enterprisers.

The politicians are forced to promise all things to all men e.g. pay rises to trade unions, cheap goods to consumers, high food prices to agricultural growers, pay rises to government employees, low taxes to business men etc. The promoters of new parties should come out with a clear and unambiguous platform about these questions. Without such rethinking, the new party will only mean a change of personalities and is sure to lead to the same sort of frustration and disappointment in the end.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is right in demanding an attack on the socialistic theory lying at the bottom of present revolutionary ideas. *The Indian Libertarian*

and its predecessors for years have been calling for just such a radical rethinking of the first principles implied in free economy and free society. Though the general trend in ideas and policies may at the moment be overwhelmingly in favour of leftist ideas and towards collectivism in one form or another, the Libertarian Social Institute of Mr. Lotvala has been adhering steadily to the spreading and discussion of ideas pertaining to liberty among groups coming within the range of its influence. It has worked with the faith that freedom is inherent in man and that in the end it must assert itself. But the flame of free thought should be kept up in small intellectual circles devoted solely to truth and social good based on clearly thought out policies resting on the fundamental facts and impulses of human nature.

The sponsors of the new rightist party therefore have to combat the foundations of Marxism and other forms of socialism and evolve a new programme based on a better appreciation of the true relations between the individual and society. That Marxism left to itself will result in totalitarianism is a truth writ large in letters of blood and fire in the history of communist countries since 1917. What is the democratic and humanistic alternative to this bloody revolution entailing the destruction of human freedom and the dictatorship of a self-elected communist party?

Marxism proceeds by the notion or dogma of class war. It has no compunctions on account of this dogma in annihilating all classes holding property. To it, all property is theft or robbery and therefore socialists have no hesitation in liquidating private property by high taxation in the early stages and by nationalisation in the later. Property is the foundation of class differences and if it is abolished, all labourers will have the same status—in the view of socialism. But it ignores the grim fact that the new organisers of socialism will become a new class of exploiters far more ruthless and dictatorial than the old holders of property. For they will not be checked by private property rights and their subjects will depend on them for livelihood, amelioration and career in all walks of life. The *New Class* of Miloyan Djilas is abundant evidence of this fact.

The role of property in the safeguarding of free life and the regulations that may be tolerated in order to prevent undue mutual encroachment of holders of property should receive thorough attention by the sponsors of the new party.

The notion of class war destroys the psychological homogeneity of the national society through the encouragement of class hatred and the sanction of violence for social reform. Law becomes wedded to violence and loses its ancient majesty and influence and becomes but an instrument in the hands of the holders of power.

The rightists have to distinguish between revolution and reform and eschew clearly the methods of destructive revolution even to steal the thunder from communism.

They should evolve a new theory of the State and Government. According to Marxism, the State is the agent of property and of the holders of vested interests in land and industry and commerce and later in empire. They wish therefore to capture the State

machinery from their hands and place it in the hands of the proletariat.

This whole view of the industrial proletariat being the spearhead of revolution and revolution being progressive requires a thorough reconsideration. The new party leaders have to draw a clear line between reform and revolution in all matters of policy change—economic, political and social.

They have to indicate the role of the State as the agent of society as a whole inclusive of the interests of all classes. They have to give up the notion of a working class state and also that of the State as representative only of the propertied and power holding classes. They have to rethink the idea of a classless state that is inseparable from socialism. Does progress towards equality of opportunity entail a classless state?

Also, they have to clarify whether nationalisation of industries and the centralisation of economic power in the hands of the state is necessary to realise an equalitarian state. Perhaps it may be argued that true equality can be guaranteed only through a multi-class society operating under a system of checks and balances. Absolute economic equality with equal wages to ministers, managers of factories and heads of departments, labourers, servants, office clerks, doctors, lawyers, writers, teachers, sweepers, artisans, etc is impossible to maintain (even if introduced in a fit of revolutionary enthusiasm). Soviet Russia tried it in the first months of rule after the seizure of power in October 1917. But today there is more inequality of wages and salaries in Soviet Russia than in the USA and Britain!

Today we find Congress and Government leaders stressing expansion of industry more than equality in India. Socialism is identified today with Five Year Plans, high taxation, increase in production, destruction of property rights, invasion of individual spheres of action and initiative, indoctrination etc. The new leaders will have to show how they will return to saner counsels.

It is claimed on behalf of socialism that it is the only mode of social organisation to suit the new age of scientific advance. How can you cling to your individual plots of land in this age of sputniks? asked the Prime Minister of landowners who interviewed him about the new proposals in land reform.

Co-operativisation of agriculture is recommended on the ground that collective management is necessary to apply large scale scientific methods and appliances and fertilisers effectively and with the greatest advantage as regards production. Is this true? And even if this is true, where is the use of enhanced production with the aid of science if the share of individual workers becomes smaller than in the old individual economy on account of the necessary bureaucratisation of management which eats up as much as 40 per cent of the yield in salaries of the supervisors?

Another field in which the new leaders have to take clear and satisfactory decisions is that of the trade unions and labour interests generally. Today big Labour has become as much an exploitative interest with its own organised leadership and following ready to hold the country to ransom as much as big business used to be in the past. It has grown in defiance of the

democratic rights of the individual. Trade unions claim the right to determine the choice of workers. They refuse the right to new workers to enter the factory without membership in the Union. The doctrine of the closed shop has become sanctified by usage. The trade union labourers prevent new entrants and new terms by sheer force and violence. Modern Governments everywhere have succumbed to this illegal violence of organised labour. Labour except in the USA has been captured by communism, national or international.

Socialist labour is officially international but actually national in overall sentiment. And communist labour is international in the sense of being led to pay allegiance to Soviet Power even against national interests. The way in which the Indian Communist Party is frankly aligned with Soviet Power in all matters is alarming but quite typical of international communism.

The new leaders should opt for individual freedom both for workers and for employers and for freedom of contract all round. Unfairness on the part of either should be subject to arbitration or conciliation in which the State should represent the common good of all classes or society as a whole and not as at present predominantly the interest of labour. Past injustice to labour does not justify present injustice to employers.

The new party should offer a clear democratic policy for determining the relations between organised labour and organised capital. It should not try to placate either class for the sake of party advantage.

This brings us to the relation between party advantage by way of winning or retaining power and the economic good of society as a whole in the short as well as the long period. At present the bane of political parties is their vicious tendency to promise impossible things to different sections of people to win their votes. We have known political leaders promising higher wages to labourers, higher salaries to administrative services, lower taxation to commercial

(Continued from page 4)

Communism and is thereby doing, howsoever indirectly, a great service to Communism? If Communism is another name for terrorism and if, as is generally acknowledged, it is a retreat from civilisation, India is bound to find herself left high and dry on the arid sands of isolation. Already her friend Egypt is finding that genuine opposition to Communism is a strong link even with Pakistan and that, when all is said and done, she has nothing to fear now from Britain, much less from the USA, and everything to fear from the USSR. As for the dreams of expansion of the United Arab Republic, the USSR has not proved a weaker obstacle than either USA or Britain. That has been proved in Iraq.

Fleeting passions cannot dictate the foreign policy of a country without great detriment to the interests of that country and it is to be feared that fleeting passions are dictating India's foreign policy, even as they were dictating Egypt's foreign policy last year.

and industrial classes, higher educational and other amenities to villagers, cheaper food to the towns and higher grain prices to agriculturists and a share in the general loot to labour! The new party should eschew this dishonest game. The political party aspiring for power should offer not what the people may be induced to want and clamour for but what is possible in the short term in view of the resources of men and material available.

Much of the disgust of the people at large with the ruling party is due to the widespread prevalence of mal-administration, of corruption, of undue invasion of administrative regions by party bosses, of the prevalence of favouritism and the jettisoning of individual merit and expert experience and knowledge. Also, the extravagance of the administration has caused a revulsion of feeling in all people. The new party has to promise to turn over a new leaf and introduce a better tone in the administration. It should commit itself to a radical cleaning of the Augean stables.

There are many other directions of vital import in which rethinking is necessary (before a new party membership could be created on sound, durable and beneficent foundations) that will need further discussion. Meanwhile we have indicated some of the vital respects in which the sponsors of the new party should offer a *better policy* based on adequate thought and vision.

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The Economics of Food and Population in India

By A. Ranganathan

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It has been well remarked that "had the feeding arrangements of Bourbon France given satisfaction, the Bastille would probably never have been stormed or had the steppes of Central Asia been able to feed all their rapidly breeding tribes, neither the Aryan nor the Mughal invasions might have occurred". Lord Boyd Orr, a former Director General of the F.A.O. pointed out that "calories" were opposed to Communism meaning thereby that a full stomach and the predatory impulse went ill together. In a recent series of articles, Aldous Huxley has highlighted the phenomenon of the ever-growing population of the world as a fundamental ingredient of the nightmare that is around the corner in spite of all the talk about the conquest of space and the possible emigration of the surplus humans to Mars. And Huxley sees a close connection between the formulation of authoritarian philosophies and under-developed countries, "where a sudden lowering of the death rate by means of D.D.T., Penicillin and clean water has not been accompanied by a corresponding fall in the birth rate." No wonder, Mr. Nehru recently said that in formulating the third Five Year Plan, the Government had to take into consideration not only the existing population, but also the population ten or fifteen years hence. The population problem is one of the major factors in history. Indeed geography has been considerably modified by the efforts of totalitarian governments. The planned Russian population movements into Siberia and the Chinese movements into Manchuria have introduced changes in geography and politics. "The consolidation of Russian and Chinese authority all over Central Asia "says Guy Wint" has resulted in "one of the main historic ways of life being ended in our time". No more of the romantic central Asia numads!

It is well known that Darwin himself got his clue after having read Malthus's work on population. According to Darwin, the struggle for existence was Nature's way of causing evolution. But the struggle for existence has abated somewhat, due to wonderful medical advances which have undoubtedly lowered the death rate creating the Malthusian problem.

The problem of feeding the ever-increasing Indian population which is a difficult affair even in normal times has been made more difficult due to the uneasy transition of our economy of the 'welfare' pattern to that of the 'Socialistic Pattern' of the planners. Viewing the food situation in its historical perspective, it is clear that India has suffered from a chronic food shortage through the decades. The seriousness of the situation did not attract any notice as long as Burma remained a part of India. The only period when India enjoyed a surplus of food grains was in the period 1910-1920. The influenza epidemic which raged in all its fury during this time accounted for nearly fourteen million deaths. Naturally the food surplus was due to the abnormal situation prevailing in the country.

But the deficit can be reckoned from the next period (1920-30); it has been a continuous affair since then. The attitude then, was one of complacency. If a long-range view of the situation which was assuming serious proportions had been taken and if the Government had applied suitable measures, the Bengal famine of 1943 could have been averted. Today, a combination of factors such as an unfavourable monsoon, "localised" wars in various danger spots of the world and the conversion of our countryside into deserted villages resulting in the neglect of Indian agriculture could lead to a tragedy greater in suffering than even the Bengal tragedy of 1943. The important question that we should ask ourselves is whether we should allow the same folly to be repeated due to callousness under entirely different circumstances, when our own Government is at the helm of affairs. As a result of the partition, India's economy which was already affected by the Bengal Famine, was further damaged. On a rough estimate, India was left with a little over four-fifths of the population, but could not get more than 68 per cent of the total acreage of ricefields, 65 per cent of wheat land and only 48 million acres of irrigated area. Compared with their population and the incoming influx of refugees, India's food resources had dwindled more than ever.

According to the Census Commissioner's Report, the limitations of food production would fix the limit of the population at forty-five crores. Internal migration, emigration, development of agriculture, industrialization and a population policy are the usual remedies suggested by economists to solve the food and population problem of India. Internal migration is not a solution in itself since it is connected with the bigger problem of industrialization. Emigration is certainly a tempting solution, but so far as India is concerned it is more easily said than done. To cite an example, countries like Australia are in need of skilled labour and not the unskilled labour who wish to seek employment elsewhere. In this connection Prof. Nurkse drew attention to the saving potential concealed in rural underemployment as an instrument of capital formation. The idea is to make the surplus labour off the land work on projects ranging from railways to factories. And this would contribute to an induced process of economic growth which will progressively lessen the burden on an economy subject to a steady increase in the rate of our population as well as laying foundations of a gradual process which could transfer a good number of the people of the primary sector into the secondary and tertiary sectors.

While agricultural investment constituted nearly thirty-three per cent of the total outlay in the First Five Year Plan, it constitutes only twenty-one per cent of the outlay ear-marked in the Second Plan. The present difficulty is due to the wrong emphasis on heavy industries without striving to establish a balanc-

ed economy. Mr. Nehru himself observed in his speech at the National Development Council in 1956 that the neglect of agriculture in favour of heavy industries in Hungary and Poland contributed to untold suffering which could not be borne by the people. And the Indian Government have resorted to more deficit financing than necessary. More than five hundred crores have already been injected into the economy which might as well result in a spiral of inflation. The only practical solution is to sacrifice a little of our foreign exchange and build up sufficient food stocks as well as stop playing with deficit financing. We have had enough and more of it. And to the extent, the plan must be cut down.

The effects of the so-called 'Land Reforms' may be considered at this stage. In trying to avoid the possible hardship which would be caused by the proposed introduction of ceilings on land, some of the richest landlords have converted their rice estates into sugar-producing factories. If these examples are repeated by a great number of landlords, the production of rice is bound to suffer. Indeed, our farmers have started converting the rice-fields into casuarina plantations. And then, we will have a lot of wood to burn, but not enough rice to cook. The Government will have to thank themselves for creating such a situation by their ill-advised "reforms". Only recently, Dr. M. Visvesvarayya, the engineer-statesman has expressed his considered view that the Government ought to think a hundred times before countenancing the application of co-operative practices to the cultivation of land. The intervention of the Government is not needed in introducing such measures as ceiling on landholdings agricultural income-tax and a form of dispensation which leaves the landlord with two-fifths of the produce but in going ahead with such administrative projects as the sharing of waters which would help in increasing food production. An administrative formula has to be devised which will make available the waters of the Godavari and the Krishna to North Madras and for the sharing of the unused waters of Parambikulam, Aliyar, Sholayar and other Kerala rivers to irrigate the dry belt in the Eastern vicinity of the Western Ghats just as the waters of the Sutlej were used to fertilize the Rajasthan wastes. One wonders, however, whether the Kerala Government would like us to share her waters or expect us to sail in the same 'progressive' boat before we are entitled to her waters! In the interests of food production, inter-State co-operation rather than co-operative farming is the vital prerequisite.

The application of scientific methods to agriculture must be explored fully. Indeed, it is possible that the electricity generated by atomic power stations would render possible the irrigation of hitherto neglected areas as well as in the yielding of new land to agriculture. At present a study is being made of the irradiation of crops as a result of mutations induced when crop plants are exposed to atomic radiation. Prof. Gustafsson had predicted as early as 1955 at the first International Conference on the peaceful uses of Atomic Energy held in Geneva about the possibilities of plant breeding opening up new vistas of the atomic revolution in agriculture. The Oceans too, constitute a valuable source of man's food and other products. In

order to tap the resources of the Oceans to the fullest extent, a deep knowledge of physical process such as "up-welling" and "turbulence", hydrography and Oceanography is necessary. Indeed, the role of the hydrographer who will tell us of the physico-chemical properties of sea-water, in solving the food problem cannot be over-estimated.

The taking of wholesale trading in food grains by the State is bound to create unnecessary hardship. And as Mr. A. D. Shroff said, this is most surprising, especially since the record of the State Trading Corporation "so far has been one of a profiteer in cement, a bungler in manganese ore and an unnecessary and avoidable intermediary in other trades".

Our family planning experts, have stressed the need of formulating a population policy for India. India is certainly not over-populated at the moment, although her rate of growth is distressingly high. In solving the problem of over-population, the aid of Chemistry can be sought in preventing the activities of sperms in the human body. The problem is to provide cheap tablets which would kill sperms, without causing any injury to the human body. And if successful researches are carried out in the field, one of the most pressing problems of the twentieth century can be solved. A great responsibility lies ahead of the chemist in this direction.

Considering the Indian situation, it would be difficult to work out a national policy determining the size of population as suggested by J. M. Keynes in his "The Economic Consequences of the Peace" many years ago. The introduction of family planning must be a gradual affair through a process of social education and not an imposition from above. In order to minimize suffering, it is necessary to scrap the dangerous technique of deficit financing, discard to latest proposals of co-operative farming and state trading in grains, make a more intensive study of the latest scientific methods and their application to agriculture, build up a stock of ten million tons of rice and wheat to act as a cushion against the effects of deficit financing introduced till now and initiate a gradual policy of birth control without sacrificing the freedom of the people at the altar of the plan in the so-called attempts to "solve" the food problem.

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The Problem of Tibet: Communism Threatens Asia

By K. KUMARA SEK HAR

In spite of Nehru's trenchant declaration of sympathy for the Tibetans, he has cleverly obscured from himself and Asia the essential nature of the problem. It is not actually the violation of Tibet's primitive Buddhist religious sentiments that we are actually concerned with. It is not the harsh treatment of a certain number of Tibetans or their migration to India that can actually perturb us. No doubt these have their own moral bearing on the problem. But the essential question is where will unruly communist China stop. Is she going to invade Asia step by step, inch by inch on the basis of historical titles to sovereignty over neighbour territories? Whether the world calls it unprogressive or reactionary or unfriendly, Mr. Nehru must continue British policy over Tibet and cease to amalgamate the former with China. It is this initial error of his, in which he unequivocally recognized Chinese sovereignty over Tibet that weakens India in her present protest against the repression practised against the people there. Mr. Nehru wants to isolate the phenomenon to a particular incident or incidents when it is essentially part of the phenomenon of communism threatening the whole of Asia. The problem of Tibet is a problem that should compel a country like India which has large frontiers with Red China, to reconsider her neutralist policies and make defensive preparations to counter the tide of communism. What we hear today about Indo-Tibetan frontiers, might be heard about some place within our own frontiers tomorrow. After all it is clear now that China claims large territories of our own land in her maps. Mr. Nehru seems to dwell in a state of illusion by looking to past history for guidance in this matter. He maintains that as there was no war between China and India in the past there should not be war in the future. But he ignores the fact that there was no militant and aggressive ideology in the past that could rouse antagonisms between peaceful nations. China under communist rule is a very different factor of history from China under nationalist rule. Chinese patriots may have no ambitions over India, but Chinese communists have.

At present Chinese Reds are obviously occupied with internal communist rigourism, with the absolute enforcement of their own doctrine on their own peoples first. It is this occupation that has prevented them from any large scale military action in Tibet. But in future we must expect military action to double there. Mr. Nehru's protests were really mild, though the problem is similar to that of Hungary. He took into account only the moral factors and not the military factors. Though we might differ and keep aloof from Pakistan, some sort of military preparedness in conjunction with the Free World is necessary for India. If an actual instance of aggression on a neighbouring autonomous people by the communists is ignored by Mr. Nehru, suppressing the legitimate military reactions to it, when will he take the threat of communism to Asia seriously? Even before the people of India had realised the dangerous happenings at the Indo-Tibetan frontiers, Mr. Nehru began harping on

the theme of the danger of the general relations between China and India deteriorating. Is that relation an inviolable sanctity of all history? If China makes no effort to preserve the conditions for its continuance, by ignoring the rights of its neighbours and the sentiments of the Indian people, how can the Nehru Government try to preserve a fictitious harmonious state of affairs. No people who respect democracy can tolerate China's interference in Tibetan affairs. There is no doubt that international leaders had not much time or energy to devote to Tibet because they were all preoccupied with Berlin. Berlin is the one problem that Mr. Krushchev has put into the crucible of hot discussion out of the many sided German question. The Russian leaders have even before threatened a crisis there without fearing war. Probably that is where they are most prepared for battle and where they are most sensitive about their rights. The Berlin question is essentially a question of Russian feelings over the poor status of East Germany. The feelings have been revived again by Mr. Krushchev, who has been so far lecturing on world peace, probably only for propaganda results. Further it may serve as a probe that would enlighten the Russians on the strength of the West. Even more important is the fact that threats as these might hinder West Germany from arming herself with nuclear weapons. This is what the Russians most fear in spite of their strength. With the death of Mr. Dulles, as Mr. Montgomery says the West has lost the political leadership that could have negotiated this fresh impediment. It is unfortunate that in spite of their concern for world peace, Indian leaders should have nothing to say on the Berlin problem and leave it to be a European question. The Berlin problem can actually initiate a world war. The leaders of the world should warn Mr. Krushchev not to alter the status quo in Berlin before alternative solutions are found. The threat to the world from Berlin arises from Mr. Krushchev's unilateral solutions.

Probably the world must wait for many more years before a solution for Germany is found acceptable to both sides. Mr. Krushchev need not regret the years that have passed behind without results on the German peace treaty. Still, they have the merit of being the years of peace. Ahead we feel there are the years of war, and if the Russian Premier tries to force any solution they are sure to materialize. The pages of our newspapers are daily full of reports of plans and counterplans, both from East and West, on Germany. But what is bad is the "deadline" approach of Mr. Krushchev which is worse than the "brinkmanship" of Dulles. It is not only decisions on Germany, but even negotiations that must wait till the problem reaches a state of maturity. So Tibet and Berlin are the crisis threatening problems of the day. On both aspects, communists are firm and the Free World is undecided. Obviously the communists today can afford to shout war cries on two battle fields at the same time. They seem to have two faces and four hands. Both the Free East and Free West must co-operate and act under a very alert leadership to face them.

Agrarian Reform: a Gigantic Deception

By T. L. Kantam

(This is the second of the article on "Whither China" The First appeared in our issue of June 1, 1959)

THE basic aim of the Communist regime in China, as I have shown earlier, is to increase the power of the state so as to maintain and safeguard Communist rule at home and in alliance with Russia, to extend Communism abroad.

LEGAL PROCESS AS POLITICAL INSTRUMENT

For the attainment of its revolutionary goal, the regime has not hesitated to make use of even the law, the courts and the administration of justice. One of its first acts was to abrogate all the existing legal codes. To fill the legal vacuum, certain basic documents and decrees were laid down by the leaders to serve as a stop-gap legal system. The list presented by Chou En-lai in October 1950 included "such basic laws as the Common Programme of the CPPCC (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference), and the many orders, instructions and resolutions of the Central People's Government Council, Government Administration Council, the Supreme People's Court and other organs", all of which Chou claimed "were produced out of and based on the state doctrines of Marx and Lenin as well as a concrete analysis of the practical conditions of China".

The abrogation of all the previous laws gave the government a free hand to rule by means of executive decrees, security orders and prohibitory regulations.

Not satisfied with this, the courts were placed directly under the political organs of government. An extensive reorganization of the judicial system was carried out by removing the "unco-operative" elements and "re-educating" those who were more "co-operative" and bringing in and training a great number of new cadres for the system.

The courts make no pretence of being impartial or unbiased or "standing above the battle" of the political arena. They are frankly political in nature. The President of the People's Supreme Court, Shen Cin ju made this quite clear at the session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC on October 28, 1951 "Our judicial work must serve political ends actively and must be brought to bear on current central political tasks and mass movements."

The "current tasks" referred to by President Shen included that of "suppressing resolutely, sternly and in good time all counter-revolutionary activities—and the resistance of the reactionary classes" and of protecting "the gains of land reform, production, reconstruction and democratic order". Thus the courts carry out the regime's political task by enforcing the government's reform policies and punishing the proclaimed enemies of the regime. Indirectly, the judicial system is also intended to have an educative effect upon the political attitudes of the masses. Madame Shih Liang, Minister of Justice, in her 1952 report to the Government Administration Council stressed this aspect: "We must also conduct systematic propaganda-education on the ideas of law and the State in Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-

tung in order to raise the quality of the cadres and educate the masses".

What was true in 1952 is still true to-day. This is what a neutral observer says "The People's Courts simply follow the direction and decision of the Government and the Party officers and cadres. In the last analysis, the Communist dogma is the supreme law of the land and the Communists are the final arbiters of right and wrong".

HISTORY OF AGRARIAN REFORM

A distinguishing feature of the Chinese Communist revolution was that it was the peasantry in arms rather than the proletariat, the intellectuals or any other group that played the decisive role in the military victory of 1949 which established Communist rule in China. Even to-day by virtue of its sheer numerical superiority and its vital role in the country's economy, the peasantry remains the key element in the make-up of the Chinese People's Republic.

The agrarian programme of the Communist Party of China during 1921-27 was one of extreme moderation, centring round reduction of rents and taxes. Towards the end of 1927, the policy veered sharply to the left. In a desire to win the political support of the peasants, the party put into effect a policy of radical land distribution after confiscating all land but this proved a failure. In 1931 a new land law was enacted providing for the confiscation of "the lands of the feudal landlords, war-lords, gentry, temples and other big private landowners and for redistribution among "middle" as well as "poor" peasants. The land of the middle peasants was specifically exempted from interference.

This policy continued until the Party's shift to a united-front policy on the eve of the renewed Japanese aggression in 1937. In an effort to unite all classes in fighting the Japanese, the Party suspended its policy of confiscating the landlord's property and even went to the extent of putting pressure on the peasants to pay their dues to the landlords.

But as soon as the war came to an end in 1945, the fight against the "feudalistic" landlords was intensified and the original policy of confiscation and radical distribution was renewed. The ensuing violence and disorder and widespread resentment amongst all classes of agriculturists once again forced the CPC to give up its radical approach. By September 1947 the party formally approved a basic programme which clearly affirmed the right of private ownership. The former landlords were to be given equal share with the peasants. This programme soon yielded place to the famous Agrarian Reform Law of June 28, 1950, which was to be the basis for the agrarian policy of the regime until 1952-53.

It must be stressed here that the chief motive of the 1950 law was not to raise the living standards of the peasants but to strengthen the national economy so as to facilitate the transition to collectiviza-

tion and industrialization. Liu Shao-chi (who has succeeded Mao as head of state) made this very clear in his report of June 14: The basic reason for and the aim of agrarian reform are different from the view that agrarian reform is only designed to relieve the poor people... It is designed to set free the rural productive forces from the shackles of the feudal land ownership system of the landlord class in order to develop agricultural production and thus pave the way for New China's industrialization".

Article 1 of the law stated the objective of the programme in almost the same words. Article 2 provided for the confiscation of "the land, draught animals, farm implements and surplus grain of the landlords and their surplus houses". But the law also laid down that landlords were to be given an equal share in the re-distributed land "so that they can make their living by their own labour".

This "legal" right, however, did not save the landlords from confiscation of their property and even death at the hands of the "legal" organs, the "peoples tribunals". The following extract from the book "*L'Empire de Mao Tse-tung*" by a Frenchman, Jean Monsterleet, who was formerly professor at a university in Tientsin, describing the momentous events during 1949-55 is illuminating:

"When the distribution of land is decided upon in a village, the Party sends there a certain number of *agents provocateurs*, who are called leaders or "cadres". Long in advance, the government has prepared these leaders who are charged with making the land distribution a true war of the classes and with exterminating on that occasion all possible enemies of the regime, in a veritable man-hunt.

"In certain regions, the village is first placed in a state of siege. The popular militia, made up of the young men among the poor people of the village, aided by the children, guards the entrances and collects the arms in order to prevent all revolt.. All who enter and leave must come under the control of the peasant council. Children act as look-outs and serve as informers.

"The emissaries set about their tasks. They spend their days among the poor families and gather information on all the stories of the past: "With whom have you had dealings? Have you borrowed money and at what rate of interest?"

"During this period, the masses are played upon by propaganda. The advantages of land reform are played up; the poorest peasants are incited to the war of classes by the appetite for gain, by promises and threats. "Peasant Associations" or unions are formed or "purified".

"The inhabitants of the village are then classed in different social categories. This is often done over again several times.... The leaders act covertly to stir up the masses; the time has come to settle old quarrels, to taste one's vengeance, to increase one's field or to seize the coveted property. The cadres attempt specially to direct the popular fury towards certain persons to be liquidated as reactionaries; they must not forget that they are engaged above all in a political mission.

"There comes finally, the popular judgment. The accused are condemned to "cough up", to pay the rents received during the previous years, to pay up

the taxes and finally to pay back all that they have "extorted" over the years running back sometimes to 1900. All their property is given over for this and the search for hidden resources offers the occasion for torturing and persecuting them. "After the judgment comes the sentence of death, of exile or confiscation and the distribution of land, in which the leaders are rewarded".

The peasant soon realized that he had paid for his parcel of land with the loss of his rights and liberty. Between 1951 and 1955, peasant resistance became increasingly stubborn, particularly after the autumn of 1952 when the regime introduced the first stage of agricultural collectivization (i.e.) mutual-aid teams and agricultural producers' co-operatives. Physically disarmed, the peasants were incapable of outright rebellion but they resisted by every other means at their disposal; strikes, sabotage and acts of violence and by fleeing in large numbers from the countryside to the cities abandoning their farms.

The situation became so serious that during the greater part of 1953, the party leadership was gripped by indecision and grave internal discord. What was at issue was the tempo of advance towards the party's fixed goal. On February 15, the party leadership made public its "Decisions on Agricultural Co-operatives" which stated that "the individual economy of the peasants must continue to exist and expand for still a long period of time. Even the economy of the rich peasants must be allowed to continue to develop".

These conciliatory measures were short-lived. In November 1953, evidently reflecting the final triumph of the extreme faction led by Mao and Liu Shao-chi, the policy of compromise was repudiated and the die was cast for unrelenting class war against the peasantry. On November 19, a government decree was passed providing for complete state control of the purchase and distribution of grain and for the punishment of the violators of the regulations as "counter-revolutionaries". On December 16, a further decision was taken by the party leaders to accelerate the extension of agricultural producers' co-operatives to all parts of the country.

When the agricultural co-operatives failed to produce the expected crop output during 1956-57, a crisis developed because it was on this increased output that the plans for China's industrialization, its future as a major force in the Communist world depended. The course of action to be taken, was therefore a crucial decision not only for China but for the entire Communist movement.

Throughout 1957, the battle raged behind closed doors in the Politbureau at Peking. There were only two alternatives; either to accept forced labour on a nation-wide scale in order to raise agricultural output and strengthen the state monopoly of the means of production or to see the entire system of state capitalism to which the party was wedded, crumble. The logic of events forced the Communist leaders to decide on applying forced labour to the entire production process. Great labour armies conceived on the lines of mobile military units—this was the pattern set by the Politbureau in 1957. It was the forerunner of the People's Communes set up in the summer and autumn of 1958.

(Next Week, "The Truth about the Communes")

"Real Crisis In The Country Is The Crisis of Faith"

Says Acharya Kripalani

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Following is the speech delivered in the Lok Sabha by Acharya Kripalani, a leader of the Opposition, on the Budget on the 10th of March 1959 which was never fully reported by the Press and which deeply appreciates advertisement revenue coming from the Government.

Delivered by an elder statesman, who has held the important posts in the Gandhian Congress, the speech exposes many pretensions of our "Welfare" State. We reproduce here this speech in the hope that our people may yet see light in good time, and put pressure on the Congress Government at the Centre to change the course of the country from taking the leap in the dark.—Ed.

SOME members have showered compliments on the Finance Minister for his moderation. Others have severely criticised him. But I have neither to find fault with him nor to praise him. I can only sympathise with him. He has to find finances for the very rising cost of the administration, Civil and Military, the Plan. All this is not of his doing, neither the rising cost of the administration nor the costly plan. These things were there before he left the moist and muggy atmosphere of Bombay and was transplanted to the dry and dusty region of Delhi. He has to find the necessary funds. He must as the saying goes beg, borrow, or steal. He has been doing the first two as he told us in his speech. He will continue to raise the various loans inside the country. The number of foreign countries from which the flow of loans will be continued is legion. We also continue to get free gifts from America and other countries. But it would appear that all this beginning and borrowing is not enough for the expanding expenditure of the Government. What remains?

WHAT IS ANTI-SOCIAL

One cannot call it by the vulgar name of stealing. When a rich man indulges in this it is called kleptomania. When the Finance Minister does it, it is indirect taxation and printing of notes. Let us, however, see what constitutes anti-social activities. Any legitimate activity becomes illegitimate and anti-social when it is not done as it ought to be. To earn money is the legitimate activity of the merchant. But if he does this by black-marketing and hoarding, his activity becomes anti-social. If an administrator supplements his income through bribery, his activity constitutes a theft.

A Government has a right to levy taxes for the service of the people. It has also the right to issue Treasury Bills or resort to deficit financing, to support an expanding economy. But if these activities are carried in a manner and for purposes that do not serve their basic ends, they become anti-social and injure the community.

Deficit financing becomes inflationary when it impoverishes the mass of the people, that is, when they have to pay for primary needs of life disproportion-

ately more than the increase in their real incomes. Also if higher prices are not set off against increased social amenities, the economy suffers from inflation. Further deficit financing becomes a positive curse if there is increasing unemployment. Our economy today suffers from all these handicaps. But we are told that the country is building heavy and capital industry and this cannot be done without deficit financing. It is hard to say when the beneficent effects of this industrialisation will reach the common man!

LEARN BY MISTAKES OF COMMUNIST NATIONS

We are having Plan after Plan, in quick succession and each plan is costlier than the other. There seems to be no end in sight. However the fact is that the beneficial effect of inflation can be removed only with increased production of consumer goods and their equitable distribution. We have the example of the economics of Eastern countries in Europe where the emphasis was on heavy and capital industry to the neglect of consumer goods. This has resulted in heavy inflation in these countries. There is plenty of money but no goods and the prices are very high. But even in these countries there is no unemployment.

INFLATION HAS HIT THE PEOPLE

It is a fact that the production of consumer goods, agricultural and industrial, has been on the decline since the beginning of 1957. Last year there was a big drop. This is admitted by the Finance Minister in his speech and in the economic survey supplied to us. However instead of taking steps to cure the inflationary pressure exerted by the decline in production on our economy, the present budget proposes to increase it.

The adverse effects of inflation were apparent as early as the beginning of 1957. The former Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, while presenting his Budget that year declared Rs. 900 crores of deficit finance as the safe limit. He gave that as a reason for his heavy taxation programme. The Planning Commission in its re-appraisal put the limit for the last two years of the Plan at Rs. 283 crores. Both these limits have been exceeded. The aggregate deficit financing will greatly exceed the limit of Rs. 1,200 crores contemplated in the whole plan period, and that too under very favourable conditions. The conditions as I have stated and as are admitted by the authorities are the reverse of favourable. This must entail added hardship on the masses and the salaried lower and the middle classes whose sufferings are already great. When our experts glibly talk of deficit financing they forget that after the war we were already in the grip of heavy inflation.

Anyway, let us examine where, why and how our calculations have gone wrong, when we were proceeding according to the plans, scientifically drawn by experts, who never had any doubt, but that they were specialists at their job? Generally the blame so

far as food production and food prices are concerned is put on the vagaries of the weather and the monsoons and on a rising population. But both these factors are not new in India. Any plan drawn in disregard of these well-known factors cannot be considered as realistic or scientific.

Apart from the over-ambitious nature of the Plan, over-ambitious not in terms of our needs but our resources—human and material, the expenditure on it has been greatly inflated by the mistakes made in execution. On the last occasion I gave the example of the three steel plants, in the public sector. This is the largest single item on which Plan resources have been spent. On that occasion I said that avoidable losses were in the neighbourhood of one hundred crores. Since then the House has the advantage of the Estimates Committee's Report on these Plans.

PLANNED ECONOMY OR ORGANISED CHAOS

It says that there was "lack of forethought and adequate planning". It finds it strange that the administration of Rs. 560 crores steel projects should have been vested largely with 2 to 4 officials or erstwhile officials, who had no previous experience of steel industry or of any industry for that matter. Contracts for civil engineering works and building of blast furnaces, which could have been handled by local contractors, employing local skills, were given to foreigners who did the work at much heavier cost. We had engaged the services of costly foreign consultants. But they gave plans and data that were afterwards found worthless. In Rourkela, the site for the location of the Plant had to be changed. This cost 2½ crores more. It is not known why or at whose instance this was done. Even the Estimates Committee has not been able to get information from official sources to enable it to fix responsibility. The sources of iron-ore, lime-stone and water-supply have been found inadequate and unsatisfactory. The time schedule has also proved illusory. Finally the estimates are nowhere near the originals. The difference cannot be explained on the basis of the rise in prices. It is much more. Yet Rs. 10 crores were paid to the foreign expert consultations! The conclusion of the Committee is that a thorough probe must be made in the various aspects of the working of the erection of these three plans. For the future the committee opines that the Parliament should be given full information every year regarding any new projects involving huge cost. With the Committee's report before us it is necessary that a Committee of the House be appointed to go into the whole matter of the steel plans. This is necessary if like mistakes in the future are to be avoided.

IN RIGHT MOGHUL STYLE

Further it is disconcerting that from time to time the country is shocked by various reports about mismanagement of public funds. Recently we had the Dulat Committee Reports on Bhakra Nangal Project. This Project is a show-piece for all dignitaries favouring us with their kind visits. It was about this project that the Prime Minister once said that it must be considered by us as a new temple and a new place of pilgrimage. The Dulat Committee examined only a section of the Project, one canal wing, costing Rs. 9

crores. It has found that out of this Rs. 40 lacs were wasted through injudicious planning and inadequate supervision, which provided opportunities for dishonesty. If this is what happened at Bhakra Nangal, a Project which is periodically visited by many Ministers, including the Prime Minister, one wonders what happens elsewhere.

Here is again something from Shri P. C. Chowdhury's report on the allotment of evacuee lands in the Punjab. The report says "in the traditional Moghul Style many officials conferred Jagirs on their friends and relatives in utter disregard of legal and moral dictates."

To add to all this, periodically the country is shocked to learn of corruption at levels higher than the permanent services. Curiously enough it is not the members of the Opposition Parties, who are responsible for the ugly exposures but the members of the different factions in the Congress or even in the Cabinets. In most cases whenever a Minister in the Centre or the State resigns, for whatever reason, sooner or later he exposes the skeleton in the Government's cupboard.

As I have said before, taxes are justified only if they are utilised for the service of the people and in India for the service of starving masses, who even after independence, live at starvation level. Yet our expenditure on the administration goes on ever increasing. It is increasing out of all proportion to output of work and efficiency.

ADMINISTRATION COSTS INCREASE BY 600 P.C.!

In 1948-49 it stood at 35½ crores. It stands today at the very modest figure of more than 222 crores, an increase of 187 crores! This works out to more than 600 p.c. over a period of one decade.

This is not to be wondered at when we look at the increased staff of officers only at the top. While before independence, a department was managed by one Secretary and a Joint Secretary, today we have Principal Secretaries, Secretaries, Special Secretaries, Additional Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, etc. In some departments we have over them all a Secretary-General. What is missing is a Secretary Extraordinary. But perhaps all the additional Secretaries are extraordinary. They have been unearthed after independence.

The number of administrative Boards and Committees have similarly been increasing. Their membership has been increasing as well. The Railway Board that was previously managed by 3 members has today 10 members. The Revenue Board has 5 members instead of 3. In spite of this increase we are told that as few as 83,000 income tax appeals are pending!

The number of Ministerial posts at the Centre and in the provinces is ever on the increase. Almost all states enjoy the superfluous luxury of a second chamber. Governmental expenditure, Civil and Military, is progressively increasing and becoming more lavish. Huge sums of money are spent on prestige buildings and establishing new capitals on the model of New Delhi. But all this in no way increases efficiency. Rather many cooks spoil the nation's broth.

The result is that additional resources collected from the people through ever increasing taxation, in the name of the Plan, have been wasted on things other than the plan. Even the Planning Committee is constrained to say "all this tax effort has however not provided resources for the Plan; a large part of it has been absorbed by other demands, defence, non-development expenditure and development expenditure outside the Plan. "Further", the Commission says, "despite the improvement in the tax receipts by Rs. 500 crores over the original Plan targets, the revenue receipts available for financing the Centre's Plan outlay are expected to show an improvement of only 45 crores, as confirmed by the Plan estimates".

WHERE ARE THE TARGETS?

Let us however see, if with all the money we have received from ever increasing taxes and inflation and which has been lavishly spent, we have been able to achieve the physical targets of our Plans. In the First Plan, our target of Irrigation and Cultivation was 8 million acres. But the actual area that could be brought under the plough was only 4 million acres—50 per cent of the Plan target. But so far as spending is concerned the monetary target was fully achieved. In the Second Plan our food production target was 15.6 million tons. At the end of the third year, we will be achieving only 6.6 million tons, though we have already spent nearly Rs. 95 crores out of 170 crores. In Irrigation, we have achieved only 3.81 million acres in place of 12 million acres while we have spent Rs. 236 crores out Rs. 376 crores. Similarly by the end of the third year, our power potential will increase by .77 million out of 3.5 million KWs; but we would have spent Rs. 243 out of 427 crores. Our planners had calculated that by the end of the Plan period, we will produce through the new steel plants two million tons of iron and steel; it still remains to be seen how much we shall produce at the end of the plan period. We know that the public sector contributed 2 million tons of coal production in the first year through State Collieries. What is our target? I have not been able to get the exact figures but I believe it is not less than 10 million tons during the plan period. The entire amount allotted for shipping, Rs. 45 crores has already been committed, but as against 390,000 GRT, the achievement has been only 180,000 GRT—less than half. About ports, road development, etc., the same thing can be said.

The point is that we spend money according to the Plan but when it comes to physical achievements, expectations made by our planning experts are absolutely belied by the targets reached.

I have little to say about the specific tax proposals in the present budget. They have been adversely commented upon by previous speakers. But I am surprised that a Government which claims to foster, project and encourage cottage industries should tax Khand-sari Sugar. Light as the present tax burdens may appear to Congressmen, we must view them against the back-ground of heavy impositions from year to year for the last eleven years. Let us beware of the last straw that breaks the camel's back. It is useless for me to say anything about the Defence Expenditure, which for a small cut this year has been on the increase year after year. It would be superfluous to sug-

gest any cut in this direction, when the country is in the grip of fear of a small country like Pakistan. One wonders today, how our unarmed people fearlessly met the challenge of the British Empire before independence! In the last few days this fear has increased, because of the new treaty between America and Pakistan and the knowledge that American arms are being used by Pakistan in the border raids. If this is a fact, then it means that America gives to India with one hand is more than taken away with the other. This is what makes American foreign policy suspect in many under-developed countries. I, however, hope that the assurances given by the American authorities are genuine to see that American arms are not used in any excursion against India.

SPARE OUR WOMEN

While I am on this subject of the military let me make an earnest appeal to the Government. Let us not associate our daughters, sisters and mothers with this cruel business of war. It is the pride and privilege of woman to give and preserve life. Let her not be the instrument of taking away what she has given in pain and travail and in abounding love. This little should not be too much to expect from the land of Gandhi. Inspired by alien ideas we accorded to a saintly soul, a man of God, a man of peace, truth and love, military honours after his death! Let us not pay homage again to foreign ideas by training our womenfolk for the destructive profession of arms, specially in this age of senseless and cruel carnage of the atomic age. Gandhiji always said that non-violence was most natural to women. It was in accord with their traditions and with their special function as mothers. I would appear, through this house, to all women organisations to agitate against women joining the military forces of the country, even though they may be for defensive purposes. Are we men so devoid of bravery and so poor in spirit and so few in numbers that we want help of our women folk in the defence of our motherland and in the process subject them to this cruel brutal and brutalising business or war? After all we know something of the soldier's life?

I know some day the Prime Minister, who is not present here today, will give us arguments from history and talk of Rani of Jhansi and Chandbibi. These cases were exceptional in times that were exceptional and when war was not what it is today, a sheer butchery and an indiscriminate annihilation. But even if these examples have nay validity of this sputnik age, in this House, are not bound to follow history. We are here as trustees not only of the present generation but of generations to come. We have to make history even as we did before independence in our freedom fight.

Without fulfilling the objectives we have kept before ourselves we are imposing on the present generation heavy burdens. We tell them that they must bear these burdens for a future they will not see! It is but proper that the living should sacrifice for the unborn. But the sacrifice should not be so heavy that even physical life in the present becomes difficult. For then, we cannot enthuse the community to greater effort. Rather there would be despondency and frustration. If this happens before our plans for the future have

(Continued on page 16)

Attack On Free Press

By S. S. Bankeshwar



Press is the guardian of freedom in a democratic country. It is no function of the Press in democracy to sing the praises of the government or to put people to sleep with lullabies about the pie in the sky as in a totalitarian country.

An alert, vigilant, independent and free press is an essential prerequisite for the successful functioning of a democracy. A democracy without a free press is a myth. Freedom of press is a myth unless the press has got the right to gather, transmit and disseminate news anywhere without fetters and the widest possible access to the sources of information.

In a totalitarian country, the people are deprived of their fundamental right of freedom of information which entirely depends for its validity upon the availability of a diversity of sources of news and opinion. They are denied free access to foreign news agencies. All news from abroad is canalised and distilled through a virtually government controlled channel, and 'undesirable' news is kept out. Press in a totalitarian country is utilised to propagate the views of the administration. Its service is overwhelmed with ministerial speeches and the dogmas of the ruling party.

While press in a democracy is the guardian of people's freedom, it become an instrument of oppression in the hands of a totalitarian government.

Now that we have embarked on the road to Socialism, it becomes immensely important to study the future role of our country. The reported decision of our government to disallow a tie-up between newspapers in this country and news agencies abroad, and thus deprive them of free access to foreign news agencies, is meant to restrict access to news, at home or abroad. This calculated denigration of our fundamental right of freedom of informations is contrary to the letter and spirit of the final Act of the U.N.

(Continued from page 15)

materialised, the present generation may rise in revolt and upset our appercart of optimistic expectation of plenty in the future. Let us not, therefore, press the present generation beyond the endurance point.

We know and we have often been reminded by the Prime Minister that the tasks before us are stupendous and they require for their fulfilment the utmost unity and the honest and co-operative effort of all sections of the population and all the parties. But this unity and co-operation can only be based upon confidence in the leadership and the administration. People must believe that those in authority have no other objective but their good. After all not only individuals but communities live by faith. Faith is the man. Faith is also the community. When Gandhiji appeared on the political scene in India the first thing that

Conference on freedom of Information (held at Geneva in 1948) to which India is one of the signatories.

If the government implements its decision to deprive our newspapers of free access to foreign news agencies, then P.T.I. being the only news agency in India, will become a monopolistic news organisation and an instrument of the government in propagating the views and dogmas of the ruling party. This P.T.I. now more than ever at the mercy of the government, will be disciplined into Congress servitude. All independent newspapers which dare to question the government might be arbitrarily refused the services of the only news agency in the country and forced into voluntary liquidation. The fate of free press in our socialistic pattern of society is not likely to be far different from that of the Press in totalitarian countries.

Once the free press disappears, the days of opposition parties and democracy are numbered.

The arguments advanced by our government to justify its decision to disallow the tie-up between newspapers in this country and news agencies abroad, are none too convincing. It has attempted to justify it in the name of protecting our national news agencies against competition of foreign news agencies as if they were business organisations entitled to tariffs, protection barriers and all that.

It is rather amazing indeed that press in India has taken this calculated denigration of its fundamental right of freedom of information by the government lying down and without any strong protest; nor have the opposition parties in India bothered to protest to it. This is an eloquent commentary on the way democracy functions in India.

he gave the people was faith, faith in the leadership and therefore in themselves.

This faith was generated through deeds and not through words. We think in terms of economic and political crisis. But the real crisis in the country is the crisis of faith. For example, why are our young people restive and why are they getting out of hand? It is because they have lost all confidence and faith in the future. They have become cynical. Nothing is more morally poisonous than loss of faith and consequent cynicism. Unless this widespread cynicism is replaced by trust, confidence and faith, all our efforts will go in vain. Faith can be induced in the people, as before independence, not by words but by dedicated deeds.

—Courtesy "Filminidia"

Digging The Roots of Chaos

By Lawrence Barth

(This is the concluding part of the article which appeared in Our 1st June issue).

LOVE RESULTS FROM FULL BODY FUNCTIONING

It has often been said—particularly by sincerely religious people—that what will solve the tragedy of the human race is love. I can agree with that, and so can any intelligent person who has not lost his emotions and achieved merely a frigid intellectuality. But religionists need to face a fact that they never do face; love is not an abstract, mystical thing. Love is a result of the healthy, full functioning of a thoroughly material human body, a functioning of organs, blood, nerve, impulses, various types of energy, muscles, glands, chemicals, tissues. It starts with energy, which functions both as energy and as the primal stuff of matter. It has been the greatest disservice of religion to humanity that it has led in creating and intensifying the nonsensical idea that a human being consists of two distinct and antithetical parts, a body and a soul. Anything that we can use the word "soul" for is the result of the functioning of energy in a material organism—of its emotions, its thoughts, its acts—and is in that functional sense part and parcel of it.

The meaning and origin of love can never be found in theology and the more abstract areas of psychology—we have to look directly to nature itself, to the biology and physics of the basic human body. When that body is born, it is thoroughly capable of developing natural love, and a healthy upbringing enlarges that capacity to love other human beings many times over. But what is the growing child subjected to? Instead of naturalness he is subjected to genital thwarting (prohibition of masturbation, sex play and adolescent intercourse), muscle thwarting ("stop that running—walk like a little lady!"), intellectual thwarting, ("That's nothing for you to know about"), initiative thwarting ("Never mind what you want—just do as I say") emotional thwarting (Stop that crying this minute!) and "It isn't manly to cry") vocal thwarting ("Children should be seen and not heard"), love thwarting ("There—and if you don't shut up I'll crack you again!"), and the whole filthy, sick gamut of rigidity, authoritarianism and sadism that rages through the average parent. Under this treatment, does the child's energy turn to inward and outward brutality? It does.

The physiological details of this energy transformation into social crimes and neuroses are brilliantly uncovered by Reich in several works, 1, 2, 3. Important insights for forward-looking people can be gained from his discussions of character armor and its associated muscular armoring; the physical and psychological expansion and contraction stemming from pleasure and anxiety; the orgasm reflex; the socially irresponsible person; family fixation, and nationalistic feeling; the social function of sexual repression; the natural, relaxed, non-political way of living together expressed in the phrase 'work democracy', and many other aspects of our human chaos and struggle.

It's time to look backward and forward non-rigidly. For some thousands of years humanity has been

caught in a system of dominating-and-being-dominated, an emotional disease that cuts across the division lines of class, appearing in all social groups, and classes from one form of society to the next, each time re-appearing in a new face. The human being, from ancient times through our own, has been forced to armour himself—his muscles and organs, his emotions, and as a result, his mind in order to make himself able to accept this domination. He has armoured himself so completely that the very protective armour finally helps to perpetuate the system it's supposed to protect him against. One of the clearest examples of this system is seen in the constant reiterations of the stand-pat type of psychiatrists and psychologists; teach your child to "adjust", to be "well-adjusted". The primary content of this phrase, in terms of actual living, is always to adjust to, to accept, the anti-life customs of society; no sex, go to church, do what your parents tell you, accept the profit system, keep with your "own kind", join the army and kill people in wars when you've told to!

Man wants happiness, pleasure, but by now he literally fears it. This damning up of energy is largely what the word and sensation "Insecurity" means—and is a bigger part of insecurity than its economic segment, for it begins in the human infant before he comes into extensive contact with economic factors. This suppressive system, in the course of civilization's development, has drawn more and more away from the physical body and its natural emotions, out of which all intellect, government, economic, science, art and other human activities are built. The idea that abstractions are "higher", "more developed", than the physical body and its physical functioning is so standard that not only reactionaries but even the revolutionary-minded have come to accept an international treaty or any other political tactic as more important than the human being experiencing the full physical happiness of his body. In such a framework even rational attempts in the field of administering and governing often gradually slip down and become one with the mire or politicking.

WHAT IS CULTURE?

We hear much about "culture" and "sublimation". It's time for realistic people to state reality; the natural functioning of human bodies is culture. Civilization has advanced not because of repression of natural instincts, but in spite of the repression. Nature and culture are not opposites, as moralists of all political positions state; rather, true culture is possible only through allowing the basic natural functions of the body to operate as they must, without the highly touted "sublimation" that so often creates sadism and masochism beneath the veneer of "high things" in the personality. Destructive impulses, dirty-mindedness, rape and other criminality are not inborn; we create them ourselves. Our basic instincts are not immoral, but moral, natural. The negation of the body's genital and other instincts is the thing which is immoral; it leads to blatant hypocrisy in place of true morality.

(which simply means "live—and let live"). Genital sexual enjoyment and work achievement are not opposites—rather the same basic energy swings into one or the other at different times; and if one is enjoyed fully, without anxiety, the other works that much better when its time comes.

It's the help of such basic facts that we need. If we are to be spared wiping our human race out, if we are to build a decent society, we have to go deep.

Every human being wants certainty and simplicity, and has to learn the hard way that both society and nature are inherently fluid and complex. Marxists, whatever their orientation, oversimplify, religionists over-simplify; essentially everyone trying to solve the puzzle of our chaos does the same. So the reader may well ask if the view presented here isn't oversimplified. I think not, for no rigid formula is being given here. Certain scientific facts about human behaviour have been discovered. The most basic of these appears to be that life energy will create chaos if its natural outlets are closed off, and that among the many forms of life energy's outlet, the genital function is (alongside of the eating function) the strongest and undoubtedly the one most vigorously suppressed by society. When acts of even more basic nature are discovered about human behaviour, we will be that much better off, and the door is open for them. Nobody should make a cult, a religion, a rigidity, out of the sexual-stasis understanding of irrationality; to do so destroys the very thing one wants to protect and nourish. This must be mentioned, because the sick human propensity to destroy a useful thing through worship and dogmatizing is very strong.

Clearly, it is most certainly necessary to investigate and struggle on all levels of human activity at the same time; this article has necessarily stressed only the most neglected and most basic aspect. We can and should continue making use of knowledge from the purely psychological area—over-compensation, the understanding of conditioned reflexes, and the like; we can and should continue rational legislative action, talking, writing, voting, building unions and other useful organisations. But it's not enough to work only at manipulating our superstructure; if the biological base of society continues to be ignored, if the primacy of the universal emotional disease over politics and economics continues to be disregarded, our race of animals seems surely doomed to destroy itself. The human animal is so sick that ninety-nine out of a hundred will not lift a finger to fight back, or they fight in some crazy, meaningless way that has no relation to reality.

Political parties basically solve nothing—and from this statement it is impossible to except any, whether they are followers of Stalin, and his successors, Trotsky, Norman Thomas or any of the hundreds of others throughout the World. Whatever they do that is useful they always cancel out again through politicking. And generalised liberal exhortation solves very little so long as the human animal remains sexually sick at his core, irresponsible, inert. We need to stand completely outside the maelstrom of politics and re-examine man from the standpoint of his being a breathing biological animal. We must be basic. We have to start with our children—and before we can do that, we have to start with ourselves.

—Balanced Living

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- Hungary under Soviet Rule II.* by American friends of Captive Nations.

STOP MILITARY AID TO PAKISTAN

The Progressive in its issue of May 1959 has published an article by Ruth Widmayer under the caption "The Struggle for India" (datelined Calcutta) in which she writes about American military aid to Pakistan as follows:

By far the least expensive and most effective way in which the United States could bring about an immediate and sweeping improvement in its relations with India would be to cease giving military aid to Pakistan. If we do everything else but neglect this vital matter, we will still be resented and our motives suspect. Even the most pro-western and anti-communist of the Indians do not understand how United States' professions of friendship with India can be sincere when we continue to supply arms to the government of a country which has on a number of occasions made thinly veiled threats to use force against India. There is no single issue over which all Indians feel more bitterly towards the United States than continuing military assistance to its saber-rattling neighbour. The Communists exploit this resentment for all it is worth—which is a good deal. A change of policy in which we would substitute economic and technical aid for military aid to Pakistan would be of far greater benefit to the Pakistanis themselves, whose standard of living is even lower than that of India. Such a change might well be the turning point in decisive Indian sympathy for the West. We have little to lose and the goodwill of a great sub-continent to gain by this expedient.

—Organiser.

DANGER TO NEPAL AND BHUTAN TIBETAN POLICY CRITICISED

Bombay: May 24 : Sri Vajpayee, leader of the Jana Sangh group in the Lok Sabha, said here yesterday that if Bharat did nothing to help the Tibetans in their fight for the preservation of their distinct personality, Bharat's ties with Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim would be weakened.

These countries might be induced to seek some other dependable friends who would stand with them in case of any threat to their free existence, Sri Vajpayee said.

Addressing a meeting here to protest against Chinese aggression in Tibet, Sri Vajpayee said Bharat's failure to uphold the right of the Tibetans to determine their future would have serious repercussions.

The uncommitted nations would find it extremely difficult to resist the temptation to join one of the two Power blocs.

Describing the Government's policy on Tibet, as "most disappointing," he said the conduct of China in Tibet could hardly be regarded as friendly to Bharat. He strongly condemned the attitude of the Communist Party on Tibet.

He said, "Bharat has no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of China, but Tibet is not China's internal affairs."

—Organiser.

PAKISTANI AGENTS IN U.P.

Lucknow: Large quantities of anti-Bharatiya propaganda literature is being distributed among Muslims in U. P. According to a spokesman of U. P. Government, much of it is smuggled into Bharat from Pakistan by the Muslims coming from there. The U.P. Government has requested the Government of Bharat to take steps to check this kind of smuggling.

—Organiser.

TAXES IMPOSED, NOT COLLECTED

Dibrugarh (Assam) May 20. The Union Minister for Revenue and Civil Expenditure, Dr. Gopala Reddy said that only about one million people in this country paid income tax out of about 35 million who were liable to pay it.

The Minister, who was addressing the Eastern Assam Chamber of Commerce on Monday hoped that there would be no tax evasion and more people would pay tax willingly in the interest of the nation.

—Organiser.

Letter to the Editor

ADVERTISING OR HORSE TRADING?

Madam,

Press in India is still free but has voluntarily chosen to remain servile to government for which we cannot wholly blame the government. There are of course, some bold and independent newspapers and journals. They are, however, slowly being forced into voluntary liquidation for want of adequate funds and advertisements.

By a whole system of frowns and favours, newspapers and journals in India are disciplined into the Congress servitude. In some States, I understand from reliable sources, newspapers humour the state governments by appointing the state's public relations officers as their special correspondents.

Today advertisements are given or withheld by the government without any regard to the circulation and general standard of papers.

"LINK"—a pro-communist weekly published from Delhi (the running spirit behind which is Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon), received a number of government advertisements in its very first issue. While the government insists on a number of conditions regarding circulation, standard and all that in the case of other papers for giving it advertisements, it did not bother to insist on them in the case of LINK. The government actually patronised it with its advertisements, waiving all rules and regulations which it is supposed to observe.

"Hindustan" and "New Bharat Times", the two biggest Hindi dailies of the country, are said to have been denied government advertisements on the ground that the publishers of these dailies receive enough government advertisements through their English papers. Is this advertising or horse-trading?

Bombay.

S. S. Bankeshwar.

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