

to Indian democrats particularly of the Opposition like the Swatantra Party. With all the professions of democracy and freedom on the part of the Congress leaders, it is not excluded that in course of time, what with the lust for power consuming the Congress leaders, what with the corruption stalking abroad under the Permit-Licence-Raj which inevitably creates an oligarchy of the ruling class trying to perpetuate itself in power at any cost, and our social economic backwardness, Indian democracy, as so might go the way that it has done in several Afro-Asian countries. Democracy can survive only in a free economy of the kind that prevails in America and England. In the absence of such pre-conditions for democracy prevailing in these backward countries, the democratic regimes set up there initially by the outgoing foreign rulers, if they still have a will to survive, will therefore do well to forge close bonds and links social economic and political, with these pioneering democratic countries. For undoubtedly backward countries launching on their independent career need import the Democratic Spirit and Technique for their political and social upliftment, as much as they need import Capital and Technology from them for their economic and industrial development. Afro-Asian countries and these old democratic countries should therefore shed off their out-worn ideas about Imperialism, superiority-inferiority complexes, Isolationism and Non-alignment and

get together and co-operate with one another in the task of keeping the flag of Democracy flying high, at least in the greater part of the world.

SYRIAN MILITARY COUP

Syria is again in a political turmoil. The army in this country also, in line with the military coups in Burmah and elsewhere, has seized power from the legally constituted Government of Dr. Kudsi. The reasons for this coup d'etat of the army as given by the Military Command are blissfully vague on vital matters. To say that this revolt amounts to a swing in Syrian politics to the Right or to the Left would be too dogmatic and too premature at present. Perhaps power-politics and personal ambitions have a greater bearing on these developments in Syria than economic, domestic or foreign issues. Though the initial pronouncements of General Zahreddin would indicate the Leftist tendencies, a closer look at the composition of the military junta and its recent declarations and doings would show that this was not correct.

But what appears to have sparked off the present revolt was the reported decision of Syrian political leaders to get Iraqi troops to defend the Syrian border against Israel. The Syrian army looked upon this step as an indication of the Government's lack of confidence in the Army Officers and revolted. In fact, as in September Revolution, the Syrian national pride against the domination of Egypt or Iraq was piqued and this factor was taken advantage of, by the army officers to stage the Coup.

The present ruling junta therefore could on no account be considered as 'Leftist'. The Army move to usher in 'Cabinet of technicians, lawyers, Professors and Engineers with the avowed aim to introduce mixed economy, points out the fluid and flexible nature of the present regime which seeks to stand midway between Nasser's Arab Socialism and imposed Arab Unity on one hand, and the Rightist Government's economic and political policies on the other. The Syrian army Coup, be it ever so patriotically motivated, can only be looked upon by World Democrats as a knock-out blow to the proper functioning and growth of Asian Democracy, in as much as the legally constituted Government was replaced by force and not by democratic means and methods.

The lesson of totalitarian Unity and Aggressive Socialism imposed upon a country, paving the way for the rise of military dictatorships should not be lost on Indian Democrats who still hold fast by democratic ideas and principles.

PAKISTANI MENACE TO EASTERN BORDER.

For some time past the news is coming simultaneously, of revolt of East Pakistanis against the

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Pakistan Central Government and also of ever growing encroachment of Pakistanis into Indian territory of Assam and West Bengal. Unable to pacify frayed temper of Eastern Bengalis against the high-handed and overbearing domination of West Pakistanis, over them, the Pakistan Government, it is suspected, is fomenting deliberately these border troubles between West Bengalis and East Bengalis, and East Bengalis and the Assamese, on grounds of language, culture and rights to agricultural lands. Last month a member of the National Volunteer Force was kidnapped near the border outpost in 24-Paraganas District of West Bengal and forcibly carried into East Pakistan territory. Many a time, instances have occurred of Pakistani trespass into Indian territory and forcible occupation of small chunks of our lands. The most blatant outrage occurred on the Dinajpur border round about March 11 when with the help of a contingent of armed East Pakistani Rifles, Pakistani Nationals threatened Indian farmers to vacate their lands and forcibly occupied them.

The Pakistan Central Government, to judge from the recent fire-eating statements of Ayubkhan against India and particularly against the Hindus of Western Bengal, seems to be intent on creating more and more trouble on this border just to divert the attention of East Bengalis from the more serious domestic trouble that has been brewing between the two wings of Pakistan. But Ayubkhan should remember that India will not tolerate indefinitely this wanton mischief and menace from Pakistani Rifles and Pakistani Nationals on our Eastern border. The Indian army will, if it must, exchange fire with Pakistani troops if rights to agricultural land in this border area among the farmers, are sought to be settled unilaterally with the help of the army. Let Pakistan therefore no more think that India can only talk and negotiate but never shoot even if it be necessary to maintain its territorial integrity. The Government of India and State Governments of Bengal and Assam, it is to be hoped, will keep a strict vigilance on our border areas and employ all means to cry an effective halt to this growing menace from the strife-torn but intensely anti-Indian Pakistani Nationals and Army men.

HERE AND THERE

The Assam Governor, General Shri Nagesh assured the Assam State Legislature that the Government had taken and was taking effective step to check illegal infiltration of Pakistanis in Indian territory. The steps taken, it can now be confidently asserted, will be as 'effective' as those taken, to check Chinese incursions into Indian territory on the Northern border or those taken to check hostile Nagas' raids into Indian territory.

Addressing the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry at New Delhi Prime Minister Nehru laid down certain fundamentals of his Government's economic policies. He said:

That Mixed Economy was a positive one aiming at social justice (But the Chief Minister of Orissa begs to differ from Nehru. In his opinion Mixed Economy is a curse and retards Socialist progress. Will Mr. Nehru tell us whom to believe, himself the colourless socialist or Mr. Patnaik the aggressive Socialist?)

That during his recent election tour, his impression was that people were better fed and clothed and children looked more cheerful and happy. (But did Mr. Nehru on proper enquiry convince himself that the men and children who were presented before him by officialdom were not mere 'show-boys'?)

That in former Talukdari and Zamindari areas the suppressive tendency of the Zamindar and Talukdars still existed. (Mr. Nehru should have added in justice to those Zamindars and Talukdars who supported the Congress in the General Elections that they were honourable exceptions to this general statement.)

That 'people's capitalism' would not solve the problem of spreading wealth to the people and there were many good things in communism also (Socialist Pattern and Socialism having proved themselves to be incompetent to solve the problem Mr. Nehru is now on his way to People's Communism. Where, oh, where are we going to?)

The Chief Justice of Goa Dr. Alvaro Dias said that Goa had a strong case to a separate State and if Goa had been a separate administrative unit for centuries it only shows that Goa could be a viable State in future. On the same reasoning, if Goa could have the foreign Portuguese rule for centuries, Goa could have the same in future also. Which goes to prove by the law of Reductio-ad-Absurdum that Goa cannot be a viable separate State. At best it can only be a separate small district of about six lacs of people on the Konkan sea coast along with other Konkan Districts like Ratnagiri, Kolaba and Thana.

THIS INDIA :

Cuttack : The inclusion of a Princess's claim for dowry of Rs. 20,000/- in the Orissa State Budget several months after marriage has attracted much attention here. This novel feature runs counter to the socialistic ideas professed by the Patnaik's Ministry.

What is more odious is that a State Government should countenance the giving or receiving of dowry banned by Parliament through an enactment recently.

The provision of the sum as dowry is for the Princess of Nilgiri and had been rejected by the Coalition Ministry.

—Blitz

Administration And National Integration

M. A. Venkata Rao

THE tone and spirit of the governmental administration play a decisive part in strengthening or weakening the overall psychological influences making for national unity.

The effect of British rule with one system of law and administration throughout the country during the last two hundred years has played a dominant part in awakening national consciousness in our country. It crystallised and brought to intense focus all other educational and economic factors modernising the climate of thought and feeling. Its centralised civil service developed a national outlook among the elite. The increasing participation of Indians in the higher services in civil administration, the judiciary, the police and magistracy and educational cadres in the universities started after Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 bred a new confidence in the educated classes in their capacity to rule the country themselves and take it over from the British.

The Indian army served in all theatres of the two world wars and developed a similar confidence in its military capacity to defend the country using the most up-to-date weapons and trained to modern methods of military organisation.

The high degree of national sentiment developed during the Gandhian struggle for national liberation for over thirty years was largely negative in direction and tone. The nation was fairly unanimous (though many groups with close affiliation to and dependence on the ruling race remained emotionally aloof, where they did not side with the alien rulers) in desiring an end to foreign rule.

But the leaders of the freedom struggle had not devoted much attention to the form and substance of the kind of society and polity and economy that were to displace foreign rule when independence was attained.

It was natural therefore for the sentiment of unity to get weaker during the post-independence period of national reconstruction that started in 1947.

The ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity of the liberal revolution of France (1789) and the communist doctrines of Karl Marx as embodied in the Russian revolution of 1917 as well as the forces of social reform and religious re-awakening galvanised by a new social gospel came together in a massed impact in the Indian national consciousness. It all generated a "storm and stress" or *aufkralung* period in which we are groping yet.

The only clear-cut doctrine and policy emerging with power in the chaotic stream of tendencies were those of socialism sponsored with increasing authoritativeness by the Prime Minister. They have been embodied in dynamic policies in the Five Year Plans.

But the subconscious mind of the people as well as the conscious thinking of many strata of the public are not convinced of the necessity or desirability or beneficence of these new-fangled ideas and trends, especially as they are beginning to embark on the socialist liquidation of property and to invade the realm of free private life and occupation.

In addition to a superficial integration that the socialist policies of Mr. Nehru present to the hasty eye, many fissiparous currents are also being let loose.

Traders and industrialists and all those who are accustomed to employ themselves in enterprises (run by themselves individually (or in partnerships and voluntary companies) are thwarted.

The emergence of the Swatantra party under the lead of the veteran Gandhian Mr. C. Rajagopachari, eliciting much spontaneous support from the upper classes of business and retired administrators and professionals like doctors and lawyers is a symptom of the exhaustion of the integrating effects of socialist policy. Hereafter socialism will only strengthen disintegrating factors and weaken integrating forces in society whose mind is upset, confused and alarmed by the subversive trends released by official ideas and actions.

The prevalence of a strong centralised administration (with its writ running throughout the vast length and breadth of our subcontinent) is a great integrating force. We should therefore urge the development of all-India services for every branch of the administration.

Civil service officers are now centrally recruited by one common examination and candidates are then detailed for service to different States of the Union, the Central Secretariat and Union Territories.

It would be a good thing to rotate these officers every few years, say ten years, from State to State. Every civil service officer should also have some years of service at the Centre so that he will have an opportunity of seeing administra-

tive problems from the point of the country as a whole.

This system of rotation in States and the Centre will also facilitate the acquisition of more than one language of the country by officers.

The system should also be extended to the judiciary. The High Courts and the Supreme Court should form one single system under the control of the Supreme Court's Chief Justice who should be the final appointing authority and not the Ministries as at present. The present system of State Governments only consulting the High Courts for appointments is defective.

A Bar for the whole country is also a necessary development to strengthen the legal framework of social and political life in terms of one law and one machinery for its interpretation and enforcement.

The present practice of employing High Court and Supreme Court judges after retirement in civil positions like ambassadors, Governors and so on is thoroughly wrong. Such judges should hold office for life i.e. so long as health and strength permits. And they should not be tempted by hope of positions of profit under the administration in other lines. This is a well-known principle but Indian leaders have deliberately contravened it for reasons of strengthening their own executive supremacy.

In the actual administration of law, the Indian judiciary has stood up to the strain fairly well. But there is widespread suspicion that in matters of communal disturbances the police and magistracy have not played the game. There is widespread suspicion, not always baseless, that offenders (particularly those of the Muslim and Sikh communities who often take the law into their own hands and attack members of other communities) are either not punished at all or let off with nominal punishments. The Government is supposed by the officialdom on the spot to favour Muslims and Sikhs and they accordingly fail to set the law in motion impartially and bring the guilty to book. Today after national independence, the majority community is less and less disposed to take such partiality tamely. And so we find fierce retaliation followed by ruthless police action on them i.e. beating and firing.

The administration should be above such suspicion of partiality. If offenders irrespective of community are booked with rigid justice and impartiality, communal riots will cease.

There is an element of truth in the Rousseauian theory of social contract, which is that every society can be kept going only so long as people

accord to its rulers, a certain measure of consent. Society and state are based on popular consent. Injustice and partiality destroy this basic cohesive consent. No policy will conduce more to national integration than simple justice. The police and magistracy must be imbued with a love of the nation as above all communities and individuals and the national action should embody absolute justice. The rule of law should prevail and not the communal favouritism of the ruling groups.

Similarly with regard to current communalism in educational and administrative opportunities. No student should be given special privileges on the ground of his birth in a certain community. And likewise no student should suffer discrimination on account of his birth in a supposedly superior community. And so with regard to jobs in the administrative hierarchy. No applicant should be preferred for a certain post on account of his birth in a backward community.

All public appointments should be conferred on the ground of merit and fitness for the post in question. Everyone should be enabled to acquire the highest qualifications he can in school and college. If anyone does not obtain a job in government service in fair open competition, he should enter business or private practice in law, accountancy, teaching, medicine etc.

These simple measures if honestly put into practice with rigid impartiality, national integration will result as a matter of course in due time.

C.R.'s CALL FOR BATTLE TO SAVE DEMOCRACY

We cannot allow ourselves to feel exhausted and leave democracy to the tender mercies of the Congress party because the task of opposing it is very hard. We have to gird up our loins for the next battle in a cause which is as sacred as the battle for swaraj was, said Mr. C. Rajagopalachari while addressing the opening session of the Swatantra Candidates' Convention in Bombay.

The founder-leader of the party added: "We have put the fear of God into our opponent's heart. He has realised that he has to reckon with a growing opposition hereafter. It appears we can not only rally our forces, but we can make fresh and large recruitment. It looks as if the nation wants us."

Anglo-Hindu Encounter

By M. N. THOLAL

INAUGURATING the Jadunath Sarkar Lecture series at Punjab University, Mr. K. M. Panikkar said at Chandigarh the other day that, from its great encounter with western civilisation, Hindu society and culture had emerged stronger and more unified. Yet the result of one of the greatest challenges, which one culture had presented to another, can hardly be described as "unexpected," the word used by Mr. Panikkar. For, Hindu society and Hindu culture take their stand on something which is fundamentally right, i.e., freedom of thought and belief. It is the basic essential of all progress and of all ethics which comes natural to Hindus, as it has not come to followers of any other faith, not even to Christians whose Lord uttered those unsurpassable words, "Love thy neighbour as thyself" and "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you."

Western civilisation took centuries to learn the primary lesson of "live and let live," which has been an article of faith with the Hindus since the dawn of their civilisation. And if Hindu society and culture emerged stronger from the "great encounter" with western civilisation, it was because there was nothing to prevent their assimilation of the rationalism of the West. There was no barrier to their doing so, as there was, for example, in the Islamic tenets. We Hindus can laugh at our Gita without ceasing to be Hindus or without exciting fellow Hindus against us. Ours is not a revealed religion in which we are cribbed, cabined and confined. What a great tradition indeed for any one to inherit!

Basically it is a question of being honest or dishonest. How can any one be honest if, for any reason whatsoever—God-given or man-given—he has to say NO when Truth is trying to enter into the portals of his mind to find a permanent place there? Human beings are by nature rational, i.e., seekers after truth, and with the help of the faculty of reasoning that God has given us, Truth is always trying to enter into our minds. There are deterrents, of course, the chief of them being attachment, which is a hurdle difficult to cross, particularly if this attachment is irrational, as it usually is, taking the form of religion.

DIPLOMATIC CONCLUSIONS

Mr. Panikkar is not only a historian. He is a diplomat also, and the conclusions he has reached naturally savour of diplomacy also. But in the main his thesis is not far from factual.

Advocates of Bharatiya culture would do well to note his observation that when the Anglo-Hindu encounter began, Hindu society was "merely a mass of humanity" and Britain was then "the uncontested leader of the world." The encounter thus was far from being equal. Britain challenged Hindu society at all levels and in all spheres, and the Hindus seemed to break down everywhere in this encounter. This breakdown occurred because, living under the divisive influence of caste, Hindu society lacked a sense of integrity and national solidarity. Indeed, it would not be untrue to say that the breaking down process continues, inasmuch as caste is breaking down, giving place to the sentiment of nationalism. This sense of nationalism, of belonging to one country, Mr. Panikkar admits like a true historian, had been totally lacking before the impact of the British challenge. To prove his assertion Mr. Panikkar recited the telling fact that while the British conquered India with the help of Indian armies, the western powers could not raise a single battalion of Chinese soldiers to fight the Chinese. And if nationalism was totally lacking, how could India, or Bharat, if you please, have been a nation?

The great encounter, according to Mr. Panikkar, produced in us a sense of nationalism, a sense of equality and a spirit of criticism and scientific enquiry. All this was the result of the western system of education which Macaulay introduced in India. The western system of education inevitably makes people rational, introducing it, Macaulay in fact—as Mr. Gadgil, the Governor, said in his presidential remarks, quoting Lord Elphinstone—provided "a high way for British rule to return to Britain." By implanting the British system of education in India, British imperialism sowed the seeds of its own destruction; and that too not unconsciously. For, when Macaulay said, as he did in a letter quoted by Mr. Panikkar, that the purpose of that education was to make fundamental religious changes and to wean the people away from idolatry "to let the light and fresh air of western knowledge penetrate the dark corners of the Hindu faith," he must have been aware of what the light and fresh air of western knowledge would lead to.

THE HINDU MIND

We must remember that we haven't had enough yet of the light and fresh air of western knowledge and we Indians are still—even the educated amongst us—far from being rational.

It was only the other day that Vinoba Bhave told us that English education was worse than useless. (I can hear many who do not even know the phrase saying "Three cheers".) Mr. Jai Prakash Narain talks of partyless democracy. Who can make bold to say that he does not know the meaning of the word, 'democracy'? Mr. Nehru denounces the cold war as worse than the hot war. Who can say that he does not know what cold war means? Gandhi used to say, "nonviolence is the mightiest of all weapons." Who can say that he did not know the meaning of the word "mighty" after spending all his life in the pursuit of power politics? And they say what they do because they know that Hindus applaud nonsense. The Hindu mind is always wanting to indulge in absurdities and applaud anything that cannot stand scrutiny. At the back of it all is hypocrisy which has been enshrined for thousands of years in what Macaulay called "the dark corners of the Hindu faith." We say and rightly that Muslims are fanatics, but why don't their leaders, even once in a blue moon, say something half as absurd as the Hindu leaders do everyday?

In view of what Vinoba Bhave has said, it is worth while referring here to the significant fact, adduced by Mr. Panikkar, that "all the Hindu literature of social reform during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, except a commentary on the Vedas by Swami Dayanand, was written in English." In brief, English or western education changes our angle of vision. I for one shudder to think what I would have been without the benefit of English education. I have seen some products of gurukuls and I know what I am talking about. Can it be that the English language makes us think in a way the Hindi or other Indian languages do not? A language of free, (i.e., bold) people, English tends to make us straight-forward and outspoken, and that, when all is said, is the surest proof of a man's honesty and sincerity. In any case, it is one of the paradoxes of history that we Indians, the educated ones at least, should be able to express our thoughts much better in the English language than in our mother tongues. That we have been doing so for a century is proof positive of the fact. Why does not Vinoba Bhave start a school or a college, or even a university of his own, and give us a concrete example of what education should be like, if he is so sure that English education is worse than useless?

ANGLO-MUSLIM ALLIANCE

Mr. Panikkar also said that when two—western society and Islamic society—joined up in an "Anglo-Muslim alliance" an unprecedented challenge developed for Hindu society. It is true that the alliance was in the process of formation but it is certainly an exaggeration to say that it had taken shape. If Mr. Panikkar has the establishment of Pakistan in mind, he does not seem to know its genesis. It was, indeed, lucky for the Hindus that at the nick of time the Labour Party came into power with an honest man like Clement Attlee at the head and, refusing to exploit Hindu-Muslim differences, decided to give India freedom. A Churchill would surely have refused to do so. Indeed, when Attlee gave us freedom there was no provocation for it. It was all frustration in India after the collapse of the "Quit India" movement. A Conservative Government would have ruled over us with a Muslim army. Such an army had indeed been promised Churchill by Muslim Leaguers to resist the demand for freedom by the Congress.

All that Mr. Panikkar should have said as a historian was that an unprecedented challenge for Hindu society might have developed in the shape of an Anglo-Muslim alliance but, luckily for the Hindus, Labour came into power in Britain and honoured its pledge to give India her freedom. As for the observation that Mahatma Gandhi made his whole life the best commentary on the song divine, the Gita, all that need be said is that he seems to have been singularly out of touch with the Mahatma's activities and is basing his comment on his precepts rather than his example.

CONGRESS IS BIGGEST ZAMINDAR

The Congress Party was today the "biggest zamindar" in the country, said Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in Bombay on Saturday. He was addressing a largely attended public meeting.

In a sweeping criticism of Congress "misrule", the Swatantra Party leader said: "Ministers are bigger maharajas than the dismissed rajas of the past."

— C. Rajagopalachari.

The Cult Of Yesmanship In India

By A. Ranganathan

IN one of his Mulliner stories, P. G. Wodehouse gives us an inimitable description of the working of a studio at Hollywood. The top drawer consists of the director whose word is law and is the monarch of all that he sees and surveys. Then we have the yes-men and down below are the nodders. This "strange tamasha" (a favourite expression of our P.M.) works out in this fashion—the sacred duty of the 'yes-man' is to say 'yes' to what the director says. And the business of the nodders is to nod in their turn. And so on and on-and on. However, if one wished to see the yes-men and nodders in action, it is difficult to think of a better place than the Avadi session of the Congress Party. Indeed, it was a memorable entertainment in Yesmanship at Avadi—Panditji set the stage of the 'Socialistic Pattern of Society'. It was paraphrased by the late Maulana Sahib in high-flown urdu. Now came the turn of the yes-men who sent in a full-throated 'yes', and they nodded their way into a kind of somnambulism. Ofcourse, one had the satisfaction to find that the yes-men and nodders were truly versatile. And these versatile yes-men and nodders consisting of champion yes-men, amateur yes-men, small nodders, big nodders, partial nodders and veteran nodders, who had (and still have) a common vested interest in power, succeeded in transforming the nation into an impeccably perfect permit-licence raj.

But what of the fate of those who refuse to be yes-men and nodders? One must be prepared to face a battery-of-charged phrases—"Vested interest", "petty capitalist", "Feudal", "Reactionary", "lacking even a grain of intelligence", "go to hell" and ofcourse that delectable expression "cold war". Some time ago, Pandit Nehru characterized those "gentlemen" who criticised Co-operative farming as "lacking in intelligence and much capacity for thinking". And raising his voice he lashed out in his characteristic way—"it was a stupid argument. If joint farming is a good thing, let us have it, whatever name you call it". Indeed, this is reckoning without the host. The peasants, being of the earth, earthy, do not agree that cooperative farming is "a good thing" since they find it difficult to breathe in the rarefied atmosphere of state inra'libility. And naturally enough, this declaration 'let us have it', leaves them co'd. Another instance of the Prime Minister's anger (he had not started quoting the 'Gita' at that time) was provided when he accused Rajaji of carrying on a cold war on the large issue. And Rajaji has given us brilliant commen-

tary on the cold war of Nehru's conception: "He says I am carrying on a cold war against him on this issue. What does this phrase 'cold war' mean? It means, he finds it difficult to bear criticism. If I had used arguments outside reason, I can understand a man objecting to them. But I have been only pointing the difficulties involved in the change-over, suggesting that the concerned Article of the Constitution be deleted and that he should rethink the matter as the Bengal Legislative Assembly had done. He is calling this cold war? I can only guess. I am afraid it is this spirit which leads to a totalitarian tendency. My criticism is not cold war. It should not be resented in this way". Thus, it is clear, that any non-conformist thinking which deviates from the accepted angle of yes-manship will be criticized as an essay in 'cold war'. A milder term, you will admit, than that classical admonition, "go to hell". What an inspiring call to our youth! Which means that the road to hell is not exactly paved with good intentions! This is surely a case of McCarthyism in reverse! An ironic Commentary on the prophet of the Socialistic Pattern of Society!

Mr. Nehru had recently criticized the Swatantra ideology as "bad economics, bad sense and bad temper". It would be well for our Prime Minister to realize that the 'Swatantra' movement (as distinct from the 'Swatantra Party') was inaugurated on the 15th of June 1952 when Rajaji lifted contro's on the movement of food-grains within the States of Madras, which sparked off a chain reaction ultimately resulting in the complete abolition of rationing in India. Is this act of statesmanship an example of "bad economics" or a Prophetic vindication of the values of economic freedom cherished by the Swatantra Party? In fact, the restrictions and controls arising out of the 'Socialistic Pattern of Society' confer a monopoly on a few chosen businessmen whom it allows to flourish by eliminating competition from other businessmen by a draft manipulation of permits, licence and foreign exchange. This situation curbs economic initiative and has a disastrous impact on the growth of capital formation in our economy. Viewed in the ultimate analysis, it is a conflict of values. When the Swatantra party was formed, our Prime Minister remarked that "it has a ghost-like party and raises ghosts of the past century". What are the "ghosts" raised by the Swatantra Party? — the Gandhian ideal of trusteeship, the unsuitability of cooperative farming, and the irrelevance of the Soviet-oriented system of planning which

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Patent Pitfalls In Planning —The Indian Experiment

By Prof. S. Kesava Iyengar

Director

Indian Academy of Economics

Time and again, even to the point of nausea, it is claimed that at 1960-61 prices, the national income of India rose by 42% during 10 years ending 1960-61 (page 1389, R.B.I. Bulletin of Statistics, September 1961.) All over the world, it is usual to compare national income in any one year with a base 5-10 years earlier. For example, in the U.S.A. and U.K., national income for 1960 has been calculated at 1954 prices as also at current prices. The calculation in India is with 1948-49 national income, both at current and constant prices. Obviously, a calculation at current prices inflates the national income figure artificially although the national income in real terms is much less at 1948-49 prices, the indices of whole sale prices (at 1952-53 prices) and cost of living (with 1949 as base) went upto 124.4 by September 30, 1961 and 128 in August 1961 respectively.

The only explanation possible for unduly publicising comparison at current prices is the anxiety of the authorities for window-dressing. At 1948-49 prices, national income increased at 3.03% per annum (simple) during the first 4 years of the Second Plan (Table II infra). The simple annual average increase during 1951-52 to 1960-61 at 1948-49 prices works at about 3%, but the annual average at current prices has been particularly publicised.

In view of the population "explosion" in this country, as revealed by the 1961 population figures, and the steep ascent of runaway prices during the last 5 years, national income at current prices is of little significance. Per capita income rose in India between 1951-52 and 1959-60 with yearly step at the average annual rate of 1.29% (Table I) Colin Clark estimated that the corresponding figure in U.K. has been about 1.3 in recent years, but 1.3% of Rs. 3,704 (\$778) is quite different from 1.29% of Rs. 250.3. This fact should be recognised all round, & Third Plan per capita income targets should be re-adjusted in the light of net population increase at more than 2% per annum, accompanied by a radical reversal of price policy.

Annual Increase in Per capita Income With Yearly Step, At 1948-49 Prices: India

Year	Per capita Income			
	According to earlier C.S.O. FIGURES		According to figures based on 1941, 1951 & 1961 censuses	
	Rs.	Annual percent- age increase	Rs.	Annual percent- age increase
1951-52	250.1		250.3	
1952-53	256.6	1.60	255.7	2.11
1953-54	268.7	4.71	266.2	4.10
1954-55	271.9	1.12	267.8	0.60
1955-56	273.6	0.63	267.8	0.00
1956-57	283.5	3.62	275.6	2.90
1957-58	277.1	2.22	267.4	2.98
1958-59	292.6	5.95	280.2	4.79
1959-60	291.6	0.96	276.9	1.18
Annual average increase during 8 years		2.05		1.29

Of late, there has been a lot of discussion on "holding the price line at the present level." The Government benches appear not to worry about the spurt in consumer prices. They seem to think that they have already taken adequate steps to arrest prices and stabilise them more or less at present levels: the third Plan has not taken into account probable further soaring of prices. On the other hand, the authorities are inclined towards maintaining floor prices for agricultural crops! There are others who prognosticate that during 1961-66, the indices of wholesale prices and cost of living may be raised by atleast another 50%, indicating even now the beginnings of galloping inflation, in view of the fact that the authorities failed miserably in controlling prices between 1955-56 and 1960-61. Table II is worked out from original sources:

TABLE II
BEHAVIOUR OF WHOLESALE AND
CONSUMER INDICES AND NATIONAL
INCOME IN U.S.A., U.K. & INDIA

Country	Period	Average annual increase in		Average annual increase in national income at current prices	
		Wholesale prices	Consumer prices	Period	Percent
1	2	4	5	6	
U.S.A.	11 years	1.75% (1947-49 - 100)	2.42% (1947-49 - 100)	10 years	7.33
U. K.	5 "	N. A.	2.38% (1956-100)	Jan. 17, 10 "	8.55
INDIA	5 "	7.29% (1955-567100)	6.25% (1955-567100)	4 yrs of Second Plan	3.03 (at 48-49 prices)

Wholesale prices increased on the average annually at 1.75% in the U.S.A. during eleven years, the consumer index by 2.42% during the same period, and the national income at current prices by 7.33% per annum during 10 years. In the U.K., the wholesale price index is not available, the retail price index works at 2.38% per annum during the last 5 years, and the National Income at current prices increased annually on the average by 8.55% during 10 years. In both these countries, wholesale and consumer prices show a slow rise of 2.3% indicating adequate supplies or successful controls or both. But the national income at current prices increased at a much higher rate of 7.9% per annum, signifying that the percapita real incomes of the 2 countries improved substantially after allowing the due margin for slight upward tilts in prices and cost of living. The situation in India is quite the other way, and the authorities cannot deny that they have been trying to hypnotise themselves and the people into a halo of imaginary stability. The price indices have shot up during the past 5 years annually by 7.29% (wholesale) and 6.25% (consumer), and yet the Proconsuls at New Delhi have been trying to hypnotise themselves and the would be held more or less at the present levels! They have forgotten that the 2 indices were at 92.5 (1952-53 base) in 1955-56, and at 96 (1949 as base) in the same year, and the latest figures are respectively 124.4 and 128! Economic growth without price stability would be something like the ecstasy of possessing the moon in one's own mirror: the degree of unreality and false exultation would be the same in both cases! So far as the national income at constant prices is concerned, the Indian Performance has not only been unsatisfactory but positively despondent. As shown in Table II, the average annual increase in national income between 1955-56 & 59-60 works at 3.03% (at constant prices) while corresponding rises in the price and cost of living indices at 7.29 and

6.25 respectively. It should not be surprising if really there was a net decrease in percapita income between 1955-56 and 1960-61. A rise of 1 or 2 percent per annum in price indices is generally passed as congenial to economic activity, but Prof. A. C. Pigou thinks that anything beyond 2% per annum must be considered as a harbinger of galloping inflation which has the same deadening effect as galloping consumption.

According to official figures, average annual investment was 8.5% of national income (including capital inflow), between 1950-51 and 1958-59, while the average saving rate during the same period was 7.1%. Even after allowing a broad margin for increase in domestic saving, would it be practicable to raise the percentage of Plan investment to 12.89% per annum between 1961 and 1966 (Table III), without a predominant share contributed by deficit finance and capital inflow? What are the measures contemplated for ensuring the required capital inflow? The Third Plan, on the contrary, emphasises the importance of domestic resources and allots a minor place to the private Sector "and, on its showing during the Second Plan, it should do so quite easily," and "the private foreign investor, despite recent encouragements, is not counted on to provide more than a marginal fraction of the necessary foreign exchange".

A study of Table III leads to the following further observations:

TABLE III
NATIONAL AND PUBLIC EXPENDITURE, &
PLAN OUTLAYS
(Crores of Rs.)

Item	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
a. National Income (or Expenditure) (At current prices)	49860.0	61340.0	9000.0*
b. Public expenditure	7176.33	14170.44	
c. Plan Outlay by Public Sector	1960.0	4600.0	7500.0
d. Plan Outlay by Private Sector	1800.0	3100.0	4100.0
e. Total Plan Outlay	3760.0	7700.0	11600.0
f. Percentage of b to a	14.38	23.10	
g. Percentage of e to a	7.05	12.55	12.89
h. Percentage of e to b	52.44	54.34	
i. Percentage of c to b	27.34	32.46	
j. Percentage of d to e	47.87	40.26	35.34

The Causes Of Poverty : A Clinical View

Ambassador Galbraith's Address At Gujarat University

Among the great enterprises on which man is now engaged, his efforts to solve the problem of poverty rank in intensity and command an energy that is third only to the development of means of self-destruction and the contest to conquer space. There is, however, a startling difference in the way in which these tasks are gone about. Both destruction and the matter of getting to the moon are approached only after the most careful study of the problem involved. One even hears discussions these days of the need to avoid "overkill," which means that weapons of popular euthanasia should not have power unduly in excess of what is needed for eliminating the population for which they are designed. (One hopes that the meetings now in session in Geneva will render obsolete for all time such gruesome mathematics.) Moon travel too is approached with an intelligent and detailed consideration of how to get there without a too spectacular crash at the moment of arrival and also how to get away again. Consideration is even accorded to the physical and mental responses, including the perhaps considerable anxieties, of the travellers.

The solution of the problem of poverty proceeds, however, without any such attempt at analysis. We have only a variety of assumptions as to the causes of privation and their remedy. But these are as often the product of theology, or even fashion, as of careful, clinical analysis. Among many who are actively concerned with the problem of poverty and its cure an excessively cold-blooded view may even be rather frowned upon. People are a trifle touchy about anything that interferes with established belief.

II

It is quite true that for approximately two centuries economists have actively interested themselves in the causes of wealth. Everything from thrift to (since the days of John Maynard Keynes) the prevention of excessive thrift has been examined for influence on the growth of income and wealth. The role of work, the provision of proper incentives to effort, the protection of property, the proper distribution of wealth, the wage and tenure system, the effect of religion, the maintenance of law and order, the protective tariff, the willingness to have or avoid social experiment, the proper forms of public planning, have at one time or another been given

greater or less weight as the foundation of individual and national prosperity. And so have many other factors. But the reciprocal, what causes the absence of prosperity, has attracted no comparable attention. And the causes of poverty cannot be inferred from the causes of prosperity. For one thing the causes of prosperity, have never been fully agreed—in the

last century, for example, men were about equally divided as to whether development depended on the vigorous development of free international trade or on the benign influence of a tariff protecting infant industries. Were poverty inferred from the causes of prosperity, it could be equally the consequence of free trade and protection.

However economic science has certainly said a good deal that is useful about the causes of increasing income just as the biological sciences have said a good deal about the nature of the growth of healthy tissue. But the study of normal growth is one thing. Pathology is something else. We may know much about health and little of the things which bring stagnation or atrophy in income or tissue. For years the prophets of the commonplace have been proclaiming that poverty is a disease, but they have never dealt with it as a disease. In particular they have not done so where the poverty of national communities, as distinct from that of individual persons is to be studied, explained—and cured.

III

ASSUMED CAUSES OF POVERTY

In the absence of a clinical consideration of nation-wide poverty, we have had a series of assumed causes of poverty and stagnation. The list of these causes, including many that are now so unfashionable that one hesitates to put them down in black print, is formidable. Let me offer a list.

1. The country is poor because the people are easy-going, idle, unreliable or unambitious. This was perhaps the most commonplace explanation of the expatriate European in the last century. It is, of course, highly unfashionable now. The discovery, a year or two ago, that the

Encyclopaedia Britannica had retained, without revision, a nineteenth century characterisation of a South Asian people as pleasure-loving and not very diligent created a minor international crisis.

2. The country has been kept in poverty by its colonial oppressors. This explanation is rather less unfashionable. However it has increasingly to contend with the fact that in many parts of the world as colonialism ends poverty continues, and promises to continue, for a long while. And in other parts of the world—Australia, Canada, Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, Ireland, the United States—erstwhile colonialism did not preclude in the end a considerable measure of subsequent prosperity.

3. Poverty is the result of class conflict and exploitation. This also is more fashionable. And a formidable apparatus of dialectic and analysis lies behind this explanation. One cannot always, however, identify the exploiters. In India and Pakistan there are millions of small land-owning peasants who are very poor and whose poverty is unrelated to enrichment of any landlord, tax-collector, usurer or other visible oppressor. In Haiti, one of the most abjectly poor of all national communities, per capita income has almost certainly been going down ever since the French plantation-owners were ejected a century and a half ago. Today independent farmers are poorer than those who labour on the handful of foreign-owned sugar and sisal plantations.

4. Poverty is caused by ignorance. This was also a widely held view in the nineteenth century. And with rare exceptions literate, well-educated people do manage to win for themselves a decent standard of living. But how much does this really explain? We must still ask why some people have remained illiterate and also how the very poor community goes about providing itself with a good school system from its meagre resources.

5. Poverty is the consequence of war, civil disturbances and mis-government. The growth of wealth, it is said, requires stability in social institutions. Since long before the Ostrogoths swept over Rome, the Fourth Crusade sacked Constantinople and colonial Spain based public administration on organised theft, it has been observed that war, civil disturbance, and public rapacity have been the enemy of prosperity. But some well governed and stable countries are also poor. India is a case in point. In the last hundred years she has probably had greater continuity in government, greater freedom from internal disturbance and certainly greater freedom from the blighting influence of war and invasion than France. France is much more affluent than India.

6. Poverty is the result of insufficient capital. This is almost a cliché. Capital is what a poor country lacks and capital is what rescues it from poverty. And certainly in many poor countries there is a shortage of savings for investment. But not in all. Most of the people in the Middle East (and also Venezuela) are poor. But several of the national communities in this region have rich sources of oil revenues for investment. Israel is without comparable sources of revenue. But it has a relatively high and rapidly rising living standard.

7. Over-population is a cause of poverty. It is not always easy to know what this means. Sometimes those who cite it as a cause of poverty seem only to be saying that the national income, when divided among the population, gives an insufficient dividend per head. By such calculation every poor country is over-populated. But there is no indication that were some of the people somehow spirited away from these countries to another planet, per capita income would rise. There is little to share because no one produces very much. In any case this explanation is replete with contradictions. Southern Brazil is rather densely populated and has a high living standard. The Amazon basin in northern Brazil is sparsely populated and very, very poor. The Netherlands and Belgium have a dense population and high living standard. The people of the Arabian Peninsula are few and poor.

8. Backwardness is a cause of poverty. In the United States, Western Europe and increasingly in the Soviet Union advanced technology is rescuing people from the privation associated with primitive methods of agriculture, industry and commerce. But much of the world clings stubbornly to the old ways. This accounts for their poverty. But does it? Before Papuans, Patagonians or Peruvian Indians are equipped with tractors, hybrid corn, and high speed looms, they must be trained to their use. They must have capital to buy them. Given the education and training and the capital they would no longer be technologically backward.

9. Finally we hear it said that people are poor because the country lacks natural resources. The soils sparse; the forests are thin; there are no minerals. In the United States, the state of West Virginia contains our greatest wealth of mineral fuel. It has long been one of our poorest states. Much of the farm land there is more fertile than in the arid West where incomes are far higher.

(To be continued)

Prime Minister joins A Thriving Industry

(From Our Correspondent)

MR. NEHRU is emerging as the world's great self-contradictor. (Great men are often responsible for the currency of new words and phrases.) Replying to the debate on the President's Address in the Lok Sabha on March 19, Mr. Nehru deplored that one of the "thriving industries" in India was to run down the country, not what the Government had done but what the people had done. "It is not right to run down our people," he said. He then proceeded to ridicule the excitement that the recent conjunction of eight planets had caused among the people. As he had already done so several times in his public speeches, he need not have repeated the performance in his reply to the debate on the President's Address, which had nothing to do with the conjunction of eight planets or the "excitement" it caused, unless the object was to run down the people.

As if this was enough, he said he was greatly worried about the fall in standards and values in the country, specially during the elections. He added that some newspapers had criticised him for saying on an earlier occasion that the Home Ministry had been asked to collect posters, leaflets and other campaign material issued by various people and parties during the elections. To his amazement some people had said this was very wrong and unfair. "I see nothing wrong and

(Continued from page 8)

is based on the concept of class war. "What is needed", wrote Mahatma Gandhi, "is not the extinction of rural landlords and capitalists, but a transformation of the existing relationship between them and the masses into something healthier and purer. In India, a class war is not only not inevitable but is avoidable if we have understood the message of non-violence". And there can be no doubt that Gandhi's Thoreau-inspired soul would have rebelled against these so-called "reforms", which in tearing away the unsophisticated people from their moorings, will result in the individual becoming submerged in a sea of collectivity. Indeed, it is well to reflect on a profound observation made by Rajaji (in his review of Wilhelm Ropke's "A humane economy") that it is not poverty which leads a nation to Communism, but the break-up of our fundamental values, which is being rapidly brought about by the present rulers of India.

unfair," he said and informed the House that an exhibition of all these leaflets and posters would be held for the benefit of members of Parliament and others. But will not this exhibition tend to lower the people of the country in the eyes of the world, and be a fine example of running down the people, which he himself condemns as a thriving industry in India?

Acharya Kripalani

"There are certain things which we must stand for," said Prime Minister Nehru in the course of the same speech, one of them being "an intelligent, reasonable and logical approach, and not the approach of Acharya Kripalani, which is none of the three." The provocation offered by the Acharya was that, when the Prime Minister rose to speak, he walked in, among others, wearing what Mr. Nehru later described as "a contemptuous smile". A year or so ago, Mr. Nehru had referred to Mr. Masani's smile, when the Swatantra Party leader had retorted that every member had the right to smile when any one says something foolish. In this case Acharya Kripalani had smiled "contemptuously" — if we are to believe the Prime Minister — even before the latter had developed his thesis and indulged in those wonderful self-contradictions which I am here pointing out. I must confess I was not aware that Acharya Kripalani is an astrologer and mind-reader too, and can foresee and foretell things. Now we have the Prime Minister's certificate to that effect.

So, in the opinion of Mr. Nehru, Acharya Kripalani is neither intelligent, nor reasonable and logical. If that is what he thinks of Acharya Kripalani, who is one of the most respected leaders in the land and who has held the highest offices in his own party organisation, the National Congress, one can reasonably conclude what he thinks of the average Indian. Or does he think the average Indian to be far superior to Acharya Kripalani in intelligence, reasonableness and logical approach? The reader will remember how Mr. Nehru referred to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar only the other day in one of his election speeches — Rajaji who has held the highest office in the Congress and after freedom in the Government and who was his guru and Master's "conscience-keeper," to use Mahatma Gandhi's own words. Is not Mr. Nehru running down the people

and the country by running down its most respected leaders?

Nonconformist Rajahs

Perhaps Mr. Nehru would like them to cry "Chacha Nehru Zindabad" before crediting them with a modicum of intelligence, reasonableness and logic. That seems to be the only conclusion to draw after rejoinder to those who have been pointing out that the congress had many Rajahs among its candidates. "It is true that he had a number of Rajahs and others," he said in the course of the same speech, but there is all the difference in the world to have Rajahs conform to our programme and policy and Rajahs who conform to their own and add prestige to other parties. So the Rajahs cannot be allowed to conform to their own policy and programmes or add prestige to any party except Mr. Nehru's! By using the word "he" instead of "it" — as referring to the Congress — Mr. Nehru seems to say "I am the Congress", something, however, which is perfectly true.

Replying to supplementaries on the same day in the Rajya Sabha, the Union Home Minister had reiterated that a ban on communal parties had not been ruled out. Earlier in a public speech he had threatened some kind of legislation to prevent Rajahs from standing for their own policies and programmes, at the instance, doubtless, of the Prime Minister. So it comes to this that as soon as any party begins to gain public favour and threatens to emerge as a rival to the Congress — whether it is the Jana Sangh or the Swatantra Party — Congress leaders begin thinking in terms of banning it. That proves beyond all doubt what kind of democrats our Congress leaders are. Their mentality is not far removed from that of the Queen in "Alice in Wonderland" whose favourite order to the executioner attending on her was, "Off with his head". The only cause, on Mr. Nehru's own showing, the head cannot be cut off, not being there at all! And during the elections the Congress had come out with a poster declaring the Jana Sangh to be a Nazi party!

Chinese Aggression May Last Hundreds Of Years

At his Press Conference on March 21 Prime Minister Nehru put his foot into it again and again. It is when a man is under the stress of emotion that the mask he wears falls down. And being of an emotional temperament, i.e., one who has not fully matured, he often enough lets the cat out of the bag. A pressman asked: "The Pakistan aggression in Kashmir has lasted 15 years. How long will the Chinese aggression last?" And Mr. Nehru replied, "It may last a few hundred years. There is no comparison between the two. Setting time limits is not proper."

Mr. Nehru is of course right, for he must be realising that, even if India becomes industrially stronger than China in the course of a few decades and in the meantime there is a yawning gulf between Russia and China, there is the certainty of China becoming a nuclear power longer before the achievement of industrial superiority by India. With China in the possession of atomic hydrogen bombs, as well as the airfields in Tibet patriotically gifted by Mr. Nehru to China, even our industrial superiority would be of no avail. And since Mr. Nehru has again patriotically ruled out the production of atom and hydrogen bombs by India, a few hundred years for the Chinese aggression can hardly be considered an exaggeration. And what is a few hundred years (in respect of a region where not a blade of grass grows) for a people who have been slaves for a thousand years?

Mr. Nehru also affirmed at the Press Conference that Right wing parties are always the greatest threat "to a country because" the Right wing means going back to an ancient world — feudalism and all that. "And feudalism, according to him, means ignorance, decay, stagnation and death. (Above all it means dictatorship, though Mr. Nehru does not seem to know it.) So Mr. Nehru thinks the Conservative Party of Britain is taking her towards feudalism and all that Mr. Nehru interprets it to be. Our Prime Minister seems to believe in the motto: Give a dog a bad name and hang him! He then proceeded to make the extraordinary observation: "It is an extraordinary fact that the Communist and the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra people joined together — absolute contraries joining together against the Congress." Surely, if the Swatantrists can join together with Communists they deserve to be forgiven!

The New Parliament

The second Lok Sabha has been dissolved and in the succeeding body we shall miss the fascinating figures of Acharya Kripalani and Ashoka Mehta. In the Rajya Sabha we shall miss the dominating presence of Hridaynath Kunzru, of of whom Gokha'e once said, soon after Hridaynath had joined the Servants of India Society. "Today he is known as the son of Ajudhyanath Kunzru; a time will come when the latter's name will be recalled as the father of Hridaynath Kunzru. Pandit Kunzru lost in the election to the Rajya Sabha to an unknown industrialist. One can understand the defeat of Acharya Kripalani by a reference to the intelligence of the average Indian voter. But how is one to account for the defeat of Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru by an unknown industrialist in a contest where the voters were Independent members of the UP Vidhan Sabha? Each of the three outgoing members of

Parliament mentioned above were weightier than ten of them and a pity it is that they will be no longer there.

Kunzru's forte has been facts. It must have been that which led Madan Mohan Malaviya to regard him as his right hand man and led him to rely on his opinion much more than on any one else's. Well-informed Kashmiris — the community to which he belongs — have been voicing the opinion that he was the fittest man to be India's Prime Minister. The late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru persuaded his politically-minded son — Mr. P. N. Sapru, now a member of the Rajya Sabha — to take his lessons in politics from Kunzru and Mr. P. N. Sapru was later found saying he regarded Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru as his "guru". So it comes to this that a man held in the highest esteem by Gokhale, Malaviya and Sapru has lost to a moneybag. O tempora, O mores!

In the new Lok Sabha there are 356 Congress members, 29 Communists, 18 Swatantrists, 14 Jana Sanghis, 12 Praja Socialists, 7 DMK members, 6 Socialists, three Jharkhandis, three Akalis, two Rama Raj Parishad members, two Muslim Leaguers and one Hindu Sabhaite. Four members of the Ganatantra Parishad, which has already merged with the Swatantra Party in Orissa, are expected to join the Swatantra Party in the Lok Sabha, raising the latter's strength to 22 there. At the moment one-sixth of the members of Swatantra Party in the Lok Sabha are women. This is by far the largest proportion of women members in any party and can hardly be said to be a sign of the Party being a reactionary one.

Book Review

The Great Awakening by John Strachey: Five Lectures delivered in Singapore in 1961. Reprinted from Encounter as Pamphlet, 5. Price 3s. 6.

This interesting pamphlet consists of five lectures delivered in 1961 by John Strachey former Minister for War in the Labour Government of Attlee. The second title given to the booklet: **From Imperialism to Freedom**: indicates more nearly the central idea of the lectures. The phrase: **The Great Awakening**, says Mr. Strachey, was taken from the Swedish economist, Mr. Gunnar Myrdal who used it to describe the major theme of civilisation in the second half of the twentieth century, namely, "the coming to national consciousness of that larger part of humanity (Asian and African) which used to be passive sufferers rather than actors on the world stage."

This coming period will be concerned with the problems of transition from imperialism to freedom. The two world wars have resulted in the liquidation of imperialism and the emergence of underdeveloped Asian and African peoples to the responsibilities of self-government and self-directed progress.

In the first phase of imperialism up to 1870, great European nations industrialised themselves and spread themselves over the globe. Their rivalry became deadly and intense from about 1870 when they started distributing the rest of the world among themselves in search of markets and raw materials.

Mr. Strachey gives the Marxist account of imperialism as arising in slavery and conquest of weaker peoples to annex their surplus value. He condemns it as evil but notes with Marx that, as in India, imperialism started the process of industrialisation and modernisation which was a silver streak to the dark cloud of racial oppression. He gives a simple account of Lenin's theory of imperialism in its late stage as one of over-ripe capitalism and finance or investment capitalism in search of profits from protected foreign fields after the home markets were saturated.

He considers the possibility of new empires arising in the near future—American, Russian and Chinese. He points out that the American tradition is against empire and its militarism is entirely defensive so far. The latter nations are developing imperiaisms at least as ruthless and exploitative as the old British and French. The hopeful feature stems from the fact that there are a large number of middle-sized nations who love liberty and will lean to the side favourable to freedom.

Mr. Strachey contrasts India and China in their methods of development and says that though India is slower as a democracy, she is more certain of success. Also, the advanced nations will assist her Plans in their own enlightened self-interest.

He gives his reasons for preferring democratic socialism to communist or other dictatorships as being on the whole steadier and more efficient in the long run. But democracies should provide a minimum level of welfare if they are to survive.

The discerning Indian reader notes that the tribute paid to Nehru is too naive. Nehru's co-operative farming is sure to develop into collective farming which Mr. Strachey notes as the worst failures of Russia and China!

— M. A. Venkatrac

Gleanings from the Press

STIRRING PENDULUM PASSIONS

Nothing is immutable. Hitler boasted that his Nazi empire would last a thousand years. It toppled down within less than two decades. Mr. Nehru speaks of a socialistic pattern of society for India as if it were pre-ordained to last till the end of time. Yet as he himself observed in his moving valediction to the Lok Sabha last week: "Men come and men go but parliaments and countries go on. That is how we have looked at it. Ultimately it is not the individual but the nation that counts." One of the paradoxes of Nehru's personality has always been that he combines pride and even arrogance with a real, intrinsic humility.

This is why I feel that the greatest service that the Prime Minister can render India in what might well be his last five and crucial years of power is not to hustle or stampede the country and in the process divide it irreparably but rather by holding the scales even, politically, economically and socially, to heal old wounds and schisms, to do the things that would unite not divide India and her people. Above all, he should refrain from doing anything likely to stir the pendulum passions of the extreme left. Our need is cohesion, not chaos.

By fastening on the Swatantra Party during the elections, Mr. Nehru stirred what might have been a dying mouse into belligerent mammal whose patrons or dependents by no means comprised princes and rich men only. The Swatantrites could exchange a Ro'and for every Congress Oliver, an exultantly triumphant Maharani of Jaipur for a victorious Maharani of Gwalior. But had Gayatri Devi stood as a Congress candidate would she have purged the dross of her feudal soul and emerged as a lily-white Congress democrat in the Prime Minister's eyes? Neither nationalism nor democracy is the perquisite or monopoly of the Congress as is too often made made out. The number of princely proteges in the Congress ranks far exceeded those in the Swatantra Party.

And if the brutal truth he stated, the number of Congressmen tainted by casteism, communalism, regionalism and linguism at least equalled the total number of Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha candidates in the elections. The so-called broad-based character and composition of various Congress State cabinets testified to this even after the elections. Mr. Nehru, mesmerised by terms, is often the victim of his own illusions. To oppose him or the Congress is to be feudalist, reactionary, communalist or out-

of-date. Yet no party bristles with so many feudalists, reactionaries communalists and mildewed personages than the Congress which masquerades under a Socialist label.

—Frank Moraes in 'Indian Express'

News & Views

U.S. TO STRIKE FIRST IF NEED ARISES

WASHINGTON, In a major change of nuclear policy, the Kennedy Administration reportedly has freed itself to strike first with nuclear weapons when it believes the nation's vital interests are threatened.

The decision, made public for the first time in a magazine article by Stewart Alsop after the White House interview with the President, is obviously designed to bolster Nikita Khrushchev's voiced conviction that global thermonuclear war is to be avoided and also warned him against halting the nibbling-away guerrilla warfare process which Mr. Khrushchev has initiated under the guise of "wars of liberation."

PRACTICES OF CAPITALIST SYSTEM

RETURN TO CHINA

WORKERS OFFERED CASH INCENTIVES

TOKYO, Communist China has begun giving out cash prizes as incentives to its workers—a device normally associated with capitalistic practices.

This has been revealed for the first time in the Peking "People's Daily," a translation of which reached here yesterday.

A return to capitalist-style practices in the Chinese countryside has already been noted. In an effort to overcome serious grain shortages, the communist regime has for some time been encouraging farmers to cultivate private plots of land and sell their products in old-fashioned country fairs.

The return to incentive in industry has also started, and the precise details of the cash incentives not publicised in the Chinese press hitherto are now available in the official organ of the Chinese communists.

Explaining the reasons for employing a capitalist-type device, the paper said:

"At the socialist stage despite the considerable rise in the ideological consciousness of the broad masses of labourers as a result of party education and of the practice in the series of social reforms, the old concepts, habits and psychology formed under the influence of the private ownership system and of the exploiting class in the past cannot be completely eradicated in a short time."

The paper said that the existing conditions of labour and corresponding returns caused people to look after their individual, immediate interests alone and neglect the collective, long-term interests.

The paper's statement was regarded as a candid admission that 12 years of communism had failed to eradicate the people's sense of self-interest.

THE MANAGER'S AFFLUENT LIFE IN RUSSIA

On the same subject, interesting details about the life of a factory manager were given some time ago in articles written by a Russian factory manager and his English-born wife recently left Russia.

He and his wife had no complaint about their financial position in Russia, though the husband, Ignat Ovsyannikov, did remark that sometimes a skilled worker in the factory might take home more pay than he did as manager.

As manager he had

the very comfortable living of 6,000 roubles per month, six times a Soviet working man's wage, and as much as the salary paid to a Minister of a Soviet Republic.

One of the features of the life of the factory manager and other people "in authority" is the way they are cut off from contact with the ordinary workers outside the factory:

Anyone who has any authority at all in the Soviet Union is cut off from the ordinary people. It is for example, impossible for a factory manager or party secretary to use ordinary restaurants in his own town. He would be likely to meet his employees on equal terms and that would not do. The managerial class is isolated from the rest of the society. If a man is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party he will ever have a personal bodyguard to accompany him everywhere.

Arrangements are made for the manager's family to buy food at special stores, and to eat in closed restaurants. They also have special medical services "for the upper class of Soviet society. They have their own clinics and sanatoria where they get the best of treatment. Members have luxurious rest homes on the Black Sea coast of the Central Committee and the Government coast." (Sunday Telegraph, 13-7-61).

It is all remarkably like life as it is lived by the favoured few here or anywhere else in the world.

—The Socialist Standard

HEART-SEARCHING TIES WITH INDIA

HONG KONG, Absolute secrecy is shrouding the current session in Peking of the Chinese National People's Congress, which began its

1962 deliberations in the Great Hall of the people on Tuesday.

This is extraordinary procedure, for at the previous NPC meetings, the opening ceremony was open to invitees and fraternal (communist) countries and other observers.

Moreover, certain parts of the proceedings, especially Premier Chou Enlai's report on the work done during the year under review, were being made public from day-to-day as the meeting progressed.

But this time beyond the announcement on March 27 that the session had started not a word has been mentioned by Peking's information and propaganda media about the NPC meeting.

Competent observers here surmise that Peking is maintaining total silence behind closed doors because of some serious heart-searching that is going on in the Chinese ruling circles on three vital issues:

(1) China's relations with the Soviet Union culminating in the recent total stoppage of all Soviet assistance to China,

(2) China's relation with her neighbours, notably India over the boundary question and

(3) Internal situation especially on the food front and the system of communes which has been given up practically in every respect except in name.

DIPLOMATS PERPLEXED

Diplomatic officials arriving here from Peking said that the diplomatic community in the Chinese capital, including diplomats of East European countries are perplexed and find it hard to explain this year's abnormal NPC session—abnormal also because the Congress did not meet last year despite a statutory provision requiring it to hold its session once every year.

Correspondents of the world press who have come to Hong Kong specially to report on the NPC meeting are disappointed over the fact that so far they have had nothing substantial to write about except the secrecy and silence enveloping the Congress.

GUIDED DEMOCRACY FOR SYRIA

BEIRUT, The Syrian Army High Command would usher in "guided democracy" in the country, Lebanese newspapers reported today.

The formation of a "transitional Cabinet of technicians" — lawyers, professors and engineers — would follow the refusal of the ousted politicians to co-operate with the army, the influential "Al Nahar" said.

In a dispatch from Damascus, this independent newspaper reported that the new civilian Government would ban "suspected" politicians from public life, issue new regulations for politi-

cal parties and the press revise the recent land reform and denationalisation laws and draft a new Constitution to be submitted to a nationwide referendum.

Other Lebanese newspapers said that a number of "honest" politicians might be included in the new Cabinet.

Favourable references in U.A.R. newspapers to the new Syrian Army Command were interpreted here as a sign that Ciaro was likely to extend diplomatic recognition to the army-sponsored Government when formed.

The Syrian borders still remain closed to foreigners.

F.I.C.C.I. SEEKS PROBE OF STC'S WORKING

NEW DELHI, A substantive resolution, expressing dissatisfaction at the role and functioning of the State Trading Corporation, and two condolence resolutions were adopted by the 35th annual session of the Federation of India Chambers of Commerce and Industry here today.

The resolution expressed the Federation's "concern" at the "progressive expansion" of the Corporation's activities in the sphere of both foreign and internal trade and said India's exports had "met with resistance from many countries not inclined to trade with monopolistic Organisations such as the Corporation." On the import side, the Corporation's intervention had resulted in "distorting" prices of essential raw materials like caustic soda, soda ash, rayon and mercury.

The barter deals entered into by the Corporation had not resulted in a net increase in total trade. On the other hand, these arrangements had upset the normal functioning of trade, the resolution said.

It then called for the appointment of a committee to assess the Corporation's activities.

SWATANTRA-NAMED OPPOSITION

AHMEDABAD, The Speaker of the Gujarat Assembly Mr. Fateh Ali Pelejwala, today informed the House that the 25-member Swatantra group had been recognised as the Opposition party in the State Assembly and its leader Mr. Bhailal Patel as the leader of the Opposition.

Besides the other requirements the Opposition party should have a membership of minimum 16 to get recognition. The Swatantra Party fulfilled this requirement.

The minimum membership required for recognition as Parliamentary group is ten. Neither the Praja Socialists nor the Independent Progressive Bloc fulfilled this requirements because they have membership of only seven and eight, respectively.

MRS. PANDITS PLEA FOR ENGLISH

CALCUTTA, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit today made a fervent plea for the retention of English in college and university education as English continues to be "our window on the world

and key to higher training in science and technology."

The mother tongue, however, should be the medium in earlier stages of education, she said.

Mrs. Pandit who was addressing Calcutta University's annual convocation here, said India had the tradition of welcoming and absorbing "whatever came to us. We have now developed a mentality of building walls around our minds."

"Let us not limit ourselves and make ourselves less effective," she said. She was unhappy that language had become an emotional controversy in India today.

"LIFE" ON SWATANTRA

The following are excerpts from the editorial in Life magazine (March 18, 1952) of America:

If progress of Latin America is of concern to the U.S., so is that of the biggest democracy in Asia: India has just held the biggest free election in history (some 125 million voters) and its results are worth notice.

Nehru's Congress Party easily retained its near-monopoly of effective power, winning nearly three-fourths of the seats in Parliament. Yet it polled only 45 percent of the popular vote. A strong opposition to the Congress, badly needed to make Indian democracy more vigorous, is growing but is still fragmented into a score of local and fringe parties. This helps the communists, who polled a tenth of the votes, consolidating their position as the No. 2 party. But a new hopeful party, the Swatantra (Freedom), is now third (about 8 per cent).

During the electioneering, it was the Swatantra Party that irritated Nehru the most. This is because the Swatantra leaders, notably incisive old C. Rajagopalachari, attacked his government's most vulnerable spot. As usual with monopolies, this spot is inefficiency, bureaucracy and corruption. C.R. used the epithet "permit-licence raj" to explain the sluggish pace of India's over-centralized growth, and "harem business" to expose the crony system of industrialists and bureaucrats that Nehru fondly thinks of as "socialism." When Congress independents expressed their own opposition to these evils, Nehru lashed out at them: "Go, join the Swatantra!"

That's not bad advice for these moderates and free-enterprisers whom Nehru, encouraged by Menon, may now try to purge from his party's ranks. From an American point of view, a strong Swatantra opposition looks like the best hope for India. Its platform is anti-Statism, pro-Bill of Rights, strongly in favour of small business and independent farmers and free labour unions, pro-private capital, both domestic and foreign, and against shilly-shallying with Red aggression. Above all, in this campaign it stood for a clean and efficient government that puts first thing

first, which in India's case means roads and education, instead of industrial 'gigantism,' inflation and ever-planning.

India has made progress under Nehru and the people are not likely to depose their George Washington while he lives. But the Swatantra programme could really get that huge country moving, and in a direction favourable to free institutions. The free world can wish this little party a big future.

Dear Editor

SWATANTRA PLANNING

Speaking in the Orissa Legislative Assembly on March 8, Mr. B. Patnaik, the Chief Minister, made two statements. The first was that the Swatantra Party's election Manifesto "was nothing but total opposition to planning" and the second was that in consequence "he was right in saying that their way of thinking was anti-national." Since both these remarks raise far-reaching issues, I shall appreciate an opportunity of dealing with them.

To take the second remark first, Mr. Patnaik appears to have a strange idea about the role of an Opposition. It is only in Communist and Fascist countries that opposition to the policies of the government of the day in regard to planning or anything else is regarded as anti-national or subversive. In a parliamentary democracy, only the Constitution of the country is sacrosanct. The policies of the government currently in office are always open to critical debate. It is believed that the whole purpose of giving the electorate freedom of choice would be negated if all parties were to be forced to subscribe to certain policies economic or otherwise. Mr. Patnaik's remark is therefore an indication of a sinister trend of thought and is quite inexcusable coming from the Chief Minister of a State who has taken the oath of loyalty to the democratic Constitution of the country.

Mr. Patnaik's assumption that the election Manifesto of the Swatantra Party expresses total opposition to planning is altogether unfounded. As it happens, the relevant passage in our Manifesto which Mr. Patnaik refers is entitled "Planning—Which Type?" thus making it clear that there are different types of planning. The Manifesto states: "The Swatantra Party rejects the current pattern of centralised and top-heavy planning of the Soviet type involving a series of targets that are not achieved and of restrictions which are intolerable and which are calculated to perpetuate the regime of the party in power. The Swatantra Party stands for planning carried out within the limits of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, to develop the growth of conditions in which the people's enterprise will

find full and unfettered scope. It believes that the appropriate organisation for such planning of the affairs of the nation and for submitting the annual programme is the Cabinet responsible to Parliament and through it to the people; and that, while the Government may resort to such expert assistance as it desires, there should be no other body which in effect usurps the power of making policy affecting the life of the nation."

Quite apart from the text of the Manifesto, spokesmen of the Swatantra Party have made it clear over and over again during the recent general election and even earlier that it is not to planning as such that the Party is opposed but to the pattern of planning which is currently in vogue which is least suited to combat either poverty or unemployment and where the freedom of choice of the consumer, the producer and the investor is subordinated to the arbitrary dictates of the National Planning Commission in Delhi. We are opposed, in short, to a system which, in the name of planning, increasingly curtails the liberties and the free choice of the people and leads inevitably to a regimented and dragooned society in which the robust initiative of the individual is extinguished and replaced by the all-powerful State doing out its favours to those who jump to do its bidding.

Planning is a part of civilization and everyone plans from the housewife and the businessman to the Cabinet Minister. The Swatantra Party accepts the concept of planning. The kind of planning it favours has been practised with outstanding success in many of the advanced countries of the world including Japan and West Germany. In Britain and France, a pattern of planning is emerging, flexible and free of dogma, towards a one-party rule under the leadership of The National Economic Development Council of twenty proposed to be set up in Britain is thus to be a purely advisory body consisting of only three Ministers, two representatives of nationalised industries, six representatives of private enterprises, six trade unionists, two independent non-officials and one ex-officio Executive Director of the Office. The Swatantra Party would welcome the replacement of the present National Planning Commission by an advisory body similarly constituted.

I hope I have said enough to show that Mr. Patnaik has arrived at an objectionable conclusion on the strength of an unfounded premise, and to express the hope that he and others will desist from caricaturing what the Swatantra Party stands for.

Bombay, March 26.

M. R. Masani
General Secretary, Swatantra Party.

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