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WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY
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IN THIS ISSUE

Letters to the Editor	2
EDITORIAL	3
Minority Rights <i>by M. A. Venkata Rao</i>	5
Fundamental Rights and Their Amendment				
<i>by Miss Sujata K. Desai, B.A. (Oxon) Bar-at-Law</i>	.....	.....	.....	7
Confusion In the Congress Crowd <i>by Sumant Bankeshwar</i>	.....	.....	.....	10
March of Science	.....	.....	.....	12
Islamic Renaissance <i>by M. N. Tholal</i>	.....	.....	.....	14
Economic Supplement			pages I to IV	
France—A Lesson to India <i>by Kishore Valicha</i>	.....	.....	.....	15
Provocative Pakistan <i>by C. Rajagopalachari</i>	.....	.....	.....	17
Science and Industry <i>by Prof. Om Prakash Kahol</i>	.....	.....	.....	18
Fighting or Promoting?	.....	.....	.....	19
Soviet-American Exchanges <i>by Frederick C. Barghoorn</i>	.....	.....	.....	21
On the News Front	23
Activities of Libertarian Social Institute	24
Book Reviews	26

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Letters

To

The Editor

THE LEBANON—A LESSON TO INDIA

Dear Madam: The article on the Lebanon dated June 15 by the Special Correspondent of the "Times of India" presents an unrealistic picture of that unhappy country. The presence of that supreme factor—the expanding Soviet empire—has been completely side-tracked by vague references to sputniks and World War III.

The Special Correspondent seems blind to certain facts of the situation which rule out nuclear war, thus leaving the field clear for the Soviet Union to expand its empire by conventional means: In a nuclear war the aggressor will have to destroy the other party completely; for, even a modest retaliatory force, surviving, can work havoc on the aggressor. As long as the U.S. alone had nuclear weapons, she dared not use them against the U.S.S.R. Now she cannot use them for aggression—her hundreds of advance and rear bases have no more than defensive use. The Soviet Union is trying her best to develop effective resistance to retaliation. When this has been achieved she will crush the free world's nuclear defence.

It is in this context that the Lebanese situation should be seen. As Arabs, the Lebanese must shape their own destiny, but as Christians they must also defend themselves against the expanding empire which seeks to impose a communist system of culture on them.

Soviet diplomacy has been successfully exploiting Arab hostility to the Jews and the Turks, Muslim hostility to the Christians, Asian hostility to the Europeans and African hostility to the whites.

Why nationalism is anti-communistic in Europe but pro-communist in Asia is now quite clear. The European peoples like the poles and Hungarians, for example, have had direct experience of imposed communist regimes. Not so the peoples of Asia. The half-baked

intellectuals who hold the positions of power in Asia and Africa still think of the West in terms of yester years' history and of the communist state in terms of futuristic vision, crude but glorious. It seems the U.S. has realised her mistakes in regard to the Suez and Hungary. The developments in Indonesia, the Lebanon and Algeria seem to show a change-over from the policy of containment to that of liberation. This is neither wrong nor dangerous. Those who point to the danger of nuclear war and our moral responsibility to avert it are peace-mongers; they are either themselves communists or "cissy" liberals who have fallen victim to communist peace-mongering. The Special Correspondent seems to be one of them. Indian intellectuals and specially Mr. Nehru should take a lesson from developments in the Lebanon. Arab or Islamic revivalism is as much a danger to the world as the Communist menace.

B. S. Sanyal

Bombay

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PAKISTAN-NAGA CONSPIRACY AGAINST INDIA

THE most important events, and coming shadows claiming the urgent attention of Indian rulers in the coming days are not the Lebanese or Algerian crisis nor the effect of the execution of Imre Nagy behind the Iron Curtain but what may happen on the Assamese and Kashmiri borders of India and Pakistan.

The latest news is that the Indian C.I.D. police have found a box, full of documents in the house of a Naga by name Dally Namu which is said to prove a definite connection between Naga rebels and important personalities of Pakistan. Some of them are letters from important Naga rebel leaders, addressed to high personalities of the Pakistan Government, and indicate an offer of help from Pakistan *and a joint plan of action against India!* The letters also contain references to members of the Pakistan Mission in Shillong. It is suspected that Dally Namu was the main link in the chain of contact between Naga rebel leaders and Karachi *through the diplomatic Mission at Shillong.* A letter of authority in the original addressed to the Pakistan Government sealed and signed by the Vice-President of the Naga National Council authorising Namu to proceed to Pakistan was among the papers recovered in his house. Namu is taken into police custody and the heap of papers found are under close scrutiny.

This sort of action on the part of Pakistan should not surprise us. The Prime Minister himself (with all his strange reluctance to find any cause of offence in the conduct of Pakistan towards us) said not long ago that Pakistan seems to have an all-out hatred towards India, which makes her line up with all who are against us. He mentioned the Pakistani nob-nobbing with Goa against India. And now we have news of Pakistani Naga collaboration.

PAK EYES ON ASSAM

East Pakistan is situated between the Indian States of West Bengal and Assam. It is well-known that the Muslim League wished to grab Assam during the negotiations with the British at the time of the transfer of power. It should be known how continuous and successful has been the attempt of the Pakistani nationals to infiltrate into Assam and to settle down on unoccupied land there and to pass for Indian nationals. A law was passed in or about 1948 to prevent such penetration into Indian territory in Assam but it has never been put into force for lack of will on the part of our authorities, motivated by our usual false generosity to enemies. And when the Nagas in Assam broke out into open rebellion against us, and took to armed raids and attacks on Assamese and Manipuri villages and people, it was rumoured that the Nagas were trying to contact Pakistani authorities. *Citizens have to ask as to why this move on the part of the Naga rebels and of Pakistani officialdom was not anticipated and prevented earlier?* Every circumstance of history and geography should have indicated such a possibility.

STRONG ACTION NEEDED

There is also another disturbing factor in the behaviour of our authorities towards Pakistani mischief. It is something that the C.I.D. have unearthed the documents connecting Nagas and Pakistan. It is gratifying again, that the news has found publication in the daily papers, and even names are mentioned, contrary to the usual hush practice in such matters. But there is the uneasy doubt whether our authorities will follow the discovery with appropriate action. In former cases of similar reports of the C.I.D. it is learnt from knowledgeable sources that the *action demanded by the nature of the offence against India was not taken.* In particular, it was mentioned that C.I.D. reports of the suspicious activities of Sheikh Abdullah long before his arrest were shelved in New Delhi, and that even some police officers were frowned upon and transferred elsewhere. It is hoped that this time and in the future, now that Pakistan and Nagas are definitely found to be in league, the authorities will not hesitate to take suitable action. In particular, the soft policy to the Nagas should be reversed, and the Army should be allowed to pacify the rebels in their own way. The judgement of the man on the spot should prevail without its being vitiated by Central direction from thousands of miles away in the name of foreign policy or, of Buddhist clemency to maintain the Indian reputation for Gandhian non-violence.

THE CANAL WATERS

It is difficult to follow the sinuosities of the negotiation between us and Pakistan under the aegis of the World Bank in regard to the Canal dispute. Also, it is difficult to understand the peculiar suitability or fitness of the World Bank officials to handle negotiations between sovereign States on disputed matters. One would think that an agency of the UNO, after an open discussion of the points at issue between the contending States, would be more natural and appropriate for such a diplomatic task. Indeed, why it is sought to bypass the usual diplomatic channels of ambassadors in this case is a mystery. The official case should be presented to other nations through ambassadors which will give scope for the exercise and development of a diplomatic tradition and the training of a corps of all diplomats. The present practice of making use of *ad hoc* and often *personal* representatives for special negotiations is not a healthy one. In this matter of canal waters, service officials have been engaged for negotiation with World Bank officials and Pakistani representatives. Another strange matter connected with this unusual dispute and unusual procedure, to put it mildly, is the number of trips around the world that the negotiators find it necessary to arrange and the number of world capitals they fix upon in bewildering succession for the venue of their meetings.

It has been calculated that the expenses of these

meetings and negotiations have mounted to crores of rupees on our side—seemingly an irresponsible waste of public funds. India is not a wealthy country but the extravagance that her officers and leaders indulge in is beyond comprehension to laymen.

We have said before in these columns that India seems to have accepted an unjustifiable basis for the settlement of the dispute about sharing the waters of the Punjab rivers. She seems to have agreed to pay large sums to Pakistan to compensate her loss of the waters from the old canals consequent on the falling of the upper reaches of some rivers within the Indian part of the Punjab. From fifty and sixty crores, the figure moved mysteriously to Rs. 190 crores! And the last time that the Prime Minister referred to this matter during the last sessions of Parliament, he mentioned with dismay the insatiable Pakistani demand for thousands of crores! Probably the figure was about a *thousand crores* to cover the cost of not only new canals but also of new Dams and Hydro-electric Stations! Knowing the Pakistanis as we should know and remembering the episode of the Rs. 55 crores that Mahatma Gandhi insisted on our giving to Pakistan in 1947 at the time of the tribal invasion of Kashmir (when even Sardar Patel said that the money will come back to us in the shape of bullets), we need not hesitate to guess that these huge sums are more likely to go to pay for armaments to be used against the Elder Brother (viz. India) than for harmless irrigation works.

STOP THESE NEGOTIATIONS

It is necessary to urge on our Government that the present negotiations through the World Bank, should be stopped forthwith and that a new basis for the sharing of the river waters between us and Pakistan such as the amount due to each country in terms of the water collected in its catchment area should be negotiated. This is the right and natural way of arriving at a settlement in such matters. There is international custom if not law on this matter to go by. We are sticklers for international law. It is not clear why we are not following this path. Probably such a method gives no scope for demanding large lump sum amounts for construction of new works, as if we were responsible for the Partition and its consequences! It is time that members of Parliament interest themselves in this matter. The latest indication of the sum demanded by Pakistan seems to lie in the neighbourhood of Rs. 600 crores. It seems fantastic but they have been encouraged to make such demands by acceptance of the principle of compensatory payment. We are constrained to ask as to who authorised such huge payments or even the principle of the payment at all?

This kind of procedure also gives scope for needless corruption. The officials concerned might be tempted to acquiesce in large payments by the offer of bribes. Not that they will accept such considerations and betray their country, but human nature being what it is, they should not be exposed to such temptations.

Pakistan is interested in keeping alive all such disputes. She is not interested in an immediate solution of all outstanding questions between the two countries. If they are finally settled, the Pakistani leaders, official and unofficial will find their chief justification

for their leadership gone. India should, therefore, appoint a commission of experts, in law and engineering, to go into the problem of the canal waters and make a report on the basis of equity and international custom or law. It should be debated in our Parliament. Based on the consensus of parliamentary opinion, India should then make a final offer. If Pakistan should be dense enough to refuse such a fair offer, India should declare that the subject is closed, leaving it open to Pakistan to accept our offer at any time. Meanwhile we should proceed with our irrigation plans using our share of the waters to fertilise our own fields. The decision to wait only till 1962 for Pakistan to dig her own canals after which we shall use our share of the Bhakra-Nangal waters to the full (already communicated to Pakistan) should be the last word on the subject.

ANOTHER FALSE CHARGE

The recent complaint of Pakistan to the UNO that India had stopped giving water to her canals in consequence of which Pakistani lands have dried up over a vast area has been replied to adequately. It appears the actual data of the waters released during the last two months reveal that India has given more to Pakistan than to her own canals and that the diminution complained of is due to the paucity of the water in the rivers and that the Pakistani peasant has got more than the Indian peasant this season. It shows the *mala fide* nature of the Pakistani mentality, ready always to twist facts to tar the face of India.

IS IT A PRELUDE TO SERIOUS ACTION

After the friction along the Assam border areas and the Fazilka firing on the Punjab border, we have another sensational development in our relations with Pakistan. Pakistan has suddenly and unaccountably demanded that both countries should close down their diplomatic missions located in places other than the capital. So the Lahore, Bombay, Ambala and similar places in West Bengal, Assam and East Pakistan should close down by October. No reasons have been mentioned for the strange procedure. In fact, such closure is more inconvenient to Pakistani travellers wishing to visit India, (for good or evil purposes as may be), than to Indians wanting to go to Pakistan. We hear that now the Pakistan Government have asked us to close our offices by July rather than by October. What is the reason for this hurry?

Are the Pakistanis contemplating any serious military action against India in the coming months? A British military Journal wrote during the dark days of the Partition (when Hindus in their lakhs were pouring into India in extreme distress driven out by our younger Brother) that the expulsion was necessary for facilitating *defence in depth*. It appears that if Pakistani armies are engaged in defence against any enemy coming from the North or Northwestern Frontier, lands up to Delhi (or Meerut) in the hinterland should be cleared of hostile populations, and even a large part of the Pakistani civil population. Is any such contingency contemplated when the presence of Indian diplomatic officials would be an embarrassment to Pakistani armies or Government? One cannot say. But knowing Pakistan as we do, we should not won-

(Continued on page 12)

MINORITY RIGHTS

By M. A. Venkata Rao

IT is disquieting to note that the tragic errors of pre-independence policies are yet holding away over the minds of Congress rulers. We have not freed ourselves from the mental climate of British rule. It is only when we have re-thought the fundamental ideas of social, political and economic reconstruction, in terms of prevailing conditions that the life of true *swarajya*, or national freedom, can begin. The disappearance of foreign rule is only the external condition that makes such re-thinking and re-starting of national life possible. This is the most urgent task confronting thinkers in the country today. Unless the field of intellectual life is irrigated by fresh streams of new thought, on all problems of reconstruction, the leaders of practical life in politics and economics, law and society, cannot give a true and beneficent lead in terms of actual policies and programmes. They will use, whatever stale ideas and attitudes are in circulation, and have prestige for any reason. The result cannot but be what we find today in our country, when policies are forged out of second-hand thought, borrowed from the West and applied in haste without relation to our conditions. No wonder that the Prime Minister (for all his dynamism and "progressive" aspirations) complains of having become "flat and stale" in mind. So have majority of his colleagues and followers, who from the days of Gandhi had left serious thought to the Mahatma. The present writer remembers being disturbed by the statement of a Minister in one of the States, saying decisively, that there is NO need to re-think policies since Mahatma Gandhi had already done so, and that the country has its hands full in trying to put them into practice, which will occupy them for generations!

THE WORK OF R. L. FOUNDATION

The R.L. Foundation in Bombay has been inspired with the conviction (from the beginning of its foundation years before independence) that serious, original and sustained thought is the condition precedent to any significant betterment in the intellectual and moral climate of the country. It is a condition precedent to the re-birth or renaissance so necessary in the life of our people. The past numbers of the magazines, *Free Economic Review* and its successor *The Indian Libertarian* will give a glimpse into the many-sided effort put forth by the Foundation in this direction. Its reprints of relevant literature from abroad and publications from the pen of Indian writers are witness to the vision of national renovation in all its dimensions and departments entertained by the Foundation.

We shall consider in this article the problem of minority rights which is crucial to nation-making. The development of national feeling as a fixed predisposition in the minds of citizens activating them in all concerns of social life is a *sine qua non* of national well being and progress. The chauvinism that is often associated with nationalism is *not* of the essence of its nature. It is an extraneous factor that can be and

should be eschewed, in the development of national character through wise leadership and sound education. Also, true nationalism is not opposed to true internationalism. Tagore gives the example of a lotus to symbolise the world or *society* of nations that constitutes true international order. It is in this respect that the R.L. Foundation differs from the cosmopolitan view of the late Mr. M.N. Roy, which in consonance with socialist and communist "internationalism", finds no place for nations at all as individual entities.

KRISHNA MENON AND NATIONALISM

Our Defence Minister Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon is nowadays stressing the paramount importance of national patriotism as the foundation and guarantee of national unity and national self-preservation. He is relegating his former convictions as a communist agitator (he was actually a member, of the executive of the British Communist Party for several years) to the background, and stressing the necessity of national feeling as the inspiration for the defence of the country against aggression. Pakistan is today threatening war-like action against India and the psychology of militant defence is essential to meet such a challenge.

But the development of such a national consciousness is being hindered by present policies, in regard to minority rights. This is a matter for fundamental thinking on the part of publicists, journalists, professors, politicians, party leaders and members of Government in the Centre and the States.

WHAT ARE MINORITY RIGHTS?

Especially since the war of 1914-18 and the establishment of the League of Nations, minority rights have been the subject of much anxious thought on Europe-American statesmen. The Covenant of the League of Nations embodied a solution of this problem holding the balance, even between the rights and integrity of the nation and the rights and opportunities of "national minorities" living within its borders. These rights were written into the constitutions of the new nations that came into being as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania. They were essentially rights of *non-discrimination* in regard to certain fields of life, education, language, religion and economic and political opportunities. Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji the famous historian applied the League of Nations Minority solution to Indian conditions in the years before independence and published a pamphlet about it.

CONGRESS LEADERS MORE FOR "APPEASEMENT" THAN NATIONAL GOOD

But it was not considered by the British rulers, as well as by the Congress Party, which was more anxious to appease the Muslims and other minorities than to

find a lasting solution without prejudice to the permanent interests of the nation. They behaved more like politicians more concerned with the possibility of the day rather than the necessity of the future.

The Congress leaders used the ideas of *others* instead of thinking for themselves and urging their own solution based on a true vision of national wellbeing.

What are minority rights under a national democratic constitution, which embodies and enforces fundamental rights—rights of equality, liberty and fraternity? What are the rights of Muslims, Christians, Jews (and such other minorities based on birth and religion) more than those guaranteed by the constitution to all citizens as such? All citizens enjoy the rights of protection of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness — of peaceful assembly, of thought, speech and association, of property and religious belief and propagation and of other systems of belief including rationalism and materialism. They have equal access to all occupations, Governmental and private, on the same terms as others such as relevant qualification and trustworthiness. Minorities should not be discriminated *against* as regards opportunity in any sphere of social life—education, government service, right to start industries or follow professional avocations such as law, medicine, journalism. In these respects, minorities should have the *same* rights as members of the majority grouping.

Since it is highly probable, human nature being what it is, that the majority of citizens may forget the equal rights of minorities, and may out of a feeling of alienness towards them even discriminate against them. The fundamental rights of Indian citizenship are written in the constitution to safeguard their interests, and the courts of law are enjoined to afford them protection on terms equal to all.

WHERE THEN DO THE RIGHTS OF THE MINORITIES COME IN?

The League of Nations Minority Formula adds a certain number of rights for special guarantees in their interest. For instance the minority community is entitled to freedom of worship, and is also entitled to all the concessions necessary to realise such a freedom in actual practice. They may need building sites for their houses of prayer or worship in the vicinity of their dwellings. The municipalities should afford them reasonable facilities in this respect. Also, they may need special schools of their own to teach their religion and language. The State should allow them the right of establishing their own schools and appoint their own teachers, and even grant them financial assistance, under conditions such as the optional cause preventing compulsory attendance at religious classes for children of other religions. The State should give freedom of association to the minority on the same terms as for others, subject to conditions of loyalty to the nation. If religious places are used by them to incite their co-religionists to conspiracies against the *national integrity*, minorities forfeit their rights to special concessions. Minorities should have the right to have their language taught in their own schools maintained by their own community. Muslims in India should be allowed to have Arabic, Persian and Urdu taught in their own schools, as they are the media of their religious and social culture. Beyond these religious, linguistic and cultural concessions, to be exercised without prejudice to the nation,

minorities should have no special privilege in matters of fundamental rights common to all citizens.

THE SCOURGE OF "SEPARATE" ELECTORATE

One of the scourges of pre-independence days was the concession of separate electorates granted to Muslims and Christians and later to Sikhs. The famous Montague Report recognised the inevitable effects of this feature in theory but as a concession to practical policy, they not only preserved the separate electoral system for Muslims and Christians but added the Sikhs to the list of such privilege-holders! The inevitable result was the prevention of the fusion of Muslims into the common Indian national citizenship on the basis of a single nationalist psychology.

It is something that this ugly feature has been dropped in the constitution drawn up in post-independence days (1950).

CONGRESS PARTY APING THE BRITISH FOR ULTERIOR REASONS

But post-independence policies of the free national Government of India under Congress leadership betray the ideas and tendencies that actuated former British rulers for a similar purpose, *namely the retention of the voting loyalty of the Muslims for their own party*. They are anxious to retain Muslim bloc votes for themselves with a view to perpetuate their party power. With this end in view, they are providing concessions to Muslims in particular, contrary to the spirit of national democracy that is embodied in the constitution. Pandit Nehru recently complained that Muslims are not having their proportionate share in the public services. Now this idea of manning the public services in accordance with the numerical proportion of minority populations is an unmixed evil and totally contrary to national democracy. Public appointments should go by individual merit and qualification. So should promotions in service cadres. But to appoint people with a view to maintaining communal proportions is to confer a new minority right and privilege namely one based on birth and membership of a certain community. Members of such communities will cling to this right and privilege and demand their share of jobs in Government service, irrespective of merit. This gives rise to the practice of lowering standards in favour of the privileged group. They will never surrender the privilege voluntarily and merge in the nation at large taking their equal share in national opportunities. The majority community will come to entertain a grievance on account of this preference to minorities. Man for man, all should share alike but such minority preference not based on qualification will create feelings of jealousy in the majority and smug satisfaction and loss of incentive to improve on the part of minorities. They come to be set apart. If Indian Muslims feel that they should enjoy the present Congress-granted privilege while the going is good, they have to reckon with the inevitable reaction after Nehru. They will then have to pay with grievous discrimination against them for the privilege they enjoy at present. Apart from this, the possibility of fusing all communities into one national Being will have been dried up. Recently even an enlightened Muslim leader like Mr. Humayun Kabir asked Congress to consider the question of increasing the num-

(Continued on page 13)

Fundamental Rights And Their Amendment

By Miss Sujata K. Desai B.A. (Oxon) Bar-at-Law

OF all the laws of the land, the constitution is considered the law *par excellence*—the most fundamental law, the very root that will raise, nourish and invigorate the lives of the people and the system under which they are governed. Hence its provisions are considered sacrosanct and special rules are laid down to ensure that its provisions are not easily and thoughtlessly altered. In our constitution art. 368 lays down the procedure by which the constitution can be amended. It should be noted that the provision it lays down for a special majority in parliament in order to pass an Act amending the Constitution is no deterrent so long as the party in power commands a substantial majority in parliament. The process of ratification by the states in certain special cases is also not effective so long as the same party is in power at both the states and the union level. This accounts for the comparative ease with which the constitution has been amended so far. Compare, for instance, the difficulties experienced in amending the American constitution.

We are, however, not concerned here with the procedure for amending the constitution, but with the amendments that have been made in order to see how in fact the constitution has worked in practice; to see which part of the constitution has come so much and so frequently in the way of smooth government of the country that the procedure for amendment has been resorted to.

When one glances at the amendments, one is alarmed to find that the more important of them deal with the fundamental rights of the citizens. Altogether there has been seven Constitution Amendment Acts—the first in 1951, a year after the constitution came into operation; the second in 1952, the third in 1954, the fourth and the fifth in 1955; and the sixth and the seventh in 1956. It is difficult to deal with all the seven of them in one article as the topics they deal with range from taxation to the composition of the Houses of Parliament and from fundamental rights to the reorganisation of states.

Apart from the historic and controversial seventh Amendment that led to the reorganisation of states and to much disruption and strife besides, the most important of the amendments have been the first and the fourth. They both deal with the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens of India under Part III of the Constitution.

Article Fifteen dealing with the right to equality has been amended by the Constitution (1st Amendment) Act of 1951. The amendment was made necessary because of a decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Champakam V. State of Madras* (AIR 1951 Mad. 120) and a similar other case.

Clause (1) of article 15 runs as follows: "The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them." Furthermore Article 29 clause (2) provides that "No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution . . . on grounds only of religion,

race, caste, language or any of them." The Madras Government had introduced what is known as 'communal G.O.' regarding the admission of students in medical and engineering colleges. Different percentages of seats had been allotted to students caste-wise instead of according to merit. This arrangement was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on the ground that it violated both the above-mentioned articles. The Madras Government tried to rely on a directive mentioned in art. 46 viz.; the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes. . . . But it was held that a directive could not override a fundamental right guaranteed under the constitution (N.B. The Directive Principles of State Policy are not binding as laws. They are merely in the form of advice to the Government as to the policy it ought to follow.) Hence, it was considered necessary to amend art. 15 so as to make room for special facilities for the backward classes. Accordingly clause (4) was introduced in art. 15, which runs as follows: "Nothing in this article or in clause (2) of art. 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes."

The amendment was necessary because of the peculiar social conditions prevalent in India to-day. Fortunately, the amendment is very limited in scope. It exempts only those provisions that create facilities for the backward classes. Any other discrimination between citizens on grounds of caste would still be invalid.

The Constitution (1st Amendment) Act has also made changes in two clauses of art. 19 which deals with the right to freedom. This was made necessary because of the decisions of the Supreme Court. Clause (2) of art. 19 was amended as a result of the judgement of the Supreme Court in *Romesh Thapar V. State of Madras* [1950 S.C.R. 594 (601)] where the court was of the opinion that an act leading to the disturbance of public order did not necessarily undermine the security of the state and hence was not unconstitutional. The original words of clause (2) which limits the right to freedom of speech and expression were: "Nothing . . . shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court or any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow the states."

The new clause is as follows: "Nothing . . . shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the state from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency or morality, or

in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence."

So the new clause adds three more categories of acts that are excluded from the right to freedom of speech and expression viz., those endangering friendly relations with foreign states, public order, and those inciting an offence. As far as the last of the three is concerned, the courts were inclined to hold that any incitement to an offence would tend to undermine the security of the States and hence would be covered by the original exception clause. Nevertheless it has now been separately mentioned so as not to leave any room for doubt. The need to restrain acts tending to disrupt public order was obviously felt. But the category of 'friendly relations with foreign states' is somewhat unusual. In the first place, there is the word "foreign." Commonwealth countries are not considered as foreign states. The result is that while one can abuse commonwealth countries to one's heart's content, the State can make laws to prevent one from abusing a foreign country! Does it mean that people cannot criticize a foreign country at all if the Government so desires? This would be a serious limitation to the freedom of speech and expression. It is to be noted that the U.N. covenant on Human Rights which may be said to express the opinion of the civilized world on the matter describes the right to freedom of speech and expression and its limitations as follows: "The right to freedom of expression carries with it duties and responsibilities....Restrictions limiting this right may therefore be imposed....but only with regard to (a) matter which must remain secret in the vital interests of the state, (b) expressions which directly incite persons to alter by violence the system of government, (c) expressions which directly incite persons to commit criminal acts, (d) expressions which are obscene, (e) expressions injurious to the fair conduct of legal proceedings, (f) expressions which infringe rights of literary and artistic property, (g) expressions about other persons which defame their reputation or are otherwise injurious to them without benefiting the public." There is no mention there of "friendly relations with foreign states."

There is however, one saving factor in the new clause. That is the insertion of the word "reasonable" before "restrictions." So that any restriction can be challenged in a court of law on the ground that it is unreasonable. Formerly the state could impose any restriction provided that it was within the categories mentioned in clause (2). The new clause, to that extent, has enlarged the area of the right to freedom of speech and expression.

Clause 6 of article 19 has also been amended. That clause imposes restrictions on the freedom to practise any profession or to carry on any trade or business. The amended clause has added the following new restriction: Nothing shall affect "the carrying on by the State or by a corporation owned or controlled by the State, of any trade, business, industry or service, whether to the exclusion, complete or partial, of citizens or otherwise." Under the original clause (6) the right of the citizen to practise freely any profession or to carry on any occupation or trade was subject to reasonable restrictions that the state may impose "in the interest of general public." This was a comprehensive enough formula to accommodate nationalisation of any industry by the State. Nevertheless as a result of the decision of the Allahabad

High Court in *Motilal Vs. State of Uttar Pradesh* [AIR 1951 All. 257 (F.B.)] the Government felt that any schemes for nationalisation would be jeopardised if it had to justify "reasonableness" of its action before a court of law. Hence the amendment was inserted. In its absence the beneficial effects or otherwise of any scheme for nationalisation would have been judged ultimately in courts of law instead of in parliament. As a result our courts might have become unnecessarily involved in political controversies just like the American Supreme Court—a result which should be avoided if the independence and integrity of the judiciary is to be maintained.

Apart from these articles, the 1st and the 4th Constitution Amendment Acts have made radical changes in article 31 dealing with the right to property. As Patanjali Shastri C.J. observed in the Case of *Shankar Prasad V. Union of India* [1952 S.C.R. 89] "What led to the enactment is a matter of common knowledge. The political party now in power, commanding as it does a majority of votes in the several State legislatures as well as in Parliament, carried out certain measures of agrarian reforms in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh by enacting legislation which may—compendiously be referred to as Zamindari Abolition Acts. Certain Zamindars feeling themselves aggrieved, attacked the validity of those Acts in Courts of law on the ground that they contravened the fundamental rights conferred on them by Part III of the Constitution....At this stage the Union Government, with a view to put an end to all this litigation and to remedy what they considered to be certain defects brought to light in the working of the Constitution brought forward a bill to amend the Constitution...."

The 1st Amendment Act introduces 2 new articles—31A and 31B after Art. 31 which deals the right to property. In order to realize fully the implications of these new articles, it is necessary to see what the original Art. 31 guarantees. It lays down that no person shall be deprived of his property save by the authority of law; that such acquisition of property will be for a public purpose; that adequate compensation will be given and the law will lay down the principles on which such compensation will be determined. Now among other things, article 31 says: "Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Part, no law providing for the acquisition by the State of any estate or of any rights therein or for the extinguishment or modification of any such rights shall be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with, or taken away or abridges any of the rights conferred by any provisions of this Part." In other words the State need not provide any compensation; it need not even acquire property for a public purpose. So long as its legislation is covered by art. 31A it cannot be challenged in court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Art. 31. It would be true to say that the Constitution guarantees practically no right to property to the citizens of India. They are entirely in the hands of Parliament. This is entirely against the spirit of the Constitution. Patanjali Shastri C.J. once observed (*Romesh Thapar Vs. State of Madras*) "A freedom of such amplitude might involve risks of abuse. But the framers of the Constitution may well have reflected with Madison, who was the leading spirit in the preparation of the 1st Amendment of the Federal

Constitution' that 'it is better to leave a few of its noxious branches to their luxuriant growth than, by pruning them away, to injure the vigour of those yielding the proper fruits.' In introducing art. 31A the amenders of the Constitution have felled the entire tree in order to be rid of a few noxious branches. It would have been far better to have been content with introducing Art. 31B which validates a number of Acts enlisted in it even though they might contravene some provisions of Part III of the Constitution. These are mostly Acts dealing with agrarian reform.

In spite of these amendments Arts. 31 and 31A were found to be not quite 'satisfactory.' The Constitution (4th Amendment) Act 1955 was introduced in Parliament as a reaction against decisions of the Supreme Court in cases like *State of West Bengal Vs. Subodh Gopal* [1954 S.C.R. 587], *Dwarkadas Vs. Sholapur Spinning & Weaving Co.* [1954 S.C.R. 674], *State of West Bengal vs. Bela Banerjee* [1954 S.C.R. 41] and *Saghir Ahmed V. State of U.P.* (1954 S.C.A. 1218). It was held that the words 'acquire or take possession' used in Art. 31(2) did not refer only to cases where the title to the property was transferred to the state, but also to cases where in fact the individual was deprived of his property even though the title to the property did not vest in the State. So under art. 31 compensation would be payable. So clause 2A was introduced in art. 31 which says that only the actual transfer of title to the state would be covered by art. 31.

The courts were also of the opinion that the right to compensation given under art. 31 was a right to get adequate compensation, and whether it was adequate or not was a justiceable issue. The government not unnaturally found it difficult always to give the market value of the property to the person who had been deprived of it. It made agrarian reforms

unduly expensive. Hence in clause (2) of art. 31 the following phrase was added: "No such law shall be called in question in any court on the ground that the compensation provided by that law is not adequate."

Under art. 31A now, not only acquisition by the State of any estate cannot be challenged but also the temporary taking over by the State of any property, etc. in the public interest or to secure its proper management, cannot be challenged. So also the extinguishment of the rights of managing agents, directors etc. and the extinguishment of any rights in order to search for minerals or mineral oils, are immune.

Fortunately now art. 31A has been made somewhat restricted in its application. It only prevents an Act from being challenged on the ground that it contravenes arts. 14, 19 or 31. If it contravenes any other fundamental right it could still be challenged.

The meagreness of the right to property thus granted by the constitution is alarming and somewhat surprising for a Constitution that has otherwise tried to secure for its citizens a maximum of fundamental rights. Compare, for instance, the 5th Amendment to the American Constitution which provided that private property will not be taken for public use without just compensation. In England as there is no written Constitution there is no constitutional requirement that compensation must be paid if the property is to be acquired by the State. But the Courts have laid down the principle that they will so interpret an Act unless it contains express provisions to the contrary.

Let us also hope that our Courts will interpret the restrictions laid down in the Constitution on our fundamental rights very strictly, and allow the citizens to enjoy the maximum of rights.

TRUE TALES—Annie Oakley (second of a series)

by VERUS



EARLY APTITUDE.—At the age of seven Annie fired her father's old rifle. The recoil knocked her down and broke her nose, but it didn't discourage her desire to shoot. Perfect aim came naturally to her and she quickly mastered the cumbersome weapon and soon was providing game to augment the meager Oakley table.



BREADWINNER.—By the time Annie was 16 she had a contract to supply wild game to a large hotel in the area and was thus supporting her family with her gun. So expert had she become that when the hotel complained of a shot-riddled bird, she proceeded to shoot fowl on the wing through the head with a single rifle shot.



FRANK BUTLER.—On a trip to visit her sister, she engaged in a shooting match with Frank Butler, a professional trick-shot artist. She beat him easily, even though he was recognized as one of the best shots in the country. Butler was greatly impressed by the skill of this young girl. (Continued.)

Confusion In The Congress Crowd

By Sumant S. Bankeshwar

CONGRESS has become a veritable Kumbha Mela today. It is more or less a confederacy of all sorts of persons and all sorts of vested interests brought together by ignoble compromise to swell its ranks, with its eye on the ballot-box. It has lost all its old charm, vigour and vitality.

A political party is a homogeneous body of like-minded persons wedded to certain definite principles and dedicated to an ideology. But Congress is neither a homogeneous body of like-minded persons, nor has it any set principles. It can hardly be called a political party.

All sorts of people, ranging from honest democrats to totalitarian communists, from genuine socialists to reactionary capitalists and feudal landlords, and from secular Gandhites to anti-national communists, have joined the Congress, and have become apostles of non-violence, democracy, socialism and peace!!! Even criminals and anti-social elements can now claim to have a due representation in the Congress party. In other words, Congress has become truly a cross-section of the Indian public.

THE ACID TEST

Since Avadi, it has become a fashion among congressmen to talk day in and day out on Socialism. Few, if any, seem to realise that their acceptance of socialism in toto would mean by implication surrendering to the State every bit of their private property and every chip of their bank balance. If Pandit Nehru wants to test the sincerity of his followers in subscribing to his socialist ideology, and is serious about purifying his party by purging it of all the reactionary and opportunist elements, all that he has to do is to propose a simple amendment to the Congress Constitution that all Congressmen subscribing to his socialist ideology must surrender to the State all their private property and that those who refuse to do so should quit the Congress party forthwith. Such an amendment to the Congress Constitution would result in mass exodus from the party in panic. But what is lost in number will, of course, be gained in quality and there will be only staunch socialists left in the party; the party will be cleansed of all reactionary and opportunist elements; the only snag being that their number will be *just one*, and that Pandit Nehru himself!

THE AVADI BHAJAN MELA

At Avadi, Nehru obtained the support of all the docile and gullible who had no strong convictions of their own, and silenced the potential *rebels* in the party by attractive promises of loaves and fishes of office. The Avadi Congress was like a Bhajan Mela in which the leader sang and the followers repeated after him in lusty chorus, with their brains gone to sleep, their eyes closed with devotional ecstasy in acceptance of socialism, their hearts hard-set on loaves and fishes of office and their mouths watering with

anticipation. Were the full significance of socialism realised by them before they took up the refrain from their leader, the Bhajan Mela would have vanished in no time. But perhaps they thought that, since the peril was not so imminent, it was no peril at all. From a short-term point of view, perhaps they thought that they had everything to gain by obeying Nehru and dancing to his tune, and everything to lose by opposing him and incurring his wrath. So they "*Unanimously*" accepted Nehru's socialism at Avadi, though reluctantly. In general, the higher the education and intelligence of individuals is, the more their views and tastes are differentiated and the less likely they are to agree on a particular hierarchy of values. It is a corollary of this that if we wish to find a high degree of uniformity and similarity of outlook, we have to descend to the regions of the lowest moral and intellectual standards where the more primitive and common instincts and tastes prevail and blind hero-worshippers abound.

REVOLT IN THE PARTY?

The rank and file of the Congress had never accepted Socialism. They are still strongly opposed to it. They are now alarmed at the positive steps that Nehru is taking with a view to demolishing the existing "feudal" and capitalist" order and building up a new socialist order in its place. So long as their vested interests were not threatened, they obeyed Nehru and behaved well like good boys. But now that those interests are threatened by Nehru's policies, they are plotting against him covertly, and sometimes even overtly, both in the party and the cabinet. Nehru's recent threat to quit his premiership was actually meant to seek a vote of confidence of the party in him.

Every step by Nehru in the direction of Socialism will now lead to more and more defections from the party. As the class struggle sharpens, to use the communist phrase, the congress party will start disintegrating into its respective components. The rightists will join the Jan Sangh, the extreme leftists will join the communist party, the democratic socialists will join the P.S.P. the Muslim communalists will go back to their Muslim League, the Sikh communalists will join the Akali Dal of Master Tara Singh, and the anti-Bhramin communalists in the South will join the Dravida Khazhagam of E.V.R. Naikar.

WHO IS REACTIONARY AND WHO IS DEMOCRAT?

Pandit Nehru's violent dig at revivalism, communalism and reactionarism on one hand, and his joining hands with reactionary and anti-national communalists like the Akalis in Punjab, Razakars in Hyderabad, Muslim Leaguers and Roman Catholics in Kerala, and the Dravida Khazhagamites in Tamil Nad on the other, is a great paradox. He talks of Science and Progress but believes in the primitive Charka. Is there anything more reactionary or revivalist than spinning

on the Charka and propping up the Khaddar industry in this Sputnik age?

Nehru calls himself a great democrat but finds himself in excellent company with dictators! Look at his friends—Marshal Tito, Khrushchev, Mao-Tse Tung, Chou-En-Lai and Nasser! All of them are known dictators who have least respect for democracy, freedom and liberty, — in a word, for human values.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY HOAX

Non-Socialists value the ultimate ends of Socialism no less than the socialists. They refuse to support socialism because of the dangers to other values they see in the methods proposed by the socialists. The dispute about socialism has thus become largely a dispute about means and not about ends. Those who want socialism, like those who reject it, desire the well-being and happiness of all. The opponents of Socialism do not reject socialism because they grudge the workers the benefits they could allegedly derive from the socialist mode of production. They do so precisely because they have been convinced by a wide variety of experience that it could only harm the masses by reducing them to the status of poor serfs entirely at the mercy of irresponsible dictators. Nikita Khrushchev and Milovan Djilas have confirmed this view hitherto held by the "Anglo-American imperialists", "reactionaries", and "war-mongers" that the — socialist economy leads to the dictatorship of the bureaucrats, and a new privileged class comes into being.

Socialism is the greatest hoax of the twentieth century. Our misguided rulers are propagating and perpetuating this hoax which is on the point of destroying liberty, freedom and democracy. That our masses continue to believe in this myth only indicates strength of the myth-producing forces working amidst us.

SOCIALISM IS REACTIONARY

None of the socialist theories can withstand scientific criticism, and all its deductions are ill-founded. Socialism appeals to emotions rather than to reason. Logic and reason which might show up the absurdity of the socialist economy have no place in it. Socialism is reactionary in so far as it is against scientific spirit as distinguished from a certain methodology. Its outstanding characteristic is its repudiation of the spirit of free inquiry, especially as applied to the working of a socialist economy. It is indeed an opium for those who ought to do thinking.

Socialism is not in the least what it pretends to be. It is not a harbinger of a better and a finer society, but the destroyer of freedom and democracy. It destroys the existing society, but cannot create a new one. The beginning as well as the end of socialist policy is destruction. It produces nothing. It only consumes what the social order based on private ownership of the means of production has created. Every step leading towards socialism must end in the destruction of what already exists. A socialist is like a spendthrift who squanders his inheritances regardless of the future.

THE CONFLICT OF VALUES

Russian communism does not convince and Nehru's

socialism does not inspire. The conflict between democracy and socialism has always been a conflict of values. Whereas socialists consider only material values as the main criterion of progress, democrats want the universal human ideals of equality and freedom to be embodied in the economy of every country. It is because of our democratic tradition and the human values we cherish that we reject the crude materialism of the socialists. It is the denial of human values in socialism that rouses our fiercest indignation and concern against the socialist philosophy which has corroded the thinking of all our political leaders in general.

A TRAGEDY

Our Congress leaders, the neo-socialists, don't want to hear, to learn, to see, and above all, to think; they are open to no argument. There is a waning idealism as regards the ends and growing dogmatism in the choice of means among our Congress leaders. They talk one way and act another, and are victims of a schizophrenia that has upset them and bewildered their friends. Socialism has confused the thoughts of all of them.

It is rather one of the most tragic spectacles of our times that our leaders are still attracted by the old socialism when it has lost all its charm in the European countries like Hungary, Poland and East Germany where people now recoil from socialism with wrath, scorn and nausea. Even in Britain, the short spell of "Socialist" experiment by the Labour Party proved a disastrous failure, and its stalwarts like Gaitskell and Crossland are going through a crisis of intellectual, rethinking of policies and methods. They are now thinking out afresh the foundations of socialist economy. While in Europe, the cradle of socialism, bold attempts are being made at reformulating socialist philosophy and to think afresh the meaning of socialist economy, the socialist ghost still haunts our thinking, and it is high time we gave a decent burial to it.

RECONSIDER SOCIALISM

Re-examination of socialism is a necessary preliminary to fruitful thinking in India too. It is high time our Congress leaders, like the socialists in Europe, did a bit of rethinking about the means of achieving the goals of socialism. It is little short of a tragedy that our misguided rulers should accept and acclaim as a masterpiece what is discredited and discarded in the West. We are being slowly led by them on the road to serfdom. It is a downhill road, and the further we proceed, the faster we travel. Since Avadi, we have been moving down the slippery road to totalitarianism at an accelerating speed. Let us turn back from it, and resume once more our march along the highway of individual liberty, democracy and progress. Let us uphold the dignity of the individual and give him a right to pursue his own ideal of happiness in his own way, subject only to the right of other individuals to do the same, and free from the coercion of those, who at first set themselves up as our guardians and soon entrench themselves as our masters.

EDITORIAL — (Continued from page 4)

der if such a theory were found to be confirmed in due time. To be forewarned is to be fore-armed. It is hoped that our authorities will keep such a live possibility in view and take appropriate measures be times should signs of such a contingency appear.

MOHAMED ABBAS AND JUNE 27

Is there any substance in the threat of Mohamed Abbas, the leader of Azad Kashmir, to march with lakhs of volunteers into Kashmir across the cease fire line? Will they be armed or come unarmed? Or will they come at all? Last year, Allaama Mashriqui, the disappointed and frustrated leader of the spade-carrying Khaksars threatened to cross into the Punjab near Lahore. He even collected some adventures. Fortunately for him and for us, the Pakistan Government disfavoured his adventure for their own reasons and put the Mashriqui in jail and dispersed the volunteers in camp. But this time, there seems to be more substance in the threat. For President Mirza has sent his Secretary to report on the situation on the "cease-fire" border. And Abbas seems to have the co-operation of the former general Akbar Khan who is burning to retrieve his position after the shame of his arrest as a conspirator. Some tribesmen seem to have been collected. The Prime Minister referred to this threat in his press conference before he went on his Himalayan holiday. He thought that Abbas perhaps could not collect any large numbers and even if he does make the attempt, the intruders, not to call them invaders would be thrown out.

It is doubtful if the people who are threatening to

invade us, have the stuff in them to brave bullets. Perhaps they are relying on the well-known non-violence of the Gandhian Government of Nehru. If Bakshi Ghulam Mahomed is left alone to deal with the trouble or still better if Indian military officers are given a free hand, the menace can be met suitably and efficiently. But one is afraid that false sentimentality, as in the Naga affair, will spoil our action if the threat of crossing the cease fire line should materialise after all.

ONLY A DIVERSION

We should also remember that the threat on the Kashmir border is only a decoy to camouflage the real military action contemplated by the Pakistani army on the Assam Front. While the attention of the world is concentrated on the drama on the Kashmir cease-fire line, the bordering area of Assam to a depth of some ten miles along a wide front will be invaded and occupied by Pakistan if Indian Military Forces were unwary or were not given their head to meet the situation in their own way unfettered by civilian meddlers.

Since we go to press before the 27th, we can comment on any developments in this regard only in the next issue of 15 July. But it would be well for Government and people to remember the background against which developments have to be viewed if we are not to be caught napping once again as in June, July and August 1947. Such a defeat for our political wisdom would be inexcusable and no amount of sophistry and specious pleading on the part of leaders will be able to satisfy the people, if anything untoward should happen.

The March Of Science

IMPROVED SURGERY FOR EPILEPSY

American doctors have found that certain types of epilepsy are due to damage in a restricted region of the "cortex"—or outer bark—of the brain, a surface made up of thousands of millions of nerve cells. Many things can cause the damage—a hereditary defect, injury from a blow on the head or fall, an old infection. In any event, scar tissues may form and the affected region is abnormally sensitive.

Now, normal actions of a human being are made possible and coordinated by nerve impulses, which are electrical discharges passing along nerve fibres. In epilepsy however, it is as if these nerve impulses run wild, usually spreading without purpose from the damaged part of the brain. The most familiar result of course, is a convulsion. But epilepsy may also take the form of hallucinations or strange behaviour accompanied by a loss of consciousness.

During the past ten years or so, brain surgeons in the United States and other countries have developed operations in which they remove damaged parts of the brain. They commonly perform these operations using a local anaesthetic only, to kill pain in the scalp. The brain itself feels no pain and the patient is fully conscious. The surgeon first uses special electrodes—fine-wire contacts which carry electrical currents. Placed on the brain's surface, the contacts stimulate nerve cells and produce records which help the surgeon to locate the damaged region. Removing the

region may benefit as many as three out four patients.

OCEAN IS WORLD'S RICHEST TREASURE HOUSE

Science is breaking into the richest treasure house in the world—the sea—according to the U.S. National Geographic Society.

Oceans cover about 70 per cent of the globe and hoard many things prized by men. For example, there is enough gold in sea water to make every person on earth a millionaire, if it could be extracted easily.

Silver and other precious metals, useful chemicals and a rich supply of food other than fish are all locked in the sea, awaiting the development of economical processes to release them.

Some are being extracted now. Brine has provided salt for countless countries. Magnesium is used in the manufacture of airplane and rocket parts. Ocean-given bromine makes possible high-test gasoline and goes into sedatives, photographic chemicals, dyes and other products.

Scientists foresee farming the sea in the manner of land agriculture. This is being done now with oysters and mussels, which do not move about after they are planted.

One of the most important things in the sea is plain water, which is one of man's most precious natural resources. Desalted ocean water could solve many problems of shortage. Once this process becomes economical, the dream of making arid regions bloom could become a reality around the world.

(Continued from page 6)

bers of Muslims in the services since in the last elections many Muslims voted against Congress. It is said that even in the commercial field, minorities are having concessions (discriminating in their favour), in the grant of trade licences and export and import quotas! Of course they enjoy scholarships in schools and colleges as members of the minority communities. Other minorities too *within the majority* are given scholarships on the ground of birth irrespective of merit. This perpetuates the sense of separateness among sections of the majority as well! Thus is the integral consciousness of national unity being thwarted by the Congress Party rulers.

THE CONGRESS IS TARRED WITH COMMUNALISM

The psychology that is fostered is one of regarding the nation as one vast lucky box containing inexhaustible gifts with the minorities having additional privileges of drawing lots!

Even in the selection of party candidates during elections, the ruling party committed the grievous blunder of announcing that Muslims should have a quota of 15 per cent which is more than their numerical share! Congress has little idea of the amount and intensity of feeling that is generated in the nation at large by such policies of discriminating against the majority. This whole way of looking upon national affairs liquidates the integral unity of the nation and splits it up into a congeries of communities with interests of their own conflicting with each other.

This whole way of looking upon Government patronage and conferring privileges with the ostensible purpose of assimilating minorities into the national Being is perverse and has consequences quite the contrary of those expected. Instead of creating emotional integration, it is creating emotional *revulsion against* the privileged communities. Gifted persons, students and others, who are passed over in favour of minorities will cherish a feeling of grievance leading before long to feelings of hatred and revenge. Frustrated in their legitimate aspirations and expectations, they tend to swell the army of the disinherited. Many of them drift into circles of disruption and disloyalty like the communist party. The revolutionary underworld will be fed by the unemployed and disappointed, particularly when they are people of talent.

The majority see that minorities have ready-made electorates of their kith and kin, who vote for them irrespective of merit, or qualification or national integrity. Such people come to positions of power in the legislatures and ministries and services, civil and military at an age far younger than corresponding members of the majority. They see also that often they are excused for grave offences of corruption because of the predisposition of the ruling party in their favour. They are promoted over the heads of more deserving persons of the majority community.

COMES IN THE WAY OF NATURAL SOLIDARITY

This whole way of giving privileges is pernicious. These are not legitimate minority rights as envisaged by The League of Nations Charter for minorities. Minority rights should not contravene fundamental rights for the majority of nationals. Minorities are entitled only to non-discrimination against them. They are further entitled to concessions necessary for

them to enjoy their religious worship and preserve their language and culture. But to endow them with privileges like the ones in *all* matters that Congress leadership is giving is to perpetuate communal gulfs and prevent the formation of a single nation with all nationals enjoying equal rights, subject to equal obligations in the nation's service. Within the nation, all citizens should be considered on their individual merits and contribution to national life.

It is time that this line of thought is pursued in a calm and impartial spirit and all current laws and practices of Government and party, private individuals and groups examined from the point of view of nation-building. For this is a *threshold* problem permitting no further step in advance until it is solved correctly.

Pakistan Spoiling For A Fight With India

IT cannot be that Pakistan is spoiling for a fight with India. For all the cries of *jehad* that are heard in that country time and again, Pakistani leaders are sane enough not to embark on so suicidal an adventure. The continued provocations on the Assam and Punjab borders are no more than acts of gangsterism as Mr. Nehru described them the other day. Indeed it would not be surprising if they were also the result of a deep sense of frustration. All this does not, however, lessen the danger that such provocations, if not ended soon, may one day lead to a major clash. It should be the endeavour of both the countries to prevent so tragic an eventuality. The recent incident near Fazilka in which seven Indian policemen were killed is the last straw. India cannot be patient in the face of so criminal a provocation. The Indian Government has demanded compensation but in the past Karachi has seldom made amends for such crimes. The people here have no desire to avenge the murder of the innocent policemen but they do want to be assured that there will be no more of such provocations. They want the Pakistan Government to realise that it will not be allowed to get away with such acts of gangsterism along the border in future. It is unfair to our own men who police the border to leave them unprotected against premeditated attacks by their counterparts on the other side.

Mr. Krishna Menon has done well to warn Pakistan that in future the Indian army will come to the aid of the Indian police force whenever there is a deliberate violation of the frontier. The Pakistan Government should regard this as a final warning. It must keep its border police in the west as well as in the east in check. That a large part of East Pakistan's border with Assam and West Bengal has yet to be demarcated is no excuse for any violation of territory which has been under Indian control for years. There is no other way to keep the peace in the disputed territory apart from maintaining the *status quo* until a final settlement is reached. In recent weeks Pakistani border forces have even tried to grab Indian territory in areas where the border has been clearly demarcated. This country is only too keen to complete the work on the demarcation of the border between the two countries in the east. It is up to the Pakistan Government to expedite this work. It is mistaken if it thinks that it can take advantage of the present uncertain position to seize new territory. By violations of cease-fire agreements it will only invite reprisals.

ISLAMIC RENAISSANCE

By M. N. Tholal

IT should be evident even to a superficial observer that the world is passing through a period of Islamic renaissance, which may be said to have started with the Khilafat agitation in India and startlingly sprung upon the world with the birth of Pakistan in India. Gandhi and his followers were doubtless responsible for giving rise to the renaissance in a bid for Hindu-Muslim unity which, like all short cuts, proved exceedingly dangerous.

However, it is no use crying over spilt milk or regretting now the folly of embracing the Ali Brothers and denouncing the cosmopolitan Jinnah. But even while reaping the consequences of that folly, it behoves us to find ways and means of mitigating them. We cannot do so unless we take our stand on truth, called realism in politics, and try to find the factors operating in the epicentre of Islamic renaissance, i.e. Cairo. Wishful thinking, which led to the catastrophe of 1947, if indulged in again, will lead again to another catastrophe, for catastrophe follows wishful thinking as surely as night follows day.

WHAT DOES NASSER STAND FOR?

What does our friend Nasser say? In his *Philosophy of the Revolution* he says he wants "limitless power for Islam". A strange dictum this in the mouth of a man a substantial section of whose countrymen are Christians, but it makes two things absolutely clear. His appeal is to Muslims and he wants to be the spearhead of Islamic renaissance. Recent history shows that, like our own Gandhi, he is a man in a hurry seeking short cuts but, unlike him, not sworn to non-violence, and therefore all the more dangerous.

What kind of Islam is this for which he wants limitless power? We have a right to know before we befriend him, not only because we have suffered at the hands of Muslim fanatics for centuries but also because we, as Hindus and as a nation, stand for certain principles with which the protagonists of aggressive Islam have been at daggers drawn for centuries. Is he one of the "Down-with-the-Kafir" and jihad-mad Muslims out to Islamise the world at any cost? Or is he an enlightened Muslim, like our Abul Kalam Azad, out to rid the Muslims of their exploiters without rousing in them the fanaticism that might lead them to a Jihad, such as that witnessed in Kashmir in 1947-48 or against Israel more than once in recent times?

THE WORLD HAS MOVED

The fact to remember even for Muslims — in fact much more for Muslims than for others — is that the world is not what it was a thousand or twelve hundred years ago when it was caught unawares by the hordes of Islam ravaging their neighbours in their greed for gold and girls under the cloak of a new-found religion. Even if the Arab world were not divided, as it is to-day, the tiny state of Israel alone would appear to be enough to absorb all its warring energies for a few

decades to come. And it is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that, by the time the Arabs are advanced enough to defeat tiny Israel, they would probably have shed the fanaticism which seeks limitless power for Muslim and Islam. But we cannot, relying on possibilities, adopt a policy of wait and see. And, in any case, is it for those who have reasons to suspect the uses to which limitless power in the hands of Islam may be put, to turn their face ostentatiously away when the tiny state of Israel extends her hand of human fellowship?

INDIA AND ISRAEL IN THE SAME BOAT

In the neighbourhood of Israel, Muslim seekers after limitless power want to destroy Israel as the first step toward their goal. In the neighbourhood of India their prototypes want to destroy India on one pretext or another. Kashmir was a matter of life and death for them until came Suhrawardy to convince them that canal waters also constitute a matter of life and death for them. India has only to concede both to find that the list of matters of life and death for Pakistan is much longer than she is aware of at present. As a Persian proverb says: *Khoo-e-bud ra bahana-e-bisyar.* (An evil nature finds many excuses.)

Since the first steps to limitless power have been taken in the Middle East by Nasser—and may be taken any day by his co-religionists in Pakistan, according to their own declarations—it becomes necessary to understand what the Islam of Nasser's conception is. Is it the Islam of the Ali Brothers of India or of Abul Kalam Azad? We in India have over 40 million Muslims—a population much larger than that of Muslims of Egypt—and can claim to be one of the greatest Islamic powers of the world. We have a right to put in a few words in the arguments regarding true Islam that are bound to ensure as soon as the limitless power sought shows signs of materialising to some extent. (For the moment it seems that limitless power is being sought to gain possession over other people's Holy Lands—an obviously outrageous proposition.)

CAN WE LIBERALISE ISLAM?

How can we make our contribution toward liberalising Islam, a contribution which we are in duty bound to make, if we are true to the constitution which we have adopted. With the help of the Holy Koran, of course, as interpreted by divines of the type of the late Maulana Azad or by those who have, like me, read the Holy Koran carefully.

About 30 years ago there was a quarrel on a street of Jabulpur between two young Muslims on the interpretation of a sentence in the Holy Koran. One of them whipped out a knife and fatally stabbed the other on the spot, thus winning the argument. A few years ago Shias and Sunnis of Pakistan similarly won the argument against fellow Muslims belonging to the Ahmadiya sect by murdering them in their thousands,

Unemployment and Integrated Taxation

By Prof. G. N. Lawande, M.A.

AT present our country is facing a number of problems, namely, food problem, rising prices, exchange crisis, strikes, but the most important and serious problem is the problem of unemployment. It is not a new problem in India. It has been with us for the last several decades as a chronic malady, but in the pre-independence era the entire blame for this scourge was placed at the door of the foreign rulers. It was expected that this malady would be cured after Independence, but with regret, one has to admit that our national leaders were not able to solve it; on the other hand the disease has been aggravated by the wrong headed economic policy.

This was mainly due to the fact that our leaders were not able to diagnose the disease and the remedies, that were adopted in the post-war period, were proved to be ineffective. One will not blame a medical practitioner if the patient dies after proper diagnosis and remedy, but certainly he is to be blamed if he fails to diagnose the disease. Our leaders fall in the second category, for the simple reason that they have utterly failed in this respect, but the "Rip Van Winkles high up will not still wake up, and this becomes all the more distressing when they are indulging in repeating the old mantrams in sleep!"

During war period, our country was able to achieve a sort of full employment, and it was hoped that in the post-war period the situation will be greatly improved, but unfortunately in our "planned" economic development, employment opportunities are not keeping pace with the pumping of large amount of money in the hands of the people, which is now estimated to be between Rs. 3000 to 40000 crores during the past 7 years, whether it be in the public or private sectors. The main objective of our so-called *democratic planning* are directed not merely towards the realisation of certain national targets, but it is also meant to secure for a large number of our people, greater opportunities of employment. Both these objectives are not really separable in the long period, because employment is usually provided with the expansion of income and productive employment necessarily adds to the national income. During the period of the Second Five Year Plan, it is assumed that 12 millions of jobs would be created, but any one familiar with the present employment situation would immediately recognise that these empty promises are incapable of fulfilment.

A PARADOX

Recently our Union Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji-bhai, has said that 9 million additional jobs would be created in the last two years of the Second Five Year Plan, but unemployment is increasing, and employment potential is decreasing. Retrenchment is going on all over the country, whether it be as a result of nationalisation or due to other causes. The problem of unemployment has become very serious. Industries

have been cutting down the volume of work. It seems that the Government has not realised the gravity of the situation, since it has not evolved a comprehensive and realistic policy to tackle the problem of employment. One will not be wrong if he says that our Government has miserably failed in this respect. If this state of affairs is continued further, the situation may go out of control; so it is necessary to know the causes of this malady and suggest the remedies for the solution of the problem.

PLANNING, THE VILLAIN OF THE PIECE

The most important cause of this situation is our unrealistic planning. Our Planning Commission alleged to be an expert body on Planning did not consider all the facts while drafting the Second Five Year Plan. It did not possess the statistical data of the number of the unemployed, and any attempt to measure it is a mere waste of time. Unless the exact number of unemployed, both in urban and rural areas is known, it is futile to evolve a realistic employment policy.

The second cause is the high taxation that is imposed in order to implement the Second Five Year Plan. No country in the world is so heavily taxed as our country with low per capita income. *Our taxation policy is detrimental to the economic development of the country.* It has affected our capacity, but production can be increased only by giving proper incentive to the entrepreneurs. *In the integrated tax system all these incentives have been killed with the result that employment instead of increasing has begun to decrease.* Our Government has imposed so many taxes—direct and indirect—that it has become absolutely impossible for the private enterprise to bear the burden. Taxable capacity has been exhausted, and integrated taxes system has broken the backbone of the economy. It is this confiscatory tax system that is mainly responsible for the increase of unemployment.

CONFISCATORY TAXATION SYSTEM

The Government is under wrong assumption that integrated tax system has been evolved and changes in administration and procedure are required for its implementation. *Economists and businessmen of this country are of the opinion that the present so-called integrated tax system is of haphazard nature, and that it requires revision in the light of the needs of the growing economy.* Present confiscatory integrated tax system does not conform to the recommendations of Taxation Enquiry Commission, which was purposely appointed to reform the tax system. It neither fits in with the proposals made by Prof. Kaldor (with the inadequate knowledge of the Indian conditions) nor with the recommendations of the Planning Com-

mission, which is supposed to be an expert body on taxation. A committee was needed to find out whether the present tax system is integrated at all, but the Government has appointed a Committee with Sri Mahavir Tyagi as Chairman "to advise Government on administrative organization and procedure necessary for implementing the integrated tax system of taxation with due regard to the need of eliminating tax evasion and avoiding inconvenience to assesses". But the Committee will not solve the problem; on the contrary, it may cause more chaos and the result will be more and more unemployment. By merely appointing a Committee does not imply solution to the problem.

A BLOW TO CAPITAL FORMATION

It is an art to shelve the consideration of problems of immediate consideration and to put the dust into the eyes of the public. Unemployment problem cannot be solved unless our present integrated tax system is completely overhauled. It has killed the goose that was laying the golden eggs in the past. Every taxation policy should be based on twin principles, namely equity and justice. Both these principles were thrown to the winds by our Finance Minister Mr. T.T.K. whose policy is defended stoutly by the present Finance Minister. The Government should abandon the present ideology which has little practical value or revise the present economic policy, especially the fiscal policy. *Unless this is done and private enterprise is given a free scope to plan its own activity capital formation will not take place.*

BACK TO DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTARIANISM

Private enterprise can contribute to the rapid industrialisation, and economic development of the country, given proper incentive. That incentive lies in adopting a free market economy based on libertarian principles and NOT on planned economy based on socialist pattern of society. *Democratic planning can never achieve full employment*, and sooner our Government realises the fact, better it is for the country as a whole. Planned economy will create more chaos, if you like planned chaos, and this is visible in our country before our eyes. By merely pumping in more money, employment cannot be increased. It is not a sufficient condition for the full employment to exist. For full employment there must be a proper relationship between wages and prices. When this relation exists, prospects also exists. As a result of this production is maximised and full employment is achieved without inflation. When this relationship does not exist i.e. when wages rise above the marginal productivity of labour, the profits are reduced, and this results in the increase in unemployment. It is only in the proper relation of wages and prices that the full employment can be achieved without inflation.

INFLATION THE ENEMY OF PRODUCTION

At present we are facing inflation, but our present Finance Minister is not prepared to accept this view, and to ignore this fact is to ignore real facts that our country faces. Inflation is the enemy of the economic progress of the country. It rewards the speculator instead of producer. To pump more money in the hands of the people is to aggravate the situation. In

order to increase the employment and stabilise our economy the private enterprise must be given a free scope. Profit motive is not bad; on the contrary when the opportunities for profits diminish, opportunities for employment also diminish. At present, under the present integrated tax system, the private sector has to pay taxes which leave no profits for the risks that it takes. In a free economy the main motive force behind the business activity is the profit motive. It is a *sine qua non* of the economic progress. This truth has been ignored by our Government and result is the present state of unemployment. To pump in more money in the market is to ruin the economy. The large amount of mispending is partly responsible for the small quantum of additional employment which the country has attained in the past decade.

RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT IGNORED

The rural unemployment has not been cursorily examined. As a matter of fact rural unemployment is the Achille's Heel of our Plan. The urban unemployment might break the social and political structure of our country. It is easy for the Government to give figures of employment, but it is wrong to say that comparable additional employment has taken place as result of increased investment, both in the private and public sector. The progress of expansion during the Second Five Year Plan has undoubtedly been slow, and it is felt that employment situation will not improve to the expected extent in the remaining period of the Plan. Educated unemployment the biggest and persisting problem of our country, during the last decade, will refuse any solution, unless effective measures are taken to counter the effects at an early date. Unless we reorganise our economy i.e. unless we alter the agrarian relation and distribute the lands to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, employment cannot be increased in rural areas. Village and cottage industries on which millions of people depend for their living should be encouraged.

LIBERTARIANISM THE SOLUTION

Retrenchment or any other measure that leads to retrenchment or reduction of employment should be treated as amounting to sabotage of national reconstruction. But the important thing is that Government and Planning Commission should give up the "unbecoming jugglery" with statistics, look the problem in the face and reformulate the proposals for all out drive against the deadly scourge of unemployment. To achieve this imports of raw materials and other components should be given priority next to food. This would save the foreign exchange and maintain the existing employment. Due to strict import restrictions many private firms find difficult to run them and certain businessmen have decided to close their businesses. So it is the wrong headed economic policy of our Government that is the main cause of the present situation. The only way to revive the goose to lay the golden eggs is to adopt libertarian policy, which is based on free market economy. No other solution is possible under the present conditions. Free economy alone will deliver the goods in the shortest period, raise the standard of life of the people, and achieve full employment without inflation.

Government Measures Leading To Economic Suicide

WHILE presenting the "pedestrian budget" our Prime Minister Mr. Nehru had drawn a rosy picture about the foreign exchange situation, but in spite of strict import control our foreign exchange position has not greatly improved, but on the contrary it has deteriorated. The balance of payments position is still very precarious and the drain on the foreign reserves is continuously increasing. In the month of April 1958 our foreign exchange commitments stood at Rs. 864 crores and even though they have been reduced by Rs. 100 crores in the subsequent months yet the fact remains that if the situation is not improved in the near future, our sterling balances will be completely exhausted by the end of the financial year. In order to pay the debt we must make efforts to secure the foreign assistance on a large scale and unless we obtain the foreign help in adequate quantities it would be difficult for us to pay the debt. It has been suggested in some quarters that we have to obtain these loans in the foreign markets on deferred payments, but the prospects are not very bright under the present circumstances prevailing in India. We cannot fail to make the international payments as it would damage our credit in the foreign countries.

ALARMING SITUATION

In order to obtain the foreign assistance we have to revise our fiscal policy in such a way as to give investors to invest their capital in our country. Our taxation policy is the main hurdle in the path of foreign investors. India could not obtain even 5% of the amount that America had invested in foreign countries during the period of 1947-57. It was estimated that America had invested nearly Rs. 4400 crores in this period but the present integrated tax system imposed by the former Finance Minister Mr. T.T.K. and defended by the present Finance Minister Mr. Morarjibhai has come in the way to obtain a large slice of that amount. It is this tax system which is the main cause of this apathetic attitude towards India. Unless proper steps are taken to adjust our policy it will not be possible to solve our foreign exchange crisis. It appears that the Government has either not realised the gravity of the situation or it has over confidence in making international payments but the situation is not only gloomy but also alarming.

TOPSY-TURVY GOVT. METHODS

In order to solve the problem of foreign exchange, we must approach the problem from the short and long term points of view. In the short period every attempt should be made to restrict the imports of those commodities which are not absolutely essential for consumption i.e. whose consumption can be postponed to the near future. Secondly every pie should be saved by resorting strict economy in the public expenditure, but what we find today is quite opposite. The

public expenditure is mounting, day by day, in spite of the statement made by our present Finance Minister that attempts will be made to economise in the public expenditure. The Reports of the Public Accounts Committee speak for themselves. It will open the eyes of the Government. From the long point of view the Government should adopt such a policy that proper incentive is given to the private sector. At present the taxation policy has killed the incentive of the private sector. It has killed the incentive to save and invest. The Government instead of supplementing the private enterprise has supplanted it and the result is the present state of conditions prevailing in our country. It has conclusively proved that state interference in economic matters is detrimental to the economic development of the country. Even the late Lord Keynes had said "The important thing for a Government is not to do things which individuals are doing already, but to do those things which at present are not done at all." But our Government has interfered so much in economic matters that private enterprise find it impossible to compete with the Government. Now time has come for the Government to adopt a policy of taking private sector into confidence, and impressing upon it that the country has no other alternative, but either to export or perish.

Export promotion is the national necessity. This idea must be made impressive to the private sector. Attempts should also be made to stimulate private investments on the terms which are advantageous to both. Even though various export councils have been set up for various industries, yet we find that our exports have not increased substantially, but on the other hand they have declined. The main cause of this decline in exports is the international competition, higher cost of Indian manufactures and the development of new substitutes. International market, at present, is a buyers market and to export more, greater attention should be paid to the quality of the commodities that we wish to export and the cost of production. Higher cost of our manufactures has affected our exports adversely; so attempts should be made to reduce our cost of production. The situation cannot be improved and adjusted to our advantage unless there is a comprehensive change in official policies and trade practices.

WRONG MEASURES

Recently Government announced a reduction in excise duties on export of manganese ore whose demand was falling. It is also reported that similar concessions will be given to other industries, especially to tea and jute. Government is also considering a scheme to export surplus sugar, but it must be noted that the price of sugar in the international market is falling and it may not be possible to export sugar unless our manufacturers are prepared to sell at a loss. We have a surplus sugar, because our domestic con-

sumption of this commodity is below normal. Due to protection consumers are compelled to pay a very high price for this commodity. If sugar is exported to obtain foreign exchange, there will be a rise in prices of this commodity which will cause hardship to domestic consumers and raise the cost of living. It is problematical, whether export of sugar would bring in much foreign exchange. Still we have to depend upon a few commodities like tea, jute for export promotion, but attempts made in the past did not yield great success. This was mainly due to the strict import policy adopted by our Government.

This policy has harmed our economy. Instead of importing the manufactured goods, if we import raw materials and other components we would save the foreign exchange and maintain our production of existing units. There are possibilities of increasing our exports of engineering goods but the production has suffered due to paucity of raw materials. The import of raw materials should be given a priority next to food. We cannot hope to expand our exports by following a strict import policy. The present crisis cannot be overcome unless our Government adopt bold measures and implement them.

EXPORT PROMOTION—URGENT NECESSITY

Even if we tide over our foreign exchange crisis, yet the future is not very bright; our sterling balances would fall to zero and our Third Five Year Plan would commence in 1961 with liabilities of Rs. 430 crores in respect of loans already contracted. In other words, this means that we will have to part with Rs.86 crores every year, a sum which is equal to 4% of the net current export earnings and this sum will be increased if in the remaining period of the Second Five Year Plan more external liabilities are contracted. This will put heavy burden on our economy. We will be able to save foreign exchange, in the long period, when the present development programme is completed, but in the short period we will have to export more in order to save ourselves from the embarrassment. Export promotion is not an empty slogan. It has acquired new urgency.

THE PLAN IS HEADING FOR THE ROCKS

In order to boost our exports our quality of the commodities must be improved and export consciousness must be created and maintained at all levels. Public must be roused to meet the situation. Our export earnings have not remained stagnant but actually they have declined. In 1957 we exported silver worth of 30 crores to America but our exports in 1958 were greatly affected, due to recession in America, which has spread to all European countries. If this recession will not end soon, then our exports will suffer, and our Plan will be affected adversely. It will increase unemployment problem which has become serious at the present moment. The present crisis cannot be overcome unless some bold measures are quickly taken and implemented. Short term palliatives will not improve the situation but they will prove to be more harmful and ultimately ruin our economy. Our export industries should be allowed to use modern and up-to-date methods of production.

Our textile industry is facing a crisis and unless proper steps are taken in time, it will go out of export

market. It should be modernised in order to lower the cost of production in order to compete favourably in the international markets. Unfortunately our Government still believes in Amber Charka, but the days of Amber Charka are over in these days of automation. Unless we march with time and go with the tide, it may not be possible for us to make the progress, but on the contrary we may perish due to the faulty and wrong-headed policy of the Government. Other exports aids, such as fiscal incentives, freight concessions and rebates should be fully exploited. Export markets have to be developed, and diversified as much as export commodities. Our trade must be organised on co-operative basis, and if this is not possible, then the State Trading Corporation may step in. At present State Trading Corporation has usurped wide powers and supplanted the activities of the private enterprise, with the result that the private enterprise with vast experience and ability is not allowed to function properly to explore new markets and to solve the present exchange crisis. One will not be wrong, if he says that State Trading Corporation has caused more harm than good to the economy of the country as a whole. The only solution to the present crisis is higher productivity.

Shri R. Venkatraman, State Minister for Industries and Labour, has maintained that higher productivity is the major factor which would make the Plan a success. Maximum utilisation of men, materials and machines should be resorted to. Higher productivity is the cheapest way to increase the standard of life. Higher productivity cannot be achieved unless proper incentives are given to the private enterprise. But it appears that the Government is not in mood to give any tax reliefs to the business community. Dr. B. Gopala Reddy, Union Minister of State for Revenue and Civil Expenditure, it appears from the press reports, has told categorically the business community that no tax reduction is possible in view of the Plan requirements. According to him "the Government has not imposed taxes "tyrannically" but only with the consent of the people. Taxes were also collected with the people's co-operation and not a pie due to the Government would be left uncollected". From these statements from ministers ignorant of economy it appears that the Government is not prepared to solve the present crisis by taking the private sector into confidence. The only consequence of this policy will be economic suicide. There is no other alternative.

DEVICE DOES WORK OF 3,000 CLERKS

A new electronic typewriting device has been perfected in the United States, which can record enough data in 30 seconds to fill a 300-page book. It is made by the General Dynamics Corporation.

Called the Computer Readout, the device is designed to record information provided by giant computers or "electronic brains." It can record in permanent readable form the data output of computers at speeds 10 times as great as those of any other recording method.

The General Dynamics Corporation says that the device is able to do as much work as 3,000 human stenographers. It can record more than 259,000,000 words a day or their equivalent in figures or diagrams.

looting their shops and kidnapping their women. There is little reason to suppose that Muslims of India are at heart any better. But is it not our fault that they are no better and is it not our clear duty to make them better?

In his preface to his translation of the Holy Koran, Muhammad Ali says: "I must add that the present tendency of the Muslim theologians to regard the commentaries of the Middle Ages as the final word on the interpretation of the Holy Koran is very injurious and practically shuts out the great treasures of knowledge which an exposition of the Holy Book in the new light reveals. A study of the old commentators, to ignore whose great labours would indeed be a sin, also shows how freely they commented upon the Holy Book. The great service which they have done to the cause of truth would indeed have been lost to the world if they had looked upon by their predecessors as uttering the final word on the exposition of the Holy Koran, as most theologians do today."

THE DUTY OF THE PRESENT GENERATION

We of the present generation have, in the words of Muhammad Ali who is not to be confused with one of the Ali Brothers—to do a great service to the cause of truth by making our own contribution to the great treasures of knowledge which an exposition of the Holy Book in the new light would reveal. I make bold to say that it is for free India to lead the Muslim world in interpreting the Holy Koran in a new light. We do not realise the power of propaganda. After all, what a Hindu or a Muslim or a Christian believes

is what he is made to believe, rather than what he was expected to believe by his prophet or prophets.

Every one knows that the British Government in India, in the course of a few decades, changed the mentality of Muslims of India by patting on the back the type of Muslim theologian it wanted to encourage in order to produce Hindu-Muslim wrangling. Interpretation always boils down to a question of emphasis and we have to reverse the process inaugurated by the British. Our constitution demands it. The safety of our secular state demands it. But unfortunately the machinery of the Government is concentrating on the glorification of Nehru, just as the Congress machinery, in our days of struggle, concentrated on the glorification of Gandhi, to the exclusion of even a cursory consideration of the vital patriotic needs of the country. Our politics is personal and not national. It has been that since the ascendancy of Gandhi, barring a few years of the Das-Motilal interregnum.

What was the spinning wheel, if it was not a confession of failure on the part of Gandhi? Yet there were but two Congressmen in the country who publicly resented the apotheosis of the wheel—C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru. Today we have "emotional integration" with the same abhorrence of rationalism and commonsense and realism, without one Congressman in the country honest and brave and intelligent enough to make fun of it! Dependent India had her magician in Gandhi. We have seen the result. Free India has her magician in Jawaharlal Nehru, who has often declared he has no time to think. Fall down, dear reader, on your knees and pray—for your country's safety!

France--A Lesson To India

By Kishore Valicha

FRANCE has seen its second revolution. It has been a revolution within democracy. This may strike the Indian ear as odd and may dampen the formal democratic soul he nurses.

Politics is made by men, not by a set of law-books. Our own view of politics is conservative and formal. We readily fail to appreciate that a formal parliamentary government and periodical elections alone do not guarantee democracy. The guarantee of democracy is the negative test of fear. Are you afraid to criticize Government policies? Honestly, can you give your own true opinion on that aspect of public policy which touches you? In 99 cases out of 100 you don't.

Our view of France has been botched by three major prejudices. Among these, the predominant is the communist *malaise*. The communist has been only too willing to tell us that France has succumbed to dictatorial rule, that *la liberté* has been crushed unceremoniously. The communist is too anxious to sell us his view; that probably should rouse our suspicions. While telling us this, the communist tacitly omits raising any issue relating to Hungary or the tyranny of all communist regimes.

HAS FRANCE SUCCEDED TO DICTATORSHIP?

Has France succumbed to a dictatorship? True, de Gaulle is anti-communist. True, also, that de Gaulle is going to unite France and Algeria, thus staving off the Nasser-Moscow influence. The communist does not like all this. But is he worried about democracy? The only reason that prevents the communist from approving of de Gaulle is most obvious — a reason which we are all familiar with, and which is best described as doctrinaire. De Gaulle is no dictator, fortunately for us, in the communist sense.

Sadly enough, the communist has the strongest influence upon the formal democrat. The formal democrat is, of course, against communism. He stands for a parliamentary government, and cannot believe that any country with a parliamentary government and opposition parties can be undemocratic. The formal democrat does not understand the spirit of democracy. A military leader must necessarily be fascist. "Fascist" France must be condemned.

The question then is, is it a democratic response?

Democracy in principle may have its difference with democracy in measure. A particular measure may, or may not be, democratic—but the principle underlining it must be. This is a distinction which our friend, the formal democrat, too often forgets. Or does he consider it invalid? Let us point out to him a singular instance from history. When Sir Winston Churchill took over the reins of the British Government in his hands, did he renounce democracy? Or was that merely a measure to meet the crisis? Democracy admits of both evolutionary and revolutionary change; *it only insists upon the principle. De Gaulle is not a dictator in the totalitarian sense. He accepts democracy in principle.*

That de Gaulle accepts democracy is apparent also from his anti-communism. The rejection of communism depends upon an acceptance of democracy in principle. Communism may be democratic in measure (as our Indian communists are trying to be by denouncing de Gaulle), but it remains nevertheless undemocratic—more, anti-democratic—in principle. Communism believes in a perpetual revolution; it believes in a perpetuation of sacrifice, one generation being sacrificed for the other and so on and so forth.

OUR VIEW IS NOT FREE FROM BIAS

But the Indian view of France is not yet free from bias. For we have still to counter our friend, the nationalist democrat. The nationalist democrat does not believe that there is anything like the communist problem before the world today. He abstracts every situation — Algeria, Hungary, Egypt, Turkey, Israel, Lebanon, Tunisia, etc., etc. — from the underlying background of communist-and anti-communist con-

flict. To him, all is like the light of day in the seventh heaven.

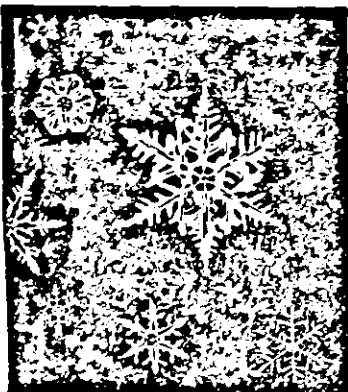
But, sadly, that is by no means the case. Nasser's friendship with Moscow is based on Russian designs. Russia has won the psychological war with America. With Nasser feeding out of its hand, Russia would like to cloud issue in Algeria, using as bait a very old theme—the theme of Arab nationalism. This is the basic issue involved in Algeria. While arguing for Algeria, our friend, the nationalist democrat, forgets this foundational element in the situation. We are combating not merely "nationalist" sentiments but world communism.

We may as well tell the argument of the nationalist democrat. France has offered what is an inclusive solution. The one-ness of mankind is what our friend would like to presuppose, while arguing heatedly for freedom for Algeria. But what is this freedom? It is, on analysis, national sovereignty; a guarantee, negatively, against interference from outside. The one-ness of mankind, however, does not admit of any "outside" interference; in it there is no outside at all. France has chosen the ideal way out; there is no difference between Algerians, between French Algerians and between Frenchmen; all are French. Let our friend think this over.

Our view of the French revolution has been distorted. It has been distorted mainly by three biases. Stripped of these, the French experiment is not only welcome, it promises to set up a new pattern. More than that, it is an experiment that may explode finally and completely the myth of Western imperialism and colonialism. It is an experiment that may fail; but nothing should prevent us from recognizing its merits.

DID YOU KNOW...

By Scio



Although thousands have been photographed, no one has ever found two crystals or flakes of snow exactly alike. The six-sided crystals, as delicate as the finest lace, are copied by designers seeking exquisite pattern for dresses, china, and other objects.



Porpoises, though air-breathing mammals, out-swim most fish. They can remain under water no longer than three minutes, and usually surface for breath every 30 to 45 seconds. Porpoises sometimes kill sharks by butting the foe's tender gill slits with their tough snouts.



Although U.S. scientists did not consider themselves in an earth satellite race with the Soviet Union, and were working on other scientific advances, they diverted their energies and launched a successful satellite from modified equipment just 119 days after the Soviet's concentrated efforts.

PROVOCATIVE PAKISTAN

By C. Rajagopalachari

THE successful insurrection of the French army has world-wide consequences. The psychology of nations cannot but be influenced by the impact of a great democracy in Europe collapsing before the attack of its army. If the generals of France could by offering to deal more effectively with Algeria capture authority and seize the reins of power in Paris, army leaders throughout the world would naturally begin to consider the possibilities of displacing the weak administrations under which they have been working and of demonstrating their ability to give the benefit of good and efficient government to the people.

Pakistan has an army that is not wanting in confidence. Its ambitious leaders cannot but imagine that Kashmir may pave the way to power where democracy has failed to justify itself. The events that have led to the dictatorship of de Gaulle cannot but influence thought among army leaders throughout the world, wherever there are not forces enough to counterbalance the power of adventitiously well-equipped standing armies. Even where conditions are not likely to ultimate success, these thoughts and precedents may be enough to lead men to make the first steps, and their consequences are bad enough for men to ponder over. *The timing of the border events and threats on the Indo-Pakistan border must be deemed unfortunate. Apart from the ambitions of the army leaders, there is a political strategy of a type, at once simple and time honoured.*

PAK'S POLITICAL STRATEGY

Pakistan's leaders, finding the internal troubles too severe for solution, seek to divert the people's attention in another direction. They create border troubles, and issue threats about Kashmir, an obvious target for directing the thoughts of their discontented people and a sovereign remedy for disaffection. And if, on the other hand, Indian leadership, too, follows the same line and as a diversion from the pressure of criticism, and the set-backs of the Congress party encourages chauvinistic reactions to Pakistan's untimely provocative antics, a situation may soon develop for both countries that may not be amenable to control, and invite bilateral disaster. We may lead ourselves down the garden path to forcing intervention, which would mean the collapse of independence, and both Pakistan and India would succeed in writing for themselves a black page in history.

Both sides ought to remember that provocative language is of no use in dealing with a sister nation and its leaders. We cannot ridicule a sensitive people, or their leaders without creating ill-will, which is the enemy of civilized neighbourliness. We may talk truth and say it plainly, but there is much that can well be avoided.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

In the diplomatic area, too, there is a wide scope for explaining the evil effects of the policies now pur-

sued, not the least important of which is Aid which sets a minor armament race going and itself becomes an incentive to provocative conduct. America should not be given up as hopeless.

What we must keep in mind as an inflexible rule is in any case not to be the first to do the wrong or dangerous thing. We should also remember that there is *no true glory in anger and no shame in patience*. If we observe these principles and do nothing smacking of dishonesty or meanness, either nation may rest assured it will not be hurt. On the other hand foreign military intervention would be unqualified shame, what is more than shame, it would fulfil the worst prognostications of the enemies of Asiatic freedom and progress, and justify their expectations if not indeed their wishes. The world situation calls for great patience from India as well as Pakistan. It would be folly for either to rest content with blaming the other while walking into common misfortune.

It should be the joint and several ambition of Pakistan and India to belie the long-standing expectation of the brass-hats of the West that the next world war will start in Kashmir.

Courtesy:— 'SWARAJYA'

NEW SOLAR HOUSE

Opening of a house designed to receive all its heat requirements from the sun may inaugurate a new era in home heating and cooling says The Association For Applied Solar Energy, of Phoenix, Arizona.

The Solar House will use only mechanical equipment now generally available through commercial sources. The system as used in this house now can be employed effectively in two-thirds of the United States, the association maintains. Solar energy will provide winter heat for the house and swimming pool and will heat the domestic water supply throughout the year. Heat is stored in water in an underground tank during sunny periods to be used during cloudy spells.



Courtesy: Filmindia

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY

By Prof. Om Prakash Kahol

IF we bore a tunnel between Ambala and Calcutta and drop a trolley in it at one end, say at Ambala, it would roll down to the other end without an engine, and cover all the distance of over a thousand miles, in just about forty-two minutes. There would be no consumption of fuel; no locomotive with the dirty things like coal, water, smoke and steam; and no staff to accompany the vehicle. If only we could bore the tunnel and fit it with the necessary accessories, we should be able to send goods to distant stations without any expenditure, at almost supersonic speed.

This single example should suffice to bring out the distinction between mechanics, science, engineering, industry and commerce, about which laymen have very much confused notions. The act of conceiving the idea of boring the tunnel and calculating the speed and period of the trolley, before things have taken any concrete shape, is mechanics or mathematics. Demonstration of the truth of mathematical predictions by an experiment—without considering the cost—is science. Working out the practical details, and executing the plan on the commercial scale, is engineering. Undertaking the plan as a sound business proposition and producing goods required in the enterprise, is industry. And organising, managing and efficiently conducting the human machinery for making the plan a success, is commerce.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY

It is thus clear that science and industry are quite distinct from each other. Their spheres are well-defined; they interest different types of people; and success in them depends upon basically different qualities and talents. In science, the accent is on discovery, in industry, it is on application. Science is more idealistic in its approach to problems; industry is more realistic. The dividing line between mathematics and science does fade away at times, but that between science and industry is ever sharp. We are not trying to establish here whether one is superior to the other, but to emphasise that judging scientific achievements from industrial standards and vice versa, is a wrong way of looking at things. We wish to clarify distinction between the two, and not to glorify one at the cost of the other.

The need for understanding the respective roles of science and industry has arisen lately because *in the educational planning, as also in the working of National Laboratories, the emphasis is being shifted from Science to industry, and what is worse is that the change has resulted, not from sound principles, but from confused thinking.* It is suggestive of the pendulum from one extreme to the other. For some time, our scientific education has been divorced from problems of daily life and now, as a reaction, it has come to be looked upon as a mere handmaid of industry. *The so-called Basic Education Scheme clearly indicates in which direction the wind is blow-*

ing. Besides leading to early specialisation, this scheme minimises the objective value of knowledge. It under-estimates the importance of science as a culture and lays excessive stress upon its utility in furthering cottage industries. In a balanced system, science would be recognized primarily as a mental discipline, and only incidentally as an aid to industry. One must live quite independently of the other, though both should advance hand in hand.

DISRESPECT FOR PURE INTELLECTUAL PURSUITS

A big philosopher once inflicted a long discourse on our students. "You are all science students," he said. "But can you make a needle or a match-stick for me, if I request you? What is the use of your scientific learning if you cannot produce even these ordinary things of daily use?" I was shuddering in my own chair, because not to talk of my students, even I could not make a needle! Was all my scientific learning as useless as was made out by the uncharitable philosopher? On giving a moment's thought, I soon came to myself and found me in the company of such illustrious science teachers as Einstein, P. C. Ray, C. V. Raman and Max Planck; for despite their revolutionary discoveries, none of them could make a needle for the life of him! Science teachers do not possess Aladin's Lamp. Their rarest possession is their faculty of analysis, whereby they can open up, and bring within reach of their fellow-beings, the hidden treasures of nature. It is for the industrialist to exploit them. To ridicule the mathematician, who gives the world the idea of "gravitational railways", or of space-ships, but is unable to translate his schemes into realities for want of adequate resources, is tantamount to sneering at the seed, which has yet to grow into a tree and bear flowers and fruit. Maxwell was similarly ridiculed, when he predicted the existence of 'wireless' waves, which he could not produce. Einstein was likewise ignored when he first established his celebrated energy equation, but could not actually convert mass into energy. Today their work has opened up new vistas in industry—manufacture of radio components and atomic appliances.

CO-ORDINATION BETWEEN SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY

What is needed in a planned system is a cooperation between science and industry. Education should aim at developing both faculties among the scholars and the society at large should encourage scientific bias in the industrial field. In this land manufacture of all types of goods, including scientific, is mostly in the hands of people, who are innocent of scientific methods. The result is deterioration in quality and absence of standardisation. The scientific industry in particular must conform to certain minimum standards

of precision and accuracy and that is not possible unless qualified science men are connected with every industrial concern. We have known people, who do not know what is meant by resistance and are engaged in the mass production of resistance boxes and P.O. Boxes! This is a typical example of industry without science. And the worst is that there is no way for the customer to know which resistance box is better than the others, except actually testing it. And the art of concealing truth, has been developed to such a degree that an advertised description of a product gives absolutely no idea of its real worth. Manufacture of science apparatus needs intelligent insight into the principles and use of the article produced, and where mass production is in the hands of uneducated labour, the checking of accuracy must be in the hands of an expert, so that no 'untrue' and inaccurate piece, which does not conform to the specifications, goes out into the market.

FUTURE OF SCIENCE IN INDIA

We are not very optimistic about the future of science and mechanised industry in this country. It is a land of 'spiritualists' and the plant of scientific rationalism is an alien in its climate. It has not been evolved under local conditions but has been transplanted from abroad. The natural temperament of an Indian seeks its stable equilibrium in anti-scientific modes only. During the last five thousand years and more, the Indian has failed to observe that human foot is not symmetrical about a central axis and the traditional Indian shoes are still made without regard

for the right and left foot! The Khadi philosophy does not end with patronising of hand-loom industry; it seeks patronage for hand-made paper, for hand-tilled farming and even for hand-written books and newspapers. A minister of the Punjab Government was suggesting in all seriousness the other day, that if the 'Tribune' could ever be persuaded to start a hand-written edition on hand-made paper, he would consider it his duty to patronise it, because by so doing it would be providing employment to many more educated Indians! And his was a perfectly logical stand; for, if a votary of hand-spinning extends his philosophy honestly to all spheres of his existence, he cannot possibly approve of heavy industries, mechanised agriculture and powered manufactories. When a state is officially wedded to this philosophy, scientific industry can only progress, not because of it, but in spite of it. It is not a very correct argument that by merely restricting the import of foreign goods, the state will be helping promote native industry. There is on the other hand a strong apprehension that people may fall back into old, antiquated grooves owing to non-availability of mechanically finished products. Along with imposition of restrictions on import, the basic philosophy and outlook on life of the people must also be changed. The Khadi philosophy and scientific thought cannot co-exist; one is a parasite for the other. India must decide, once for all, whether it has to encourage one or the other. The present state of mental conflict must end; the glaring contradictions in our professions and practices must vanish. Let us unreservedly vote for scientific rationalism.

Fighting Or Promoting?

By Vivek

THE second of the three slogans shouted by the Communist procession on the opening day of the Communist Party Congress at Amritsar, "Kerala Government Zindabad", obviously finds a strong echo in Krishna Menon's heart. The same paper that carries the report about the Communist Congress also gives the news of Menon's firm opposition to any understanding between the Congress and the Praja Socialist Parties in Kerala for the purpose of opposing the Communists in future by-elections.

The Communist Party in Kerala holds power by a very slender majority. Failure in a couple of by-elections would reduce it to a minority. No longer, then, would its Government be 'Zinda', alive. However grievous the shock to sympathisers, it would be 'murda', dead.

Knowing well that this catastrophe would follow, Menon attempts to guard against it by putting an embargo on the combination that might bring it about. The All India Congress Committee has chosen him to maintain liaison in the interests of the Congress generally with the Kerala Congress Party.

HIS SUPPORT

His duty then is to assist, and lend full support to,

every legitimate effort to throw out the Communist Government. He seems to interpret it to as intervention to frustrate every attempt in that direction. Not the increasing of the strength of the Congress but the maintenance of that of the Communists seems important to him.

It was reported sometime ago that he desired Kerala Congressmen not to refer, in their speeches attacking the Communists, to the atrocities committed by the Soviet and Communist Chinese Governments and the lack of freedom in the lands ruled over by them, but to confine themselves to local affairs. He would thus deprive the Congress of very effective arguments, relevant and telling because of the well known link between the Communists in India and the main shrines of international communism, from which they, along with the Communists in all other parts of the world, draw their sustenance and nurture.

That Krishna Menon should behave in this fashion is not surprising. Vyshinsky after all did not call him an 'Honest Man' for nothing, and Vyshinsky knew what he was talking about, as his description of an honest man's duty shows. "A real internationalist is one who brings his sympathy and recognition up to

the point of practical and maximum help to the Soviet Union in support and defence of the Soviet Union by every means and in every possible form. This is the duty of every honest man everywhere and not only of the citizens of the Soviet Union."

A SURPRISE

What is surprising is that of all the people available to it, the All India Congress Committee should elect Menon as its representative for maintaining liaison with the defeated Congress party in a State in which the victorious Communist party forms the Government. For liaison with that Government, Menon would have been eminently suitable. But for liaison with its opponents? For giving them support, counsel and inspiration, for raising their morale and inducing in them the will to resist and oppose? No task clearly would go so much against Menon's grain as this for no task would he be less suitable.

Why then has the Working Committee selected thus? Is it the beginning of the influence of the death-wish in this enormous political organisation? Weary of carrying the weight of its burdens, is it seeking to shuffle them off bit by bit and settle down gradually into what it hopes will be a truly restful grave? Only some such hidden and deep-seated urge of the subconscious could explain action like the picking out of Menon for this particular task. It is difficult to believe that otherwise, knowing the facts and understanding the position, this choice could have been made.

A point for consideration, and of much importance to the country, is whether this desire to cease from active political and administrative struggle and sink quietly into non-existence, has percolated throughout the party or is to be found only in the main leadership. Though there are indications that the local sections of the organisation are not entirely free from it, its main incidence is undoubtedly in the leadership.

Unsure of itself because of its own many sins and errors, corroded at the very top by the desire to appear so modern and progressive as to refuse to discriminate even to the extent of judging evil to be evil, the will of the leadership to live in the proper exercise of its full powers and in firm resistance of its deadliest enemies, seems to be sapped. As a consequence it is prepared to acquiesce more and more in the success of their ideology and wiles. It plays into their hands, thus surrendering to them positions they could never have attained in the face of its vigorous opposition.

The more this happens, the greater its doubt in its own future and in that of its organisation, and the less its willingness to settle down to the hard tasks of detailed improvement of itself and through contact with the people.

A LIABILITY

The time has indeed come when the Prime Minister should transfer himself to the vantage ground of the Elder Statesman, man, dispensing from there, charm and advice in suitable proportions, busying himself no longer with the policies and affairs of every day. A review of about the last three years cannot but convince the impartial that his presence in the high position he occupies becomes progressively more a liability and less an asset.

Not only are a number of difficult problems pre-

vented from moving forward towards solution, but the reform of the party, either as a unit or as two entities interested in stability on the one hand and progress on the other, is held up, to the benefit primarily of the Communists, who see in him, and not wrongly, the benevolent patron smoothing the path of their march to power. Not with full consciousness perhaps, but none the less effectively is this role being played, so that from the state of the country and the balance of forces, the conjecture may be permitted that if conditions and persons continue as at present for even a very few years, a Communist regime, with all its dread implications, may at their end hold power in Delhi.

—Nagpur Time

A COMMUNIST "FRONT" IN DELHI—CONGRESS!

The communist technique of forming a "front" organisation in the trade union sphere is best seen in the recently constituted Delhi Municipal Employee Union Federation. Its list of officer-bearers contain no known communists, though some of them are obviously "fellow-travellers".

The Federation has, at present, four unions affiliated to it — the DTS Workers Union, the Delhi Municipal Committee Workers Union, the Delhi State Electricity Workers Union, and the Water and Sewage Karmacharis Union. The first two which have a large membership, have as their president, Mr B. D. Joshi and Mr. A. C. Nanda, both top ranking communists on the trade union front in Delhi.

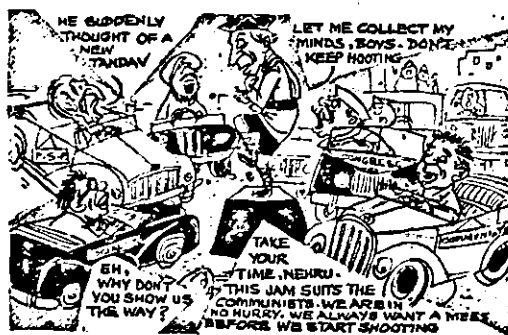
The reason which prompted the communists to organise the Federation at the present juncture are not difficult to visualize.

Though Mrs. Asaf Ali was elected with the Congress vote, the only party in the Corporation whose support she enjoys in the real sense of the term, is the communist group, and a few independents. A well knit Union of Corporation employees at her beck and call would give her the much-needed political support.

Further, if communists are in effective control of affairs of the Federation, in case of a showdown with the authorities, they can paralyse the civic life of the Metropolis.

And the third reason behind the establishment of the Federation is that under the new administrative set-up in Delhi, the Corporation is going to exercise most of the functions which affect the day to day life of the citizens and the party which controls the manpower working there, has immense potentialities for good or evil.

—Hindustan Times



Courtesy: Filmindia

Soviet-American Exchanges

By Frederick C. Barghoorn

ON JANUARY 27, 1958, an agreement was signed in Washington by the United States and the Soviet Union on cultural, technical and educational exchanges. This agreement resulted from negotiations which began in October 1957. In the agreement and in the communique which accompanied it, both sides expressed confidence that it might contribute substantially to the betterment of relations between the two countries and to a lessening of international tension. It is clear, then, that both the American and Soviet Governments attribute considerable significance to an expansion of cultural exchanges in the coming years. It may therefore be interesting to discuss some of the major problems connected with Soviet-American cultural relations in recent years and in particular, to appraise the possibilities for the future.

During and after World War II, the U.S. Government made an energetic attempt to lay the foundations for close American-Soviet cultural, scientific and educational exchanges. High Soviet leaders, including Stalin himself, frequently stated that the Soviet Union regarded cultural exchange as a means of improving political relations between Russia and America. However, the beginnings that were made in this field did not develop far because of obstruction on the part of the Soviet Government. The cold reception accorded to Professor Ernest J. Simmons of Columbia University, who came to Moscow in July 1947 with a detailed list of exchange proposals, marked the final stage in Stalin's rejection of American governmental and private efforts to broaden contacts among scholars, scientists and students of the two countries. By the fall of 1947, the Soviet policy of almost total closure of Russia to Western cultural influences, which was to last until Stalin's death in March 1953, had been inaugurated.

The partial reopening of Russia after Stalin's death may have created the impression that Moscow, rather than Washington, is the great advocate of international cultural exchanges. The Kremlin has at times attempted to foster this impression. For example, the Soviet press, especially in 1954 and 1955, has carried on a vigorous campaign against an alleged American "iron curtain." The effectiveness of this propaganda was increased by the fingerprinting provisions of the United States immigration and Nationality Act of 1950, popularly known as the McCarran Act. Fortunately, Congress recently modified this act to give greater discretion to the State Department in the matter of fingerprinting foreign visitors. If the new Soviet-American agreement is carried out in good faith, the establishment of increasingly normal contacts will be facilitated by the change in the McCarran Act and other recent modifications of American policy. However, it should be kept in mind that formal regulations, while important, are often pretexts for obstructionism rather than causes of irritation among nations. If at any time in the future the Soviet regime should wish to slow down the development of contacts, it will have no difficulty in finding excuses.

TWO SYSTEMS ANALYSED

Some of the basic features of both the Soviet and the American political systems must be kept in mind in attempting to evaluate the possibilities for widening artistic, scientific and technical contacts in the future. Both sides have major advantages and disadvantages in dealing with each other in this complicated field.

The great advantage of the Soviet Government in the field of cultural exchange and propaganda, as well as in all matters of foreign policy, is unity of command. The Kremlin regards Soviet citizens, particularly those who deal with foreigners, as, in a sense, agents of policy. We can be certain that every Soviet addition in the field of cultural exchange is designed to benefit the Soviet state. This is not necessarily harmful to foreign countries which enter into exchange relationships with the Soviet Union. In an increasingly interdependent world, there are areas of mutual interest among governments, regardless of ideology. Certainly the avoidance of war is one of them. Others include the advancement of science and technology and progress in such fields as public health. Nevertheless, the side which is best organized and has the clearest conception of its objectives is likely to gain the most in many fields of exchange. The Kremlin can make certain that its representatives in such fields as agriculture will drive hard bargains in their dealings with Americans.

Despite recent spectacular Soviet scientific achievements, dramatically symbolized by the two Sputniks, the Russians still have more to learn from Americans than Americans can learn from them in most scientific fields. At least, this is the conclusion I have drawn from a study of statements by American scientists and engineers who have dealt with their Soviet colleagues in the last two or three years. This seems to be particularly true in the fields of applied arts and sciences and technology. The less advanced side, on the whole, stands to gain the most from exchanges. However, there is almost universal agreement among authoritative American scientists and technical men that the exchanges which have taken place since the death of Stalin have been beneficial not only to the Russians but to ourselves. We can assume that American scientists will quickly learn the techniques of scientific negotiation with the Russians.

The centralized Soviet system has certain advantages not only in terms of bargaining about exchange of information but also in using cultural exchange as an instrument of propaganda. It is easier for the Soviet Government to create desired impressions than it is for the government and private institutions of a constitutional democracy. The Kremlin can decide, as a rule, what Soviet people who deal with foreigners will say and do. It can exercise a more effective and elaborate surveillance over its own citizens than our government can or would wish to do. These features of a totalitarian system can be utilized to influence the

opinions of foreigners who come in contact with Soviet citizens, if the foreigners are not well informed.

In any really free exchange of ideas, however, the open society would probably gain far more in the long run than the closed Soviet society. The great weakness of the regimental society is that its power rests upon censorship and propaganda myths. The present Soviet pattern of ideological and political controls might be endangered if the citizens of the Soviet Union had free access to information about the outside world. This does not mean that there is an active political opposition in Soviet Russia. Most recent travellers to Russia have reported that there is little overt opposition to the regime and that Soviet society is impressively stable. But the continued existence of an elaborate mechanism of control over communications media and over literature and the arts indicates that the Kremlin regards the Soviet people as intellectually immature. All efforts which have been made by the British and American Government in recent years to induce the Soviet Government to stop jamming foreign broadcasts have failed.

THE ADVANTAGES OF DEMOCRACY

The great advantage of a democracy is the freedom of its people, which can exert a subtle influence on, for example, Soviet Russians. To the extent that we maintain and improve our democratic institutions, we will enjoy very real advantages in dealing with Communist countries in every field. However, we must remember that Communists can, by hard study and careful planning, overcome many of the disadvantages inherent in their situation. While the increase in contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States in the last few years has been a positive gain for both sides, the Soviets may have received more than their share of benefits because they have been more aware than we have of the problems involved and they have made a greater effort to organize effective programmes in the various fields. Soviet scientists and scholars who meet Americans at international gatherings are more likely to speak English than the Americans are to speak Russian. The Soviet Union has a more efficient system for acquiring, translating and distributing American scientific publications. The Soviet Government, since the death of Stalin, has assigned large numbers of competent people to work as guides and interpreters. High Soviet officials have made a good impression by meeting visiting foreigners at airports, and it has been easy for even relatively low-ranking foreign officials, as well as educators, scientists and artists, to meet very high-ranking members of the Soviet Government. In these and many other ways, the Soviet leadership has demonstrated its awareness of the importance of cultural exchange.

A WELCOME MOVE

The recent Soviet-American exchange agreement looks like a significant step forward, which we should welcome. The agreement has 14 sections, dealing with a broad range of problems ranging from radio and television broadcasts, through exchange of specialists in industry, agriculture, medicine, the arts and sciences, to the establishment of direct air flights between the United States and the Soviet Union. With

regard to many of these matters, agreement was reached only "in principle," subject to further negotiation. As every student of Soviet foreign policy knows, agreements in principle can sometimes mean very little until they are converted into specific working agreements.

For the reasons already noted, the Soviet side is likely to gain greater advantages than the American in most kinds of technical and scientific exchange. This is particularly true in such fields as agriculture and medicine, which bulk large in the recent accord. There is to be an exchange of nine Soviet and nine United States delegations during 1958-1959 in agriculture, and of eight medical delegations. In the short run, at least, it would appear that these and similar sections of the agreement favour the Soviet side. Certainly the United States has little to learn from the Soviet Union in agriculture and probably has far less to learn from Russia in the field of medicine than the Soviets have from us.

If one takes a longer-range view, however, it is arguable that the benefits which can be gained by the Soviet Union from acquisition of advanced cultural, medical and industrial techniques will, by helping to raise the standard of living in Russia, contribute to world peace. Prosperity can certainly foster reasonableness and weaken fanaticism. There is evidence to indicate that the 1955 visit to the United States of Soviet agricultural officials and experts has already paid big dividends in terms of improved Soviet agricultural efficiency. The United States and other Western nations could slow down Soviet progress in agriculture and other fields by cutting off all contacts, but surely they could not prevent this progress from taking place in the long run. On balance, it seems better from every point of view to make information readily available to the Russians in appropriate technical fields, provided that we receive in return at least some substantial measure of gain. We should have access to the kinds of information about Soviet technology, research and processes that we make available. Of course, we must remember, in appraising Soviet-American technical exchanges, that access by Americans to Russia, and to Russian officials and ordinary people, offers us opportunities to make friends and exert influence which may be as important as the information that we can acquire.

It is interesting that, while agreement was reached regarding radio and television broadcasts on science, technology, sports and a number of other fields, the problem of exchanging broadcasts on political problems was left for future negotiation. The difficulty of arriving at agreement on the exchange of political opinions illustrates once again the extreme sensitivity of the Kremlin to even the most limited effort by foreign governments to influence the political attitudes of Soviet people. A somewhat similar difficulty was revealed in the section of the agreement pertaining to distribution of the magazine *USSR* in the United States and the magazine *Amerika* in the Soviet Union.

THE SOVIET "TOUCHINESS"

The issue of *USSR* and *Amerika*, while not nearly as important as the possibility of exchanging radio and television programmes, illustrates the Soviet authorities' touchiness in matters of "face." It is no secret that *Amerika* is more popular in Russia than *USSR* is in the

United States. As was true in the immediate postwar years, when an earlier version of the present exchange of official publications began, only to be suspended after many difficulties, the Soviet authorities seem to be dissatisfied with the present ratio of popularity between the two publications.

There is no mention in the agreement of exchanges of trade-union delegations. Presumably, this fact can be explained by the unwillingness of American trade-unionists or political-party leaders to engage in mutual visits of an officially sponsored character with those in the Soviet Union who claim to perform equivalent functions. It seems fortunate that no attempt was made to establish official exchanges in these and other fields in which there is no real equivalency between the Soviet and American systems. The matter of exchange between deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and members of the United States Congress was left to further discussion. It is difficult to see how this particular type of exchange could be of much value to the United States. Like Soviet trade unions, the Soviet parliament differs so fundamentally from the formally equivalent American institution that official, governmentally sponsored exchanges might create far more confusion and misunderstanding in both countries than they would a real meeting of minds. These objections, of course, do not necessarily apply to informal visits of prominent Americans in all fields to Russia, which can be interesting and useful.

Perhaps the most interesting and hopeful provisions of the agreement are those concerned with exchanges of students, professors and scientists. In 1945 and

1946, most of the leading American universities extended cordial invitations to leading Soviet universities to exchange teachers and researchers. However, the extreme unfriendliness displayed by the Stalin regime toward the United States made it seem unlikely that there would ever again be a possibility of academic exchanges. (It should be recalled that many Americans studied in Russia and a considerable number of Russians in the United States in the 1930s. Thus, if such exchanges are revived they will not be as much of a novelty as many Americans think.) In comparison with the situation which prevailed a few years ago, the pattern now apparently emerging represents a great change for the better. There will, of course, be difficult administrative details to iron out. The Soviet authorities might tend to isolate American students and researchers from all but a few trusted Soviet citizens. On the American side, there is a danger that certain minority elements might make conditions unpleasant for visiting Soviet students or scholars. If this unfortunate development were to occur, retaliatory restrictions might be imposed on Americans in the Soviet Union or the exchanges might be terminated entirely.

If mankind is fortunate and if governments are wise, the pattern of the future will be one of ideological and cultural rather than military combat. Stalin's successors seem to be aware of the dangers of war and of the potentialities of a political struggle carried on by non-military means. The challenge of cultural and economic competition is one that we should welcome, much as it may tax our intellectual resources.

The New Leader

ON THE NEWS FRONT

EXECUTION OF IMRE NAGY SHOCKS THE WORLD

London: The news that Hungary had tried and executed Mr. Imre Nagy and General Pal Malater and others, and jailed their other associates has sent a wave of shock and apprehension round the world, particularly amongst the Hungarians and the Yugoslavs.

Many Hungarians burst into tears. Observers in Belgrade stated that Tito might consider the breaking up of relations with Soviet Russia and Hungary. His Government protested vigorously against the action, leaving the Yugoslav Embassy for Budapest, after the Hungarian rising, under "a safe conduct", were switched away by Soviet soldiers.

In many countries the secret trial and the sentences, now announced, are seen as a warning to Yugoslav against whom Soviet-bloc attacks have lately been rising.

MOSCOW RESPONSIBLE

Belgrade: Yugoslav were shocked at the news and their comments were bitter. One official said. "The Government of Janos Kadar was not behind it but the Moscow Stalinists are."

Yugoslav sources said that the trial meant a full and decisive return of Stalinists elements inside the Soviet bloc.

THE RESPONSIBILITY IS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Washington: The U.S. State Department said tonight that the execution of Mr. Imre Nagy and of General Pal Malater can only be regarded by the civilised world "as a shocking act of cruelty".

"The Soviet Union must bear fundamental responsibility for this latest crime against the Hungarian people and against all humanity," the Department declared in a formal statement.

"The murder of these statesmen of Hungary, who chose to serve the interests of their nation rather than those of the Soviet Communism, brings to a tragic culmination the Soviet betrayal of the Hungarian people."

TYPICAL CONTEMPT OF CIVILIZED CODE

London: The British Labour Party described the execution of the Hungarian leaders as a "supremely vindictive act which demonstrates the cynical contempt of the present Soviet and Hungarian rulers for every civilised code of human conduct."

The National Executive expresses its sense of profound shock at the Hungarian Government's action, and that of the rulers of the Soviet Union at the judicial murder of the former Prime Minister of Hungary, and their associates being sentenced to barbaric terms of imprisonment.

COMMUNIST PAPERS ARE UNREPENTENT

Budapest: Communist newspapers in Hungary and Czechoslovakia declared that the execution of Nagy and his associates was an example and a warning.

The official Hungarian Paper "Nebzahadsag" said that Nagy's execution was a warning. "Whoever attacks the peaceful constructive work of our people find himself opposed by the full rigour of the laws of the Hungarian People's Republic."

THE OLD GAME OF SCUTTLE IN KASHMIR

Srinagar: Both Delhi and Srinagar authorities gave reason to suspect that a great deal of vital strategic information leaks out from here to Karachi. This is a serious matter, affecting the security of both Jammu and Kashmir State and India. This information, it is reliably believed, leaks from the Australian group of Officers amongst the United Nations team of observers stationed in the State, and this information is regularly passed on to Karachi.

A key officer at Srinagar who receives information and collects it from various sources for his Chief, is suspected to be the main culprit, having strong personal links with Karachi.

Patriotic Police officers of the Jammu and Kashmir State complain that while they do their duty to maintain secrecy in matters that concern the security and integrity of the State, they cannot prevent information leaking out to the enemy through channels beyond their control. Principal amongst these channels are alleged to be the United Nations Observers.

If, formerly Americans were suspect in Delhi, because of their pro-Pakistani bias, the Australians, who are

the main allies and instruments of Washington should all the more be carefully watched. This is not being done, and a situation might arise giving cause for another crisis between the United Nations and New Delhi.

This is the beginning of the scuttling the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

EXODUS FROM EAST PAKISTAN STILL CONTINUES

Calcutta: Mr. N. C. Chatterji, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, stated here that the partition has caused immense hardship to the Hindus and minorities living in Pakistan. Referring specially to the exodus from East Pakistan, he said that it has caused misery. Degradation and ruin to millions of people, and what was worse still, the exodus of thousands from East Pakistan still continued. There seems to be no solution to this problem, he stated.

SOVIET WARNING TO PAKISTAN

London: The Moscow radio broadcast a Soviet statement warning Pakistan of serious consequences, if it persisted in the construction of military bases on its soil, "to be used against Soviet Union and other peace-loving people". The Soviet statement asks Pakistan to consider the serious consequences inevitably awaiting Pakistan.

The Moscow radio reported that the Pakistan Government, in its reply to the Soviet Note, has admitted the presence and the construction of its territory of guided missiles bases, and added that in construction and erection they were helped by foreign specialists.

Libertarian Social Institute Opening Branch In Chamarajpet

ON the occasion of opening the Branch in Chamarajpet, Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao, Honorary Vice-President, addressed the gathering and explained the objectives and methods of the libertarian movement in India, started more than a decade ago by Sri R. B. Lotvala of Bombay. He gave a brief biographical account of Sri. Lotvala and his services to the cause of free, rational thought brought to bear on current social problems. His interests were and have been comprehensive embracing all the aspects of social reconstruction in India and the world economic, political and social, not neglecting the sphere of religious life, reforming it a la Dayanand Saraswati or deprecating it altogether like M. N. Roy and the naturalistic iconoclasts. But the burning motive has always been the spirit of wholesome nationalism prompting on all-out service to the nation, its defence no less than a revolu-

tionary modernisation of the attitudes of its citizens in the spirit of rationalism.

R. B. LOTWALLA—THE MAN BEHIND THE INSTITUTE

In the early stages, he was attracted by the humanitarian impulses of socialism and communism and the example of Soviet Russia in the magnitude and thoroughness of her effort in remoulding her vast society on the lines of her convictions.

Mr. Lotvala is a vigorous intellectual in the sense of having a passion for thinking things through and has always been interested in ideas as foundations of practical policy-making in politics as well as in other aspects of social reconstruction and individual remaking. He has a great faith in reason as the only power that can guide man aright in his effort after betterment,

individual and social. He believes in the beneficence and need of applying reason and intelligence to the problems of life, eschewing all superstitions. He has always helped sincere and dedicated thinkers to pursue reason in social matters-national and international-and to study the classics of social thought like those of Karl Marx, Henry George and of the founders of the libertarian movement in Europe and America since the French Revolution.

The first group of communist leaders in India like Dange and C. G. Shah were encouraged by Mr. Lotvala. He has also helped stalwarts like Vitthalbhai Patel and Subash Chandra Bose. He was in close touch with groups of Leftist thinkers in many parts of the world. He developed a special interest in socialists other than Marx who stressed a more humanitarian, democratic and decentralised economic order like Produhon Fourier, St. Simon and Robert Owen and American libertarians like Josiah Warren, Stephen Pearl Andrews and Alfred Jay Nock.

FROM COMMUNISM TO LIBERTARIANISM

He sympathised with the anarchist branch of the socialist movement who were convinced that force in general and government in particular carried great perils to liberty. As a counter to the centralisation of the Marxist movement, thinkers like Prince Kropotkin and Bakunin stressed the virtues of the co-operative and mutual aid movement as principles of social reconstruction and the nurse of liberty. Gradually, stimulated by the unprecedented cruelties of Stalinism, Mr. Lotvala revolted against Communism in practice and theory and started rethinking with a view to developing an outline of theory and policy for a free society in all respects to release the energies of men.

For this purpose, he started the Libertarian Social Institute in Bombay with a journal of its own for stimulating thought on this subject on the part of thinking Indians. The journal began as a quarterly, became a monthly and is now a fortnightly. It serves the purpose of a clearing house for constructive thought on the part of earnest thinkers interested in national reconstruction in the mould of a free and progressive society.

BOMBAY LIBRARY

Mr. Lotvala developed a fairly large library of books essential for aiding thought on social subjects—books on economics, sociology, politics, psychology at Arya Bhuvan Sandhurst Road, Bombay. His free reading room contains important journals from all parts of the world.

He has a book-selling department which keeps for sale a number of publications of the Indian and international libertarian movement.

He has recently opened a research department at the R. L. Foundation at Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4, with four research scholars under a Director.

Mr. Lotvala has started branches of the Libertarian Social Institute in India wherever he could find earnest thinkers willing to devote time and effort towards spreading the gospel of rationalism and freedom in the field of social reconstruction. He has developed original views as regards free economy which can supplement much current policy-

making and correct much hasty and ill-digested planning on communist lines. Though he stresses the absolute need for a reorientation of economic thinking in the direction of free economy, he is not in favour of the old laissez faire attitudes and the free capitalism attached thereto. He is against all monopoly. He wants co-operative banking in the strict sense of mutual aid without interest or usury, the bank charging only a rate such as one or one-half per cent to meet working expenses. Traders and industrialists should obtain the credit they need on the strength of sound security and trading or manufacturing schemes without government intervention of any kind. The entire commercial or economic community should pool their resources to start and run such banks in complete independence of all government control, credit expanding and contracting in spontaneous response to the felt needs of industry, transport and commerce. This is a kind of economic equilibrium which is worth trial in practice.

Mr. Lotvala wishes thinkers young and old, to study the proposals and ideas of authors with unorthodox views like Henry George who has had a great vogue in the matter of land values and taxation. Henry George traced the evils of declining civilisation to allowing unrestricted property in land resulting in a mounting series of tax burdens on society. It also draws off enormous funds from production into the hands of a small exploiting community of owners, impoverishing economic life in wide sectors of industry and commerce. It weights ownership rights against productive impulses and gives rise to the constantly increasing prices and inflation of modern industrialisation. Unearned income of land-owners should go to the community and not to the owner. Similarly in currency, libertarian thinkers hold that currency should not be managed by the State. It puts too much of temptation in the way of Government leaders who cannot resist inflating it for wild-cat welfare schemes to bribe the populace and retain political power in their own-hands.

MR. LOTVALA'S EXPECTATIONS

Mr. Lotvala does not want any passive acceptance of these or other views. But he hopes that his libertarian movement will induce think-

ing people, young and old, to study these and other theories of social thought and use any element of truth and justice they may contain in constructing blue-prints for our own society and time. What he has in view is a chain of institutions like his to attract and train leaders of thought who will make use of the solution of present problems. To keep our thought abreast of the times and keep it alive and creative through fresh thinking and to keep the goal of free society constantly in view is the aim of his Libertarian Institutes. The free reading room and library are ancillary to this objective.

BANGALORE BRANCH WELCOMED

Mr. D. R. Ramiah, Principal Information Officer to the Government of Mysore, who presided over the meeting, is himself a poet, writer and speaker. He expressed appreciation of the objectives and methods of the libertarian movement. He pointed out that such institutions for the training of free thought imbued with the spirit of rationalism are very necessary in our life today. They supplement the work of institutions like the work of institutions like the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Mutts in an indispensable manner. Whereas these religious institutions deal with the philosophical background, it is necessary to have institutions like Mr. Lotvala's libertarian associations to focus thought on practical social problems in a scientific and rational way. Without the transformation of the social structure we have inherited from the past, said Mr. Ramiah, we cannot build a free, progressive society. Such a society is only possible if we bring organised and systematic intelligence to play on our social customs and codes of social behaviour. He was pleased with the social customs and codes of social behaviour. He was pleased with the objectives and methods of the Institute and offered his co-operation in its work through study circle, group discussion and symposium etc.

The new premises in Chamarajpet bid fair to attract educated persons of the audience present on the occasion consisting mostly of young persons between the ages of 22 and 30. Among those who encouraged
(Continued on page 26)

Kodanda Rao Visits Libertarian Social Institute

MMR. P. KONDANDA Rao, the renowned social thinker, gave an informal talk on bilingualism and his theory of culture at the Libertarian Social Institute on Saturday the 21st June.

It is not necessary for Indian children, he said, to learn more than two languages—English and respective mother-tongues. Given the aim of universal education up to, say, the matriculation standard, to be realized in course of a generation or two, all the people of India will be in a position to use English. The argument that it sustains a hiatus between the educated and uneducated will not hold water then. Secondly, if the All-India language meant to do what English has been doing so long, why not retain English? For, an Indian, all-India language like Hindi will cover only India, whereas English will cover many other countries as well as India.

WHAT HINDI FANATICS FORGET

By implication of the above arguments, Mr. Kodanda Rao seems to hold that the conceding of maximum scope to the regional languages meets all the arguments like communication with the people, enlivening of democracy, narrowing the gulf between the educated and the uneducated, and preserving the self-respect of the nation. These arguments are quite often put forward by supporters of Hindi as against English: they forget that so far as the demands of democracy and nationalism are concerned, all non-Hindi Indian languages are exactly in the same position as Hindi is in vis-a-vis English.

PLURALIST VS. ATOMISTIC THEORY OF CULTURE

Mr. Kodanda Rao also gave a

brief exposition of his 'pluralistic' and 'atomistic' theory of culture. Each culture-trait gives a dichotomy: it divides mankind in two—those who have the trait and those who have it not. Each individual is thus an aggregate of memberships of many cultural groups, and each cultural group is an aggregate of many individuals. An individual's membership of a particular cultural group has its longer or shorter duration; and each cultural group varies in strength and duration. When we call ourselves Indian, for example, there is only one common cultural trait shared by us, viz. political national—the citizenship of a nation-state. In short, cultural groups are aggregates, and not systematic unities.

Mr. Kodanda Rao promised another visit to the Institute during September in order to participate in the proposed Seminar. The Institute greatly appreciates his kind gesture.

— B. S. Sanyal

Book Reviews

STATE TRADING

STATE TRADING pages 39. price nil. Brochure published by the Forum of Free Enterprise, 235, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Bombay 1.

On 11th June, '58, Mr. Amranchand Gupta, Chairman of the Western India Minerals Association, alleged that the State Trading Corporation is indulging in specu-

lative trade in manganese ore and has suffered a loss of 40 to 50 lakh of rupees.

So long as the State Trading Corporation continues to be operating in this manner, it will be a burden on the taxpayer as all losses in any state business are transferred to the citizen.

STATE TRADING X-RAYED

It is, therefore, always topical to discuss this very fundamental principle of the State doing any business directly, so long as there is socialism in any country. It becomes all the more important, when in the name of the "welfare" of the people the already overtaxed citizens of India have to pay for the losses incurred by the State Trading Corporation.

The pamphlet *State Trading* published by the Forum of Free Enterprise presents to the public the text of the speeches given at a Convention on State Trading held in Bombay on April 28, 1958. The participants were: Mr. N. Dandeker, I.C.S. Retd.; Mr. S. C. Bose,

President of Utkal Mining and Industrial Association, Calcutta; Mr. Muraraji J. Vaidya, former President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, and Mr. C. B. Futnani, President of Iron, Steel and Hardware Merchants' Chamber of India.

Mr. N. Dandeker points out the limits and limitations of State trading "Actually, State Trading is one of those activities which is the most dangerous because it has no clear-cut boundaries, as is the case

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(Continued from page 25)
the Institute by their presence and co-operation were Sri Jagnanatha Rao Joshi, South Zone Secretary of the Akhil Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Mr. Mallya, Editor, Vikrama, Kanada Weekly, a few press correspondents, a number of leading mandal workers of political parties and a few employees of banks and offices. Writers were also represented.

The Secretary, A. Venkataram read the messages of 2 Ministers of Mysore Government wishing success to the meeting.

The meeting came to an end after passing the vote of thanks proposed by the Secretary.

A Venkataram

with state activity in Industry, such as the Steel projects or Hydro-electric projects. State trading can be anything from international and internal trading. It can embrace the holding of stocks, the financing of international trade, the owning and chartering of ships etc. It can thus go so very deep into the economic fabric of the country that it becomes a matter of the utmost importance to be clear in our minds as to what is the limit within which alone the State shall function in this field and beyond which State Trading may not go."

The important questions to be answered before State Trading can be accepted are: (1) Is it demonstrably necessary in the public interest? and (2) Is it in the public interest that the State and nobody else should trade in any given commodity? Mr. Dandeker pinpoints lack of autonomy for the State Trading Corporation as the main cause which leads to undesirable consequences. "What happens in the absence of autonomy is that you begin to get backdoor avenues for the impact of political parties upon things with which they are not concerned. Also backdoor avenues for doubtful interests to exercise influence, which they ought not to have,—not in that particular way and at the public expense."

While dealing with state trading in mineral ores, Mr. S. C. Bose reveals a devastating barrage of facts and figures to prove the lack of business acumen of the State Trading Corporation. Further state

trading has committed aggressively the same faults of non-performance of which the Government accused the private sector and brought in S.T.C.

S.T.C. STANDS SELF CONDEMNED

"S.T.C. has dishonoured 40% of its manganese contracts entered into with foreign buyers, which restrained the private sector's foreign market and dislocated our private traditional trading pattern. In Iron Ore also, out of its contracted quantity of 13 lakhs tons to be supplied to Japan, it has hardly exported 6,36,752 tons up to the end of January 1958 instead of 10,11,000 tons. This performance will speak very adversely in our future trade relations with these countries."

Summing up, we may say that there is proof that the functioning of the State Trading Corporation has so far been against public interest. Nor is there any hope of it faring better in the future as in principle the lack of autonomy of the Corporation is incapable of functioning for the benefit of the Indian economy. We may conclude by agreeing with Mr. Morarji Desai when he "categorically turned down the suggestion made by some M.Ps that the State Trading Corporation should take over the export of tea. He stated that he has no doubt that if the State Trading Corporation took up the export of tea, not only that organisation has to be wound up, but also the whole Government would be in danger."

M. V. Balakrishna Rao

By adopting this system, all things created by capital and labour are free from taxation. Results? increased production; freedom of trade between individuals; more equitable distribution of each person's share of the cost of government.

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J. Rupert Mason, President Emeritus of the International Union for land value Taxation and Free Trade, writes in the Preface: "President Eisenhower said, in his first message to Congress on the budget: 'We must develop a system of taxation which...will not discourage work, saving or investment....Our system of taxation must not only provide our Government with the revenues to be strong for freedom's sake, but also enable our people to apply their initiative and industry fruitfully in an economy that is itself free and strong. This means taxes so adjusted as to fall where payment is least harmful and so planned as to...expand the income of the mass of the people. It is this 'system of taxation' which this timely book carefully examines, explains and convincingly supports..."

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