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"We wish the readers and sympathisers of
The Indian Libertarian a happy Diwali"

EDITORIAL

Will Mr. S. K. Patil Measure Up To The Task ?

DAY by day Prime Minister Nehru is growing more and more truculent both in words and deeds. His latest statement purporting to explain his mysterious moves taken under the Kamaraj Plan, will carry conviction to none. If at all, its scarcely concealed derisive and threatening tone will only rouse feelings of exasperation and righteous indignation among his erstwhile Cabinet colleagues who have fought no less hard and sacrificed no less than Nehru under the Congress banner, in the cause of the country's freedom. His allergy to the slightest criticism of his Moscow brand of Socialism is quite understandable. But that would not justify his getting fidgety and nervy to the extent of holding out threats of expulsion from the Congress the veteran Congressmen like Mr. S. K. Patil who have given their best for building up the organisation.

DEMOCRACY VERSUS TOTALITARIANISM.

It may be noted in this connection, that Mr. Patil and others of his way of thinking, have no differences with Mr. Nehru over the basic ideal of socialism as such, as is obvious from Patil's statement. They only object to the totalitarian twists and turns Mr. Nehru is giving to that concept, which are making a mockery of the still more fundamental ideal of Democratic Freedom, to which the Congress has been irrevocably committed from its very inception. There is, therefore, nothing anti-Congress in Mr. Patil's emphasising the more important democratic aspect of Congress ideology which is in danger of being eclipsed by Mr. Nehru's socialist antics. By pinpointing Mr. Nehru to the necessity of his making a declaration of his faith regarding Democracy versus Totalitarianism, Mr. Patil must be said to have rendered great services to the Congress and the country. In fact, the hal-

lowed name of the Congress is being exploited by Mr. Nehru to push up his pet socialist programme which only helps him maintain himself in perpetual power. If he were honest, he would quit the Congress along with his fellow-travellers, instead of asking other sincere Congressmen to do so and face the electorate if he dared, from the platform of a Nehruvian Socialist Party. Better still, the Congress, which is the common heritage of all the Indian patriots, Congress and non-Congress, and not the personal property of Mr. Nehru, must be disbanded forthwith, since it does not fit in with the new alignment of political forces in the post-freedom days, and must no longer be allowed to be exploited by Mr. Nehru as is being done today.

NEHRU, A WILLING TOOL IN THE HANDS OF FELLOW-TRAVELLERS

The Kamaraj Plan in its actual working has turned out to be worse than a 'flop' as Mr. Patil has described it to be. If it were not so, Mr. Nehru and Kamaraj Nadar would not have hatched, in secret, the plot of 'Kamaraj Operation' without even giving the senior Cabinet Ministers and Chief Ministers of the States, a fair chance to express their reactions to the Plan before it was placed for final consideration before the Congress Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. meeting. Mr. Nehru could have avoided the present acrimonious controversy, if he had done so and had implemented the Plan in a less cavalier fashion. But once again Nehru's love of asserting his absolute power and authority over the Congress and the Government asserted itself. Under the impact of the Kamaraj Plan, the administration in the States and in the Centre, has come to stop, as no Minister could be expected to work in an atmosphere of fears, doubts and uncertainties. The Leftists who are out for the blood of the Congress democrats,

are openly boasting that the exit of Mr. Patil and Mr. Desai from the Central Cabinet is only a first step in the direction of 'radicalising' the governmental machinery in the country and they are heavily banking on Mr. Nehru's goodwill and support in this holy crusade against the democrats.

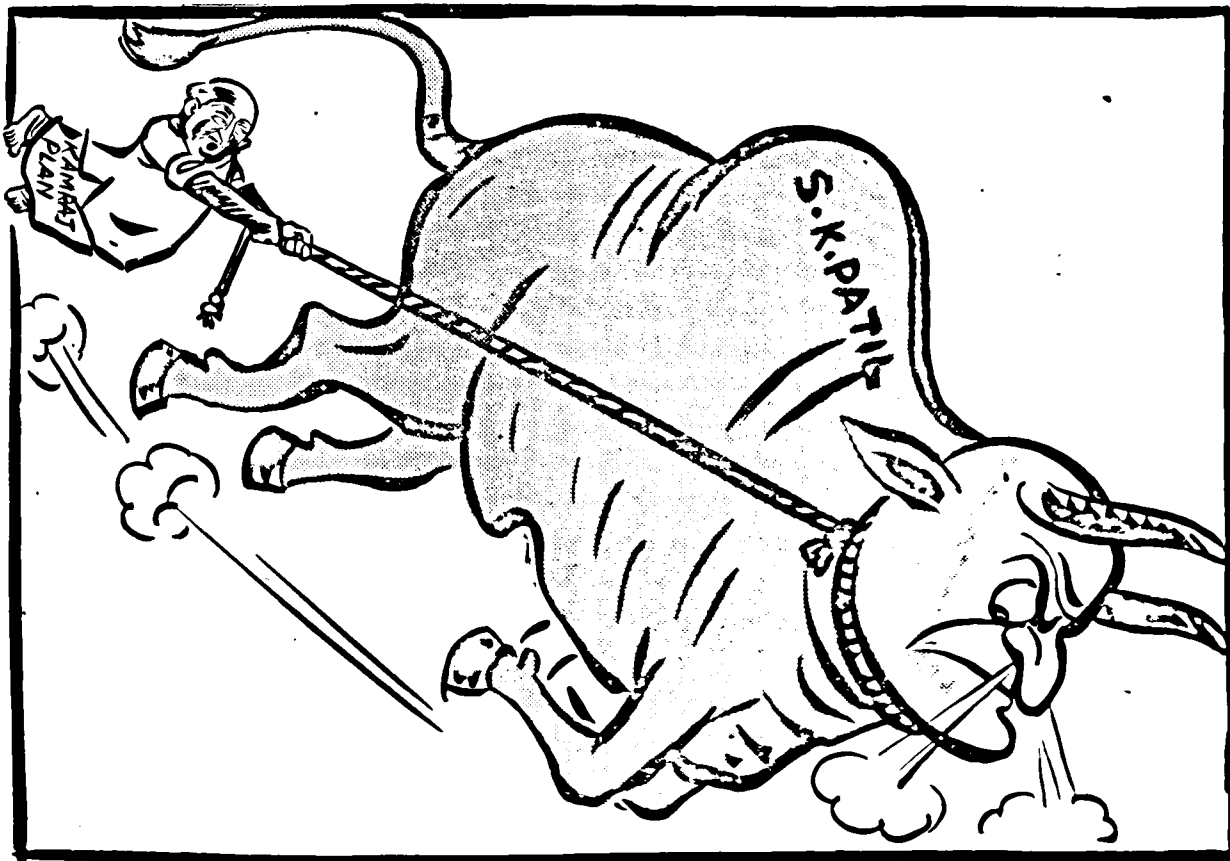
Mr. Nehru on his part, is not unwilling to oblige them. Despite his loud protestations, it is clear from the manner Mr. Nehru has performed the Kamaraj Operation, he has allowed himself to be used as a willing tool in the hands of fellow-travelers, who want now to rehabilitate themselves again into the Congress organisation and the Government, after having lost faces badly enough, in the aftermath of the Chinese invasion. The pseudo-romantic Mr. Nehru's love for these mischievous and dangerous elements seems to have over-powered his discretionary faculty so much so, that he is turning a deaf ear to the allegations of corruption made against top leaders and ministers, well-supported by facts and figures. Restoration of T. T. K. to the Cabinet, certifying to the honesty and integrity of Patnaik and Mitter in Kalinga Industries affair, Nehru's close political relations with Mr. Menon, even after he was hounded out of the Cabinet under public pressure, his astounding defence of Kairon—all these are instances which substantiate, by and large, the charge that Mr. S. K. Patil has levelled against the leadership that

'corruption is at the top.' And Mr. Nehru, we are sorry to have to say, is an accomplice and an abettor in this act of sinning against the country.

'THE LEADER BEFORE THE PARTY AND PEOPLE'.

It is therefore no wonder that some senior Congress leaders, like Shri S. K. Patil should have thought it fit to give a public expression to the disgust and dismay they feel at the sorry state of affairs prevailing in the Congress and at the outrageous rape of democracy by totalitarianism which is entrenching itself behind the protecting arms of Mr. Nehru. 'The Party for the people' was the democratic motto which governed the policies of the Congress before it came to power. The Kamaraj Plan is now being launched with the slogan 'Party before Post', which for all practical purposes has come to mean that the administrative efficiency of the Government should be subordinated to the party interests. But in the hands of Mr. Nehru, even this Kamaraj slogan is being transformed into 'The Leader before the Party and the People.' Thus, the Kamaraj Plan has gone completely off the rails. It has made Nehru the virtual dictator of the Congress and the Government, instead of revitalising the Congress organisation and purifying the administration for which the Plan was primarily designed.

The Gathering Revolt



'I shall never sail under false colours': S. K. Patil.

THE HALF-FINISHED WORK OF VALLABH- BHAI PATEL

But the question of questions is: Who is to bell the cat? The eyes of all democrats are no doubt turned towards Mr. S. K. Patil who appears to be in a mood to hit out or get out. If he succeeds, he will have completed the work left half-finished by the late Vallabhbhai Patel in 1950 at Nasik Congress. If he fails, he will have given the fillip to the democratic forces outside the Congress to gather themselves and to give a determined fight to the Congress totalitarianism fostered by Nehru, from without. Mr. S. K. Patil will therefore do well to ponder over the fervent appeal addressed to Vallabhbhai Patel by Shri Aurobindo on a similar occasion. Commenting on the hollow plea of some chicken-hearted Congress leaders at the Nasik Congress that Vallabhbhai Patel **MUST** carry on with Mr. Nehru till the end, as in the past, despite his conscientious objections to Nehru's economic programme of nationalisation and his weak foreign policies, Shri Aurobindo wrote in *Mother India* dated October 28, 1950: 'But why **MUST**? it is only to keep Mr. Nehru in power and certainly not to serve the country in the best possible way. Consequently Sardar Patel will be well advised not to make any further compromise with his conscience, but to follow his sense of truth and act according to its dictates, even though it entailed an open disagreement with Nehru. Only in this way, will he be able to serve his country best.'

Will Mr. S. K. Patil measure up to the task now devolving on him as a sincere and convinced democrat? To judge from his public assurance that 'he will never sail under false colours', we should think, he will.

. . .

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN ON 'THE SPIRIT OF INDIA'.

The President, Dr. Radhakrishnan's speeches delivered recently in Bombay, once again illustrate the futility of our leaders' attempts at synthesising India's obscurantist spiritualism with modern scientific, liberal and free thought. While inaugurating the Nanji Kalidas Mehta International House of Shri Brihad Bharatiya Samaj, he is reported to have observed, 'Economics, Politics and Transport have done their jobs. What we have to do is to give a 'soul' to the world. You can give it, if you are truly Indian.' Carried away by his own rhetoric, he made the most damaging confession that even our political leaders like Tilak and Gandhi 'succeeded in creating an abiding impression, not because of their political wisdom, but because of their spirit of austerity and renunciation of which they were exemplars,' and added, 'India lived, because thousands of people went on suffering, lacerating their flesh and torturing their minds,' and castigated the Western nations for 'becoming nuclear geniuses but ethical dwarfs.'

With all the self-glorification of our spiritual cult, Dr. Radhakrishnan had to bewail all the same, in another of his perorations at the Social Reform Association, the complete divorce between our preaching of spiritual unity of man and the actual practice in social relations and even admitted that there was 'a logic of history' behind the patent fact that we as a nation, frequently fell victims to invaders.

It is time that the fallacies and contradictions inherent in such exalted talk of India's spiritual mission in the world were exposed thoroughly and relentlessly. The idea that India's distinctiveness lies in her social life being permeated and dominated by spiritualism must be knocked out. It must be realised that, if our social being still continues to be vitiated by religious mode of thought, it only shows that, though living in the twentieth century, we are thinking in terms of fifteenth and sixteenth century ideas and ideals and that we have still to go through the stage of Renaissance through which Europe, which was submerged in the darkness of gross religiosity of the kind that we witness in India today, passed, in order to become full-fledged moderns. The ideas of 'Renunciation, torturing of the mind and body' are not foreign, as we are apt to think, to the teachings of Christianity. But Western humanity progressed and became spiritually free when it delivered itself from the mediaeval Christian ideas, by recapturing the spiritual values such as those of 'Dignity of Man and His Creative Power', 'Man is the Measure of All Things,' left to them as rich legacy by the ancient Greek philosophers and reinforcing them by the modern scientific thought. Modern thought does not look upon man in terms of 'soul' and 'body' but considers him as a highly evolved biologically integrated being, endowed with the spirit of enquiry and scepticism and therefore, a sense of morality, which are all his biological attributes.

This modernism India has yet to learn from the West and also from the ancient currents of rationalist thought in India like that of 'Lokayat' which unfortunately are not being given sufficient recognition in our history books and educational curriculum. The idea of so called unity of the imaginary 'spirit' or 'soul' in man will carry us no farther, as experience has proved over all these centuries, in eradicating caste and other social evils from Hindu society and bringing about social equality and freedom among all castes and classes. Much less will it help in promoting world unity.

Nations have progressed morally and materially exactly in the proportion in which their thinking has been moulded by modern scientific spirit of enquiry, scepticism and a belief in man and his creative ability to make his own destiny according to the laws of man's biological evolution. This Modernism is woefully missing in our leaders who are preaching to the people instead, the outmoded ideas of 'torture of mind and body' and a belief in 'Soul' as distinct from 'Body', which in the last

analysis engender a belief in an inscrutable God in heaven and his prototype 'The Leader' on this earth.

If India is to make any appreciable progress in moral and material fields she must first experience a philosophical revolution on some such Humanist lines. Then only will she be able to establish social freedom and equality among her own peoples and unitedly defend her own national freedom against foreign invaders. Before this intellectual revolution is accomplished, all talk of India being able to give the world higher spiritual values is idle and even puerile. The advanced countries of the world are competent enough to think out for themselves and create new values that will counteract any evil arising as side-effect of the remarkable progress they are making in science and technology and that will make life happy and worth living.

BRITISH LABOUR'S PRAGMATIC SOCIALISM

Marxian socialism has been for some years past, on the retreat in Western Europe. The German Socialists have for all practical purposes abandoned the socialist dogma of nationalisation. The German economic miracle wrought by Prof. Erhard gave a shattering blow to some of the pet theories of state socialism in Germany. That was also the case with the British Labour Party which set about revising its socialist programme in the light of bitter experiences the Labour Government had, of its programme of nationalising steel and coal industries, and the strong disapproval shown by the intelligent British voters of this programme in the General Elections.

The result is, that the Labour Party of Great Britain in its resolution passed at its recent annual conference at Scarborough, has accepted the need for an 'income policy' which ensures that wages, dividends and profits do not rise faster than production and cause inflationary pressures, following attempts to raise the rate of economic growth. In a remarkable speech, Mr. Wilson, who is expected to lead the Labour Government, when it comes to power, envisaged partnership between the Government and the private enterprise through 'control' in order to meet the challenge of unemployment created by automation and increasing use of computers. The conference also kept out of its purview the issues of public-ownership, defence and foreign policy.

Thus, while the advanced countries of the West are discarding the out-worn socialist theories of class-war between wage-earners and capitalists and are trying to devise ways and means to bring both employers and employees together for mutual benefit and welfare, in the work of increasing national production which alone could improve the living standards of the people, we in India, are attempting the other way round to kill the existing private industries by expanding the public sector at the expense of the former in the name of socialism. Our rulers must at least take a note of the sharp

criticism directed against the unrealistic 'leap forward' economic policies of China by the Soviet Union and the bread-famine now raging in Russia itself, the heaven of the socialists, and revise their illconceived plans overlaid with socialist ideological overtones that militate against the basic postulates of economics.

—D. M. Kulkarni.

FARMERS—ONE STEP BACK IN PRAGUE

Collective farmers will be allowed to slaughter one pig without restrictions and will be relieved of fat deliveries. If the farm has fulfilled its livestock quota, then the slaughtering of a second pig will be allowed. Both smallholders and owners of private plots will be permitted to sell their surplus produce in towns at places designed for this purpose—but the prices they charge must not exceed state retail prices. (*Rude Pravo*, June 22.) The free market for farmers was abolished by government decree in 1962.

At a June 21 press conference in Prague Karel Mestek, chairman of Central Administration for the Procurement of Agriculture Produce, announced modifications in the present regulations governing compulsory deliveries by smallholders, and discussed new measures that will be adopted for the cultivation of land not suitable for large-scale production. Both steps indicate that the regime is trying to improve food supplies without, simultaneously, giving too much encouragement to "private enterprise."

—East Europe.

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The Failure of Marxism in the West

M. A. VENKATA RAO

The theory of Marx that the industrial proletariat is the destined bearer of revolution has been falsified in America and in many European countries, particularly in the post-war period since 1945. The American worker is having the benefits of socialism without socialisation. The author therefore pleads for subjecting Marxism to a thorough examination and a country-wide discussion in India, since it has become the stuff of the country's destiny today.

INDIA has not yet transcended her dependent status in the intellectual and moral fields, though it need not be called by its former harsh name of slave mentality today.

That she has not transcended it in the realm of defence against military invasion has been brought home even to the densest person in the remotest interior.

That she has not passed the stage of dependence on the West for ideas and techniques essential for modern life may not be so plain but can be brought home to the honest inquirer if he is not bemused by the reign of borrowed ideas in our midst gaining currency by the cult of personality and hero worship.

There is nothing derogatory in borrowing in matters of culture and civilisation, whether of machines or ideas or fashions in clothes or architecture or art products.

But every country should *assimilate* its borrowed culture by acquiring the capacity to create it by its own independent thinking and action. It is only then that it becomes *its own*.

India cannot become modern and mature until she acquires the capacity to develop scientific research in her own social organisation and produces inventors in her own environment.

Under British rule, we were dependent on British for every item of machinery and modern utility. The showrooms of the Whiteway Laidlaw and Co., in the principal cities were an eloquent testimony to the range of our dependence on foreign products.

Today many products are produced within the country. India is even learning to export engineering goods like sewing machines and electric fans.

But in the field of *ideas*, India has not yet arrived at the "take-off stage." The "self-sustaining" stage of course, as a consequence is far off. But they must be steadily kept in view.

Even America felt that she came of age intellectually only about the time of the first world war (1914). William James prefaced his famous Gifford Lectures in Scotland (*Varieties of Religious Experience*) with the remark that as an American he felt that lecturing to an European audience was new to him. So long, it was the European savant that taught and the American that was the pupil.

But America came of age when she could produce science and technology, philosophy and literature, art and architecture and so on on her own soil and through the efforts of native Americans.

And today, the situation has been reversed. It is America that is self-sufficient while Europe has become dependent on her for everything including defence!

And even in the matter of social ideology, America is independent of old Europe. Marxism for instance has not made headway in the U.S.A. Class war ideas have not appealed to American organised labour, rank and file and leadership.

The American worker expects to rise to higher rungs of the economic and social ladder through expansion of industry and productivity within the present structure of competitive enterprise based on private capital ownership.

And since the world war I, the American worker is having the benefits of socialism without *socialisation* namely the various benefits of social security, minimum wage, old age pensions and so on.

The theory of Marx that the industrial proletariat is the destined bearer of revolution (since it feels the pinch of capitalist tyranny the most gallingly) has been falsified in America and in many European countries, particularly in the post-war period since 1945.

The *historicist* prophecy of Karl Marx (to use the terminology of Dr. Popper in his *The Open Society and its Enemies*) that the inevitable impoverishment of the poor under capitalism - their lot becoming progressively worse and worse must some day in the fullness of time culminate in the *expropriation* of the *expropriators* and the establishment of the class-less State of world communism—has been signally falsified.

Both the ex-communist (and Britain's war minister in the Attlee Government of 1945-50) John Strachey and the learned critic of Marx, Professor Popper, have pointed to the failure of the Marxist analysis and doctrine.

Professor Popper has shown that class war is *not* inevitable but can be overcome by humanist legislation by liberal governments, as it has been in many modern governments in Europe and America.

Dr Ivor Jennings in his three-volume work *Political Parties in Britain* has offered convincing evidence for this conclusion citing statistics from the changing class structure of the British working class in the last generation.

He mentions six causes for the changed basis of the Labour Party which is diminishing its class support in the working class. Its support has historically been the working class in its trade union organisations aligned with the intellectuals of the socialist faith like the Fabians and Marxists of various shades.

But today the working class has risen in its standards of living and overlaps the lower and even the middle classes to some extent, especially in numerous cases in which the wife earns as much or only slightly less than her husband.

There is a similar overlap in housing as well owing to subsidised housing schemes, salary earners with few or no children preferring small dwellings among workers and wage earners with children occupying larger houses usually associated with middle class tenants.

And today speech is no longer a *differentia* of class, thanks to large attendance of worker's children at secondary schools and the widespread influence of radio and television and the mass circulation newspapers. Conservative posters had to drop differential dress to mark off the working class from others relying more on representations of what they *did*. Clothes as well as speech have thus become diffused among all classes independent of incomes.

Outward homogeneity is keeping up with inward.

The scholarship system and the numerous aids to students of low income groups have enabled them to enter universities and higher technical institutions and research laboratories and to enter in later life the ranks of salary earning classes.

Class mobility is also facilitated by the structure of industry and commerce, in strong contrast to conditions in India where caste and family still dominate them. Manual workers can move into the supervisory grades, clerks into executive ranks, skilled workers into independent contracting, retailers into wholesale business and so on.

Thus objective tests reveal results different from subjective feelings.

Even in objective terms the middle class is growing in proportion to the working class! Today the *largest class in Britain* is no longer the working poor but the middle class.

According to Aristotle this is the ideal basis for a stable democracy.

From a sample survey taken by Dr Mark Abrams in 1956, while 85% of the middle classes vote for the Conservative party and 75% of the lower middle class vote for it, 35% of the *upper working*

class and 30% of the *lower working class* vote for the *Conservative Party!*

These latter sections of the working class are hopeful of the present order and expect to rise in the present regime of controlled capitalism and are no longer attracted by the Marxist slogans of class war and nationalisation and the abolition of capitalism as such. They have no rosy picture of Government in business!

Dr Jennings sums up the position in the words that the "concept of the Labour Party as *the working class party* is useful to that party only so long as the section of the population which is consciously working class is far above fifty per cent. As soon as that section become little more than fifty per cent, the concept becomes a *liability*." (Party Politics Vol. II. Pages 375).

It has further been noticed that trade unions which are the backbone of the Labour Party in finance and voting strength are not committed to ideology so much as to *economic betterment*. They are pragmatic in feeling and thought and typically British in this respect. They suspect over-indulgence in theory and abstractions and extreme ideals.

Today trade unions are regarded more as *negotiating machinery* than as war machines in the communist war for world conquest! Strikes are called more often by communist office bearers who have infiltrated into them than by the rank and file or truly representative workers!

Another psychological change in the temper of the socialist party in Britain is that the younger generation is less attracted by social equality or "fair shares" than its parents were in the days of struggle. It is more concerned to seek *careers open to the talents* but realises that such careers if successful merely result in heavy surtax!

The socialists have lost their high moral fervour with the result that to many young electors, they appear to be mere *careerists*, like the Conservatives!

The experiences of war time controls have disabused the working class of their boasted efficacy. They hate rationing, shortages of consumer goods and long queues. Our experience in India has been the same.

Moreover the welfare state has been accepted by the Conservatives too. The difference therefore between the parties has become in the eyes of the common voter *merely one of persons!*

Politics have become a game of professional politicians for whom it is a career. But it is important to *rotate* them in office lest too long a spell in office may generate too much of corruption in the ruling party, which-ever it may happen to be!

Moreover, The British socialist movement has been indebted to the Fabians (Sydney Webb and others) for its methods and tactics with their stress

(Continued on page 9)

WE ARE LENINISTS

By M. N. THOLAL

Lenin's great saying 'The Way to London lies through Peking and Calcutta' sums up Russia's present foreign policy which cannot be fulfilled without India's Nonalignment policy, with its emotional bias in favour of Russia. The day it ends, will also see the end of China's dream of expansion at the cost of India and Russia's greatest political defeat. No wonder Russia is doing her best to keep us 'non-aligned'.

THE other day I received a letter from Mr. Pothan Joseph—affectionately called 'uncle' by Indian Journalists—saying, "In your articles you have always written true history." I cannot imagine a greater tribute by one more competent to pay it. With reference, however, to my exclamation, "We are finished" in the presence of some journalists the day Khrushchev proposed Nehru's name for the Summit—which I quoted in one of my recent articles—he proceeds to observe, "But don't say 'we are finished'". My exclamation was based on my reading of the Prime Minister's mind and the way it works, somewhat exaggerated, perhaps, to bring the point home. But it is surely better and more patriotic to take a gloomy than an optimistic view of things where the country's security is concerned, and what follows is an adumbration which the reader is entitled to share with me, explaining as it does the exclamation I made on the spur of the moment. For the sake of the country, however, I hope I am going wrong and 'uncle' is right. The USA is on our side, justifying his advice to me.

Perhaps the most intriguing question of the present day is, "How real are Sino-Russian differences?" How far are they faked and for what reason? And how far are they genuine? Any valid answer to these questions will have to take into account the past—recent as well as what may be called ancient—of both countries, as well as the personal equation between Khrushchev and Mao tse-Tung.

That Mao should have taken his orders from Stalin when the former depended upon the latter for almost everything was natural enough, particularly as Stalin was the successor to Lenin and as such his word was law for Communists the world over. But by the time Stalin died, Mao had risen in stature, which shot up at Stalin's death, the more so as Stalin's successor to Soviet Russia was almost a nobody in the Communist world and is now a forgotten name. Whoever rose to succeed Stalin could not obviously command the same respect from Mao as Stalin did. So while Khrushchev was building a place for himself in the name of "collective leadership"—with the help of Russia's military hero, Zhukov, whom he later dismissed unceremoniously after having him arrested while he got down from a plane after a prolonged tour abroad—Mao was the most powerful figure in the Communist world. He had indeed become too great for Stalin's successor to command from him the reverence Stalin did.

Then there is the history of how Russia became a colonial power. European Russia is large

enough for any nation to occupy, but when one sees it sprawling over Northern Asia, one does not have to produce proofs of the colonial ambitions of Russia, Czarist or Soviet. With war-torn China on the southern boundary this most ancient colonial power now known as Soviet Russia could not help nibbling at the southern neighbour's territory, or forming puppet buffer states in between, such as Outer Mongolia. That was imperialism, naked and unashamed, at the expense of a state which recently turned Communist. A day is bound to come when we shall see China demanding the return of the ancient loot. Any one can see that. And any one should see too that to defer that evil day Russia was bound to prompt China to advance south and get entangled there.

Over and above that is Leninism, which both Russia and China swear by. Lenin had said prophetically: "The way to London lies through Peking and Calcutta". In these nine words Lenin summed up her foreign policy for Soviet Russia as well as its objectives. History has shown how, after swallowing Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania—to say nothing of the Baltic States—Russia thought she was well set on the way to London via Berlin. But she found herself balked by the Western Powers through NATO, which our democratic Prime Minister has repeatedly condemned as if it were a product of the Devil's genius. Had not the Master said, "The way to London lies through Peking and Calcutta?" Peking has been captured by Communism. The next objective is Calcutta. Is it for sworn Leninists to condemn a great Communist power's advance towards Calcutta? With what face can they do so? Can they do so and still remain Leninists? That is the question. The answer is obvious.

When Calcutta gave that incredible welcome to Khrushchev by turning out to greet him in her millions—the crowd was estimated at five million—I was reminded of Lenin's saying about the way to London lying through Calcutta. Was not this huge crowd another indication of the truth of the Master's word? Is it possible that Khrushchev was not gleefully reminded of the Master's saying by the huge crowd that turned out to greet him in Calcutta? Is it possible that he did not come to the conclusion that the saying was a prophesy, and conveyed the same to his friend and comrade, Mao, when he arrived later in Peking?

And now we see the quarrelling on the crossroads for all to see. It is an exhibition quarrel.

What for? What are the stakes? What is the objective? The objective was plainly stated by the Master. The stake is India's non-alignment, without which the objective will not be gained. We had the Russian assurance that China will not attack India and our military plans were built upon that assumption. China invaded India and India asked America for an air umbrella. Pravda came out in support of China. Nehru confessed he had been living in a world of his own creation. The Russians at once retreated and stepped up their "quarrel" with China. And Mr. Nehru is highly pleased, as are so many others. One begins to wonder if there was an invasion at all by China and if the massing of Chinese troops on our borders is not a cock and bull story concocted by "colonialists" to throw us into the arms of the Western Powers.

Supposing there was a real quarrel between Soviet Russia and China over the latter's expansionism it is certainly not outside the bounds of possibility, as I have already stated—China would have naturally retorted: "What are you and your troops doing in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary? What were your tanks doing in Hungary in 1956? What are you doing in Cuba now, if not expanding?" For Russia to object to Chinese expansionism—except at its own cost—is to give up the dream of world conquest by Communism. It is to denounce Lenin by denouncing Lenin's greatest saying. What for? To please Jawaharlal Nehru? Is Mr. Khrushchev another Krishna Menon whose career depends on the smiles of Jawaharlal Nehru? Even if Khrushchev were so minded, would the Communist Party of Soviet Russia and her policy-planners permit it?

For Russia to be against nuclear war is only natural, for it will finish Communism. The Russian objection to unleashing of nuclear war is confirmation of the soundness of the policy of the "nuclear deterrent". The policy of both, China and Russia, is "anything except nuclear war", whatever the Chinese leaders may say or pretend to believe. World conquest without world destruction is their aim. Surely Russia has not made China a great military power to prevent her expansion. Even while Sino-Russian differences are being aired with gusto, the latest Russian defensive weapons are being passed on to the Chinese.

The fact is that Lenin's great saying, which sums up her foreign policy for Soviet Russia, cannot be fulfilled without India's non-alignment, with or without its emotional bias in favour of Russia. The day it comes to an end will see the end of China's dream of expansion at the cost of India, and even at other's cost, because it will sound the death-knell of non-alignment the world over. That day will also see Russia's greatest political defeat. No wonder Russia is doing her very best to keep us non-aligned.

From a long-range point of view, India's non-

alignment spells danger not only for India but also for Pakistan as well as India's other neighbours. For India under Communist domination, the freedom of her neighbours will be in jeopardy and even the Western Powers and their military allies will be able to do little to save them. That is why on a dispassionate examination of the situation one feels inclined to come to the conclusion that our non-alignment will, in the long run, finish not only India but the whole of southern Asia.

SUBSCRIBERS TO NOTE

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(Continued from page 7)

on propaganda and parliamentarianism eschewing violent class war doctrines.

All these factors account for the remarkable fact that the electorate of Britain turned out even the one communist member that had entered Parliament, namely, Mr Gallacher in the last elections!

The British electorate is an educated one: The working class elite can discuss political and social questions on the plane of principle and policy. The *Pelican* and *Penguin Series* of mass publications were launched for them. Even university graduates who can do this effectively in India are rare.

In the circumstances prevailing in India, with only one per cent of literacy in English (which is the only literacy that counts for democracy yet,) our intelligentsia has to consider whether it is not wiser to *ban the communist party during the Emergency*.

At any rate, the *true facts* of the intellectual situation regarding Marxism as a dogma and fashionable policy urged by leading groups in India as the *only right Policy* for us should be broadcast. A nation-wide discussion on the merits and demerits of Marxism in theory and in practice, outside and inside the Iron Curtain should be initiated until it percolates into all strata of the population. Since in the end, it is ideas that rule by becoming the stuff of policy, and since Marxism has become the stuff of Indian destiny today, it is incumbent on Indian thinkers to subject it to a thorough examination. *Satyameva jayate*. This is true only if Truth is incarnated in human minds by a conscious process of thinking.

Seventeenth Amendment To The Constitution: Its Effect On The Indian Farmer And The Citizen

DR. RUSTOM C. COOPER

THE Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution was introduced in Parliament on 6th May 1963. Since the Constitution of India was adopted in 1950, there have been 16 amendments during a period of only 13 years. Under the Constitution as originally adopted, there were certain articles, namely, articles 14, 19 and 31, which had important bearing on the fundamental rights of the citizens. At this stage, we are concerned with two important rights under the Constitution, namely, (i) the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property; and (ii) the right to practise any profession, occupation, trade or business. We also had article 31 of the Constitution which went on to say that no person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law.

It was not very long before the Government came forward with the first amendment to the Constitution. This was within a year of the Constitution having been adopted. The result was the introduction of article 31A which to a very great extent modified the fundamental rights of the citizen. Article 31A made the question of compensation for acquisition of land non-justiciable. That meant that no court of law could inquire whether the compensation was adequate or grossly inadequate, having regard to the present market value of the property acquired. Article 31A went on to define an "Estate" meaning as Jagir, Inam, Waqaf or other similar grant. All forms of Zamindari were considered feudal.

Even when the proposed amendment, namely, the insertion of Article 31A was before Parliament, legal and constitutional experts warned the Government and the people of India against the very serious repercussions of this measure. Unfortunately, the average citizen, complacent as he was, took no notice of this grave danger. In spite of the severe criticism in Parliament itself, the Government carried this measure through.

When the Bill was before Parliament, the Prime Minister gave an assurance that the amendment will not be used to the detriment of the people. Not soon after this assurance, several State Governments came out with Land Acquisition Acts which provided that the adequacy of compensation shall be non-justiciable under Article 31A. In several instances, particularly the West Bengal Land Acquisition Act, the compensation was so thoroughly inadequate that it could be described as a fraud on the Constitution of India. This was only to be expected as a result of Article 31A.

The Prime Minister's attention was repeatedly drawn to this and other cases of gross injustice and misuse of Article 31A. In one case, the Prime

Minister did nothing more than address a personal letter to the Chief Minister, as a result of the representation received by him. Promptly came a reply from the Chief Minister that the Government was protected under Article 31A and the matter was non-justiciable. The Prime Minister was helpless.

In 1955, Parliament passed the fourth amendment to the Constitution of India. This time article 31A was amended to provide that not only Zamindars but even the rights of intermediaries in respect of land should be made non-justiciable. The effect was that all intermediaries between the Government and the peasant could be liquidated without payment of fair compensation. Since 1955, the various State Governments have passed as many as 124 different laws truncating the rights of different kinds of land owners and giving them little compensation.

Then, something happened which even the Government itself could not have visualised at the time of insertion of Article 31A and the 4th amendment to the Constitution. In Kerala, the Communist Government went a step further. It passed the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill which did not become an Act because the President turned it down. It may be mentioned that even Article 31A after the 4th amendment did not allow the ryotwari to be touched. Only the Zamindari and the intermediary systems were to be abolished. A modified Agrarian Relations Act was later passed by the Kerala Legislature. This modified Act was contested before the Supreme Court of India, which declared it to be ultra vires of the Constitution. The Supreme Court held that it was discriminatory and confiscatory in a way which even the amended Article 31A of the Constitution did not allow. The Supreme Court held that the provisions of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act 1962 in respect of ryotwari land violated Articles 14, 19 and 31 of the Constitution and that the protection of Article 31A was not available to ryotwari land, as they were not "estates".

It may be mentioned that Acts passed in Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Madras also equally violated the Constitution as they also contained similar provisions. On account of the judgment of the Supreme Court, the enforcement of the various reforms Act became difficult.

At this stage, it will also be appropriate to recall some of the other developments which took place after 1955 and which have a bearing on the proposed 17th amendment. In the year 1959, the Congress Party passed the Nagpur Resolution which called for State monopoly of the foodgrains trade, imposition of ceilings of land and establishment of "Joint Co-operative Farming".

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

THE MEASURE OF POVERTY IN INDIA

BY KARUNA K. NANDI

IN SPITE of all the abuses hurled on him by the Prime Minister and his present second-in-command, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia must be acknowledged to have done a great service to his country and her teeming millions by helping to focus public attention pointedly on the measure of the abject poverty that still seems to prevail after twelve years of so-called development planning under State aegis, for which extravagant claims have been and are still continuing to be made by the Government and their leaders. The question, it may be recalled was first mooted by Dr. Lohia in course of his maiden address to the Lok Sabha on the recent (and the first-ever) no-confidence motion against the Government when he stated that while some sixty per cent of the country's population had to subsist on a daily income of only about three annas, even the Prime Minister's dog had a daily allocation of about Rs. 3 for its feed alone. Mr. Nehru had then characterised Dr. Lohia's statement as patently absurd and claimed (supposedly on the strength of the information then supplied to him by an unnamed official economist) that the actual figure was five times higher, — in fact about fifteen annas a day and surmised that Dr. Lohia had, perhaps been mixing up the figure of per capita income with family income of an average family of five. Dr. Lohia, however, insisted that he was prepared to stand by

his figure and challenged the Prime Minister that if he could be proved wrong, he was prepared to resign his seat in Parliament but hoped that if the Prime Minister was proved wrong on the other hand, the latter should have the grace to resign his office for his utter incompetence.

Such a challenge couched in such definite terms could not be wholly ignored and was reported to have caused a great deal of flutter in the comfortably appointed corridors of the Planning Commission to ascertain, in more definite terms, the substance or otherwise in Dr. Lohia's accusation. Later Mr. Nanda presented a statement of figures to the Lok Sabha which while it did not quite wholly support Dr. Lohia's figures, however proved the Prime Minister utterly wrong. Mr. Nanda's later figures computed on the basis of the information available from the National Sample Survey for the period from September, 1961 to July, 1962, related to not the per capita income, but the per capita consumption expenditure of different categories of income earners in the country. These figures, however, prove that Dr. Lohia was not so much off the mark when he accused that the lowest income earning 60 per cent of our people had to subsist on only about three annas a day. The figures supplied by Mr. Nanda were as follows:

Percentage of the Population	Monthly Consumption Expenditure				Daily Consumption Expenditure	
	Urban Sector		Rural Sector		Urban Sec.	Rural Sector
	Rs.	nP	Rs.	nP	nP	nP.
Lowest Income 5 per cent	8.53		7.09		28	24
Next " " 5 " "	10.04		7.09		33	27
" " " 10 " "	13.88		10.67		40	31
" " " 10 " "	16.61		12.82		45	35
" " " 10 " "	19.56		14.62		50	39
" " " 10 " "	21.94		16.47		55	42
" " " 10 " "	25.50		18.79		60	45
Average for the lowest income 60 per cent	17.79,7/12		13.41		45,11/12	36%
Next Higher Income 10 per cent	27.68		21.25		64	49
" " " 10 " "	35.65		24.70		71	53
" " " 10 " "	43.86		29.95		80	58
" " " 10 " "	83.76		51.16		101	70
Average for the highest Income 40 per cent	48.94½		31.76½		79	57½
Average for the whole population	33.37,1/24		22.58½		32,11/24	46%

According to Mr. Nanda's above figures he works out the average consumption expenditure of the lowest income-earning 60 per cent of the people at 7.5 annas per diem. It would seem to work out at approximately that figure only in the urban sector where the average works out at 45 11/12 nP per capita per day. The average for the rural sector, however, works out at just under 6 annas at 36 1/4 nP per day. But even taking an average of the two sectors, it would work out at 41 1/12 nP per day, that is under 7 annas a day. But such an average would be bound to present a wholly wrong picture of the actual situation since, in spite of the massive urbanization process that has been going on over the years since the Second World War, approximately 80 per cent of India's population still continue to live in the villages. Working out the average, therefore at 1:3 as between the urban and the rural sectors of the population, and always assuming that Mr. Nanda's figures are otherwise reliable, the average per capita daily consumption expenditure of the lowest-income 60 per cent of the people would be found to work out at an average of just 25 2/3 nP. or at just above 6 annas a day.

It would be instructive to study, in this context, to what extent the lowest income earning 60 per cent of our people are able to cover their consumption expenditure from out of their incomes. It should be recalled in this connection that Dr. Lohia's accusations actually related to the income of the people and not to their consumption expenditure, and what Mr. Nanda has provided is a statement of the consumption expenditure of the relevant sectors of the population and not their disposal income. Such a mixing up of premises would be likely to create a measure of confusion and present a wholly incorrect picture of the situation of the people. The national income statement for the period 1951-52, the first year of the First Plan to 1961-62, the ultimate year of the Second Plan, contained in the Economic Survey for 1962-63 published by the Government of India, lists national and per capita income as follows:

Year	National income (In Rs. Crores) (In 1948-49 constant prices)	Per Capita Index Income (In Rs.)	Numbers of Income National Per Capita	Per Capita
1951-52	9,100	250.3	105.2	100.3
1952-53	9,460	255.7	109.4	102.4
1953-54	10,030	266.2	116.0	106.7
1954-55	10,280	267.8	118.8	107.3
1955-56	10,480	267.8	121.2	107.3
1957-58	10,890	267.3	125.9	107.1
1958-59	11,650	280.1	134.7	112.2
1959-60	11,860	279.2	137.1	112.1
1960-61	12,750	293.7	147.4	117.7
1961-62	13,020	293.4	150.5	117.5

The above figures give an estimate of the gross capita income estimation by the simple process of dividing the national income by the population making necessary adjustments in the process

for the increase in the population only. This does not, obviously, give any indication of the net disposable income of the people, that is, the part of the gross income which is available to the earner after meeting the States', both Central and State, local bodies' and other official demands which is a first charge on the individual income and which must be deducted from the gross income to arrive at anything like a realistic estimate of the part of the income which is disposable by the earner. For, only such an estimate of the per capita income of the people can have any real relation with the estimate of consumption expenditure that has been presented to the Lok Sabha by Mr. Nanda. It would be interesting in this connection to study the progressive increase in the taxation burden on the people. It may be recalled that on the eve of launching the First Five Year Plan, the then Union Finance Minister, Dr. Chintaman Deshmukh, estimated the per capita burden of gross (Central and States taken together) taxation on the people at Rs. 8 per capita per annum. What was more significant was that he estimated the proportion of direct to the indirect measure of taxation as then subsisting at 93 per cent of the whole in direct taxation and only about 7 per cent in indirect taxation. The progress of taxation in the country appears during the last twelve years to have been of the following order:

Year	Central Taxes Per Capita	Yearly Per Capita States' Taxes	Direct: Indirect
1950-51	Rs. 8 (together with States' Taxes)		93:7
1955-56	Rs.12.70	Not available	Not available
1960-61	Rs.20.75	" "	" "
1963-64	Rs.31.00	Rs. 6.00(approx.)	" 26:74

In the estimate of consumption expenditure presented by Mr. Nanda, the proportion of such expenditure as between the highest income-earning 40 per cent of the population and the lowest 60 per cent works out at approximately 2:1. It should not be unrealistic to assume that the distribution of the gross per capita income as between the like highest income earning 40 per cent and the lowest 60 per cent would also be approximately of a similar order. On such a computation of the gross per capita income of the lowest income earning sector comprising 60 per cent of the population would work out at below Rs. 100 per annum. Then, again, there is the question of the appropriation by the highest income-earning 1 per cent of the population of a share of the gross national dividend which has been worked out at as high a figure as approximately 50 per cent by the P. C. Mahalanobis Committee. Then, in addition to the Central and State taxes, there are the various demands of local and civic bodies that also have to be met. After all this has been accounted for, the net disposable income available to the people, especially the lowest income-earning 60 per cent of them, would appear to work out at a considerably lower figure than reflected by the gross per capita income statement in the

national income statistics. The average consumption expenditure of the lowest-income 60 per cent, according to Mr. Nanda, even without adjustments for the differences in the rural and urban sectors of the population, works out at an average of Rs. 15.60 p.m. or Rs. 187.20 per annum. The national income statistics puts the per capita income down at Rs. 293.4 in 1961-62. It has been officially admitted that the progress in the increase in the national income during the period 1961-63 has been of the order of less than 2 per cent per annum, while the percentage increase in the population over the same period has been of the order of 2.6 per cent per annum. It is clear, therefore, that there has been no further progress in the rise of the gross per capita income during the last two years since the end of the Second Plan, on the contrary there must have been a slight shrinkage. However, at a gross per capita income of Rs. 293.4 per annum as at 1961-62, not more than half of it presumably filtered down to the lowest-income 60 per cent of the people, which would work out at Rs. 146.7 per capita per annum. Likewise dividing the tax burden equally between these two sectors of the population (the burden on the lowest categories would more likely be proportionately heavier having regard to the fact that 74 per cent of the total taxes are indirect and nearly a half of them in the shape of excise imposts on essential consumables), the net disposable income of the lowest-income 60 per cent of the people would not be likely to work out at very much above Rs. 128.2 per capita per annum. This is not claimed to be anything like an accurate estimate which, in the absence of official statistics of disposable per capita income, would be impossible to accurately arrive at; but this should present an approximate indication of the actual trends in the disposable income of the poor.

But even this would wholly fail to present anything like a realistic picture of the dismal state of the overwhelming masses of the poor in the country. One has to take into account along with these materials, the question of the price factor. Even Mr. Nanda admits that "essential consumables in India are largely food and cloth; these together take up nearly 70 per cent of family incomes for the vast majority of India's people, and are the basic needs which must be provided for. A rise in food prices is particularly important not only because it closely affects the living standards of millions of people and especially the vulnerable low-income groups who are the vast majority—but tends to push up all prices" (*Towards A Self-Reliant Economy* P.75). The following figures should be illuminating in this connection:

Rise of Prices of Essential Consumables
(Culled From Index Numbers of Wholesale Prices, 31.8.63)

Commodity Index Numbers of Wholesale prices
(Annual Average) (Average upto 31.8.63)

Rice	1955-56	1963-64
	100	141.00

Wheat	100	125.00
Sugar	100	138.40
Gur	100	247.70

It may be mentioned that these figures merely reflect the trend of price movements in such essential commodities as constitute the bulk of a poor man's food ingredients in this country, and does not really indicate the actual burden which is usually much heavier for, in the retail market, price rises have invariably been found to follow a higher than proportionate incidence.

It should be clear, therefore, that even Dr. Lohia may not have been wholly correct when he said that the poorest 60 per cent in the country had to subsist on only 3 annas a day; he was far more essentially right than the Prime Minister when the latter claimed it was 15 annas a day, or even than Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, when he produced statistics to prove that it was 7.5 annas a day. From the indications given above in course of this discussion, it should be clear that the disposable real income of the poorest 60 per cent of our people cannot be very much above 3 annas a day after allowing for his tax burdens and the burdens of rising prices of essential consumables like rice, wheat, sugar and gur. If, therefore, the actual consumption expenditure of this overwhelmingly larger sector of the population really works out at 7.5 annas as claimed by Mr. Nanda, the obvious conclusion must be that their basic subsistence expenditure far outpaces their actual disposable income and that, obviously therefore, they have been living on capital.

In the face of such an inescapable conclusion, the specious arguments that Mr. Nanda produced on the occasion of the Lok Sabha debate on the question to defend the Government and to extenuate their failures, would not merely seem to be heartlessly callous, but would seem to ignore the basic facts of the dangerous national economic trends that such a situation would be bound to imply. There is a great deal more that one could and, in fact, really should say on this very important matter to which Dr. Lohia has thus helped to focus public attention. It would be suicidal for the Government and the country alike, especially in the face of the present obviously dangerous situation in the state of our national integrity and existence, to summarily dismiss the matter in the manner in which it is obviously being sought to be done by the Government.

RISING PRICES

Although inflation, due to deficit financing and wasteful governmental expenditure, may be responsible for rise in prices, private traders are blamed indiscriminately. The increase in prices by state enterprises generally escapes public attention. The following news report is interesting.—Editor.

Railway catering establishments (departmentally run) have shown the same susceptibility to price in-

creases as private hotels and restaurants. Recently, the prices of all edible articles, beverages like coffee, and meals sold at the railway refreshment rooms have been put up. While the increases are sharp in the case of certain items like coffee and meals, no item appears to have escaped this upward revision.

A member of the Railway Zonal Users' Committee was not quite certain that there was inescapable necessity for the rise. A veteran railway passenger asked whether in the context of frequent loud Ministerial warnings of dire consequences to the trade if it put up the prices, it was proper for the Government-run establishments "to join the chorus." He expected the Railways to set an example by "holding the price line where it reigns supreme."

The Railway administration, according to a spokesman, has no qualms in the matter. He pointed out there was justification for the price increases which were determined by a number of factors that did not operate differently for the Government establishments and the private hotels industry. It was common knowledge that the prices of all ingredients had gone up and continued to go up and besides they had their high-cost overheads. No employee in their setup could be paid up less than about Rs. 100 a month and certain standard had been prescribed for strict compliance. Naturally, he said, these factors had a cumulative effect and pushed up the prices of end products.

The spokesman said the Railways were not seeking to make any profit but they could not afford to run the catering services at a loss year after year. He said at present the catering department on the Southern Railway was paying its way with marginal profit but there was the backlog of losses incurred in the past so many years.

He distinguished the articles sold as "standard" and "non standard" items. In the case of the former category the tariff rates were fixed by the Railway administration that shouldered the responsibility. Coffee and meals (vegetarian and non vegetarian) belonged to the "standard" variety and their prices were raised. Coffee had gone up from 17 to 20 n.P. and a vegetarian meal from 80 n.P. to Rs. 1.05. The spokesman explained that the Railway Board, after taking into account all the factors had determined the cost of the catering services, had revised the tariff upwards in respect of the "standard" items. The Southern Railway for the same reasons had seen the need to put up the prices of the other category.

—from "The Hindu"

HOW PUBLIC SECTOR WASTES PUBLIC FUNDS

The Public Sector enterprises are built and run on scarce resources raised from people through heavy direct and indirect taxes. How public funds are wasted in the Public Sector, managed by officials who have apparently power without accountability, is illustrated by the following letter to the editor :

Sir.— Now that we are all having to bear heavy taxation plus compulsory savings so as to make the country strong, the question whether levies are being efficiently used assumes paramount importance. I believe it is the duty of every Indian to see that the people's money is not wasted, and give below some examples of such waste in one of the biggest public sector undertakings, the Heavy Engineering Corporation a Ranchi:

1. The Foundry Forge Plant (a part of the HEC) is behind schedule because of delay in laying the foundation for the workshops. This is because the original soil data furnished to the Central Government and through it to the Czechs who are planning the project were false : instead of granite it has turned out to be clay and loose soil. As a result the Corporation has to go in for about 3,000 deep pile foundations at an extra cost of about Rs. 80 lakhs. Those responsible for giving the original report have not been brought to book. Had a correct report been received at the beginning, the plan could have been sited a short distance away and a great deal of money saved.

2. The Central Government and through it the Czechs were given another false report, namely, that the bricks available at Ranchi were so poor in quality that a two-storey structure could not be built out of them. As a result, factory buildings are built of expensive RCC frames.

3. Recently a 65 m.p.h. storm caused a huge steel shed to collapse like matchwood—even though the shed was designed for storms of 80 m.p.h. The loss (including stores) was about Rs. 8 lakhs. A few weeks later a fire in the same shed (now collapsed) consumed another few lakhs worth of stores. No action has been taken against those responsible for such negligence.

4. A large number of beams and walls of the newly constructed HEC buildings have cracked, causing a loss of about Rs. 2 lakhs. Here again no action is being taken.

5. A large number of temporary A-type quarters have been built, each with a garage. It is well known that in India scarcely one in a 100 had a car. Over 90% of the garages are lying unused. The waste on them is about Rs. 3 lakhs.

6. Officers of the Corporation having a salary of over Rs. 1,200 p.m. are being housed in luxurious bungalows each of which includes servants' quarters, garage, etc. Surely this goes ill with our Emergency and socialistic pattern of society?

The Prime Minister has rightly called upon the nation to make every sacrifice to fight the invader, and the public are only too ready to do their part but unless the Government itself makes a beginning by enforcing austerity in its own sphere and by ensuring that inefficiency and waste are immediately penalized, public confidence will soon disappear. — Yours etc., C. Chakrabarty, Ranchi, July 4.

—Statesman.

The Nagpur resolution failed. It demanded that within 3 years, peasants should be persuaded voluntarily to go into joint co-operative farming. The peasants of India with a rare solidarity refused to join Joint Co-operative farms. It would be worth mentioning that 52% of the people of India own some piece of land.

The Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill, 1963, seeks to amend the Constitution of India, particularly Article 31A. The Bill seeks to amend the definition of the term "estate" so as to include therein land held under ryotwari settlements. This Bill also proposes to amend the ninth schedule by including therein various State enactments relating to land reforms in order to remove inconsistency or doubt that may arise in regard to their validity.

The proposed amendment of the term "estate" will thus affect a large number of farmers and will deprive the owners of ryotwari lands of the protection hitherto afforded by Articles 14, 19, 31 of the Constitution of India.

One of the features of the 17th amendment is the retrospective effect which is now sought to be given to the new definition of the term "estate". The definition is sought to be given retrospective effect right from the year 1950. This means that any small piece of land owned by a humble peasant of India is deemed to be an "estate" and was always deemed to be an "estate" since 1950, when the Constitution was drafted. If this amendment becomes law, not only will the 123 laws which are of doubtful validity become legalised but also with retrospective effect.

The implications of the proposed amendment have to be carefully studied. The amendment to the Constitution is not to be made lightly. In broad terms, the proposed amendment will abolish the Indian peasant proprietor, wipe out the self-employed farmer, uproot him and make him into a landless labourer on a Government or a joint co-operative farm.

Prof. David Mitrany in his book entitled "Marx Vs. The Peasant" shows that if there is one kind of person whom the Communist hates more than any other, it is the peasant with a little bit of land, because with the small farmer the Communist cannot have his way. The peasant is a bulwark of stability and freedom. In a country like India the peasant alone has the strength to put a party in or out of power. In India the farmer has a majority. It is, therefore, feared that the proposed amendment will arm the Government with a weapon by which the peasants of India can be deprived of their land which has come down to them from times immemorial.

It may be pointed out that today, if the Government wants to acquire a farm worth Rs. 20,000, under the Land Acquisition Act, which is

the normal law of the country, the farmer will have to be paid Rs. 20,000 as compensation. He can go to a Court of Law and the Court will see that he is paid adequate compensation for the land of which he is deprived. Under the Kerala Act and other land ceiling enactments, the quantum of compensation prescribed is sometimes as low as 1% of what is prescribed under the Land Acquisition Act. Therefore, a farmer with a farm of Rs. 20,000 could henceforth be paid 1% of that amount, namely Rs. 200.

We have before us the example of Communist Russia and China where production from the land has fallen to the lowest limits because of collective farming or joint co-operatives. There production is the lowest in the world in spite of mechanisation. The statistics put out by the Food and Agricultural Organisation show that the lowest yield per acre in the world is that of China. Among other countries with low yields per acre is Soviet Russia. The highest yield per acre in the world is in Formosa and Japan where farmers are cultivating plots perhaps even smaller than those of India. It is not always true that the smallness of the farm holds back productivity. It is often the neglect of the farm by the Government which is not giving enough assistance to the cultivator. Next to Formosa and Japan come countries like Denmark with very small farms; then England with moderate-sized farms. lower in the list come America and lower still Russia and China.

In Soviet Russia, the establishment of State farms and Co-operative farming societies has ended in a steep reduction of productivity of farms. Soviet Russia has recognised the small independent holdings called "Kitchen Garden" where the farmers can grow whatever they like and market their produce.

Under the circumstances mentioned above, there can be no two opinions regarding the undesirability of the proposed 17th amendment. It must be opposed by every freedom loving citizen of India, particularly the peasants.

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Swatantra Party's Contribution To Democratic Thought And Practice

BY K. VEDAMURTHY, MADRAS.

Those who believe, in the words of the late Justice Holmes of the United States that the ultimate good is better reached by free trade in ideas, will agree that in allowing its members freedom of opinion in matters not covered by the fundamental principles of the Party, the Swatantra Party has made a significant contribution to world democratic thought.

RAJAJI quotes De Tocqueville in his 'Dear Reader' columns of Swarajya of 31-8-63 to stress the point that there can be terribly bad forms of tyranny in democracy too. De Tocqueville saw how the working of democracy even in such a congenial soil as America resulted in a general want of merit in legislators and public functionaries and loss of independence of thought in the people. "Faith in public opinion is a species of religion and majority its prophet" and there can be no further discussion of a question once public opinion has settled it. John Stuart Mill who agreed with Tocqueville in his general conclusions, has this to say: "The right of private judgment by being extended to the incompetent ceases to be exercised even by the competent; and speculation becomes possible only within the limits traced, not as of old by the infallibility of Aristotle, but by that of 'our free and enlightened citizens' or 'our free and enlightened age.'" Tocqueville concludes that as mankind advanced towards democracy there might not be too great liberty but *too ready submission*; not anarchy but *servility* and that man would lose his moral courage and his pride of independence. He might not be able to resist the temptation to give the state too much power. He might as Mill puts it, "on condition of making itself (the State) the organ of the general mode of feeling and thinking, suffer it to relieve mankind from the care of their own interests, and keep them under a kind of tutelage; trampling meanwhile with considerable recklessness upon the rights of individuals, in the name of society and public good". How relevant sound these words to our own country at present! Nietzsche also has observed somewhere that "the democratisation of Europe will tend to produce a type prepared for slavery in the most subtle sense of the term". So the tyranny of majority accompanied by the servility of the multitude to the few who act in the name of the State seem to be the unmistakable characteristics of democracy based on universal suffrage. No man is purely an animal. We meet man as a bundle of impulses which act together as a total personality. A hatred of insecurity, a desire to build a home, a yearning to move into unknown regions from the place where he was born, a hunter's impulse which may take him to the African desert, or less romantically satisfy him by saturation in detective stories—all these are yearnings written into the fabric of our constitutions. Man is a pugnacious animal, he desires to master his environment, to be the leader in his platoon; yet under fitting conditions he finds pleasure also in submis-

sion, which as in military organisation, can be turned to effective ends.' (Harold J. Laski) Hence the unthinking obedience of the many to the will of the few who act on behalf of the state. Is there no escape from the majority tyranny coupled with the servility of the masses to the demagogues if we take to the democratic form of governanc? Is there no effective alternative to dictatorship except this kind of democracy which admits of the danger of the tyranny of majority? Cannot Parliamentary Democracy be worked in such a way which will avoid the possibility of the majority tyranny and at the same time provide the people with a good and clean Government? For one thing, most of us are convinced that where it is possible, democracy is the best of all governments. Dictatorship, whether of the Nazi type or of the Soviet and the Chinese Communist type will never be preferred by a discerning people to democracy. In the Soviet as well as the Chinese Communist systems, the regimentation is all for the glory of the small ruling group, or at any rate, for something of other than the enlargement of the individual citizens whereas democracies are regimes of freedom. As a wit with no pretence to learned scholarship has phrased it "In the democracies, what is not forbidden is permitted, while in the dictatorships what is not forbidden is compulsory". A great deal of the dissatisfaction with the working of political parties in this country and with democracy itself arises from a failure to understand the difficulty of what is being attempted. Democracy, as any student of British History knows, inherited its devices for restraining governments from the presumptuous abuse of power. It did not inherit its mechanisms for eliciting and transmitting to the government the positive measures it wants to see carried out. It has to create them by feeling its way by trial and error. For the Parliamentary Democracy not to degenerate into a legalised tyranny, one safeguard which promises to become real and effective has been suggested by the Swatantra Party of India. It is yet to attract the notice and consideration of thinking politicians the world over. It is the freedom of opinion to all the members that the Swatantra Party allows on all issues which fall outside the scope of the fundamental principles of the party. When there is a general realization that government, though necessary, is potentially one of the greatest evils, like fire which is a good servant but a bad master, and that the government is always potentially master because of its monopoly of naked

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Kamaraj or Kow-Tow Plan ?

(From Our Correspondent)

THE Kamaraj Plan threatens to prove something much worse than a flop. As a demonstration of selflessness among Congressmen it has been miserable failure on all accounts. It had in it the germs of success! If the renunciation of office had been voluntary, as in the case of Mr. Kamaraj, it would have undoubtedly strengthened the Congress organisation. But the Supreme Leader of the Congress exploited the idea to strengthen his own hands and oust those who were not absolutely loyal to him and had disregarded his advice, like the Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. What was conceived as a voluntary plan was transformed into a trap to force the resignations of those who had ventured to disregard the advice of the Congress High Command, which is now synonymous with Jawaharlal Nehru.

The objective of the original plan was to strengthen the Congress. By a dexterous touch of the Nehru hand the objective was changed to strengthening Mr. Nehru. There was thus no question of the aim of the plan being achieved, the aim itself having been given the go-by. That is common ground even among Congressmen, though few are bold enough to say so. The retort of those who had to resign was to place their own disciples in the places vacated by them. In U.P. Mr. C. B. Gupta succeeded in having Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani elected as leader of the State Congress Legislature Party. Immediately after election she declared she would be guided by Mr. Gupta. But the Congress High Command had its own plans and its counter move was to direct Chief Ministers to include dissidents in their cabinets.

The Congress High Command apparently does not believe in homogeneous cabinets and their smooth working. There can be no doubt now, as this correspondent has been pointing out, that the Congress High Command has been putting a premium on dissidence to force those who have been managing their affairs by themselves, on the strength of their following, to seek the help and guidance of the Congress High Command to realise their dependence on the Congress High Command, i.e., Mr. Nehru. The contest in U.P. continues between Mr. Nehru and Mr. C. B. Gupta. Encouraged by the directive of the Congress High Command, the leader of the dissidents claims 40 per cent seats in the Cabinet and the right to nominate the representatives of the dissidents—for there are dissidents among dissidents too. Thus everyone is for himself and no one for the Congress, and the Kamaraj Plan has only seen the flaring up of ambitions which it was intended to suppress, if not destroy.

NEW TECHNIQUE

The fact of the matter is that example is better than precept, and every Congressman worth the name knows that the example Mr. Nehru sets is contrary to his precept. Indeed, Mr. Nehru is introducing new concepts of democracy. When Dr. Jivraj Mehta was forced to resign by the Congress legislators of Maharashtra, without the approval of Mr. Nehru, the Congress High Command came to the conclusion that it was not a simple question of majority or minority, as Mr. Desai tried to make out. Perhaps the reader would like to have a glimpse of how the new technique is worked to promote the new concepts. All that Mr. Nehru has to do is to whisper to one of his close disciples—the one identified generally is Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri whose loyalty to the Nehru family is well-known—mantrams like "It is not a question of majority or minority". The Hanuman in the case whispers the mantram to those who he knows are loyal to Mr. Nehru and the mind of the Congress High Command is at once made up. Mr. Nehru himself does not have to speak. Every one knows that when Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri boldly and confidently puts forward a proposition it comes from Mr. Nehru, and woe betide him who dares differ. Thus there were many awkward moments when Mr. Desai said at a meeting of the Congress High Command with reference to the resignation of Dr. Jivraj Mehta that it was a question of the majority being against him.

In a way Mr. Nehru is right. Discretion prevents him from saying, "I am the Congress". Or perhaps he thinks, and rightly, that it would be super-erogation on his part to do so. For, after all, who does not know that Mr. Nehru is the Congress now, even as his guru, Mahatma Gandhi was the Congress before him? Mr. Nehru being the Congress, how can the question of majority or minority arise? The deluded ones who think in terms of majority and minority have indeed to be taught a lesson, and the Kamaraj Plan, as it finally emerged, was intended to do that, as its implementation has proved. Mr. Patil, by finding fault with the implementation of the Plan, has raised the banner of revolt. The Congress President has menacingly said that his views have been noted. Mr. Patil will doubtless be made wiser in course of time. For the time being the State Congress is with him and that might postpone the day of reckoning for him. In the meantime it would be one of the offshoots of the plan if Mr. Patil were to take it into his head to stick to his guns and to popularise the revolt against the implementation of the Plan.

Mr. Nehru is again right from another point of

view. There is really no reason why those who rendered unquestioning obedience to the Mahatma should hesitate to kow-tow to his declared successor. As I put it in verse some years ago:

The task before the Congress is
To bow to Nehruji,
Kow-tow to Nehruji,
Kow-tow to Nehruji,
Bow, bow to Nehruji.
And if your back begins to break
From bows to Nehruji,
Kow-tow to Nehruji,
Kow-tow to Nehruji!

That has been the task before the Congress for quite a long time now and it is a shame that there should be some in this democratic organisation who are still unaware of the task before the Congress. What can Congress High Command do with them except expelling them? But the Congress being a democratic organisation, is reluctant to expel them and prefers more non-violent methods. Mr. D. P. Mishra, who has now become Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, after more than purifying decade in the wilderness, has come to occupy that high office because he knows now the real nature of the task before the Congress. A shrewd politician, all that was wanting in him was faith in the Supreme Leader, which long years in the wilderness have served to generate. Having regained that faith, he found it easy to oust from power the Mandaloi group, which had successfully defied the Congress High Command's advice to have Dr. Katju as Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

WHAT CAN THEY DO?

The mistakes of omission are even more glaring than those of commission. Dr. Mehta, who was on the way out, might well have been included in

the list of Congress organisers—blessing him that left as well as those he left, and saving the Congress much loss of prestige. The Chief Minister of Punjab was another figure demanding dispassionate attention. There is now really no case at all for his retention unless it is held that the minority judgment is the real Supreme Court judgment, which is absurd. The ruling of the Punjab speaker expunging the Home Minister's defence of the Chief Minister in his criticism of the Supreme Court judgment is another sad blow to the Punjab Chief Minister, from which he may find it hard to recover. He has replaced the Supreme Court on the high pedestal where it was placed in the Constitution of the land and indirectly made it extremely difficult for the Prime Minister to disregard the Supreme Court judgment. It is being rumoured here that he is on the way out. He should have indeed gone long ago, but for the fact that he is one of Mr. Nehru's most loyal lieutenants. It seems that it was his confidence in Mr. Nehru — that he would support him through thick and thin—that made him behave in the dictatorial fashion he has been behaving since he became Chief Minister of Punjab.

And what, it is being asked here, can these resigning Ministers do to strengthen the Congress? The Congress has gone down in the estimation of the people because they know that Congressmen are busy lining their own pockets. The moment the Congress High Command decides not to show any favour to Congressmen in the matter of permits and licences, that moment Congressmen will leave the Congress. To eradicate corruption is to deal a death blow to the Congress. Congress leaders can make their choice. Also, what can the resigning ministers do to wipe out the disgrace that Mr. Nehru's foreign policy has brought to the country, the humiliation of the invasion that it has resulted in, without there being apparently any way of repelling the Chinese in the near future?

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force, the Swatantra Party's bold step in abjuring regimentation of the thinking of its members in the name of party discipline will be recognised as a great safeguard against tyranny of majority in a democracy. This is not to say that eternal vigilance on the part of the public will be unnecessary if all parties should follow the Swatantra way and allow their members freedom of opinion on all issues falling outside the purview of the Parties' fundamental principles. But those who believe, in the words of the late justice Holmes of the United States, that the ultimate good is better reached by free trade in ideas, that the best test of truth is the power of thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market and that truth is the only

ground upon which their wishes can be safely carried out, are sure to see that in taking a decision to allow its members freedom of opinion on all issues not covered by the Party's fundamental principles the Swatantra has made a significant contribution to the politics of the entire democratic world. If other parties also follow suit, that will help us to realize the true content of freedom "Freedom as a positive power or capacity of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying, and that too, something that we do or enjoy in common with others". More than anything else, it is this which will entitle Sri C. Rajagopalachari for an honoured place in the history of political thought and constructive statesmanship of the country.

MEDES AND PERSIANS

R. P. PARANJPE

Political thinkers and Constitution-makers are continuously laying down laws and policies which, they hope, will remain valid forever. We in our own country, are similarly hypnotised by what are called Gandhian principles like Non-Violence, Prohibition and anti-salt tax attitude. It would be best for the country if the quest for perpetuity is given up and we follow policies suitable to the actual conditions of our time.

The laws of the Medes and the Persians were supposed to be unchangeable and valid for all time. Time, however, has had its revenge. The Medes are now practically forgotten and the Persians of old have changed into modern Iranians who have taken to another religion and have no common link with them except perhaps geographical location. The laws themselves are forgotten and I do not know whether modern jurisprudence can give a detailed account of them. But this hankering after perpetuity still constitutes a strong motive force in all human societies. Political thinkers and constitution makers are continuously laying down laws and policies which they fondly hope will remain valid for ever in spite of the numerous instances in which such hopes have been frustrated in a very short time.

Written constitutions are an example of this craze for perpetuity and though most constitutions make provision for changes in the constitution, any change is generally difficult to bring about. Even more difficult to change are the so-called principles underlying national policies, and different groups are continuously swearing that they are the faithful followers of those principles, their adversaries being labelled as traitors to them. The present heated discussions between the Chinese and the Russians about which of them truly follows the true spirit of Marxism-Leninism show that such so-called fundamental principles are a drag upon sound national evolution in keeping with the prevailing conditions. In our own country the so-called Gandhian Principles are being invoked by various parties as supporting their own particular points of view. The appeal in every case is not to the inherent suitability of any course to the actual conditions of the moment but to its conformity to the *ipsissima verba* of the creed, whether it be Marxism-Leninism or Gandhism. The English people with their sense of political realism have no written constitution and British History does not show that the want of a written constitution has done them any harm. In fact it has made changes in political and social structure easy to bring about, consistently with the continually changing circumstances of the times.

This hankering after perpetuity is seen nowhere better than in the sphere of religion. Every religion claims that it lays down the law for all time, though changing conditions make it evident that radical reforms inconsistent with the very words of the sacred books of that religion appear to be called for, and recourse is had to interpreting or mis-interpreting the definite injunctions of those

books to suit the requirements of the time. Thus though all Hindus profess to base their religious belief on the Vedas their actual practices are far different from Vedic precepts. The religion of Islam strictly forbids the taking of Interest as a mortal sin, but I do not know that there are many Mohomedans who do not take interest at least indirectly in the form of rents, dividends and similar other disguises. I have never heard of any Pathan money-lender being excommunicated for extraction of exorbitant interest from ignorant workmen or villagers, often by the use of his cudgel. The followers of Jesus Christ, if they had strictly followed the words of the New Testament, would not have attained their present predominance in the world. The followers of Marx and Lenin are now far removed from the strict doctrine of their creed, and the Chinese and Russians are engaged in a bitter controversy as to which of them are truly loyal to the doctrine.

We in this country are similarly hypnotised by the so-called Gandhian principles and philosophy, though the actual policies of our rulers are far removed from the cult of non-violence that Gandhi preached. In our written constitution we find some directive principles which in a short experience of sixteen years have been found unworkable. How can we meet the Chinese menace if we follow non-violence in the strict sense of the word? Prohibition of alcohol is another of these principles, but all who do not close their eyes to actualities can see that prohibition is unworkable in practice, that illicit distillation of liquor is on the increase, that liquor consumption has become common even among women and children, that the habit of flouting the law has become more widespread, and that it has led to the corruption of our police force. Hundreds of crores of revenue have been given up in deference to Gandhian precepts without any real benefit, and further expenditure of several crores has become necessary for attempting to enforce this prohibition policy. The ban against cow slaughter has prevented our cattle from being a real source of wealth to our country and saddled us with very large numbers of useless animals which are barely alive. As a tribute to the Father of the Nation we are unprepared even to think of a salt-tax though we are trying various dubious ways of replenishing our exchequer; but a moderate salt-tax of, say, a rupee a maund will bring us crores of rupees without the common man appreciably feeling the burden which will amount to only about four annas per individual.

It would be best for the country and for humanity if this quest for perpetuity is given up for good and we follow policies suitable to the actual conditions of our time. These conditions are continuously changing and we are foolish indeed to bind ourselves to follow the practices and injunctions which may perhaps have been suitable some centuries ago but which are no longer in keeping with present needs. Great men of the past have done immense service to humanity in their time, but their service is likely to be more than nullified if we are to continue to follow their particular teaching blindly without using our common sense. Time never stands still, and we are now faced with problems of which those great men had little conception.

—Opinion.

Book Review

THE LAW OF THE CONSTITUTION: By A. V. Dicey First Edition 1885. Tenth Edition 1959 Reprinted 1960. Pages 535 including Index. Price 35s net Published by MacMillan and Co. Ltd. London and New York.

This famous work by Professor Dicey has become a classic in the best sense by reason of its weighty wisdom and formal excellence in exposition. In addition to ten editions since 1885, it has been reprinted more than fifteen times!

The U.K. has no written Constitution like those of France and the USA, Switzerland, Canada and Australia, India South Africa, West Germany and others. This is true only in the sense that its constitutional provisions governing the powers and interrelations of Crown, Lords and Commons, the Courts of Law and Local Governments are not stated in a single document formulated at one stroke as it were, but added to in small dribblets from time to time at long intervals through special processes.

There is no distinction between ordinary and constitutional laws in so far as procedure is concerned. They are passed by Parliament and Crown in the same way. This is indicated in modern textbooks by saying that Britain has a *flexible* constitution.

But Professor Dicey brought together all the Laws in force relating to the Constitution, statute laws as well as common laws, clarified by judge-made precedents and conventions accumulated through the practice of centuries and defined the powers of Crown, Lords, Commons and Courts and their limitations in clear language quoting from statute and law reports.

He outlined the principal features of the British Constitution under the heads of the Sovereignty of Parliament, the Rule of Law and Conventions.

He distinguished the legal sovereign which is Parliament which can make any law it pleases without question by any determinate superior. The only

limitation is physical and not legal. Parliament can cancel previous laws freely. He discussed the remains of the crown's prerogatives as only rights to be consulted and to advise.

The heart of Dicey's great work lay in the central section on the rule of law in which his illuminating exposition brought out in classic form the great tradition of European liberalism first completely developed in England from the days of the Magna Carta receiving clear definition in the great days of the Civil war of the Stuarts and Cromwellians. Three principles stand out as integral parts of the rule of law.

1. No man is punishable or can be lawfully made to suffer in body or goods except for a breach of law established in the ordinary legal manner before the ordinary courts of law.

2. No man is above the law. Every man whatever his rank or condition is subject to the ordinary law of the realm and amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals.

There is no administrative law enforced by administrative courts as in France.

3. The general principles of the constitution are in England (as for example the right to personal liberty or the right of public meeting) the result of judicial decisions determining the rights of private persons in particular cases brought before the courts, and not as in many continental nations the deductions of rights from definitions given in the Constitution.

We in India have had to adopt a written Constitution owing to the nature of the Federal Union we had to accept. A Federal government demands a written constitution to define the limits of jurisdiction of the Union vis-a-vis the States.

In the fundamental rights we took over the entire results of centuries of the struggle of Europe for human rights as against despotism.

We have to realise them in detail in day-to-day life through law and administration, civil practice and governmental restraint through generations.

In this necessary process of democratic education, Dicey's classic on the law of the constitution is indispensable.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

The Mind of the Nation

THE RED DANGER

That the Communist danger is real is effectively spotlighted in the latest speech made by Patil in Calcutta. In that speech, he warned Indian Democracy that it is now faced with a twofold Communist challenge—Chinese and Russian. While China, says Patil, is threatening violence, the Russian challenge is ideological.

Both are harmful to India, and the country must meet that challenge in a democratic way.

This statement of Patil is even more important than his open denunciation of the manner in which the Kamaraj Plan is being exploited to get rid of unwanted and inconvenient men. This, however, is an internal matter of the Congress which Congressmen themselves should debate and straighten out organisationally.

But Patil's warning about the double danger from Communism is a national danger which needs to be resolutely resisted on an all-party and all-India basis, especially as Nehru, whom the Congress has invested with dictatorial powers, is wobbling.

This provides the Opposition groups, irrespective of their political differences, with a golden opportunity to marshal their forces and fully back the efforts of those traditional Congressmen who are no less determined enemies of Communism and all that it stands for than any of the Opposition groups.

Here then is the reason for real political action. We are sure that men of Patil's standing in the Congress will certainly welcome such action.

—March of the Nation

News & Views

AMERICAN LOAN FOR 3 POWER PROJECTS

NEW DELHI: India and the United States have concluded agreements providing for American loans totalling Rs. 24 crores to the Bandel, Cambay and Birsingpur power projects.

The three thermal power stations will add 6,65,000 kilowatts to India's installed power-generating capacity.

These rupee loans have been made from the sale proceeds of U.S. agricultural commodities supplied to India under Public Law 480, according to an official Press release.

The U.S. is financing the entire cost of the three projects. Earlier agreements provided for loans totalling \$80 million (Rs. 38.1 crores) to meet the foreign exchange costs.

The Bandel station that is being constructed near Calcutta will become one of India's largest sources of electricity. Its four turbine generators will together produce 3,55,000 kilowatts.

BIJU GAVE Rs. 1 LAKH TO INDIRA GANDHI FOR RESEARCH!

Organiser reports:—

In January 1960, the Kalinga Industries Ltd., Cuttack, of which Chief Minister Shri Bijoyananda Patnaik was then Chairman of the Board of Directors, donated rupees one lakh only to Shrimati Indira Gandhi for "purposes of research and development" (?)

No reference was made to the shareholders when the gift was made. The shareholders' approval was sought 11 months later at a general body meeting held on December 29, 1960.

Shri Venkatraman, the Government nominee on the Board, objected to this huge donation in view of the heavy losses (to the tune of Rs. 3,85,548/-) suffered by the company in the year 1959-60. But the donation was approved nevertheless.

BREAD IS RATIONED IN RUSSIA

MOSCOW: Russian shops were rationing customers to a pound of white bread and four pounds of black—and flour appeared to be unobtainable.

A baker told a Western house-wife that rationing was "on orders." But a customer can still go from shop to shop to buy bread.

All papers carried the blunt news from Mr. Khrushchev that this year's grain harvest failed to reach expectations and that much wheat has been bought abroad.

Wheat Purchase

In a speech to farmers at Krasnodar north Caucasus Mr. Khrushchev said Russia had bought 6,800,000 tons of wheat from Canada, 1,800,000 tons from Australia and an unspecified amount from other countries.

He blamed the weather for creating a difficult situation on the nation's grain front and called for the production and use of more mineral fertiliser.

BUDDHISTS PERSECUTED IN CHINA

The Chinese leaders can go to any extent in trying to hide their ugly designs against their own people and their neighbouring countries.

The point in instance is the "personal" statement of Mau-Tse-tung at a meeting with the "South Vietnam Liberation Front" delegations in Peking, accusing the Government of South Vietnam, headed by Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, of bloody suppression" of Buddhists in that country.

But what is happening to Buddhists and their religion and culture in China itself?

The rulers of China have prepared a vast death-bed for Buddhism in China though they frequently harp on the freedom of religious belief in their country. They have robbed Buddhist monasteries of their wealth and means of subsistence. The centres of Buddhist religion have been converted into premises for factories, barracks or political meeting halls in the campaign to weaken religion. Monastic lands, hospitals and orphanages have been taken over by the state. Religious schools have been severely limited. Many monasteries have been destroyed, great libraries plundered and burned and religious books have been used for making shoe-soles!

VOA PACT BREACH HAS HIT INDIA

NEW DELHI: With the virtual scrapping of the V.O.A. deal India has lost the race with China in reaching world audiences through external broadcasts, it is gathered.

India did not have any ambitious plans to reach Africa or the West Asia in a big way and the figures available more than prove how tardy the progress had been.

In external broadcasts. India allots 11 hours and 30 minutes for Asia, four hours and 30 minutes for West Asia, four hours 40 minutes for Africa and just an hour for U.K. and Western Europe per day.

While this sounds tolerable on paper, in practice the effort is feeble as India does not possess transmitters powerful enough to bring within its sweep even Asia, not to talk of Africa.

In terms of capacity, India has 700 kw power which was sought to be increased to 1,400 kw during the Third Plan. The transmitters that were sought to be secured were not of any extraordinary capacity and even so the Information and Broadcasting Ministry came up against foreign exchange difficulty.

Chinese Potential

As against this, China has a total potential of 21,400 kw though unconfirmed reports put these figures at 40,000 kw. With the vast land mass at its disposal, China has been able to string its periphery with big and small transmitters which blare away in all Asian, West Asian and South African languages.

China's efforts to reach Africa is considered to be very rewarding. Both as far as transmitter capacity and broadcasting time are concerned. China has more than a decisive lead over India.

With all the ideological storm that has blown over the V.O.A. deal, none is in a mood to talk in comparative terms but one fact which stands out clearly is that the deal provided the answer to the questions that India faced.

A ready-made transmitter of gigantic dimensions was available and there was no question of foreign exchange. The tragedy of the broadcasting field is that there is no country which can provide such powerful transmitters even if it is assumed that India can make downright payment for it.

With the possibilities of reciprocal arrangements ruled out on ideological grounds, India naturally cannot expect any arrangement through the channels of another nation to help it out in its broadcast problems.

It is authoritatively learnt that barring the V.O.A. deal, India was unable to get any powerful transmitter from any Western nation not is it likely, to get anything in the foreseeable future.

S. K. PATIL ON THREE ENGLISH GIFTS TO INDIA: RULE OF LAW, DEMOCRACY AND ENGLISH

Mr. S. K. Patil, former Union Food Minister, warned the judiciary in Bombay against the tendency to "kow-tow" to the government or party in power in return for petty favours.

He was speaking at a luncheon in his honour arranged by the Society of the Justices of the Peace and Honorary Presidency Magistrates at Ambassador Hotel, Church gate.

English—"A Gift"

Mr. Patil drew thunderous cheers from the large and distinguished gathering when he remarked that Britain had left the Indian people three priceless gifts—a love for democracy, the English language and rule of law.

"I find some funny people in this country. They cannot show their patriotism without condemning English and throwing away the statues of Europeans. If you want others to respect you, you must learn to respect others in your lifetime. Nobody can be a good general unless he is a disciplined soldier," Mr. Patil asserted.

He said that if people did not like English they need not learn it for after all to be ignorant was their birthright but he wondered how the youth of the nation could compete with others in the absence of such a widely acclaimed international language which belonged to one and all.

Meanwhile, Mr. Patil called upon the people to "keep all the windows of their minds and hearts open" for language, like the air and water, was something that nobody could take away. "I would even join issue with the Queen of England if she claimed English as hers alone. English belongs as much to me as to Her Majesty," he added.

RULE OF LAW 'BREAKING' IN INDIA

Rule of law in administration is breaking under pressure of politicians, observed Mr. C. S. Venkatachar, former Secretary to the President of India in Bombay.

That was the reason for corruption becoming more widespread, he added, while addressing a meeting under the auspices of the Forum of Free Enterprise on Thursday.

Permits, controls and other forms of governmental economic intervention had increased scope for corruption because there was a civil war between politicians and civil service.

It there was to be economy and efficiency in administration, the present maladjustment between politicians and the civil service should be removed, he added.

INDIA'S PHONEY DEMOCRACY

TRIVANDRUM: What we have in India today is not real democracy but only a phoney democracy, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said.

"If we were true democrats which, I may say, we are not," the President observed, there would not have been so much of discontent and ill-will.

It was essential, the President said replying to the civic reception accorded to him by the Trivandrum Corporation, that a true democrat should look upon democracy not merely as a political arrangement but as an ethical faith,

Then they would not have "any kind of nepotism, corruption, and communal prejudice which have brought down the country to degradation."

KAMARAJ PLAN IS MAD MAN'S DREAM

VARANASI: Mr. Raj Narain, chairman of the Socialist Party, described the Kamaraj Plan as "Nehru bachao plan".

He told newsmen that the voting at the Congress legislators' meeting had almost "murdered" the spirit of the Kamaraj Plan with the warring groups in the party are making serious charges against each other.

The Kamaraj Plan would do no good to the administration and it was a mad man's dream, he added.

JUDGES ARE SORE OVER GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS PANSHET ENQUIRY REPORT

The Maharashtra Government's attitude towards the findings of the Naik Commission of Inquiry into the failure of the Panshet and Khadakvasla dams is reportedly being looked upon with disfavour in legal circles.

It is reliably understood that many judges in Bombay and those of the Maharashtra High Court in particular are giving serious thought to the matter.

A reliable source said that the judges were considering, in view of the developments following the submission of the Naik Commission's report, whether they should accept similar assignments from the Government at all.

Dear Editor

MARX ON LEGAL AND ILLEGAL METHODS

I would like, if I may, to take up further space in your journal to reply to Mr. Venkata Rao's letter of 15th July.

First of all, I would like to disabuse him, and any of your other readers who may have formed the idea, that—as far as the Socialist Party of Great Britain is concerned, Karl Marx and Frederik Engels were prophets who could do no wrong. Both of them, especially in the early days, made assessments of conditions then and forecasts of possible trends which they themselves later found had been inaccurate and untrue. We certainly do not “entertain an attitude of homage” towards them, but our political and economic analysis of the system of society in which we live and that which we wish to see, are based firmly on Marx's Theory of Value and The Materialist Conception of History. However, I would stress again, we certainly do not look upon him as one who could say and do no wrong.

To take first Mr. Venkata Rao's quotation regarding “Revolution in Permanence etc.” I think he is a little less than fair to take part of Marx's address to the Council of the Communist League; an address which in any case, was directed specifically to conditions in Germany at that time. Germany was then split into a number of semi-feudal principalities in which the developing capitalist groups were struggling for a share in government power. The 1848 uprisings throughout Europe had subsided, but the smoke had not yet cleared away. Marx was anticipating the impending breaking out of another series of insurrections on the part of the merchant traders, and he was outlying the tactics the workers should adopt during these insurrections. The insurrections however did not materialise.

Since then the position has changed radically. In the principal countries—excluding those behind the “Iron Curtain”—workers now have the power, through the vote, to change or abolish governments if the majority wish to do so. As I should like to point out later, Marx and Engels in their day changed their views on this question, in accord with the changing circumstances. However, to return to Mr. Venkata Rao's quotation, the following is a rather fuller excerpt from the same address, which included his extract:—

“Above all things, the workers must counteract as much as is at all possible during the conflict and immediately after the struggle, the bourgeois endeavours to allay the storm, and must compel the democrats to carry out their present terrorist phases. They must act so as to prevent the immediate revolutionary excitement from being suppressed again immediately after the victory. On the contrary, they must maintain it as long as possible. Far from opposing so-called excesses, instances of popular revenge against hated individuals or public buildings that are only associated with hateful recollections, such instances must not only be tolerated but the leadership of them must be taken in hand. During the struggle and after the struggle the workers must at every opportunity put forward their own demands alongside the demands of the bourgeois democrats. They must demand guarantees for the workers as soon as the democratic bourgeois set about taking over the government (Page 163 “Address of Central Council of Communist League.” Selected Works, vol. 2, Lawrence Wishart, 1942). As mentioned above, this obviously referred to the particular conditions at

that time and not to the establishment of Socialism at a time in the future.

Later, in 1895, in his introduction to “Class Struggles in France”, Engels stated the final view he and Marx had come to after experience of half a century. The following extract makes it clear that they had finished with violence and illegality because the workers now had the power through the vote to make what changes they wished:—

“If the conditions have changed in the case of war between nations, this is no less true in the case of the class struggle. The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organisation, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for with heart and soul.” The history of the last fifty years has taught us that. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long persistent work is required, and it is just this work which we are now pursuing.....”

Later, in the same volume “The irony of history turns everything upside down. We, the ‘revolutionaries’, the ‘rebels’—we thrive far better on legal methods than on illegal methods and revolt” (Page 189).

Consequently the “Revolution in permanence” no longer applies, except in the sense that it means a revolution in the outlook of the workers and a determination to capture the seat of power through the vote in order to alter the basis of society from class ownership of the means of production to common ownership. Thus Stalin certainly had no warrant from Marx and Engels to “liquidate unprecedented numbers of his fellow-Russians” — for what? To build up a state capitalist empire, following the customary methods of capitalist expansion.

The other statements of Mr. Venkata Rao are somewhat puzzling. Modern society has the capacity to produce sufficient to satisfy the needs of all. It does not do so because of the class division in society and the fact that goods are produced not for use, but solely for sale on the market. Thus, no matter what a person's need may be, if he has not the money to buy, he cannot get the goods he needs. Socialism means the abolition of the system of buying and selling, and replacing it with a system where everything that is in and on the earth will be the common possession of all mankind. The principle of Socialism is “From each according to his ability, to each according to his need” not, as in Russia “to each according to his work”.

One further point. As shown in the first quotation from “Class Struggle in France” above, no leaders are required to bring about Socialism. The masses must know what they are about and what is involved. When they do, they will not require leaders to tell them.

I am sorry to have taken up so much of your space but, in fairness to Marx and Engels, and to clarify the position of The Socialist Party of Great Britain in relation to them, it has been essential to quote rather lengthy excerpts from their writings.

E. GOODMAN,
London, Overseas Contacts Secretary
September 19, 1963 The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

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