

The Scourge of Torture

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

THE PUBLICATION of an Amnesty International report generally evokes mixed feelings. There is, on the one hand, appreciation over the thoroughness with which specific infringements of human rights are investigated and documented in these reports; there is, on the other hand, the inescapable depression which follows the recounting of gory details of man's inhumanity to man.

The latest in the series, *Torture in the Eighties*, is no exception. Covering some 98 countries of different political backgrounds, the report is part of AI's continuing campaign for the Abolition of Torture launched in 1972 with a view to ending the use of torture as a tool of state policy. It records a painful variety of human rights abuses which could be classified under this expanding rubric: electric shocks, prolonged incarceration in the most despicable conditions, brutal beatings, floggings, administration of psychotropic drugs, legally approved amputations, and so on. The conclusion reached is hardly startling: "While governments universally and collectively condemn torture, more than a third of the world's governments have used or tolerated torture or ill-treatment of prisoners in the 1980s."

What is startling, however, is the shameless hypocrisy which characterises the conduct of many regimes in the area of human rights compliance. Zimbabwe is a case in point. Ever since Robert Mugabe assumed office in April 1980, he has seldom lost an opportunity of proclaiming, in the most self-righteous tones, the superiority of his Administration over that of his predecessor, Ian Smith. But how far does practice conform to profession in Zimbabwe? The report under review provides some interesting answers.

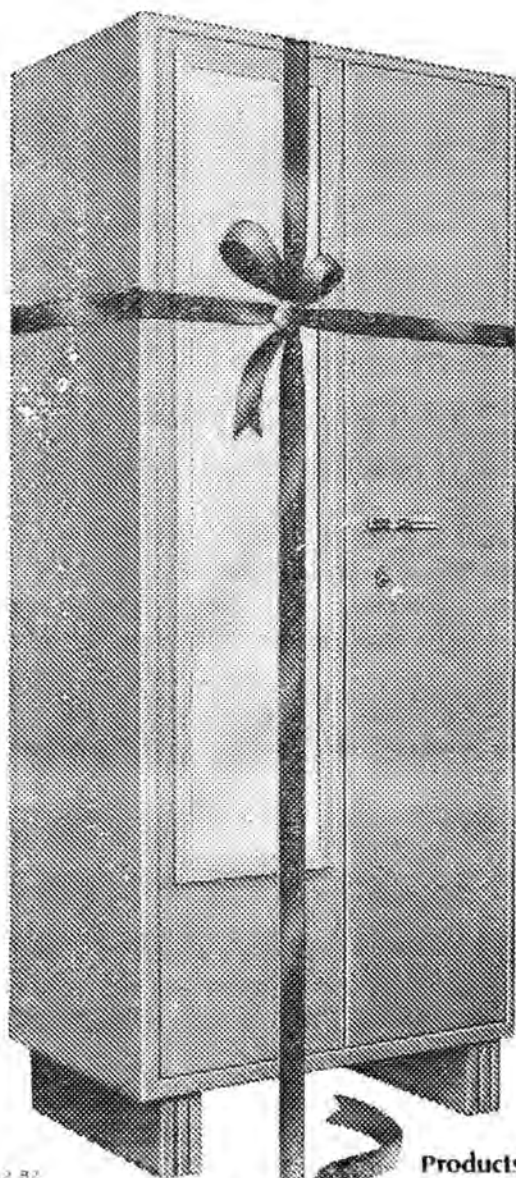
"Allegations of torture or ill-treatment were made in early 1982 following the arrest in December 1981 of suspected opponents of the government. Wally Stuttaford, a white member of parliament, was held incommunicado for the first month after his arrest and was assaulted during interrogation. He was kicked and punched, made to do strenuous physical exercise although aged over 60, and had his hair pulled violently, apparently in an attempt to make him confess to conspiring against the government. Pencils were inserted between his fingers and his hands were then squeezed..."

To be fair to Mugabe, it needs stating that his is not the only regime to indulge in this abominable

posturing: there are several others whose record is equally, if not more, shocking — Libya, Turkey, Iraq, Argentina, Chile, Indonesia and the Soviet Union, to name only a few. Our own government has not exactly covered itself with glory in Amnesty's opinion: "Police brutality and torture have long been common and widespread in India... Such methods are frequently used when people suspected of ordinary criminal offences are interrogated, in order to extract confessions or for purposes of intimidation. Each year, these police practices have resulted in the deaths of dozens of victims held in police custody."

While reports like the present one indubitably go a long way in heightening public awareness by shaking people out of their apathy and ignorance, it is debatable whether Amnesty International is justified in its optimism about the efficacy of international Conventions and Declarations as instruments for banishing torture and other degrading practices. If past experience is anything to go by, it is clear that as long as even the minutest trace of vileness persists in man, all Conventions, all Declarations, all Charters are as writ in water.

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AS I SEE IT

MINOO MASANI

BEFORE THE Golden Temple was stormed, I was interviewed by *The Sunday Observer* in Bombay on the subject of press censorship in the Punjab. I had no hesitation in condemning it. The general principle that pre-censorship is bad is valid at all times. Since Bernard Shaw wrote his celebrated Preface on this subject denouncing censorship in all its forms, nothing has happened to weaken that judgement. From the practical aspect, I said that the blocking of a free press in the Punjab would create a flood of rumours and make it impossible for people to know what really had happened.

The truth of what I then said has been borne out by the situation that has developed since the storming of the Golden Temple. I am confirmed in this view by seeing that Mr. Ramoji Rao, Chief Editor of *Eenadu* in Hyderabad, while delivering the keynote address on the anniversary of Mumbai Marathi Patrakar Sangh on 21st June, 1984, observed that "Recent desertions in the Indian Army would have never taken place had the press given a free and true account of the Punjab situation. The restriction of the freedom of the press under any circumstances is undesirable. It had best be left to the newspapers themselves to realise their social responsibility."

We are flooded every evening on television and radio with a story that has got stale by repetition and lacks credibility. Even those who supported the New Delhi action in Amritsar are bored with the propaganda that is being pushed down their throats every evening, and Mr. Madhu Mehta of the *Hindustani Andolan* has done well to suggest that a stop be put to it.

Those of us who read the foreign press are unable to decide whether to believe what we hear on Doordarshan and All India Radio or what the foreign press reports or neither. Thus, for instance, the Indian press carried the text of an editorial which had just appeared on June 21 in the *London Times*. Fine. But neither All India Radio nor Doordarshan nor even the Indian press carried a news despatch which was published on the front page of *The Times* and *Guardian* in London on June 14 under the title "Sikh rebels tied up and shot". This was a detailed despatch from Amritsar sent by Brahma Chellaney of A.P. I desist from giving the gory details of the massacre that was reported because they might not be true. But how am I supposed to know? And am I not

entitled as an Indian Citizen to know the truth? It is clear to me therefore that the gagging of the press in and about the Punjab has already proved to be counter-productive. The press as a whole, led by the Editors Guild of India, has condemned the censorship but it is sad that not a single journal has challenged it in the courts.

The *New York Times*, in an editorial entitled *Mrs. Gandhi's Version*, has commented on this situation: "The credibility problem is serious. For eight days after the action, the Punjab was closed to journalists. When foreign reporters finally were admitted, they were forbidden to take photographs or question the briefing officers. Without independent assessment of New Delhi's version of the events in Amritsar, questions persist about the number of casualties, the scale of the assault and the true circumstances of the death of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the Sikh extremist leader."

It is reported that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has written about Punjab developments to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. That is as it should be, but was Doordarshan entitled to carry repeatedly pictures of an idiotic demonstration outside the U.K. High Commission in New Delhi denouncing the B.B.C. which, as every schoolboy knows, is independent of the British Government, for reporting some remarks made by Dr. Jagjit Singh? One must conclude from this that our own government, which has a monopoly of radio and television and is prone to censorship of the press, has still not realised that the western Democracies do really have a free press and free broadcasting and television service.

* * * *

When I was a student at the London School of Economics long ago and Chairman of the Labour Party in the College, we had two communist members, both girls, whom we expelled on the instructions of the National Executive of the Labour Party. Freda Utlay, who was a somewhat passionate communist, was one of them. My last recollection of Freda Utlay was running into her in a park in Leningrad during my visit to the U.S.S.R. in 1927.

Later on, Freda, like a good communist, married a Russian national. During Stalin's purges in the late

thirties, her husband was arrested and imprisoned without trial, along with lakhs of others. Freda Utlay tried hard, both in Moscow and from London, to ascertain whether her husband was alive or had been executed along with many others without trial. This elementary information the Soviet Dictatorship refused to give her in the hope that, while she thought her husband was alive, she would not expose the horrible state of affairs in the Soviet Union about which she had now become aware somewhat belatedly. When Freda's efforts to obtain information about her husband or his whereabouts failed, she decided that she would no longer submit to this blackmail. She believed her husband had indeed been "liquidated" (what a delicate phrase!) and wrote a sad book about her disillusionment entitled *The Dream We Lost*.

In refusing to divulge the whereabouts of Mr. and Mrs. Sakharov and prove that they are alive, the heartless men in the Kremlin are not therefore creating any new precedent. They are only following in the footsteps of their master Stalin. In the absence of information about the Sakharovs in the last few weeks, Mrs. Sakharov's children who are abroad have advertised a reward of \$10,000 to anyone who can give reliable information about whether the Sakharovs are alive or dead or where they are now.

Human history is full of "man's inhumanity to man", but rarely has it touched the depths of what the Kremlin does to its own citizens and even to the noblest of them. Yet these be our Government's allies!

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POTENT MEDICINE OF THE MARTYRS

CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN

ACCORDING TO a writer in *The Times* (Michael Hamlyn), Mrs Gandhi's 'cleaning out' of the Golden Temple in Amritsar "represents a major blow against communalism and in favour of secularism."

Good news, if true. The writer goes on to argue that the storming of the Golden Temple is likely to win this year's elections for Mrs Gandhi. Is India full of secularists then, all of a sudden? No, it seems that the country is full of Hindus, as before, and that it is these whose approval is likely to win the elections for Mrs Gandhi. Tripping over his feet a bit, the writer goes on to indicate that this "blow against communalism" will in reality be seen as a victory of one kind of communalism over another:

"While the seizure of the Golden Temple will no doubt give deep satisfaction to the Hindu communalists, it could deal a death blow to Sikh communalism and secessionism, and so to communalism and secessionism in other parts of the country where regional and religious feelings are strong."

In short, the clampdown in Amritsar will please the Hindus, certainly, and (*perhaps*) frighten the Sikhs and other minorities out of secessionist ideas.

This is quite a rational line of policy for a democratic government of Hindu-majority India. Indeed a government of India has no choice but to pursue policies of this general type in order to hold India together. It makes sense, of a crude kind, where sense of a crude kind is called for. But to call the storming of the Golden Temple a victory of secularism over communalism is to accord to that act a kind of significance which it has not been shown to possess.

Nor does it seem likely that the storming of the Golden Temple will "deal a death blow to Sikh communalism." It seems more likely that—especially among young Sikhs affected by the news at the most impressionable period of their lives—it will tend to lift communalism into nationalism.

Up to now, most Sikhs seem to have been quite comfortable with the distinction between religion and nationality. They were Sikhs by religion, Indian by nationality. Quite simple, in theory: often not in practice.

Listening on radio last week to the distinguished Sikh writer Khushwant Singh, I couldn't help thinking of assimilated European Jews of the late nineteenth century, such as Theodor Herzl (up to 1895). These had regarded themselves as "Austrians (or Germans or whatever) of the Mosaic faith." Then they came to realise that an increasing number of their supposed compatriots refused to recognise the existence of the

category to which they believed themselves to belong.

Khushwant Singh, returning his literary medal to the Government of India, seemed to me to be in the grip of a similar rending experience.

Mistake me not, I *don't* mean that Mrs Gandhi's Government is 'anti-Sikh' or that it has engaged, or is even likely to engage, in excesses comparable to those of European anti-Semites (even nineteenth-century ones). Not at all, but there are social forces at work—and beyond the power of any government to eradicate—which have tendencies comparable to European anti-Semitism.

But—and here the analogy with European Jews ceases to apply—these tendencies have manifested themselves, with outstanding ferocity, among the Sikhs themselves. Men like Khushwant Singh are caught between the manic xenophobia of a section of their own people, and a majority xenophobia in India, partly sparked off by that of the minority.

Sant Bhindranwale seems to have been a genius, of a sinister kind. He wanted to make the Sikhs a nation, as well as adherents to a faith. The means he chose to that end were simple, bold, spectacular and (I fear) appropriate. By seizing the Golden Temple, and making it the headquarters for insurrectionary terrorism, he forced the Government of India to desecrate the Sikh holy place and make a martyr—literally—cut of him personally.

I should like to introduce here another comparison: with Irish history this time, not Jewish history.

On Easter Monday, 1916, Patrick Pearse walked into the General Post Office in Dublin, with armed companions, and so comported himself there as to bring about his own execution, and that of other leaders, at the hands of the British authorities.

The object of Pearse's action was to win the martyrdom he did in fact win, and so to transform the political outlook of what he and his comrades called the 'Irish people'; by that term meaning always—though never saying—the Catholic people of Ireland. Pearse was successful in this. By his martyrdom, Pearse turned Irish Catholics into political separatists. And Pearse's memory, his doctrine and his martyrdom are what sanctify the Catholic insurrection in Northern Ireland today.

And remember that *that* martyr didn't dispose of anything comparable to a Golden Temple. The building Pearse and his friends took over, when they took it over, was an entirely secular and utilitarian place. It was their martyrdom, earned in the Post Office, that turned that building into a shrine, for Irish nationalists.

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In Amritsar, on the other hand, the place of political martyrdom was *already* the holiest place of the Sikhs. A politico-religious shrine is superimposed on a religious one. I think that has to be potent medicine for many young minds. So I find it hard to believe in that "death blow to Sikh communalism and secessionism."

Analogies can be traps, unless you watch out for their limits. In what was briefly Biafra, in the Sixties during the Nigerian civil war, I used to hear young Ibos, educated by Irish missionaries, talk excitedly about Dublin's Easter Rising of 50 years before. Pearse and his comrades had *won*, in spite of the odds against them, so Biafra was going to win too. It didn't.

I don't think Khalistan—the Sikh independent state—has much chance of winning either. But a lot of people might die for it, as people did for Biafra.

Jewish nationalists and Irish Catholic nationalists, in the decisive phases of their move towards national independence, had forces on their side that were not on the side of the Ibos and are not on the side of Sikh nationalists today. The Jews and the Irish had to deal with a country—Britain—which by the twentieth century had accumulated more inhibitions about the all-out use of force than are likely to affect Govern-

ments of either Nigeria or India. And British inhibitions were greatly reinforced by American pressure, generated by the large and efficient Jewish and Irish lobbies in the United States. No such factor protects the Sikhs, if their nationalists—now or later—provoke the Government of India and its army into major repressive action involving the Sikh population generally.

Mere 'world opinion' affords little protection in such circumstances; in fact it is more likely to be a snare and a delusion, as for the Palestinians.

I have great sympathy with Khushwant Singh and with the many Sikhs who I know think and feel like him. But at the same time, I invite these—and know some of them read *The Observer*—to put no trust in our Western sympathy, such as it is. Their fate depends exclusively on the relations with the neighbours in India. If those relations fail, nothing outside India is likely to help them.

Fortunately, there are plenty of people in India—on both sides of this particular divide—who want to avoid disaster. But they are not likely to be helped by the memory, and the haunting myth, of the storming of the Golden Temple.

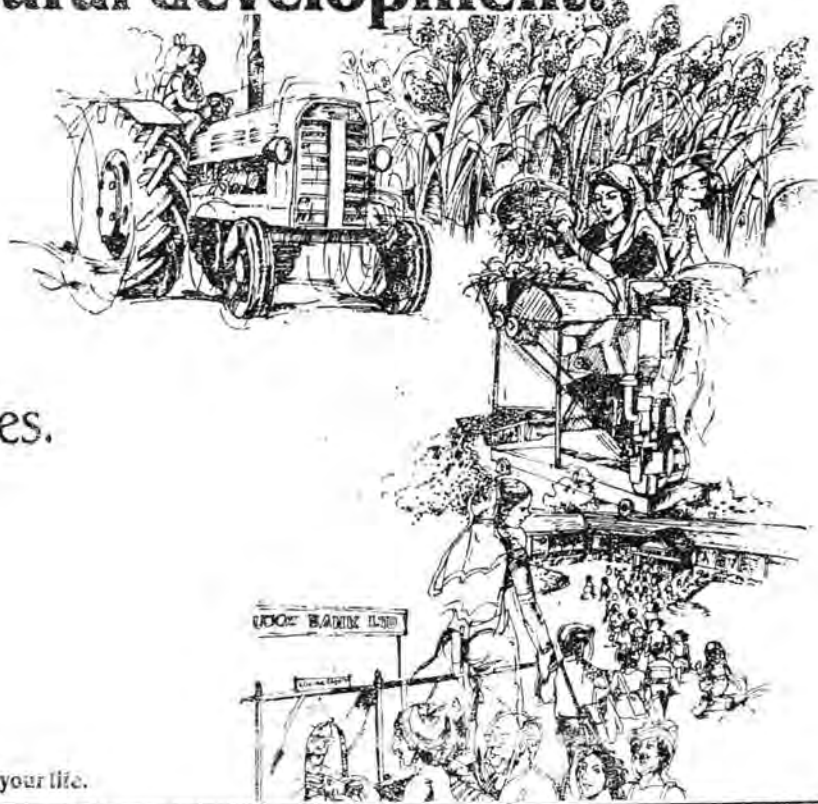
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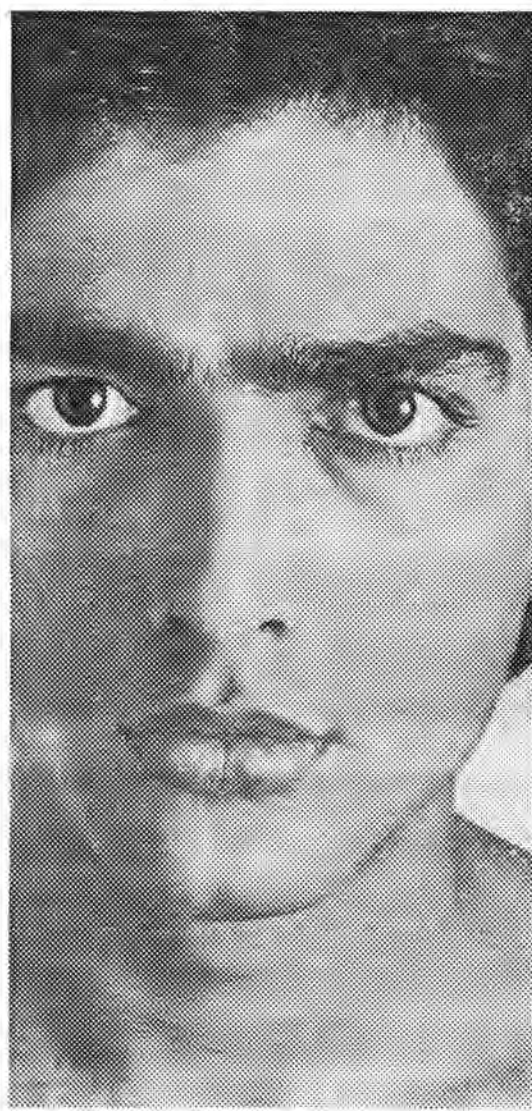
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BOOK REVIEWS

CONTROVERSIAL LORD BAUER

REALITY AND RHETORIC by P. T. Bauer
Weidenfeld & Nicolson; Pp. viii + 184; £11.95.

THE AUTHOR of this book, Lord Bauer, has had a distinguished educational career and is Emeritus Professor of Economics at the London School of Economics. He is the author of several books mainly dealing with post-war development economics in under-developed countries in West Africa and South-East Asia, some of which he has personally visited. On-the-spot enquiries and study have no doubt enabled Prof. Bauer to describe the other side of the picture of world development, but the conclusions he draws from the first-hand studies cannot be said to be complete just for the same reason. The book is a collection of ten essays and articles written on various dates and now published under the title of *Reality and Rhetoric*. In the author's words, the book deals with the "gap between the rhetoric of post-war development economics and the reality of economic progress in the Third World."

In fact, as I see it, the "rhetoric" belongs more to the author himself, while the "reality" on which he professes to be an authority, is nothing but a mixed kedgerie or borsch with a lot of repetition. The rhetoric arises from the diffuse and verbose style in which the author criticises the "power-greedy politicians and civil servants" and the "bored, disillusioned and ambitious academicians." Clearly, the author is a firm believer in *laissez-faire* and in the utility of "letting things alone," and, like an iconoclast, proceeds to attack all accepted theories of world development. In doing so, he is so sure of himself that he does not spare even established economists like Lord Keynes, Prof. Gunnar Myrdal, Prof. Baran, Prof. Kilby and others. Also, there is a whole chapter on "Ecclesiastical Economics" in which he discusses Pope Paul VI's writings on the subject of development in backward states, concluding that "The Pope has lost all contact with reality (*sic*) both in what he says and what he ignores."

Curiously however, Prof. Bauer's own "contact with reality" has not led him to formulate any definite theory of economic development and he expresses "reluctance to attempt such formulation," while at the same time he rejects the theories based "either on sequential stages of history or on the conventional type of growth model." His approach is entirely *negative* and he pooh-poohs any achievements of developmental activity based on international aid. Thus, commenting on Prof. Kilby's view that a certain

EQUALITY, THE THIRD WORLD AND ECONOMIC DELUSION by P. T. Bauer, Methuen & Co. Ltd.; 1982; Pp. 293; £5.95.

PROF. AMARTYA SEN described Peter Bauer as "one of the most distinguished development economists in the world, and undoubtedly the foremost conservative one." Yet, conservatism *alone* can hardly be the bedrock of anybody's claim to fame; unless it is of Bauer's brand which combines rigorous logic with the straightforward empiricism that continuously rescues economics from populism and ideology. In the same tradition as his earlier opus *Dissent on Development*, the book under review brings together at its provocative best a collection of journal papers and addresses that exposes the economics which preaches in the garb of analysis.

After being inundated with numerous treatises that predictably conclude the superiority of statist socialism over capitalism (empirically, such piety is an embarrassment), Bauer's book refreshingly breaks with that tradition. In fact, the patent irony of the socialist tradition is that the more it fails in practice the more fiercely it is idealised. If socialism did deliver what it promised in the ideal, its idealisation might be warranted. But if socialism is intrinsically impractical, nostalgic and an inherently authoritarian idea, the universal din on its behalf bodes ill for humanity. It is bad enough that socialism deprives people of their liberties; some might even tolerate that idea if it served at least to produce sufficient bread. The empirical record, however, is no more promising about the production of bread than it is about the protection of liberties.

Bauer extends the traditional empirical critique of the socialist promise one step further by demonstrating not only the poverty of the system in empirical reality but its intellectual bankruptcy at the very foundations. My personal exuberance is reserved for "The Grail of Equality" where Bauer argues that "the successful pursuit of the unholy grail of economic equality would exchange the promised reduction or removal of differences in income and wealth for much greater actual inequality of power between rulers and subjects" before concluding that "there is an *underlying contradiction* in egalitarianism in open societies" (*italics mine*).

Such a conclusion was brilliantly argued earlier by Robert Nozick in *Anarchy, State and Utopia* but buried beneath sophisticated symbolology; and abstruse thought paradigms was inaccessible to the

amount of industrialisation is a necessary condition for successful economic development, he says that "While manufacturing is often a concomitant of certain phases of economic development, it is neither a generally necessary nor a sufficient condition for it." He ridicules the idea of the Marshall Plan as a model for aiding the Third World—stating that "The analogy is misleading, for the damaged economies of Western Europe had to be revived, not developed"—which is all a hair-splitting distinction without a difference.

In chapter II—"Market Order and State Planning"—the author, while controverting Prof. Myrdal's view regarding the desirability of planning and aid, contends that "some less developed countries had been advancing rapidly without planning." He forgets, however, that several unaided countries (including India) had to wade through poverty for centuries (under early British and pre-British regimes). If, in some less developed countries, there had been some advance without planning or aid, does it mean that *with* planning or aid, the advance would not have been even greater and more rapid?

The chapters on Black Africa and Nigeria and on Immigration Policy in West Africa contain much historical—almost learned—information, without any useful or serious conclusions, and a lot of *obiter dicta* without much relevance to the main problem at issue. The final chapter, "Reflections on the State of economics," contains an attack not only on classical economists, but also on comparatively modern economists like Keynes. In Orwellian style, the author declares that "In Economics we have sunk to such depths that statement of the obvious has become the first duty of thoughtful people."

To conclude, I feel that judging from the various statements of Prof. Bauer, he is fit to be the spokesman of the current conservatism of Reagonomics, according to which literally trillions of dollars can be squandered on destructive armaments by the developed countries, on destructive armaments, but a few millions cannot be spared for helping the poorer sections of humanity, for more respectable or constructive purposes. It is to be noted that Prof. Bauer has not a word to say about this criminal international waste! Perhaps, when he sits down to write again, he may find out how the EEC is dealing with the ACP (African Caribbean and Pacific) nations, and how the World Bank under pressure from the Reagan Administration is browbeating some of the Asian countries by squeezing the IDA.

—B. P. Adarkar

general reader and those unfamiliar with jargon. Bauer remedies the shortcoming with an argument not less sophisticated but certainly more accessible when, with almost lyrical beauty, he bitterly denounces the unjust social determinism that underlines most discussions of poverty in free societies. "The poor are seen as helpless victims of their environment, people at the mercy of external forces and without will of their own. The implication is that they are without the primary human characteristic of responsibility. This determinism, however, does not extend to the rich. They are seen as having wills of their own which are somehow deployed for selfish and even villainous ends. Poverty is thus a condition caused by external forces and not by personal conduct. Wealth, on the other hand, is the result of conduct which is purposeful but reprehensible. The poor are seen as passive but virtuous, the rich as active but wicked." Modern egalitarian thought with its uncritical vision of *économisme* will have to rethink the premises of its paradigm and till then, need I say more on why the first section on *Equality* is a classic?

The second section on "The West and The Third World" contains a selection of seminal papers whose one distinguishing characteristic is the way they critically examine the prevailing economic orthodoxy. "The Population Explosion: Myths and Realities", a landmark paper that may perhaps be the best in economic demography produced in this generation, attacks the pet notion of planners at the United Nations, prestigious universities and government bureaucracies, that countries without natural resources are doomed to economic anaemia. This has been disproved by the spectacular material advances in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore which have scant material resources. So too, the vulgar notion that overpopulation forecloses substantial economic improvement, a thesis amply disproved by world economic history but often used as an alibi by governments eager to absolve themselves of the failure of populist policies, is disposed of by Bauer's theoretical *honesty* and straight forward empirical documentation. The classic example of Hong Kong whose population doubled from 2.2 million to 4.5 million from 1954 to 1977 even as its economy blossomed and wages soared fourfold will always remain inspirational. The political lesson of Hong Kong, moreover, Bauer reminds us, is "that a non-elective government can be more limited than an elected one; and that for most ordinary people it is arguably more important whether government is limited or unlimited than whether it is elective or non-elective."

His guarded pessimism with respect to British colonial Africa, thanks to the stifling policies of Nkrumah and his ilk, cannot however erase the fact that more and more African nations are slowly relearning the value of market forces and incentives to spur productivity, expand private farming and encourage foreign entrepreneurs. Even if this turns out to be merely a casual flirtation with capitalism, happening as it is in Africa it could be the most significant free market breakthrough since the collapse of merchantilism two centuries ago.

Considering that even if black Africa ultimately backslides, the case for capitalism in the Third World—truly an awkward term for conglomeration of economically backward countries—will have been largely established. And a collection of obnoxious myths about economic progress will have been destroyed. For starters, the overarching notion that the path to national wealth is paved by government manipulation of the economy will have been discredited. Which country has the freest economy in black Africa? The Ivory Coast. Which has the highest per capital income? The Ivory Coast. Equally tarnished will be the idea that wealth is widely shared only when redistribution is aggressively pressed. Where is it least pressed in black Africa? The Ivory Coast. Where is wealth more broadly distributed, the Ivory Coast or socialist Tanzania? Guess.

Going against the grain of political orthodoxy in

an unbelievably (and avoidably!) detailed critique of foreign aid, Bauer argues that aid must be viewed as more than just a simple transfer mechanism of capital. What is currently needed is a broad research programme to re-examine the entire rationale of the aid framework and a thorough evaluation of which groups really benefit from aid. What can be said with a fair degree of *a priori* certainty is that the groups for which the aid is usually intended, viz., the poorest of the poor, seem least to benefit from it. This, in turn, may well lead to the larger issue, which Thomas Sowell and Walter Williams have raised in another context, of whether institutionalised affirmative action aid programmes only serve to exacerbate the problems of poverty. One can hardly fail to recommend a serious re-reading of this very important issue.

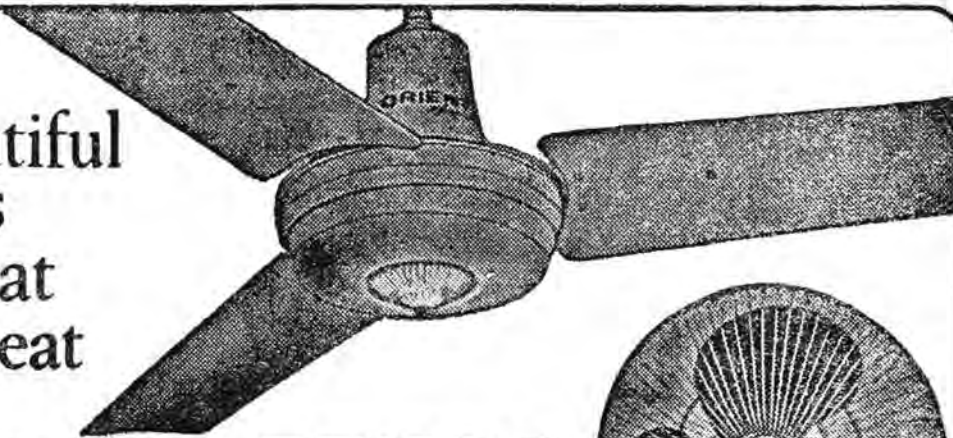
This reviewer has been particularly ecstatic about a very provocative piece entitled "Western Guilt and Third World Poverty" where Bauer seeks to demolish the allegations of Western obligations towards the experienced poverty of Asia and Africa. Thanks to Marxist hermeneutics a substantial constituency specialising in vociferously establishing Western guilt exists, quite oblivious to the fact that most serious students of international justice find the problem of "yesterday's wrongs and today's rights" as tricky as it is perplexing with no simple solutions in sight. Moreover, the misplaced concern of such theorists seems to be primarily divesting the West of its re-

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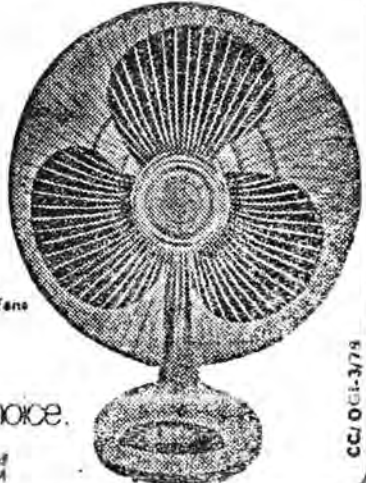
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sources, rather than examining the real effects of its donations. As Bauer concludes "These policies damage the West. They damage the ordinary people in the Third World even more".

While one is enthralled by the sizzling rigour of Bauer's logic displayed generously throughout the book, in the final analysis attention must be drawn to the power of his underlying moral protest. The final section "On the State of Economics" is really an economist's lamentation pointing that 'the exposure of economics to political influences and to intellectual fashion is likely to ensure the persistence of its confused state, in which there will continue to flourish side by side genuine advances of knowledge, meretricious displays of technique, and crude lapses which acquire a life of their own'.

What is really at stake, however, is not simply intellectual honesty or good economics but ultimately the very nature of the distinctively libertarian vision of political economy. If our predecessors sought to develop the basic formulations of liberty and economic advancements our task can be none other than to continue the same. The entire world has need of this knowledge. And we ourselves need to know that our work in developing the system of freedom we have received to yet new heights is of immense value to the entire human race. For the destiny of humankind is our destiny. The least we can do is be faithful to our own genius—to understand the system we defend thoroughly, to cherish it and to make it work for the good of all mankind. Bauer's work is a magnificent contribution to that onerous task.

—Ashley J. Tellis

Mr. M. R. Masani comments:

The Editor has invited me to comment on the reviews of two books by Prof. Peter Bauer. I am not surprised that the reviewers have taken somewhat different views about what Peter Bauer has to say, because there is no doubt Prof. Bauer's writings have been considered controversial.

I have little to add to what Mr. Tellis says in his review but I feel constrained to cross words with my old friend Professor B. P. Adarkar.

The essence of Prof. Bauer's plea is that aid serves as an opiate in many countries of the Third World. "The one common characteristic of the Third World is not poverty, stagnation, exploitation, brotherhood or skin colour. It is the receipt of foreign aid. The concept of the Third World and the policy of official aid are inseparable. The one would not exist without the other. The Third World is merely a name for the collection of countries whose governments, with occasional and odd exceptions, demand and receive official aid from the West. Official aid provides the only bond joining together the diverse and often antagonistic constituents. This is currently so and has been ever since practically all of Asia, Africa and Latin America came to be lumped together in the late 1940s as the underdeveloped world, the non-aligned world, the developing world, the Third World and the South." Professor Bauer goes on dryly to observe: "Many Third World governments derive their aid from the West, but their ideology and political stance from the East." Notable exceptions, who really are making progress, are Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, the Ivory Coast, Malaysia and Thailand.

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Bauer even puts in a kind word which I for one welcome, for that much-abused phenomenon called colonialism: "Orwell's Newspeak is rife here. For instance, according to UNCTAD in 1964, colonialism is incompatible with material progress. This was announced at a time when Hong Kong, the last remaining sizable Western colony in the Far East, was progressing so rapidly that Western countries were imposing controls on imports from it to protect their own domestic industries. The idea that colonial status precludes material progress is refuted by obvious evidence from all over the world."

Many of us in India will sympathize with Professor Bauer's plea against politicization of our national life and its disastrous results. "Far-reaching politicization of life intensifies the struggle for political power, at any rate until all opposition is forcibly suppressed. Such conflict is particularly likely in heterogeneous countries. In many less developed countries, especially in Asia and Africa, different ethnic, tribal and cultural groups who had lived together peaceably for decades, even centuries, have been set against each other by the extensive politicization which has taken place since the Second World War. Evident examples include South-east Asia, Burma, Sri Lanka, East Africa and Nigeria."

I can certainly vouch for the accuracy of this in so far as Sri Lanka is concerned because there can be no doubt that the ethnic feud between the Sinhalese and the Tamils was aggravated by the transfer of power from the British and the high political price of the vote. Peter Bauer could have also included India in the list of countries mentioned above. Are

not Assam and Punjab also examples of the evils of far reaching politicization?

Till recently, Prof. Bauer was looked upon as a kind of gadfly who was giving a bad time to the fashionable protagonists of economic aid to the Third World. Now, the tide has turned. The answer to the question why Peter Bauer is coming into favour has been given by an economist who says: "He has caught a tide. The performance of Third World countries has been disappointing, partly it's the recession, and partly perhaps it's the over-rosy picture of the prospects of the colonial countries built up by people like *The Observer*, Bauer is telling a certain sort of person what he, or she, wants to hear."

My own agreement with Bauer's position is based on views which I had arrived at independently way back in the early 1950s. They were expressed in my two articles in *Foreign Affairs* in the USA at that time. The Swatantra Party's manifesto, which we drafted in 1959, rejects official aid while welcoming foreign equity capital in the country's interest. If Professor Bauer is in a minority, along with me against the "development lobby" represented by Gunnar Myrdal, Baran, Ted Heath and Brandt, so much the worse for them.

Like the late Professor B. R. Shenoy, Peter Bauer can perhaps be accused of an abrasive style. When you are in a minority of one against a misguided majority, you are likely to be a little aggressive. I recall that in the fifties and early sixties, when I was alone in opposing Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's pattern of planning, which is now widely realised to be disastrous, I had a difficulty in controlling my impatience with his many sycophants who caused it.

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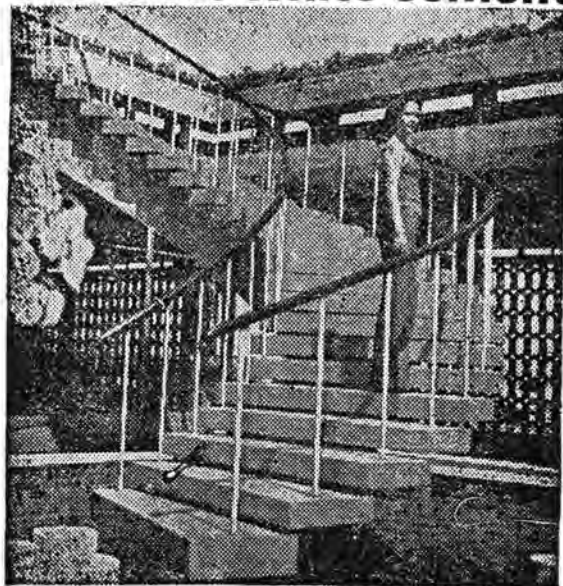
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Usually you have to be either very young, very old or very sick before anyone will read to you.

—Robyn Archer quoted in *The Observer*, June 17.

If corruption really bothered the Cong. (I), half the chief ministers belonging to that party would go.

—Recently-deposed Sikkim Chief Minister Nar Bahadur Bhandari, *Indian Express*, June 11.

America has no guts.

—Ayatollah Khomeini quoted in *The Times*, May 31.

How many family conflicts could be avoided if only we could buy basic goods close to home, get a decent meal out, or have the laundry done or shoes repaired cheaply?

—Quoted from the Russian daily *Pravda* in *The Sunday Observer*, June 24.

Nothing was done to stop the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and very little is being done now to help the Afghan resistance.

—Editorial in *The Times*, May 25.

A five per cent rate of inflation halves your money in fourteen years. A four per cent rate sounds significantly lower but even that would involve prices rising by fifty times in 100 years.

—Editorial in *The Times*, May 25.

Russia has for the time being rolled itself up (like a hedgehog) into a ball.

—*The Economist*, June 2.

Soviet laws proclaim the equality between the sexes. But life for Soviet women is anything but equal.

—Tatyana Mamonova quoted in the *International Herald Tribune*, June 27.

Birth control pills and contraceptive devices are in short supply in the Soviet Union, and sex education is non-existent.

—Judy Klemesrud in the *International Herald Tribune*, June 27.