

Where do we go from here?

V. B. Karnik

ELECTIONS will be over in the next few days. It is to be hoped that they will give the country a stable government. A number of social and economic changes are essential, but they will not take place and even if they take place they will not abide unless there is a stable government. A stable government is the supreme necessity of the hour.

On this occasion, the elections had assumed or were made to assume a peculiar importance. They were regarded as an expression of a vote of confidence in or a vote of no-confidence against the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. She became the central figure of all agitation and propaganda. The opposition parties began the game by concentrating all their criticism against her and holding her and her alone responsible for all the misfortunes that have befallen the country. Mrs. Indira Gandhi continued the game by holding herself out as the one and only saviour of the country and of democracy and socialism. This was a very undesirable development as it is out of this type of propaganda, both for and against, that a personality cult develops which is inimical to the growth of democracy.

Another disquieting feature of the election campaign was the lurid light in which the contesting parties painted one another. The opposition parties were more to blame in this respect than others. They painted Mrs. Gandhi and the Congress(R) as the enemy of democracy and as leading the country in the direction of communism and as making it a satellite of Russia. The elder statesman, Mr. Rajagopalachari wrote in his usual column in *Swarajya*: "If the Prime Minister should receive what she calls a 'mandate from the people' to carry out her plans, the nation would be sending justice, freedom, the authority of the Supreme Court and the Constitution to the slaughter house". These are very strong words. They were written after the Congress(R) had published its election manifesto which contained not a word of scrapping the Constitution or undermining the authority of the Supreme Court. The statement can be regarded as an indica-

tion of the deep feelings that the election had aroused. Retaliating, the Prime Minister and her supporters painted the opposition parties as reactionaries and as enemies of the poor and the oppressed.

This type of propaganda leaves no room for an intelligent choice. Carried away by the alarmist propaganda the voters rush to register their votes against the Prime Minister and her party or, disbelieving it, they crowd around her and her party to defend them from the vicious attacks of their opponents. This atmosphere is not conducive to the proper functioning of a democracy. In an election in a democracy the bonafides of all parties must be accepted. The only exception to this general rule can be only those parties of the right or the left which are on principle opposed to democracy and work for its subversion. Except for those parties, all others must be credited with the desire to work for the good of the people according to their lights but within the framework of democracy. Then alone voters can make an intelligent choice between parties and their programmes. In this election that opportunity was denied to the large majority of voters.

Another alarming feature was the eruption of violence which took place during the election campaign in many parts of the country. Bengal has been the hot bed of violence for many months. During the election campaign it assumed a particularly vicious character. A number of political workers, including a couple of persons contesting the election, were murdered in cold blood. This abnormal situation prevailed, no doubt, only in Bengal. But in other parts also there was a certain amount of violence. It will be difficult any day to say definitely how election in any place was vitiated by violence. Sometimes violence has a contrary effect, as happened in Manipal, where a Chief Minister was defeated by a big margin because his supporters committed some acts of violence. But, whatever the result, it is most undesirable that violence should play any part in a democratic election. If democracy is to survive elections must take place in a free and fair manner and without the slightest trace of violence or intimidation. All democrats must unitedly condemn the acts of violence that took place in this election and endeavour to keep the future elections scrupulously free from them.

The election led to the fragmentation of all parties. On one side was the so-called national democratic alliance whose one and only objective was to topple Mrs. Gandhi. It brought together a conglomeration

of parties with widely divergent ideas and programmes which one of its principle advocates was compelled to characterise as "unprincipled". The alliance developed many cracks since it was formed and is unlikely to survive the election. On the other side was defection mostly into the ranks of the Congress(R) which took place in many cases for reasons no more honourable than real or fancied self-interest. This has reduced all parties to shambles and most parties are now no more than combinations of ambitious politicians out to retain or capture power. In a way the development was inevitable and need not be regarded as a setback to democracy. The hope entertained by many of the emergence of a two-party system has proved as immaterial as a dream. Equally immaterial has been the hope of polarisation. The political and social situation is so mixed and confused that it cannot be tackled on the basis of the conventional left and right alignment. The country will have many parties, both national and regional which cannot be regarded as left or right. There will be many shifting alliances between them. In addition there will be many individual shifting from one party to another as occasion demands. This is a fact of the Indian political situation which every dispassionate observer must accept.

The fragmentation of political parties may prove a blessing in disguise. It will enable independent public-spirited individuals to come to the forefront and take their proper place in shaping and influencing national policies. They will be above the vulgar struggle for power. Being disinterested, their only interest will be national interest. They can, therefore, look at all problems from a detached point of view and suggest

measures necessary for their solution and ensure their implementation. Even if a few men of this type are returned to Parliament they will change the political situation in the country. The country will not be then buffeted between the forces of the right and the left or between the forces of narrow nationalism and militant nationalism but will see progress straight in the direction of social progress.

Social progress is a term which can have many meanings. But if everybody will not insist on his acceptance of his meaning lock, stock and barrel, it will not be impossible to evolve a consensus which will be acceptable to all. The election manifestos of all democratic parties will, if they are properly examined, yield such a consensus. During the election campaign it may have been necessary to emphasise differences both with regard to the objectives as well as the means to be adopted for reaching it. That need not continue after the election. After the election, the attempt should be to discover agreement and similarities so that all those who are elected, whatever their party, can work together for the benefit of the people. India is at a stage where she can ill afford the constant struggle for power between a party or an alliance of parties in power and parties and groups in opposition. What is needed is common effort by all to help the country move forward.

Whatever, therefore, the result of the election, parties wedded to democracy and freedom must realise that they have many things in common and that, whether in power or in opposition, they must work together if they are to serve the country. That is where we must go from here.

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A Farewell To Real Politics?

Arvind A. Deshpande

IT has become all too clear by now that although every political party was expecting a snap poll, none was really prepared for it. This is reflected in the manifestos of almost all political parties. The only words I can think of to describe the manifestos are "unimpressive", "disappointing" and "innocuous". This may be due to the poll assuming the character of a referendum. But what worries a serious student of affairs is an attempt by almost all the political parties to avoid real politics and issues. The question to be posed is whether this nation is really interested in doing great things in politics. One gets an impression that it is not. Our politics gives one a feeling that one is not watching a flowing river but a stagnant pool. Be that as it may, I will endeavour to divide the manifestos into three broad trends indicating certain strategies of growth. These trends are:

- (a) The statist or socialist, moderate left economic strategy;
- (b) The Anti-statist, anti-communist, partly liberal, partly Gandhian and partly conservative strategy;
- (c) The extreme left and Communist strategy.

For the sake of clarity and simplicity, I would place the Congress(R) and the PSP manifestos under the first category, the Congress(O), the Swatantra, the Jana Sangh and to some extent the SSP under the second category and both the Communist parties especially the CPM under the third.

The Congress (R)

This manifesto re-emphasises the Congress party's commitments to the accepted goals such as a ceiling on urban property; the reduction of glaring disparities, speedy land reforms, special measures to deal with unemployment, abolition of privy purses and privileges and the enlargement of the public sector.

These goals have been elaborated in a twelve point programme which the party will seek to implement if it got a clear mandate from the voters.

A distinguishing feature of the manifesto is the ruling party's irritation over certain judicial pronouncements which according to the party had made it impossible to implement the Directive Principles of the Constitution. The party will, therefore, seek such further constitutional remedies and amendments as are necessary to overcome the impediments in the path of social justice. The manifesto however, gives no indication of the nature of amendments contemplated. The

manifesto says that its aim is property rights for largest number whatever that might mean.

The party also promises that to enable the private sector to make its legitimate contribution to the growth of national income and employment, it will be its efforts to simplify regulations and avoid delays. The private sector will be stimulated to the maximum extent possible without allowing the emergence of private monopolies and the concentration of wealth and economic power. There is also an assurance to the minorities that the party would continue to protect their rights and interests.

The party also envisages the control of prices to ensure supplies of essential commodities at reasonable rates. It also provides for elementary education to all children and reshaping of secondary and higher education to suit the present needs.

The party promises a stable Government and also that industries in the public sector will be organised and run in such a way so as to create resources for further investment.

The manifesto on the whole is frightfully innocuous. There is complete absence of the ultra-radical stance that marked the earlier phase of Mrs. Gandhi's rule. In fact in regard to property rights, and ambitious planning the party is almost on the defensive.

The Praja Socialist Party

The Praja Socialist Party seeks a clear verdict of the people on its radical democratic socialist policies which will strive for fundamental structural changes, radical land reforms, effective measure to break the stranglehold of monopoly, socialization of the commanding heights of our economy, restoring to Parliament the sovereign right to amend the constitution so as to remove all obstacles in the path of social economic reforms and introduction of measures to ensure economic equality and social mobility.

In practice, all this means nothing very different from what Mrs. Gandhi has promised. The other two features of the PSP manifesto which deserve mention are:

- (a) its foreign and defence policy and
- (b) its solutions to the problem of unemployment.

The party while opposing military alliances will not refuse to judge every international event on its merits. It favours forging of close links with Asian countries against Chinese expansionism. The party also feels that friendly relations with the Arab world are compatible, with similar relations with Israel. The party would also strive to be self-sufficient in conventional

as well as nuclear weapons starting with tactical nuclear weapons.

To solve the unemployment problems, the PSP will place greater emphasis on cottage industries as well as agro-industries and labour intensive techniques. It will undertake a massive programme of rural and urban housing and road construction. It will also introduce unemployment benefits and old age pension.

The Democratic Front – Congress (O)

The parties that have been placed under the second category have formed a four party alliance and have pledged themselves to providing the country a Government "wedded to the cause of political, economic, social and secular democracy, the integrity and independence of our country and speedy economic and social justice." They are all agreed that the main aim of Mrs. Gandhi's party is to achieve absolute power by raising seductive slogans to mislead the country and take it away from the democratic path.

The main features of the Congress (O) manifesto are:

- (a) A firm faith in a democratic, 'socialist' and secular society;
- (b) A firm faith in fundamental rights including right to property and democratic freedoms with special emphasis on the role of the Judiciary;
- (c) Maintenance of law and order;
- (d) A pragmatic approach to planning;
- (e) Simplification of licensing procedures leaving the grant of licences to a semi-independent board;
- (f) Reduction in deficit financing and increase of production of consumer and other goods;
- (g) Decrease in the costs of production and economy in governmental expenditure as measures to check prices.

The Swatantra

The Swatantra Party had hoped to fight the elections on an agreed programme of a democratic alternative offering clean and good Government on the basis of the A.I.C.C.(O) resolution on June 28, 1970 which the party along with the Jana Sangh had welcomed and accepted.

Within the scope of that agreed programme the Swatantra Party emphasises the following points:

- (a) Defence of the Constitution, Fundamental rights and liberties;
- (b) Maintenance of law and order;
- (c) Employment – the problem of unemployment will be tackled by undertaking a massive programme of public works and a programme for providing rural and urban housing, electrification, minor irrigation, village roads etc.
- (d) A department of economic opportunities will be added to the Government of India with a budget

of at least Rupees one thousand crore in the first five year period.

Some other important features of the manifesto are:

- (a) A Commission on Civil Rights to be set up to look into and help correct discrimination against any section of the people in education, employment and economic activities and ensure effective assertion of equality of opportunity in economic and social life.
- (b) It also emphasises that monopoly has to be curbed. The only real cure from monopoly is the encouragement and restoration of competition. Where monopoly conditions cannot be removed, a reasonable amount of regulation becomes necessary.

It is surprising that the party does not say anything on defence and foreign policies. But on the whole this manifesto read with the Congress (O) manifesto can be said to provide some sort of an alternative to the ruling Congress party's economic programme.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh

The main features of the Jana Sangh programme are:

- (a) Defence – recovery of the Indian territory now occupied by China and Pakistan – increase strength of the armed forces and manufacture of nuclear weapons;
- (b) Independent foreign policy and bilateral alliances with countries on the basis of reciprocity of interests. Recognition of Taiwan and independent status of Tibet and Sinkiang and full diplomatic recognition of Israel.

Domestic policies:

- (c) Emphasis on a strong Centre;
- (d) Uniform Civil Code to govern law of marriage, inheritance etc.;
- (e) Agrarian Reforms to ensure fixed tenure for peasants and rationalisation of land rents. Industrial Development with special emphasis on decentralization, Swadeshi and labour intensive projects. No expansion of public sector except in power, mineral oils and defence industries; fixing of minimum wages at Rs. 125 and a house for every family;
- (f) Minimum use of foreign capital;
- (g) Abolition of privileges and privy purses through negotiations.

The Samyukta Socialist Party

The manifesto of the fourth party in the race namely the SSP cannot be taken very seriously because some of its main aims and objectives are contrary to both the principles and policies of the other three parties. All that the SSP manifesto does is to

(Continued on page 11)

China And The World

(Contributed)

THE *New China News Agency* greeted 1971 with special reports on the progress of revolution and the "anti-imperialist struggle" in Africa, Latin America and "Oceania" (Australia and New Zealand), though with regard to Asia it gave prominence only to Communist guerrilla operations in the Philippines during 1970. While the groups supported by NCNA were all presented as "anti-US" and as oppressed peoples spontaneously revolting against monopoly capital, reactionary authorities and neo-colonialism, many are no more than militant opponents of legitimate governments. Nevertheless the NCNA broadcasts underlined China's reluctance to cool her revolutionary ardour in the process of initiating diplomatic ties. Indeed, Chinese diplomats and other officials now returning to posts in Africa and Latin America may intensify their subversive as well as legitimate activities in the hope that contacts with Chinese sympathisers there will offer a chance of fostering a Maoist opposition.

In Africa, wider diplomatic ties and growing economic involvement have brought no diminution in Chinese activities among the "liberation" movements and, in the independent States, among some militant opposition groups—despite past rebuffs. In January, 1965, Burundi broke off relations with China and expelled her disproportionately large diplomatic mission after some of its members had been accused of interfering in Burundi's internal affairs and aiding rebels in neighbouring Congo-Kinshasa (where the Chinese had no representation). Chinese arms and ammunition were also discovered in the country. In the Central African Republic, all Chinese diplomats, experts and NCNA correspondents were expelled in January, 1966, after Peking's hand had been disclosed behind a "popular army"—said to have been drawn up to assassinate the head of State and seize power. Less than two years later, Tunisia suspended relations with Peking because, according to a government statement, the Chinese Embassy had disseminated propaganda in a way amounting to "consistent interference" in Tunisia's internal affairs.

Chinese journalists and trade officials seem to have played a particularly active subversive rôle in Latin America, where China's only full diplomatic mission has been in Cuba. By 1960 NCNA had offices in eight Latin American countries, but the illicit activities of the agency's correspondents resulted in the office in Ecuador being closed in 1963 and the Venezuelan representative being arrested the same year. After nine Chinese—two of them NCNA correspondents and three

members of the permanent trade office—had been arrested in Brazil in 1964, they were found to possess a list of Brazilian generals to be assassinated, literature on guerrilla warfare and information about a training camp for guerrillas about 50 miles from the capital. At the end of 1966 the Mexican authorities arrested members of a pro-Chinese "Marxist-Leninist Movement" which had been receiving funds through the NCNA office.

By 1970, only two of the five Peking-staffed NCNA bureaux in Latin America—those in Cuba and Chile—were still functioning, and after the death of Guevara and the guerrilla setbacks generally, China seemed to have given up her more ambitious plans to weaken the United States through the promotion of "people's wars". But she has not abandoned them completely.

Chinese propaganda continues to report the activities of the few remaining pro-Chinese parties and Maoist splinter groups and to highlight all anti-American actions, particularly those involving students and peasants. In the past few months, publicity has been given to the Brazilian peasants' struggle, to the "farce" of the Brazilian parliamentary elections and—for the first time in a year—to the operations of the Maoist *Ejército Popular de Liberación* (EPL) in Colombia.

Following the recent improvement in her relations with Cuba and Chile, however, China may prefer—like the Soviet Union—to concentrate on developing ties through official and semi-official channels. An exchange of greetings and diplomatic courtesies for Cuba's National Day in July and a visit to China by a Cuban friendship delegation were followed by the establishment of an office of the Cuban news agency, *Prensa Latina*, in Peking in November. Shortly afterwards a Chinese ambassador was appointed to Havana (after a four-year gap).

Although Peking reacted cautiously at first to the election of the Marxist Dr. Allende as President of Chile in September, it eventually approved his programme as "anti-imperialist", and Chou En-lai, in a congratulatory telegram, spoke of the Chilean people's "just struggle against imperialist aggression... for the defence of national independence". The Chilean Foreign Minister announced on January 5 that his government had decided to recognise China and that agreement had been reached to exchange ambassadors as soon as possible. Other likely targets for Chinese diplomatic and other overtures are Peru (which received relief aid from Peking after her earthquake last year), Ecuador and Bolivia.

Signals from several Asian States—India, Indonesia,

Malaysia, Burma, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand—that they would welcome a detente with China in the wake of her return to comparative normality have remained unanswered, and for the time being Peking seems to consider it more to its advantage to encourage armed insurrection against most of their governments. Of the 27 new Chinese ambassadors appointed within the past 18 months, only six have gone to Asian posts and one, the envoy to Cambodia, returned to Peking after the fall of Sihanouk. The other posts were in countries with which China has a tradition of good relations (Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal and Afghanistan), as well as North Korea. Similarly, over half the delegations to and from China in the same period came from more distant continents, and the Asian ones were limited to Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal and Japan, and such Communist neighbours as North Korea, North Vietnam and the “liberated areas” of Laos. Hostility towards the Japanese Government, however, continues, and the Chinese seem to have little desire to get on speaking terms with their powerful neighbour until the government abandons its ties with the United States.

Indeed, as far as most of their non-Communist neighbours are concerned, the Chinese leaders are chary of offering relations of “peaceful coexistence” at present, evidently setting greater store by promotion of militant Communist regimes and disruption of pro-American ones. Thus with regard to India, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore, Peking’s approach concentrates on supporting Communist guerrillas and inciting dissident national minorities to join them.

A good deal of Maoist propaganda is also circulated in Singapore through a variety of channels and, according to the Indonesian army journal, *Chas*, on December 28, some of this is now being smuggled into Indonesia and distributed among the villages. *Chas* complained that Indonesia was becoming a “battleground” in the propaganda war between Moscow and Peking, with both sides seeking to restore some influence with the masses. But though the Chinese compete with Moscow for the loyalty of the local Communist Parties and denounce Soviet efforts to gain a foothold in Asia, they appear unwilling as well as unable to match Moscow’s example in most countries in seeking to extend their influence through trade and aid and by showing the flag.

Pakistan and China remain opposed to a Soviet-inspired security system and Moscow has a sizeable task in seeking to extend ties with Pakistan at China’s expense. President Yahya Khan was offered further aid while visiting Moscow in June, 1970, and under a new five-year agreement effective from January 1, 1971,

Soviet-Pakistan trade is to be expanded and diversified. Moscow also supplies arms to Pakistan in rivalry with China, despite Indian objections.

The Chinese, who had received the Pakistan President in Peking shortly before the election, reported it without comment. But they clearly do not intend to let their antagonism to all “bourgeois” forms of democracy damage their ties with Pakistan. The 200 million dollars of aid promised during the President’s visit for Pakistan’s next Five-Year Plan will make the Chinese contribution to the economy comparable with that of the Soviet Union. The inclusion in the Pakistan delegation of the head of the joint Chief of Staff Secretariat and the Director of Munitions Production also points to a further military aid agreement.

Afghanistan has a common border with China and the Soviet Union, and both Communist Powers have considerable aid projects as well as trade agreements there. The Soviet Union is also active on the cultural and educational fronts. The absence of any formal political parties (all members elected to the Afghan parliament stand as independents) has meant that Afghan Marxists committed to Moscow or Peking have formed unofficial groupings which turn mainly towards the student population for support. Reports suggest that the Maoists have also increased their student following in the past six months, bringing this up to the strength of the Moscow sympathisers.

In Nepal, China has exploited recent strains in Indo-Nepali relations, with NCNA using the bilateral negotiations between India and Nepal on mutual trade and transit as an opportunity for anti-Indian propaganda. Dissatisfaction in schools and Nepal’s proximity to the Maoist Naxalite insurgents in West Bengal also gives China a chance to reinforce her own influence. Eastern Nepal has witnessed growing activity by left-wing extremists, and reports have emerged of Mao’s thought being propagated in schools in the area and of children being turned against their non-Communist parents. The lack of political parties, as in Afghanistan, means that students and young people offer the best breeding ground for Communist doctrine. The present office-bearers in the Tribhuvan University Students’ Union in Kathmandu are Mao-sympathisers, and led a student strike there in September.

China now provides about one-sixth of Nepal’s total foreign aid—though her contribution remains far less than India’s. China’s projects in Nepal include a tannery and shoe factory, a hydro-electric scheme and a brick and tile factory, but her most substantial undertaking is in building roads. Nevertheless the highway between Kathmandu and Tibet may be of less use to Nepal than to China since there is little economic activity in the area it serves.

Two Seminars - A Report

(A Participant)

THE Leslie Sawhny Programme of Training for Democracy and the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, West Germany held in Bombay in the last week of December, a three day seminar on "The Widening Gap". Discussion leaders and participants in the Seminar included Prof. P. T. Bauer of the London School of Economics and Political Science, Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. G. L. Mehta, Dr. F. A. Mehta, Mr. A. D. Moddie, Prof. B. R. Shenoy, Prof. Baljit Singh, Prof. A. Das, Prof. M. V. Namjoshi, Mr. Ram Singh, Mr. N. K. Somani, Mr. C. L. Gheevala, Mr. K. M. Chinnappa, Prof. J. I. Laliwala and Prof. G. G. Gadgil. The seminar discussed the problems of planning for development and the role of Government in developing countries and the different aspects of the Widening Gap.

Considering the wide variety of the personal experience, backgrounds and views of the twenty participants who included economists, public men, journalists, professionals and management men, though there was naturally no unanimity the degree of agreement that was forthcoming on certain fundamental issues was highly encouraging. It was generally agreed that the problems of developing countries had yet to be properly identified and that there were no simple answers to them.

The Seminar had a highly illuminating discussion on the concepts of 'vicious circle of poverty' and the 'widening gap' between nations. It was clear that in general present poverty did not represent a fundamental barrier to economic progress and that the thesis of the 'vicious circle' could not be made a basis for arguing the necessity of comprehensive planning or of massive international aid. It was also seen that in view of very rapid material progress in a large number of poor nations—one could not meaningfully talk about a widening gap between the rich and the poor. It was much better to concentrate on the reasons behind the poor performance of certain specific economies (e.g. India, Indonesia, Burma or Brazil) which tended to pull down the 'average' performance of the developing economies. There was a large measure of agreement that *neither* comprehensive planning *nor* international aid is either necessary or sufficient for ensuring rapid economic progress.

The Seminar had the benefit of an exposition of the sociological and cultural problems faced by those who were responsible for implementing policies. To the extent that Indian attitude to economic development is ambivalent, and there is a traditional rejection of the dynamic concept of wealth, this needs to be changed.

The functions of Foreign Aid in the context of the

Widening Gap were discussed at length. After the second world war, massive quantities of aid had flowed from the advanced nations of the world to the less developed nations. This had probably been motivated by a number of factors such as the desire to maintain a balance of power between the free world and the communist bloc, a genuine desire to help less fortunate sections of world society, the promotion of world peace etc. It was difficult to make a general statement on the desirability or otherwise of foreign aid. By and large the participants agreed that Foreign Aid had come to stay as an integral part of the resources of a developing economy. There were differences of opinion as to the quantum of foreign aid that a country should receive, the purpose for which it should be used and the channels through which it should be obtained.

The Seminar discussed the advantages and drawbacks of the participation of Foreign Equity Capital in the economic development of a country. Some participants recognised that the recipient country had both the right and the duty to be selective in accepting foreign capital while others pointed out that this would involve dictation by planning authorities and a denial of consumer needs. Properly utilised foreign capital had a strong positive role and this had been neglected by many underdeveloped countries. While the resentment against a total control by foreign equity capital of certain sectors of the economy was understandable, it was felt that a more mature view should be taken and developing countries should utilise the opportunities available for promoting the transfer of technology and managerial skills through private foreign investment.

The Seminar discussed how political realities in developing nations affected the prospects of material progress. It was agreed that the contrast between rapidly rising expectations and poor achievements represented a potentially explosive situation. As a consequence, political parties in such societies were inclined to take extremist and radical postures. This made the acceptance of pragmatic economic policies difficult. The Seminar, however, noted that there were certain signs which showed that the situation did not warrant despondency. Radicalism had in many cases reached its *reductio ad absurdum*. The growing public disappointment with the performance in the governmental sector, comprehensive planning and the politicisation of economic life represented a significant trend which was welcomed by many participants.

Another Seminar that the Programme organised along with the Stiftung was on "The Role of the Nation-State in the emerging one world". It was held in Poona from January 31 to February 2. Participants and discussion leaders included Dr. S. L. Poplai, Dr. J. D. Sethi, Prof. A. B. Shah, Mr. Prabhakar Padhye, Mr. M. R. Pai, Mr. Nandan Kagal, Prof. S. K. Ganguly, Brig. J. P. Dalvi, Brig. N. V. Bal, Mr. M. S. Kirloskar and Smt. Shakuntala Paranjpe.

The Seminar had an illuminating discussion on the concept of nationalism and its relevance, particularly to developing societies and on the role of the nation-state in the emerging one world. It was agreed that nationalism was a complex phenomenon which defied rational definition. As a unifying factor it still had relevance in the newly independent nations and it could be a positive and constructive force inspiring and calling forth man's best endeavour. The Seminar, however, was also warned of the negative side of nationalism and it was noted that while nationalism could inspire, it could also, when overdone, lead to aggression, internal suppression and isolationism.

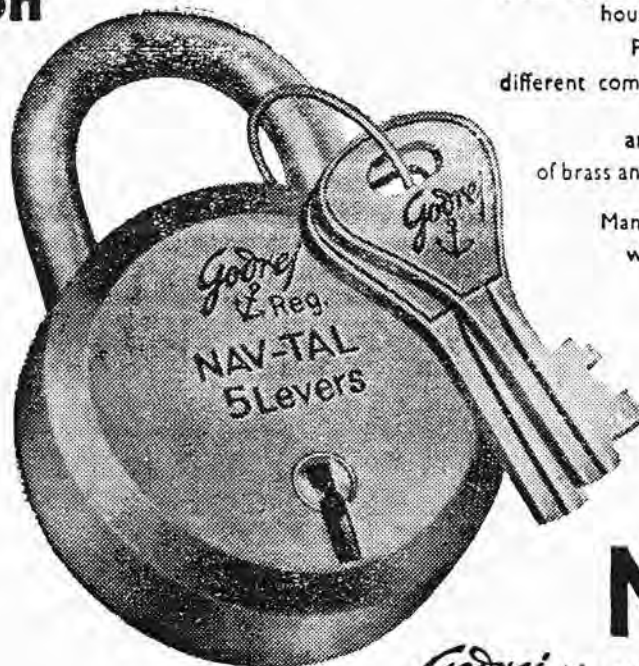
The Seminar took note of the various aspects of national interest and discussed the current arms race.

It was noted that the existing world system of power balance tended to concentrate both military and economic power in the hands of a few nations, and before a more just and equitable world order emerges, there will have to be a decentralisation of military and economic power and a series of regional balances of power.

The question whether communism was an obstacle to international cooperation, peace and harmony came up for discussion and it was generally conceded that communism which started as a movement for international brotherhood and equality had assumed in the case of certain countries the characteristics of an imperialist adventure. Unless communist big powers give up their aim of subverting other societies and believe in coexistence not as a tactic of marking time but as a step towards further harmonious co-operation, there could be no peaceful world order but only a non-decisive stalemate between two mutually incompatible worlds.

The lively and stimulating nature of discussions and the reaffirmation of faith in the capacities of peoples of developing countries testified to the value of the Seminar.

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Reviews

The Administrative History of India 1834-1947

Dr. B. B. Misra, Oxford University Press, Rs. 100/-.

THE Indian Institute of Public Administration deserves to be complimented for persuading and assisting Dr. Misra to bring out an excellent book on the administrative history of India during the most crucial years between 1834-1947.

Without fear of contradiction it can be said that Dr. Misra's book is replete with many qualities like erudite scholarship, keenness of perception, objective and precise analysis and a style of presentation that adds elegance and makes it extremely readable. On the topic dealt with by Dr. Misra there is no dearth of books. Still his book carves out a place of pride for itself and shall ever be classed amongst the best on the subject.

The year 1834 marked the abolition of the trading rights of the East India Company, and the complete centralisation of administrative power in the Governor-General and his Council. In the economic field *laissez faire* was on the ascent. It certainly did not serve the interests of Indians. On the contrary the rich became richer and the poor poorer. The slight expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council under the Act of 1833 marked the dawn of the era which was to duly witness the establishment of a separate and distinct legislature. It may be remembered that the growth of representative government did not loosen the despotic grip of the bureaucracy which dampened the spark of Indian initiative. The author aptly remarks that the imperial educational policy, designed to create a middle class which would be helpful to the rulers, paradoxically enough ushered in the democratic tide. The birth of the Indian National Congress added a novel facet to the problems of the Britishers.

The author further adds that despite occupational specialisation and availability of capital, capitalist enterprise could not grow in India due to the lack of fusion of education and skill where caste had a marked role to play. "The Imperial rulers", says the author "preserved India's social divisions for political reasons. Thus was made secure the authoritarian-base of the society which was further accentuated by an imbalanced economic growth."

The preponderance of the officialdom adversely affected the local self-governing institutions. In fact the so-called democratic decentralisation only contributed to the infiltration of official influence down to the villages.

The spirit and form of administration was influenced by the towering personalities of British administrators. Dr. Misra in this regard cites the example of Mr. Munro, who was responsible for moulding the office

of the Collector giving it a newer dimension, along with similar other cases.

The author explains the dominance of the executive by reference to factors like, extended functions of the state, stable rule and the peculiar structure of the Indian society.

This book, running into more than 650 pages deals exhaustively with various topics in different chapters. Initially it gives a critical account of the evolution of the organs of government and its many departments through Acts passed between 1833 and 1947.

The chapters on civil service, administration of finance and local self-government are exemplary. This is not to underrate other parts of the book, which provide a panoramic view not only of the British administrative system but also of the Indian society. Dr. Misra has successfully depicted administration in the context of the society. Any description of an administrative system is bound to be inadequate and incomplete unless it takes cognisance of the society in which and upon which it operates.

In all humility the author says that due to "the vastness of the canvas and the varied content, no study in depth was possible". But the reader would spontaneously assure Dr. Misra to the contrary. The invaluable bibliography given at the end speaks volumes for the industry of the author. Students of India's administrative history would find Mr. Misra's book rich in rewards. The contents of the book amply justify its price.

V. B. PATANKAR

Aspects of India's Foreign Policy

A. G. Noorani, Jaico Publishing House, Rs. 10/-.

THIS is a collection of articles on foreign policy written by Mr. Noorani during the last nine years. It covers about four hundred pages and the publishers must be complimented on making it available to readers at the modest price of Rs. 10.

Mr. Noorani has established a name for himself as an independent and fearless political commentator. Some of his views on certain aspects of foreign policy are against the current trend of opinion in official and non-official circles. Undeterred by the fact, he publicised them over the years, in article after article. This courage of conviction is a notable trait of Mr. Noorani's writing.

The articles in the volume are divided topicwise into eleven chapters. The topics covered are roughly India and Pakistan, India and Asia, Nehru and Non-Alignment and Some Territorial Questions. There are a number of articles on Sino-Indian and Indo-Pak wars. They deal mainly with political problems which gave rise to and arose out of the wars. The issues in dispute with the two countries are discussed in a dispassionate and objective manner. There is also a

discussion of the Kashmir problem. The discussion may not appeal to ultra-nationalists but has the merit of a clear analysis along with a plea for an amicable settlement.

It is clear from the book that Mr. Noorani is firmly aligned with democratic U.S.A. and aligned against communist Russia and that he does not see any early prospect of an understanding between the two. His discussion of all international issues is based upon that reading of the situation.

Some of the articles are reviews of important books. They give an idea of Mr. Noorani's wide reading and of his critical mind. The reviews bring out strong as well as weak points of the books reviewed.

Some of the issues discussed in the volume are no longer alive, but it is interesting to know what a sensitive political commentator thought about them when they were prominently before the public eye. The book will be a useful addition to the library of any student of current Indian affairs.

V.B.K.

Indian Polity—A Plea for Reform

R. A. Gopalswami, Nachiketa Publications, Rs. 26.

MR. GOPALSWAMI, a retired administrator of high eminence, has made in this book several suggestions for establishing a two-party system which alone can, according to him, end the political instability developing in the country. The suggestions include enactment of a law for setting up constitutional parties and for changing election methods and procedures. The author should have realised that the political situation characterised by fragmentation of parties cannot be changed merely by passing a law. He should have further realised that there was little hope of such a law being enacted when it was going to strike at the root of several parties. The suggestions made by Mr. Gopalswami have, therefore, little chance of being seriously considered by parties and politicians.

The other problem considered by the author is the problem of the universities churning out each year a large number of graduates who find no employment. The problem is indeed, acute. But can it be solved by severely restricting entry into institutions of higher education? Entry into those institutions will be demanded by larger and larger number of persons as long as the employment market places a premium on degrees and diplomas awarded by them. Large-scale expansion of the employment market and the abolition of the premium on university degrees and diplomas are the only way of tackling the problem. Mr. Gopalswami has in that connection advocated manpower planning for administrative services and special institutions for imparting administrative education.

Mr. Gopalswami has obviously taken great pains over formulating and elaborating his proposals. Whatever their utility or practicability, they deserve to be discussed. Nachiketa Publications have helped that discussion by bringing them together in a well-printed and attractive book.

N.D.

Without Comment

South Africa Arrests Religious Leader

THE Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Reverend Gonville French-Beytagh, has been arrested and put into seclusion under the terms of the South African Terrorism Act. This means that he has no guarantee of judicial procedure and that he can be detained indefinitely without reason given. This piece of legislation has on previous occasions been used as an umbrella for torture and long periods of complete oblivion for those arrested under it. It is dictatorial and iniquitous.

In this case, the prisoner has received a consular visit—he is a British citizen—and he will doubtless be charged and deported. The South African Government is probably not insensible enough to its own interests to torture a leading foreign clergyman.

The police claim that the Dean was arrested because of his private life. This, however, need not be believed, since there is proof that the arrest followed a long period during which the security police had been taking notes on his sermons. The Dean is well-known for his opposition to apartheid, and he has doubtless long been aware that his outspokenness could lead him into trouble. He has refused to accept any kind of apartheid in his own cathedral church, and this has certainly made his sermons doubly lethal in government eyes. In short, he knew what he was doing, and he has now reaped the reward. He is a most courageous man and deserves honour.

Nor is it likely to be a coincidence that his arrest comes so soon after the visit to South Africa by Dr. Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury and head of the world Anglican Communion. This visit was also marked by outspoken opposition to apartheid and was looked on by the government as a disaster. Dr. Ramsey says that he was spied upon during his stay in South Africa, and he has compared conditions in that country with those under Communism.

—*Swiss Press Review and News Report*

A FAREWELL TO REAL POLITICS — *Cont'd from page 4*

articulate feelings and anger of the more vulnerable sections of our society.

Their manifesto talks of a new Constituent Assembly to be convened to ensure the development of people's languages, preferential opportunities to backward sections and economic equality and establishment of a four pillar state structure through decentralisation of administration.

The party also wants curtailment of the right to property. The other features of the manifesto are:

- (a) Foreign policy — India must quit the Commonwealth;
- (b) Economic policy — all industries and foreign capital will be socialised;
- (c) Land revenue on economic holdings will be abolished;
- (d) A ceiling of Rs. 1500 per month will be enforced on all personal expenditure;
- (e) Education — English medium — Primary schools should be closed within six months. English should be made an optional subject in colleges.
- (f) Labour — minimum national wages should be fixed. The entire working class will be covered by a comprehensive scheme of social security.

The Extreme Left

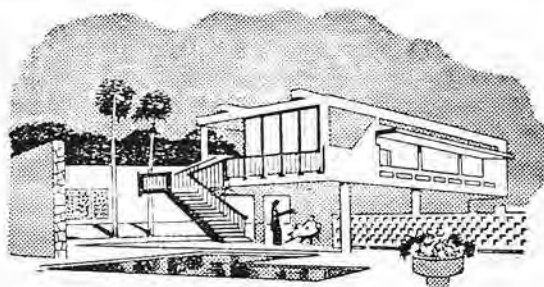
We now come to the parties placed under the third category—the CPI and the CPM. The CPI manifesto is another innocuous document. Except talking about radically changing the Constitution to guarantee the supreme authority of Parliament, and the talk about strengthening secularism to fight communalism and protect the interest of minorities and establishing friendly and peaceful relations with anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and socialist countries based on non-alignment, the party hardly has anything new or interesting to say. In the non-economic field the party has some interesting things to say such as regional autonomy to tribal areas, gradual introduction of Hindi as official language, due place to Urdu, abolition of the institution of governors and upper houses, introduction of proportional representation in all elections, free and compulsory education upto the secondary stage, and repeal of all measures repugnant to the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

The CPI (Marxist) which claims to be the real and genuine Communist party in India, has some common features with the CPI manifesto. The main distinguishing features are:

- (a) Replacement of the present Constitution by a new one;
- (b) Enshrining the real sovereignty of the people in place of the sovereignty of the vested interests;
- (c) Annulment of special powers of the President;

- (d) The courts must function as instruments of people's will and not as instruments opposing popular progress;
- (e) Protection of the rights of Muslim minorities, effective punishment for practising untouchability, reasonable autonomy for tribal areas, widest autonomy for States. Government to be fully responsible for the distribution of food, higher taxation for the richer sections and ceiling on urban income, moratorium on all foreign payments.
- (f) Stoppage of further American aid and nationalisation of foreign trade and capital, monopolies and big industry. Stoppage of retrenchment and scrapping of automation. In short, replacement of the present bourgeois landlord state by People's Democratic State led by the working class.

All this hyper-leftist talk seems logical, but will obviously never work in India. Such a programme can change India into a powerful totalitarian and industrial nation. It can also to some extent lead to a spread of education amongst poor people but it is doubtful if it will ever bring happiness. One of the founders of Marxism, Engels, in his mellow old age, said that it was always a mistake to try "to make people happy by force". Our Communists have apparently forgotten this.



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With Many Voices

"The deep
Moans round with many voices. Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world."
—Tennyson.

The CPI is an extreme right reactionary.
—M. R. Masani, *March of the Nation*, February 6.

For the last five years, the executive branch of our Government has been fighting two wars—one in Vietnam and the other at home in both houses of Congress.
—David Lawrence, *U.S. News & World Report*, February 8.

For too long much of our apparent prosperity has been based on illusions.
—Prime Minister Edward Heath, *Indian Express*, February 9.

India and Pakistan appear to be in for a fresh spell of confrontation—and troubled relations.
—Inderjit, *Economic Times*, February 9.

If I win I will be the minister and if I lose I will become the governor.
—Narendra Singh Mahida, Union Minister of State for Defence, *Janasatta*, February 2.

Demonstrations of temper may sometimes be effective with a fond mother, but Yahya or Bhutto or anyone else in authority in Government or politics in West Pakistan scarcely qualifies for that role.
—*Opinion*, February 9.

India, even more than Britain, needs the warning bark of a free press to maintain a free society.
—*Indian Express*, February 15.

And doesn't Zulfikar Ali Bhutto realise that his rabble-rousing and heroics are setting Pakistan on a course of collision with India?
—*Illustrated Weekly*, February 21.

At long last it has dawned on the rulers, planners and policy-makers that something has gone wrong seriously with the Indian economy due to faulty planning.
—*The Pioneer*, February 20.

The disruption of West Bengal's educational system is now nearly complete.
—*The Statesman*, February 20.

The issue involved in the famous 'Golaknath case' was that of power and supremacy between the Supreme Court and Parliament, and not whether the Constitution was supreme or not, because no side had denied the supremacy of the Constitution.

—P. K. Tripathi, Dean of the Faculty of Law, Delhi University, *Bhavan's Journal*, February 21.

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V. B. KARNIK
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