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MAKE ENGLISH THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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EDITORIAL

THE VANQUISHED VICTOR

North Bombay electoral fight between Mr. Krishna Menon, the present Defence Minister of India and the Veteran Ex-Congress President and National Patriot Acharya J. B. Kripalani was fought to the bitter end by both the sides and it resulted, no doubt, in the victory of Mr. Menon over the Acharyaji. But the victory, to our mind, is only apparent and deceptive. Despite the unexpected wide gap between the votes cast for Mr. Menon and those cast for Acharya Kripalani, those who have been eye-witnesses to the dirty tactics employed by Mr. Menon's supporters and workers, will come to the only conclusion that Mr. Menon is no more than the Vanquished Victor. This victory has added not an inch to the stature of Mr. Menon as the Defence Minister or as a true Congressman; nor could it be said that it has enlisted any sincere and honest support of the electorate for the Defence Minister's foreign policies and particularly for his policy of surrender to the Chinese aggression on India.

Acharya Kripalani, it must be said to his credit, by putting up a heroic fight against Mr. Menon has remarkably succeeded in bringing home to at least the politically conscious sections of the public, the dangerous implications of the Defence Minister's policies towards China and his pro-communist attitudes and leanings as reflected in his activities at the UNO and of the pro-communist twists and turns he has been giving, all along, to the basic policies of the Indian Government. The Defence Minister has not been able either before or during the elections, to refute satisfactorily the charges levelled against him that his words and deeds have, if anything, encouraged Chinese aggression against India. All that he could say, was that the Chinese aggression would be vacated at the proper time. This naive explanation would not carry conviction to anybody except the gullible and the ignorant, particularly in view of the thousands of square miles of Indian territory occupied by the Chinese army without the Indian Defence Minister doing anything effective to curb this Chinese intransigence on our Northern Border. To cover his sins of omission and commission on this front, Mr. Menon lighted upon the bright idea of melo-dramatically throwing the Portuguese out of Goa by military action, against the declared policy of the Indian Government in this regard and clearly expressed disapproval of the prominent Western countries like America and Britain. This mock-heroic battle against the ill-equipped Portuese military stationed in Goa, might have been a good election hit and might have brought Mr. Menon a large number of votes in North Bombay election, but in no way has it enhanced his or his spiritual men-

tor Nehru's prestige as a statesman and as a man of sincerity of purpose and courage of conviction, among the thinking sections of the Indian people and among the nations whose influence counts in the counsels of the world.

As for Menon's being an honest and sincere Congressman, this election has not in the least vindicated him. The one remarkable feature of this North Bombay contest is that, unlike the Congress candidates for other Parliamentary seats from Bombay who won the elections on their own merit, as well as on the organisational strength of the Congress, Mr. Menon had to draw heavily on the support of the communists and crypto-communist workers inside and outside the Congress. The Congress leaders and Ministers from Bombay and Maharashtra seemed to be totally unconcerned with Mr. Menon's election till almost the last day. Knowledgeable circles have it that the Maharashtra leaders were roped in, at the last moment for doing some propaganda work for Mr. Menon under threats from Delhi bosses that the Maharashtra leaders would lose all their influence with the Central Government and none of them would find a place of position and power at Delhi or get a hearing in future, if Mr. Menon should be defeated in North Bombay. It would be therefore very interesting to enquire how much of personal authority and influence of Mr. Nehru and intimidation from the Congress High Command were pressed into service to secure a victory for Mr. Menon against all canons and practices of democratic electioneering and the wishes of local Congressmen. The 'bogus' nature of Mr. Menon's Congress candidature, as Mr. M. R. Masani so aptly put it, has been thoroughly exposed and proved by the manner in which the election was fought and by the political leanings of those persons and groups that did the electioneering on behalf of Mr. Menon.

Apart from the huge sums of money spent on behalf of Menon, another ugly feature of this election was the large number of cinema fans that made a debut in the public for canvassing votes for Mr. Menon. Mr. Menon, it appears, feeling nervous that the ground was slipping rapidly from under his feet by the straight and slashing political attacks made on him by Acharya Kripalani, went to the shameful length of invoking the aid of the cinema actors and actresses and goading them on to use their wiles, guiles and smiles in alluring a pretty large sections of the admiring voters into supporting him. Thousands of voters, it is reported, cast their votes for Mr. Menon in this manner, more out of consideration for these cinema fans whom they admired than out of respect for Mr. Nehru, not to speak of Mr. Menon himself. The sight of the Defence Minister of India moving from street to street in the company of the Cinema Stars rather than the acknowledged Congress leaders and workers, was indeed dismal and disgusting and sincere Congressmen could not but have hung their heads in shame at this sight. Some people are led to ask: was this electoral victory worth so much that Mr. Menon should stoop so low for winning it? Would it not have been more honourable to accept a clean defeat than win such an inglorious victory?

Menon has thus gained nothing morally, spiritually or politically. He has only scored a personal victory in the dirty game of power-politics which has no direct relation to the promotion of the country's genuine welfare and the maintenance of the safety and security of the country and her territorial integrity. The opposition to Mr. Menon's candidature was so strong and challenging that even Mr. Nehru had to come down from his great height and to intervene on behalf of Mr. Menon and to stake his all, including his reputation as the Leader of the Nation.

In this hour of his victory, Mr. Menon will do well to remember that he has been so thoroughly exposed in his true political colours and laid so low, that he would no longer be able to assume the airs of a true and sincere Congressman and National Patriot and dupe the common people. The Victor has been vanquished. The results of the elections, by no stretch of imagination, could therefore be interpreted as amounting to a vindication of Mr. Menon's foreign and domestic policies. They amount only to the glorification of the Personality Cult which is being so sedulously encouraged and fostered by Mr. Nehru and his associates just to keep themselves perpetually in power. Let the country awake to the danger of This Personality Cult ultimately lead-

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ing to the assumption of political power by the communists and crypto-communists at the opportune moment, which will sound the death-knell of Free and Democratic Life in India.

BRAVO, SWATANTRA!

It is a matter for gratification and joy to all lovers of individual liberty and freedom that the only three year old Swatantra Party should have achieved a notable success in the recent general elections to the Parliament and State Assemblies. With the merger of Ganatantra parishad with the Swatantra Party the latter will have now 22 members in the Parliament, thus ranking next only to the communist group of 29, among the opposition parties, with Janasangha, another Rightist group, trailing behind it with 14 seats. The total number of seats captured by the Swatantra in the State Assemblies all over India is 167 which makes it the second largest All India party after the Congress in the Indian legislatures. In Rajasthan, Orissa, Gujarat and Bihar, it will form the main Opposition to the Congress.

In this connection, it may also be pointed out that The Jana Sangha, another Rightist party has raised itself to the position of the Main Opposition to the Congress in Madhya Pradesh and U.P

In the result, these Rightist Parties, the Jana Sangh and Swatantra have been able to relegate so-called Leftist Opposition to the background in the Assemblies of as many as six major States in India, viz., Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa and Gujarat.

It is therefore no wonder that Mr. Nehru is in jitters over what he terms as 'the Revolution to the Right' resulting from recent elections in these States which, till recently, were considered to be the impregnable fortresses of the Congress. Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh Assemblies are almost equally divided between the Right and the Left and have already become 'problem States'. Gujarat and Bihar which were more dominated by Gandhian influence than Nehru's new fangled socialism, have taken the first opportunity to give somewhat of a jolt to the self-complacency of the present Congress leadership by slowly veering round to the Swatantrism of C. R. which truly reflects the old liberal-democratic traditions of the Congress. Mr. Nehru failed to read this writing on the wall betimes. He is now chafing and smarting under a sense of frustration at the slowly but surely rising ride of revolt of the common man against his ill-conceived oppressive socialistic Plans which have given to the country only the present currupt lience-quota Raj. Nehru's 'progressivism' is thus being thoroughly exposed with the progress of these Plans and unless Nehru-Menon combination imposes a socialist dictatorship on the country by force on the Soviet pattern, Congress socialism is bound to become a casuality in the course of the next five years. And from its ashes will arise Swatantrism in all its glory and splendour, as conceived by the founders of the Indian National Congress. The Swatantra Party has thus blazed the trail of Freedom and Democracy once again in the country. Bravo, Swatantra!

HERE AND THERE

Haji Mohamed Ahmed, President of the Maharashtra State Muslim League, denying that his organisation was conducting negotiations with Mr. S. K. Patil, Union Food Minister, for its probable dissolution, has pointedly asked Mr. S. K. Patil why he and other Congress leaders should not recognise the League as a political party as they did in 1957 and later in 1960 in Kerala and why they should consider the emergence of the Muslim League as a disaster. Evidently the Muslim League President does not understand Congress dialectics, i.e. political opportunism. Muslim League in 1957 and 1960 was 'Progressive' since it supported Congress while in 1962 it is "communalist" as it is now opposed to the Congress. Maharajas in Madhya Pradesh who got elected on Congress tickets are Democrats while those in Rajasthan are feudal reactionaries since they won the elections on Swatantra Tickets. So in spite of its anti-national activities in the past, the Muslim League may look forward to a time when it will be considered to be a 'patriotic' body provided it joins hands with Congress dictators in beating down the 'Rightists' in the name of socialism.

Prime Minister Nehru is reported to have been seriously concerned at the growing influence of Rightist Parties in the country. According to him perhaps only socialist parties have a right to exist in this country. And yet Mr. Nehru is a Democrat!

Mr. Patnaik, the Chief Minister of Orissa, referring to the merger of Gantantra with the Swatantra Party threateningly said, 'the administration will be used as a ruthless machine in pursuance of socialist objective and utterly destructive towards those against it". A fore-taste of Congress Stalinism and Maoism?

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

"A telegram from the employees of the Heavy Electricals in Bhopal reinforces the point made by the Swatantra Party that workers stand to lose by socialism: *'Industrial Dispute being solved with police repressions, lathi charging, tear gassing, firing. Public undertakings worse than private undertakings.'* It is suicidal for workers to vote for State socialism. Even if the Government were Trade Unions Government, the employeees would lose the necessary third watching, arbitrating element when the State itself becomes the management'

—C. R. in Swarajya

Elections And Democracy

M. A. Venkata Rao

General elections that return legislators for a further period of five years (from among whom the ruling group to the Centre and the States are elected) are a criterion of democratic growth. They offer an opportunity to gauge the condition of democratic awareness among the people at large and to spotlight the weaknesses that need to be remedied for making the country safe for democracy and peaceful progress.

Though history tells us that India had hundreds of republican states (like the small city states of ancient Greece) which functioned in the North from the Indus to the Brahmaputra before the Gangetic valley for well-nigh thousand years from before the days of the Buddha, subsequent history witnessed their obsolescence. Tradition had no trace of republican policy and psychology left in it.

Thus though we call ourselves a democratic republic in the Constitution of 1950, we have to make a conscious and planned effort to develop republican attitudes and conventions in the course of administration, supporting it by education of the young in schools and of the adult in leisure-time institutions.

The press has a special responsibility in this process which, by and large, it is far from discharging at present.

It is worthwhile therefore to record the lessons that stand out from the experiences one may have derived by watching the elections of 1962 just completed as competitor for the suffrages of the people or as an interested observer.

The lessons one derives from such participation or observation depend on the questions one takes to the process and the political background one is equipped with.

The most outstanding experience of the present writer (who competed for a Lok Sabha seat as well as for an Assembly seat in Bangalore City) is a decisive strengthening of his faith in democracy and of the fitness of our people on the whole for democratic administration.

Most of the voters including uneducated men and women understood the importance of the vote in the constitution of the government for the next five years, though a section of the educated classes from the middle and upper echelons were too indifferent to exercise their franchise. The trouble of going to the polling booths and confronting petty officials and vexatious canvassers was too much for them.

An improvement in the morale of the public mind and an increase in the keenness and responsibility of the various competing parties will gradually overcome this inertia of the well-to-do.

At present the general average of voters exercising their right is around fifty per cent, with many places registering sixty and many forty per-cent, with a small percentage of smaller extremes at both ends.

One feature of the vast operation of the electoral process in the extensive country from Kashmir to Cape Camorin, and from Gujerat to Manipur and Assam, (some two thousand and odd miles north and south and a similar distance east and west) is its predominantly peaceful character. Of course a few lawless attacks, some ending in death and serious injuries did occur and mar the proceedings. But these were a small blot on the tremendous scene. The dominant peaceful character of the election procedures involving so many ambitous persons, (not a few of whom were ill-educated but had much at stake in terms of office and prestige and prosperity in their circles) was on the whole a credit to the maturity and steadiness of the Indian people.

Centuries of social discipline reinforced by religious and moral ideas and tradition has been responsible for this quality of the people. Probably there is no other comparable body of men and women in the world in any continent who approach our people in respect of tolerance and peaceful conduct.

This psychology is the greatest asset to us today in the building of a progressive and stable democracy.

Where lawless violence broke out, it is to be noted that it has been the result of the ambition and bad example of the educated aspirant for suffrage who has engaged roughs or set a bad example of uncivilised language and behaviour himself. It is rarely the uneducated slum dweller or villager who breaks the law on his own impulse.

Today's leaders therefore have an obvious duty to counter this tendency on the part of such of their number who descend to vulgar and unscrupulous levels during the exciting time of the general elections.

The example of Nehru himself using bad language and exhibiting bad temper during his election tours is not to be commended from this point of view. The prestige of Congress has run low and anxiety to come out successful somehow has upset his equanimity. Others among Congress

leaders have been encouraged to follow their great leader with the consequence that the moral quality of the campaign sank to unheard of depths in many places.

As against this must be set the extraordinary similarity displayed by educated and illiterate in their attitudes to democratic government.

Many arguments and attitudes were astonishingly common in all ranks of society.

One attitude that was fairly widspread was a sort of cynical despair. Both classes said that elections were of no use, as all parties make tall promises during elections but fail to keep them when returned to power. Though only the Congress party has had a chance to exercise power and consequently there is no basis for the generalisation that other parties too would behave in the same way, the grumblers have the two phases of pre-independence and post-independence in the career of Congress to contemplate. The former Gandhian liberation movement was characterised by high-minded patriotism and self-sacrifice while the second stage is full of self-seeking and misuse of official power for personal and party ends.

It is difficult for new parties to obtain willing consent to the view that they should be given a decent chance after which they might be condemned if found wanting.

But generalisation from the seamy side of human nature seems to be enough to the critics, who are by no means a small percentage of the voting public, to persist in their cynical indifference.

Civil officers, professors, shrewd business-men, lawyers as well as ignorant workers and small artisans and agriculturists gave expression to this dispiriting attitude.

This shows that people are content to air first impulses and initial reactions to stories of corruption in the administration, particularly among elected representatives in governments and outside. Officials yielding to temptation is an old story. But ministers and legislators making fortunes in short periods and passing from a condition of poverty to one of top class affluence placing their kith and kin in lucrative positions is something that has strengthened the cynical tendency.

But the hopeful feature of the situation is that the presentation of the ways by which democratic conventions are evolved to provide against these undesirable features of democracy has been found to make inroads into their cynicism.

It must be pointed out that the ordinary voter is also responsible for the corruption of representatives in as much as he should take a continuous interest in the doings of elected representatives in government and outside and demand information from them off and on. He should send telegrams and letters and deputations to them if they are indifferent. Once the ordinary voter prods his representative in this way, he will be careful to take more interest in his work.

The ordinary voter should be informed by publicists and press and opposition political parties of the code of conduct that democratic representatives should observe. It is not necessary for any one to prove their corruption in courts of law or afford evidence enough to obtain conviction in courts of law. It is enough to provide a reasonable presumption of the offence being committed. That should force the representative to resign from his high office. The party to which he belongs should never countenance and whitewash objectionable conduct on the part of its member. Even if it should do so, the voters and press should demand a full explanation and force the party in power to dismiss the person in question from the office he has disgraced.

Voters should develop such a powerful public opinion. Representatives are but servants of the public and not its masters. Ministers today in India put on the airs of autocratic Rajas and Nawabs and ape the high fault in attitudes of the British. They glory in pomp and squander public money on display and ceremonial and purposeless travels and delegations and air their views on all questions even outside the sphere of their department as if they claimed omniscience! This should be discouraged by the public who should cut the ministers to size.

Further, voters should be taught that their duty does not cease with casting their votes on polling day once in five years. They should make their representatives to watch the government continuously in their activities and proposals and check them by questions, adjournment motions and votes of censure if necessary.

If these conventions are taught to the voters and they are exhorted to do their own duty in addition to watching their representatives, the tone of democracy will surely improve.

Another direction in which voter participation in the democratic process will improve democracy is in the realm of local self-government. If voters take interest in municipalities and run social service departments like the provision of pure milk, of cheap transport, of health service, adult education and also take part in consultative committees of the municipality and of State governments, the gap between voter and government and of the interval between one election and another will be filled. Voters clubs will establish contact at all stages between the ordinary man and his governmental representative and make democracy meaningful. These procedures will throw light on government processes and it is truly said that a single lamp-post is equal to a dozen or score of policemen!

(Continued on page 6)

General Election Results

By M. N. THOLAL

The most remarkable and regrettable feature of the general elections has been the defeat of party leaders, some of them extremely able men. This is sure to weaken the Opposition, when the greatest need of the hour was to strengthen it. A true democrat in the circumstances prevailing in India would like to see a convention established to ensure the return of party leaders and outstanding parliamentarians. As it is no part of the business of the ruling party to strengthen the Opposition, the suggested convention should be established among the Opposition parties, who obviously would stand to gain by it.

When the defeat of the ruling party is ruled out, the next best thing is to send in ablest speakers, so that the Government benches may feel small confronted with the oratory of men on the Opposition benches. Sir Alexander Muddiman, who was the leader of the (nominated) Government Party when Motilal Nehru entered the Central Legislative Assembly with his Swaraj Party, used to say to the latter's leader, "Panditji, the debate is always unequal and one-sided. Can't you lend me some of your orators?" There was then great search all over India for good speakers among the members of the Indian Civil Service so that they could be transferred to the Capital to take part as Government members in the proceedings of the Assembly, but none could be found to match the eloquence of the Swarajist debators, Dewan Chamanlal, Shanmukham Chetty and Tulsi Charan Goswami, among others.

Motilal Nehru was a talent scout and what a galaxy of orators and speakers he gathered for the Swaraj Party! Among them was Govind Ballabh Pant, Khaliquzzaman and Ataullah Shah Bokhari. To alienate Khaliquzzaman—what poison his tongue could emit without uttering a word of abuse—was to prove to be the establishment of the basis of Pakistan. Other Muslim orators, whom Motilal Nehru had gathered round his banner, were also to the nation's service with the ascendancy of the great anti-communalist, his great son. How is it that this anti-communalist succeeded in rousing the basest communal passions of some of the noblest sons of India? That was the question put to me the other day by a reader of my articles. I answered, "Because his nationalism is only a vassal of his egotism".

Today patriotism and commonsense alike demand the return of the ablest men to Parliament, and I do not exclude Congressmen from the category, so that our Parliament can be something to be proud of, and so that even Englishmen and Americans may come to listen to the speeches of Indians in English with open-mouthed astonishment, as they did in the days of Motilal Nehru. So far as I know, to be in love with able men is the surest sign of character, and one would like to see a nonparty organisation developing in the country to help in the electioneering campaigns of able parliamentarians and speakers, regardless of their party affiliations, with the motto, "Choose the Best".

When the Opposition is in a hopeless minority, the helplessness of the situation can be redeemed to a great extent by the ability and fluency of members on the Opposition benches. Surely, if caste can sway people, as it must in this country, if the popularity of a leader can sway people regardless of the merit of a candidate, efforts should be made to see that merit counts more than caste or partisanship. So long as there is a multiplicity of parties in the land — and there is no sign yet that this multiplicity is likely to decrease in the foreseeable future—the only way of making opposition felt in the Parliament is for able men to combine everywhere to see that brilliant Parliamentarians and speakers are returned to Parliament regardless of their affiliations to make of our Parliament an ideal debating forum.

(Continued from page 5)

Caste communalism was also much in evidence during the elections—not least among Congressmen. The distribution of tickets was done with caste influence in view.

Here also it was the leaders in the educated classes who were responsible for caste exploitation. Wherever caste appeals were not made, voters ignorant and educated alike responded on a nationalist basis and took merit and qualification into account!

Once again, it is leaders, even of new opposition parties (setting out to cure Congress of its corruption) who offered money and drinks and other inducements like donations to mosques and mutts to capture votes **somehow!**

If these practices could be made unpopular and disgraceful, as well they could be, in view of the moral ethos of the people at large, democracy can well be strengthened in our midst.

It is the responsibility of new leaders in all parties to resolve to appeal to the moral sense of the people setting a good example themselves to raise conduct to higher levels. **Noblesse Oblige.** The enlightened should lead.

NO POLICE PRESSURE

In one respect at least a good deal of progress has been registered. There have been few complaints against police pressure being exercised on behalf of the ruling party. They were not wanting in the last general election and were more frequent in that of 1952. In that respect the country has certainly been progressing towards democracy. If many are still afraid of voting against their conscience, the fault has to be placed on their own cowardice rather than any pressure from the police or higher quarters.

The central fact of the situation still seems to be that, as a result of a thousand years of slavery, the average Indian is a coward, and this cowardice, which was a pro-British factor under foreign rule, is a pro-Congress factor under Congress rule. Mr. Nehru must have been well aware of this fact when in 1952 he uttered the undemocratic threat of crushing the Jana Sangh. He should have known that it is for people to crush the Sangh or the Congress, as they choose, and Mr. Nehru cannot be allowed to depend on any other instrument for the purpose. The first and foremost thing for non-Congress parties in their own interest is to foster the conviction that no one can be punished for giving expression to his honest opinion in the polling booth.

Another encouraging factor is that Government servants, no longer think as they used to do that being government servants, they are in duty bound to vote for Government, "whose salt they eat", as th saying goes. The by-election in New Delhi last year in which a Jana Sangh candidate defeated a Congress nominee, opened the eyes of many a Government employee, for it was with the help of the Government employees that the Jana Sangh candidate had won. Though he lost this time against a much stronger Congress candidate, the Rehabilitation Minister, Government employees are reported to have voted mostly for the Jana Sangh candidate.

A summary of the various scandals figuring in the reports of the Public Accounts Committee would have been of great use for speakers against Congress candidate, but no one in the North seems to have realised the value of such propaganda. Parties which wake up only on the eve of the elections cannot expect to win them. What is required is honest toil throughout the year to make the public realise how their hard-earned money is going down the drain.

SWATANTRA'S ACHIEVEMENT

Results are still coming in, though the final picture emerging from those announced upto the time of writing, can be said to have taken shape. In the final analysis both the Rightist parties, the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh, who have registered substantial gains, may be said to have good cause to congratulate themselves, though collaboration between them would have shown still better results. For a party which is not even four years old, and which has entered the election fray for the first time, winning a larger number of seats in the country than any other Opposition party is by itself a very creditable achievement. Swantantrists have good cause to rejoice at having annexed 165 seats, a larger number than that claimed by the Communist Party, the PSP and the Jana Sangh, though the latter's 113 so far makes very good showing against 46 in 1957.

The success of the Swatantra Party is all the more remarkable viewed in the background of the Prime Minister's daily diatribes against it and the pooh-poohing by other partes, particularly the Leftist, who have been saying that there is no room in the country for Rightist parties, as if they are espousing lost causes. Mr. Nehru has good cause to fear the Swatantra Party. He knows that there are brainy men behind it and it is the brain that counts in the long run — witness the jugglery of Mr. Nehru himself in his political life. That is something which cannot be said of the Jana Sangh, at least since the demise of its founder, Shyama Prasad Mukherji, though the Party undoubtedly makes up for its lack of brains by its boisterous enthusiasm.

Congressmen imagine not with some good reason that the popularity of Nehru makes for the success of the Congress candidates and therefore it would be risky for them to leave the Congress, though they do not really believe in the kind of socialism Mr. Nehru stands for. For them it is purely a question of being with the winner. Once they find Mr. Nehru is no longer the winner of elections, they would desert him as rats desert a sinking ship, for their heart is really with the Swatantra Party when it is not with the Jana Sangh. Particularly at a time when Congressmen are being rewarded for their services to the country, for them to desert the Congress because it no longer represents their views would be to stand for truth and country, which they claim they have done long enough. It is now for others, they say, to take up the cause of the country according to their lights, their own being concentrated in the personality of Nehru.

Anyway, the Congress has won again, as was generally expected, and that despite the assurance held forth by Mr. Krishna Menon, during his electioneering campaign, that the Government would not take the initiative in driving out the Chinese by force from the areas they have occupied. He might have added they should thank their stars if they succeed in stopping their onward march.

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16 Years Under Communism—The Chronicle Of A Subject People

by Eric Michelsen

When Walter Ulbricht walled up the people of East Germany and destroyed all means of escape from the Soviet Zone in mid-1961, he produced a climax to 16 years of Soviet style suppression.

In 1945, when the Red Army marched in to occupy East Germany, it brought along a crew of 10 German Communists, many of whom had become Soviet citizens. Led by Ulbricht, this team was to carry out a long-range plan of complete sovietization.

From 1945 to 1949 the Soviets made no pretense about running things themselves. In 1949 and 1950 some responsibilities were ostensibly handed over to the German Communists. Soviet power, however, has continued to remain in the background, as events of 1953 and 1961 have demonstrated.

Control of the political apparatus was the Soviet concern. In 1946 Soviet authorities arranged and enforced a merger of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party into the German Socialist Unity Party (SED). By 1950, after all the democratic elements from the Social Democratic Party had been purged or silenced, the SED emerged as a so-called "party of the new type": a rigidly organized and centrally controlled duplicate of the Soviet Communist Party.

Alongside the SED, the Communists created a counterfeit Christian Democratic Union, a Liberal Democratic Party and a National Democratic Party. Since 1950 these groups have been amalgamated into the "National Front", led and controlled by the Communists. Elections ever since have been on the basis of a "unity list" of the National Front, with the Communists picking the candidates and the voters offered no choice.

To extend their control and indoctrination into every aspect of social life, the Communists also set up mass organizations.

The Free German Trade Union (FDGB) exists as a state controlled labour union to drive the workers to greater productivity, not to protect their economic interests. The Free German Youth (FDJ) indoctrinates the youth and creates a monopoly on all sports and recreational facilities. Membership is essential for admission to institutions of higher learning or special training.

The German Women's League (DFB) dominates every aspect of women's political and social life. The Culture League (KB) concentrates on the indoctrination of East German culture with the Communist line.

Through the use of terror, indoctrination and intimidation by secret police, the Ulbricht regime early set about destroying any form of life outside of Communist Party control.

The dreaded Ministry for State Security (MfS), established in 1950 to put a German Communist facade on Soviet power, established its agents in factories, farms, schools, all organizations and even the military.

Education was turned into rigid indoctrination in Marxism-Leninism with scholastic advancement based on ideological purity rather than ability.

The churches, as a source of moral strength for the population and therefore a threat to the regime, have been, from the very beginning, under constant attack.

Nowhere has Soviet domination been more obvious than the question of German reunification. While this is a widespread and fervent wish of the whole German people, Soviet desires alone have determined the course of East German Communist policy.

When World War II ended, the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union agreed on the reconstruction of a unified, free and democratic Germany. The Communists tested their strength in a free election only once — in a Berlin city election in 1946. The result was a resounding defeat.

By 1949 it was obvious that free elections toward reunification would not be allowed in the Soviet Zone. The Western Allies therefore went ahead and held free parliamentary elections in their zones in September of the year.

The Soviet reaction was to establish their puppet "German Democratic Republic" the following month which claimed authority over all of Germany. The Soviet line now demands that any settlement in reunification be made between the two administrations.

The Allies again insisted on free elections. Knowing they would lose any democratic vote, the Soviets proposed, in November 1950, the formation of an all-German Constituent Assembly with equal representation from East and West Germany — despite the fact that the population of the East Zone was only one-third of the Federal Republic.

When the Allies again proposed free elections in July 1955, the Soviets stated that they

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Export Promotion In Third Pian

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

During the last ten years our plans of economic development have exerted a very great influence on our foreign trade. As a result of increased industrial production the level of imports has increased very greatly. In the First plan imports amounted to Rs. 3620 crores that is an annual average of Rs. 720 crores. In the Second plan the aggregate imports amounted to Rs. 5360 crores i.e. an annual average of Rs. 1072 crores. In the Third Plan a greater emphasis has been placed on the development of heavy and basic industries with the result that the imports would increase appreciably. It is estimated that during the Third Plan, the annual average was Rs. 614 crores. It is therefore imperative that serious efforts should be made to increase our exports in order to balance the balance of payments. For the Third Plan period the target for exports is Rs. 3700 crorés. In order to implement the Plan which is of greater magnitude, it is quite essential that maximum efforts should be made to increase our exports. In this period we intend to reach the "take off stage leading to self sustained growth". In order to achieve this objective supreme efforts must be made not only to pay for imports but also to repay the loans that we had already borrowed during the last decade. When we consider the problem of repayment of loans abroad and maintenance and development imports our exports would have to rise to about Rs. 13000 crores. Realising this fact our Government has initiated number of measures to expand our exports but they have not produced the desired results. Unless we export to the tune of Rs. 740 crores annually i.e. Rs. 125 crores more per year than during the Second plan period there is no hope to implement the gigantic Third Plan. This target is not impossible to achieve if right efforts are made. We have the men, skill and the material but we lack initiative, drive and enthusiasm. Our industrial policy based on the socialist pattern of society has killed the enthusiasm and drive to achieve exportable surplus. The expansion of public sector at the cost of public sector is the main cause of the poor performance in the export drive. Unless proper incentives are given to the private sector all efforts to maximise exports will not yield rich dividends.

In the past the slogan "export or perish" was emphasised; appeals have been made to business men to promote exports; sometimes threats have been used. Recently Government has warned the private sector that it may have to legislate to compel to sell abroad, but in spite of these appeals and threats results remain unsatisfactory. Export is not a matter of emotional appeals and/or threat. "Incentives, remissions of income taxes to exporters excise duty and merging it with the sales tax etc. all have their value since they curb the indegeneous consumption and encourage the manufacturers to export. If they have not helped so far to make any headway this does not mean that they are useless". Our exports cannot increase unless our industrial production increases to achieve exportable surplus. At present our businessmen get a high price in the home market due to inflation. During the first months of 1961 the rate of industrial development was only 8.3% as against 12% in the corresponding period of 1960 It is imperative that production of producer and consumer goods should continuously expand so that growing needs of industry and the people might be met, and the price line held at the proper level. At present the propensity to consume is very high with the result that very little is left to export. There are many factors that retard industrial production and the most important of them are transport inadequancy, tight money conditions and shortage of power. The Third Plan envisages a 65% increase in industrial investment as compared with the Second, but the price policy of the Tariff Commission is the main hurdle. In this connection Mr. S. P. Jain in his Presidential address at the third quarterly general meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce held at Calcutta observes "The policy of the Tariff Commission now affects the growth of major consumer goods industries whose prices are regulated or controlled on the basis of the Tariff Commissions formula. The purpose of the Tariff Commission now is development of important consumer and producer goods industries in the country consistent with the interests of the consumer.

It is a moot question whether the "cost plus profit" basis of price fixation pursued by the Tariff Commission helps the achievement of this purpose and objective. In theory as well as in practical implementation this formula does not help to serve the purpose of development. The policy pursued has not only affected the rate of growth of the industries but also technological progress in the

industries. If technological development of our important industries is to be achieved there needs to be a reorientation in the policy of price fixation. The policy also tends to increase the pressure on the transport facility available at present by the encouragement to concentration on industries in centres where cost of production is cheapest without taking into consideration the transport costs involved which the consumers ultimately pay. The price fixation on the basis of "cost plus profit" either for individual factories or group of factories or industry seems basically unsound, as it gives no incentive for technological improvement but only penalises efficiency. The standard rate of return on capital employed that the formula provides is grossly inadequate and leaves the industry high and dry. The units are not left with enough to pay an adequate return to the investors and to meet the needs of rehabilitation, modernisation and expansion. This is the reason why some of the industries whose prices are fixed by the Tariff Commission formula have not been able to develop in spite of large industrial licences granted in those fields to attain the target set for them in the Plan. It is clear also that this policy is bound to affect the growth of industries in the coming years due to the absence of adequate internal resources which were largely the single factor responsible for the rapid development of industries in the past. This impact of the Tariff Commission's price policy is further intensified by the Government's arbitrary decisions reducing the prices either for the industry as a whole or for certain units in the industry. With the profitability thus affected, the industry's ability to procure funds from the banks and credit institutions for capital development is also impaired. From this it is quite clear that flexible price policy is the root cause of slow progress of industrial development. For long term industrial development there must be fixed principles of price policy so that different industries may know clearly where they stand with regard to scope for expansion.

At present our goods cannot compete in foreign markets in both price and quality. In the past they were popular but at present their popularity has waned due to poor quality and high cost of production. The main items in the cost are raw materials and labour. The cost of both these must be kept at reasonable level and unless this is done our goods run the risk of being ousted from the competitive markets. At present we have surplus of sugar and other commodities but due prohibitive price it cannot be exported. Our sugar industry cannot compete in the international market because our government has kept the price of sugar cane at a higher level without any relation to its cost of production. As regards the cost of labour it is equally high. Productivity is low because of the old and outdated machinery. By installing modern machinery the cost of production may be greatly reduced which will help to boost our exports, but as it is, our exports cannot increase even by compulsion. One may argue that rationalisation of industries will aggravate the problem of unemployment, but from the examples of other countries it can be shown that not only employment, has increased but productivity, has also increased along with the modernisation. But our Government has not paid any attention to these hard facts. In order to export more to get imports, we must produce much more than what we can consume in the home market. This can be achieved by adopting market or free economy and not by controlled or planned economy. The Planned economy based on socialist pattern of society has failed to deliver the goods. The restrictive policy of the Government to release foreign exchnage even for business tours is a penny wise and pound foolish policy. Our embassies have no interests in promoting exports. "If exports are to be promoted the personnel is needed who knows something of business and who will help businessmen who go abroad in transacting business. Many businessmen have reported that the embassies are of any help. Generally speaking businessmen do the business on their own without going to the embassies. If India desires to take up new lines apart from the traditional exports she must first study the needs of the other countries". The Union Minister of Commerce Mr. Reddy has urged the businessmen not to be lured by the prospect of higher profits in the domestic market.

He asked the industry to evolve a concerted plan to boost exports on voluntary basis but this can be achieved provided the private enterprise is given incentive to produce more and export to other countries at the competitive prices. The "progressive positive role in future for the S.T.C." should be reversed. At present it has become monopolist organisation and supplanted the normal trade channels. Our export policy must be reoriented to strengthen the export promotion drive. To boost exports to implement grandiose Third Plan a step should be taken to create exportable surplus by increasing production and checking the rise in prices. Curtailment of domestic consumption will lead to runaway prices. This trend can be reversed only by producing more. All export measures will fail if this question is not tackled and promptly remedied by taking timely and appropriate measures. Though the path to export promotion is littered wth formidable obstacles yet the journey has to be undertaken with "proper tempo and right spirit". We should press all our ingenuity and resourcefulness into action with a sense of duty and steadfastness of purpose. The measures and incentive schemes have to be revised according to the changing conditions and therein lies the success of Third Plan.

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* Equalising Opportunities—IV

NEXT STEP FOR MANKIND

BY WENDAL BULL

TWO KINDS OF VALUE

During the same ancient centuries when the two incongruous kinds of property rights were being tied together in the customs of our early predecessors, there must have grown up a similar tieing together of adjunct notions of value. Trophies of war and all forms of wealth that were won by conquest and plunder were probably valued before and more highly than the goods which were made at home by painstaking routine labor. When regular commerce between peoples developed, most of the production for it was probably carried on by slaves. If so, most of the goods bartered representated plunder rights and plunder values. Human rights and human values, while probably honored between the persons of any given class within a community, were not extended to foreigners. Professional traders became pretty mercenary and in some cases unscrupulous. Human values and costs were represented in every article of commerce, but were not recognized as such.

So we can guess at the beginning of the concept of economic value. Plunder value being then, even as it is today, more glamorous and gratifying to the ego, took precedence and dominated the thought of the emerging commercial world. The human values of skilled craftsmanship, patient industry, dependability, honesty and the like, probably and prosaic beginnings, especially among the common people of the agricultural communities. These values grew up simultaneously with more or less rapacious cupidity. There was no felt need to discriminate between the two kinds of value as they became combined in the products of commerce.

Therefore it was in some such way probably inevitable that when a legalized standard measure of value was needed to facilitate trade it too would be an expression of human values together with plunder values, mixed in unknown proportions. Labour was thought of as a commodity because the laborers themselves were largely commodities (slaves).

Today, nearly 2500 years after the introduction of a governmentally standardized measure of market-value in the Greek city-states, we are still using essentially the same equivocal kind of value-measure. By its use no one knows or can find out what part of the price of anything goes to pay a tribute and/or what part goes to labor. All wealth as we know it represents both kinds of property rights and both kinds of value, because all wealth is composed of human labor which has true exchange-value, together with some natural resources which has only plunder-value.

The undiscrimianting concept of property and the equally undiscriminating concept of value together found expression in the standard measure of value. By being thus institutionalized with legal formalities, the confused concept of property and value was perpetuated. It has been in use so long that most people accept it as something as natural as the tides of the ocean. Fortunately, the antiquity of a custom adds nothing to its intrinsic merit.

My answer to the central problem of man's inhumanity to man includes the public understanding and voluntary adoption of a measure of economic value which will take into occount true exchange-value exclusively. The power of the mighty to rob peacefully, and the willingness of the beaten to be robbed, are both implemented in the old idea of market-value and in its representative, the commodity dollar.

Again I must digress in order to show the context of thought in which my specific proposals make sense.

EARLIER LIBERTARIAN THINKERS

Josiah Warren, Stephen Pearl Andrews and others agreed that labor cost is the ethical limit of the price of anything—the equitable price may not exceed the labour cost. But there has never been any general agreement as to how, to measure or evaluate labor costs. Warren thought labor should be accounted in time spent; and that the time spent in production by any one worker should be valued equally, hour for hour, with the time spent by any other worker doing a divergent kind of work. Andrews thought that the labor cost of things should be measured by the amount of repugnance overcome by the person performing the repugnance. He left that to be a purely subjective labor. But Andrews did not say how to measure evaluation.

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The need for an objective "yardstick" by means of which to measure the labor costs of things which do cost labor to produce, is also apparent in another connection. Among social-economic reformers and idealists there has long been widespread agreement to the proposition that laborers should be enabled to take possession of their own. What is the labors' own is commonly assumed to be the entire produce of their labor. Suppose then, that all the workers in a factory, including the manager and the night watchman of course, were to be granted ownership of the entire produce of the factory over a period of, say, one year. How will they divide among themselves what would thus be their own? Without an objective measure of the cost of labor there is no equitable means of distributing the produce fairly among the respective workers. No impartial observer could say whether the cost of the night watchman's labor was more or less than the cost of manager's.

Warren E. Brokaw clearly showed why it is impossible to measure the exchange-value of labor or products with a commodity measure of value, such as is our legal standard measure of value, the dollar. Such a measure is itself composed of the two incommensurable factors—land and labor—of which all commodities are composed. No one knows how much labor cost is represented, nor how much land-value, in any dollar. Therefore no one knows how much labor-cost or how much explitive value any dollar should properly pay for. We are here interested only in measuring the labour costs of things. We are stymied until we can separate the labor factor from the land factor. Our daily use of the commodity dollar tends to keep these two factors confused in our conception of value.

Pursuant to the foregoing evolution of thought, proposals for a new understanding of what is the laborers' own and for a new standard measure of exchange-value seem to be in order.

EVERY MAN'S MOST PRECIOUS PROPERTY

In every specific piece of work the worker necessarily disciplines himself, limits himself in respect to one very precious good, namely, his associational freedom. When he works for A he is not free to be working for B, C, or D. He is not free to be working for himself. He is not free to be loafing, or playing. For the period of time during which he works for A his associational freedom is devoted, or committed, to A. Now, if the worker must spend all of his working time, for all of the rest of his life, in working for A and A's heirs and assigns, he is in a position comparable to that of a chattel slave. If the worker's period of compulsory serving of A specifically is limited in duration, his position is comparable to that of an indentured slave. But if the worker is free to quit at will, and to work for others from time to time, yet always has to work more for others work for him, he is, to the extent of the difference in extent of freedom, in the position of one exploited or oppressed.

Whether a man is more or less in the position of a slave hinges not on how well or badly his master treats him, nor on how comfortable or miserable his living conditions may be nor does it hinge upon how pleasant or repugnant is the work he is commanded to perform. How much or how little a man is in the position of a slave hinges directly and closely upon how much or how little of his freedom is under the legal command and disposal of his master.

Likewise, whether a man is more or less in the position of one exploited or oppressed depends not on how high or low his wages may be, nor on what standard of living he can afford, nor on his working conditions, nor on the nature of the work he performs. How much or little a man is in the position of one exploited or oppressed depends directly upon how much more of his freedom he must spend in working for others than others spend of their freedom in working for him.

Freedom is precious. Every natural animal loves it. Only emasculated domestic animals and men have lost their taste for it. Freedom is the source of a man's dignity. It is the ground for his responsible manliness. It is precisely this precious good of which the slaves and exploited workers throughout history have been robbed.

Yet "freedom", unqualified can be a hollow and misleading shibboleth. Champions of "freedom" are not likely to be champions of the oppressed people unless they specify how much freedom equity requires. The Declaration of Independence specifies how much freedom, or "liberty", is the unalienable right of every man. For a scholarly presentation of equal freedom as "the law of right social relationships" see Herbert Spencer, Social Statics (out of print). I take for position that equity requires equal freedom for all normal adults. Where they are not equally free there is the kernel of exploitation of men by men.

I mean to propose that "the labourers' own", that of which the opressed workers have always been robbed, and that of which they have need to take possession, is none other than their unalienable right to equal freedom. Not any amount of wealth, not all of the material produce in the world, is as precious, nor is as permanently the labourers' own, as this intangible property. Equal freedom is every normal man's inchoate heritage, by endowment from our Creator.

(To be Continued)

would result in "a violation of the vital interest" of the Eastern Zone. Again they insisted on parity between East and West.

Since then, as East Germany has been increasingly tied, both economically and politically, to the Soviet empire, the line has changed to the theory of "two Germanies".

Soviet control of East German development has been just as strongly pronounced in the economic sphere. Since 1945, when the Red Army carried out a detailed plan of confiscation, economic policy has been subject to Soviet rather than German interests.

Immediately after World War II the Soviets dismantled German industrial plants and sent equipment, raw material and human skill to the Soviet Union. An identical process was carried out in agriculture through the wholesale confiscation of agricultural products, livestock and timber.

After 1947 Soviet economic policy began to change. Some of the dismantled factories were rebuilt, and reparations were taken from current production. Starting in 1949 the Communists began systematically to strengthen public enterprises while confiscating private business.

In January 1951, a five-year plan was announced whose over-all objective was to double the industrial output as compared with 1936. Production quotas, however, were set in terms of Soviet, not German, needs. The main stress was on increasing the output of heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods, which remained below average needs even in the planning stage.

The execution of the plan was based on the exploitation of additional man-power sources through an increase in production norms and the diversion of self-employed people and women into manual labour.

Considerable unrest during 1953 was created by the deterioration of the economic situation and the increasing shortage of consumer goods, combined with rising prices and bad working conditions.

Matters came to a head on July 16, 1953 when building workers in East Berlin started demonstrations against decrees ordering more work for less pay. This demand touched off strikes, resulting in the anti-Communist uprising throughout East Germany.

Soviet tanks and 20,000 troops were rushed in to put down the uprising. Nearly 600 persons were killed and 1,744 wounded in two days of bitter street fighting. An estimated 50,000 Germans were arrested in the next two weeks while East Germany was ruled by the Soviets under material law.

Little is now heard of the much-tout seven-year plan which went into effect in 19 As it became apparent that its goals were unr listic, the Communists quietly dropped th slogan "we will beat West Germany in per cap consumption by 1961."

An East German worker still has to w three times as long as his West German coun part to buy a pair of shoes.

A man's suit costs an East German ab twice as many working hours as a West Germ for every 1,000 persons, compared with eight every 1,000 in the East.

There are 67 automobiles in West Germ

For the East German farmer, life under C munism has had an extra degree of hopelessn Tied to his land by tradition as well as by ec mic need, he has been more reluctant than worker to flee oppression. Nevertheless, more t 120,000 left their farms between 1953 and rather than be forced into collectives.

Despite the crippling effect collectiviza had on the national economy, Ulbrich has s bornly pursued it. By 1958, 69 percent of farms were under state control. Anothe percent were accounted for during 1959. In A 1960, the process was completed.

The results were a considerable drop in cultural production. Plans for the productio milk and pork could not be fulfilled. Pota and sugar beets were rotting in the fields in December of 1960. It is estimatated that the crops were below those of the year before.

One of the most important factors in deterioration of the East German economic s tion has been the steady flow of refugees o the Soviet Zone. Since 1954 approximate million persons have fled, leaving about 16 lion under Communist control.

Of the refugees who fled to the West, percent were less than 45 years old and percent younger than 25 years. At the clo 1961, 64.8 percent of the remaining popul was either too old or too young to work. By this category will rise to over 75 percent the East German labour force will have decr by approximately 600,000 workers.

The impact of this loss was brought o the announcement, on March 19, 1961, tha Soviet Zone's aircraft industy would be doned. East German Planning Chief E Leuschner, disclosing this failure, also adm that general 1961 goals were unfulfilled be of "difficulties" in raw material delivery, of manpower reserves, a serious backlog i building industry and bottlenecks in the pr tion of consumer goods.

Elections And Deflections

(From Our Correspondent)

In Delhi State the Jana Sangh has been rout-, all the five Lok Sabha seats having been cap-ed by the Congress. The result has come as very pleasant surprise to Congressmen, who l not expect the debacle of the Jana Sangh. leed, Congressmen were generally conceding passing over of the Delhi Corporation to the ntrol of the Jana Sangh, which has in the ult succeeded in capturing only nine seats t of a total of eighty, sixty-four going to the ngress. The Communist also suffered a similar e, their number in the Corporation being re-ced to two.

There has definitely been an electoral swing inst the Jana Sangh in the state, no so much ause they are less popular now than they re five years ago, but because Congressmen ght the elections for all they were worth. It uld not be untrue to say that they put up a perate fight, fearing that the state was going gh. The Congress defeat in the by-election to rliament last year was for the Congress a bless- in disguise. Without that defeat the Congress rkers of Delhi would not have put in every ce of their energy into the campaign, and the science of the sleeping voter would not have n roused to activity.

The Congress success is all the more sur-sing in view of the fact that a refugee asso-tion put up posters telling refugees that the ctions presented an opportunity to them to nge the treatment meted out to refugees by Congress Government. The poster does not ear to have produced the effect desired, for h the solid support of the refugees the Jana gh canditates would have certainly romped ne. As against this the Congress came out h a poster, with reference to the assassination Mahatma Gandhi, that what the people have to t is the mentality behind such assassinations. poster, needless to add, was very much resen- by Sangh Workers and leaders.

On the eve of the last general elections al-st every one was vocal against the Congress, the opinion freely expressed in public was implemented in the polling booth. This time ple were not so vocal against the Congress kept their opinions to themselves. Even the s flying on their shops or houses did not re-sent any enthusiasm for the party the flags resented. They only seemed to suggest they sidered discretion to be the better part of our. A shopkeeper near where I live was indeed flying both the Congress and the Jana Sangh flags. To queries regarding this strange proceeding he replied, "Why should I offend anybody"?

Children were in the forefront of the campaign on both sides and the slogans they were taught to raise were far from seemly. It was not quite clear what the parties expected to gain by introducing children into the campaign. Did they really expect the voter to be swayed by their abusive slogans? Children's processions became such a nuisance that the tendency among the voters was to decry them and denounce the party men organising them. It was noteworthy that even the children of unattached voters picked up the abusive slogans with gusto, and raised the viler slogans of both sides impartially with full-throated glee, to the annoyance and sometimes to the amusement of their parents. The children, however, seemed to reflect the mentality of the adults faithfully, for their cry of **"Congress ne kya kiya? Mulk ko barbad kiya!"** (What has the Congress done? Ruined the country!) was often followed by "Chacha Nehru Zindabad"! This blissful ignorance was by no means their sole monopoly.

One of the reasons for the debacle of the Jana Sangh was that the Sikh vote went to the Congress — to spite the Jana Sangh for the latter's firm and over-enthusiastic stand against the Akali demand for a Punjabi suba. Before the results were out, the Sikhs showed little enthusiasm for the Congress and even appeared to take sides against it in favour of the Jana Sangh — thinking that the tide was against the former — but on the appearance of the results there was much jubilation among Sikhs, which seemed to suggest the throwing off of the mask they were wearing before the results were out.

There is little doubt about the average Sikh's enthusiasm for the demand of a Punjabi suba. In view of this it is a little difficult to understand how the Akali candidates were defeated in the Punjabi region of Punjab, where the Sikhs predominate, as against the Hindi region where they are in a minority. Indeed, in view of the multiplicity of candidates, it would not have been very surprising if the Akalis had scored over others even where the Sikhs constitute a minority in Punjab. The result seem to suggest that the average voter in India does not follow his bent of mind in the polling booth, and leaves his

convictions and his prejudices at home or in the street, and does not allow them to enter the polling booth with him.

The thumping victories of the Congress candidates in Delhi state were certainly not preceded by any show of enthusiasm in the Congress voter, which made the Congress campaigners themselves doubtful of the result, and which persuaded them to generate what was regarded by observers as artificial enthusiasm. The delimitation of constituences also favoured the Congress by making many candidates depend to a large extent on the rural voter for their success. Opponents of the Congress are not likely to ignore him in future elections.

The most tragic defeat in the general elections has been that of Acharya Kripalani at the hands of Mr. Krishna Menon. It shows, as nothing else, the mentality of the average voter and what counts with him. Could any one, before the result was out, have predicted that Mr. Menon would have such a big lead over the Congress and PSP veteran? Even the most optimistic estimate of the supporters of Mr. Menon, after the polling was over, was a lead of a hundred thousand votes. Surely, the solid support of the Reds for the Defence Minister should have gone against him, so far as the non-Reds were concerned. A salient feature of the elections has been the success of all Cabinet Ministers showing that the average voter is a power-worshipper, for the good things of life that power can bestow. Mr. Menon is in a position to help people a lot while Acharya Kripalani is in the wilderness.

Those who have an inkling of the working of the Prime Minister's mind, and know that he is swayed by personalities rather than by principles, are of the opinion that the military action against Goa was undertaken to ensure the election of the Defence Minister, by offsetting the odium resulting from the manner in which the two have dealt with the Chinese incursions. The result, however, would appear to suggest that even without Goa Mr. Menon would have scored against Acharya Kripalani.

NEW PAKISTAN CONSTITUTION

Pakistan's new constitution is apt to invite ridicule if we forget the background which resulted in the establishment of military rule there. The document outlining the constitution is the result of protracted labour by a commission which was asked to examine the "progressive failure of parliamentary democracy" in Pakistan and to evolve a "democratic system suited to the genius of the people". We may not say so in newspapers but in private talk we are all apt to agree that a democratic system is not suited to the genius of the people, whether they live in Pakistan or India or Burma or Ceylon. Why we should fight shy of publishing what we feel to be God's own truth is something tl passes comprehension.

Anyway, comment on Pakistan's new con tution would be worthless if it disregards fact that the looting and murder of Ahmedi in Pakistan in which the middle of the last cade had the backing and the approval not o of the vast majority of the people there, but a of ministers, even prime ministers, and Gov nors. It is an unpopular thing to say and Presid Ayub does not say so. But how can people wh career depends on the popular vote conder criminal acts of hooligans and murder when the same have the backing of Mus divines and their followers? The fact the matter would appear to be that to for the reintroduction of parliamentary mocracy in Pakistan is to ask for the reintrod tion of processes which resulted in the dis bances aiming at the elimination of Ahmedi Inleed, only those who favour genocide can w their eyes open stand for undiluted parliam tary democracy in Pakistan.

President Ayub hits the nails on the h when he utters "the obvious truth that the ba can only produce a true answer if those exer ing it are asked a question in level with tl horizon and knowledge". Mr. Nehru's real nion would not seem to be far different, for speech some years ago he said the experienc the working of the panchayats has been " tressing". The experience of the working of liamentary democracy in India would have b even more distressing to him, if people had convictions or the courage of their convicti and could refuse to be tempted by licences quotas and permits or to be "driven as cattl polling booths".

The question really is whether the peopl Pakistan, or for that matter of India, are fit basic democracy. President Ayub's disdainful ference to our elections in which voters, accor to him, "were driven as cattle to the pol booths" may be an exaggeration, but it cannot to remind observers here of truckloads of villa going round and round the streets and highv of Delhi and New Delhi, carrying Congress and shouting Congress slogans, while their f did not betray a spark of enthusiasm for the c they were supposed to have at heart, and w they certainly did not even understand. Who possibly lay his hand on his heart and say the people of Pakistan possess "the cool and ph matic temperament" or "the several sophis tions" needed for the successful functionin parliamentary democracy?

"In our conditions," says President A clinching the issue, "there is no mechanism w will automatically operate to prevent mem from selling their support." In really democ

ıntries members and leaders of Parliament have account for their actions before the bar of pub- opinion. Where the bar of public opinion is king, as in Pakistan and India, democracy can- t function successfully.

MILITARY COUP IN BURMA

As I write comes the news, as if by way of ıfirmation of President Ayub's views, of the my seizing power in Burma. General Ne Win, ıo is heading the coup, was head of a non-elected vernment in Burma for 18 months, power having en transferred to him by U Nu himself. Had he shed he could have refused to retransfer power U Nu to keep his word, for 18 months is a long ɔugh time for a general to consolidate his posi- n. Things must be in a pretty bad mess for a n like Ne Win to assume power again, this time er arresting the Prime Minister U Nu himself. th the split in the latter's party recently his ck had slumped and even the assumption of the ɔes of a monk, which was frequent with him, s not been able to prevent his going the way the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and Nepal. ıether it is the demand for autonomy by the tes comprising Burma or the taking over by vernment of Burma's private import trade, the t remains the military leaders of Burma, in om power ultimately resides, have discovered t the politicians of Burma cannot be trusted to e the country from anarchy. A deeper reason the take-over may be General Ne Win's re- ted dislike of non-alignment.

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warajya Special Number 1962: Khasa Subba ɔ' Memorial Number: Published by the pro- etors of The Bharatan Publications Ltd. who nsor both Swarajya and Kalki magazines. Kal- Press, Kilpauk, Madras-10. 248 pages. Price 5.

This is a substantial volume containing over articles by writers of repute drawn from all r India, issued in memory of the Founder-Edi- of Swarajya magazine, Mr. Khasa Subbarao o passed away in 1961.

Messrs. Rajagopalachari, the Governor of My- e, Paul Sherbert of the USA, S.Y. Krishna amy and S.A. Govindarajan write feelingly l appreciatively of the work and personality the late Khasa Subba Rao. Also, the present tor of Swarajya Pothen Joseph.

Other articles refer to Public Administration, reign Affairs, problems of Planning and Cur- ıt Economic Subjects. The volume closes with Manifesto of the Swarajya Party in extenso.

The work throws a search-light beam re- ıling the heart of the political and economic situation today in the country. The overall point of view of the contributors is a critical appraisal of the policies of Nehru's government, stressing their dangers to liberty and stable growth. The attitude shared by all writers is one of democratic liberalism crystallised in the manifesto of the Swatantra Party as against the socialist-communist trends of the ruling party with its Soviet type plans and ill-conceived dynamism without consideration of the damage being done to stability and the freedom of individuals and occupations.

Messrs. M. A. Srinivasan and A. D. Gorwala sketch in feeling terms mixed with a mordant irony the damage being done by Congress rulers to the civil service. The impartiality, integrity and efficiency of the civil service, it is pointed out, is being destroyed by Congress Ministers who want only puppets and not independent advisers.

Messrs. K. M. Munshi, N. Raghunathan and others discourse (with a touch of earnestness and sadness) on the damage to democratic attitudes being brought by Congress-men in office. The freedom of the press is being throttled as in the Punjab in the course of suppressing the Punjabi Suba agitation of the Akali Sikhs. There is a real threat to democratic freedom in the Congress proposal to ban "communal parties" (so-called) denying them the fundamental rights of association and freedom of expression. The rule of law is being tampered with.

The men in power under the dictatorial lead of Mr. Nehru are corrupting democratic institutions in every way. Democracy under them is becoming a facade covering the One-man rule of Mr. Nehru.

It is pointed out clearly that communism is being encouraged and rendered respectable in spite of the well-known fact that international communism is **no nationalist** party. It is determined to destroy democracy through a diabolic use of democratic machinery and opportunities. They are wedded to violence and unscrupulous machiavellianism in order to gain their ends viz: subordinating India as a country to the Kremlin as part of world revolution and world communism.

Messrs S. Narayana Swamy and Sardar Bahadur Lal Singh describe the evils of present Soviet-type "land reforms" with its slogans of "land to the tiller" and cooperative farming.

They point out the destruction of incentive they effect and the certain fall in production in agriculture as a consequence. They point out that true land reforms effecting productive efficiency and built-in acceleration in production is of a different kind altogether.

Mr. B. V. Narayana Reddy explains the foreign loan policy and the hopeless indebtedness that it is causing and the corruption to sound finance that it presages.

Sir B. Rama Rao points out the leaning to the communist block in our foreign policy. The same trend is indicated by Mr. B. K. Desai. Messrs B. Shiva Rao, J. B. Kripalini, S. Natarajan paint the dangerous situation resulting from the failure of Nehru's misconceived foreign policy.

The volume as a whole constitutes a valuable reference work and reveals a cross-section of the best independent thought developing in the country about the evils steaming from the amateurish, faulty and unrealistic assemblage of policies in force—economic, social, political, on account of the dynamism and empty and unpractical idealism of the Prime Minister.

This number will be of use in liberating the intelligentsia from the glamour of Leftism that holds too many of them in thrall and is immensely educative in that its contributors raise the right issues to be pondered by thoughtful people of all shades of opinion and vocations if the country is to be saved.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

Gleanings from the Press

PRIME MINISTER IS CAUSING FRUSTRATION AMONG DEMOCRATS

Despite the Prime Minister's indignant denials there is no reason to doubt that Menon is preparing for the assumption of power by the Communists in the confusion that every observer expects a few years ahead, and that his hope is that he can use the Congress and the administration for this purpose.

The Prime Minister is helping him, deliberately or otherwise, by foisting him on an unwilling party and public, and also by systematically frustrating the efforts of patriotic and far-sighted people to set up powerful political organisations free from Communist and socialist influence. The frustration he is causing by these wrecking tactics is itself a condition very favourable for a silent seizure of power by a shrewd minority.

Such frustration has been very noticeable among the educated classes since the first election. It increased greatly after the second, and as is already evident it has been greatly worsened by the third. Public-spirited citizens should recognise frustration as the country's worst enemy.

There are only two ways of dealing with a system which is in practical operation, as the present democratic system is. One is to help those who are most nearly in agreement with one's aims in their efforts to achieve them by the operation of the existing machinery. The other is to organise in secret to seize power by an illegal coup, as the Communists are doing. Anybody who is not content with idle repining but really wishes to do something to improve the society about him must choose between these two. There is no third way.

—MysIndia.

News & Views

PEOPLES' VERDICT AGAINST CONGRESS MINISTERS: 4 UNION MINISTERS AND 41 STATE MINISTERS GO DOWN

Ministerial casualities in the 1962 elections for State Assemblies have been heavy.

As many as four union ministers and forty one State Ministers have been unseated.

The Union Ministers are, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Dr. Balakrishna Vishnu Keshkar, Deputy Minister for Labour, Sri L. N. Mishra, the Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry, Sri Satish Chandra, and Deputy Minister for works & Housing Sri Anil Chanda.

In Rajasthan

In Rajasthan as many as seven Ministers (six of Cabinet rank and one a Deputy Minister) have been dislodged.

Home Minister Sri Ram Kishore Vyas has just managed to save his security deposit in the Kishanpole Constitutency in Jaipur city, where Jana Sangh's Assembly Party Chief Sri Bhairon Singh won a victory with a margin of nearly ten thousand votes.

The other Rajasthan Ministers defeated are Sri Damodar Lal Vyas (lost to Maharaj Kumar Jai Sigh of the Swatantra Party), Sri Rikhabh Chand Dhariwal (lost to Sri Mahendra Singh of the Jana Sangh), Sri Sampat Ram (lost to Sri Harumal of the CPI), Sri P. C. Bishnoi (lost to Independent Sri Swaroop Singh), Sri Badri Prasad Gupta (defeated by Independent Sri Satish Kumar) and Sri Ram Chandra Chaudhary (lost to Communist Sri Sheopat Singh).

Ministerial Rout In Mysore

In Mysore the Chief Minister Sri B. D. Jatti had an easy victory in his home constituency, Jam Kandi, but quite a few of his colleagues fell in battle. Home Minister Sri H. M. Channabasappa has been defeated by Dr. K. S. Gowdaiah, whom he had beaten in the last election. Sri Mali Madiappa, Minister for Co-operation, has been defeated by an Independent sitting member Sri C. Muckanappa. The third Minister to meet defeat has been Health Minister, Sri K. K. Hegde, who also went down to an Independent. P.S.P. leader Sri B. Huchegowda has defeated the Local-Self Government Minister Sri T. Subramaniya. Other Ministers unseated are Sri B. Basava Lingappa, Smt. Leelavati Magadi, Sri H. C. Linga Reddy, Sri N. Rachiah, and Sri H. S. Rudrappa.

Deputy Minister Sri Mushran has lost to a PSP candidate.

Madhya Pradesh

In Madhya Pradesh Sri Shi Bhanu Solanki, Deputy Minister for Tribal Welfare was defeated in his home constituency of Manawar West by Jana Sangh's Sri Man Singh. Deputy Home Minister Sri Jajoo lost to Sri Khuman Singh (BJS) in Neemuch. Again Jana Sangh's Sri Ramaswarup beat the Deputy Minister for PWD, Sri Dashrath Jain in his home constituency of Chattarpur.

Chief Minister

The only Chief Minister to be defeated has been Dr. Kailash Nath Katju of Madhya Pradesh. Here too victory has gone to the Jana Sangh. Dr. Katju has lost to Dr. Lakshmi Narayan Pande of the Jana Sangh.

In UP

A prestige fight in UP was the one fought in Jaunpur Assembly constituency by State Finance Minister Sri Hargovind Singh. But all the forces that could be mustered by the ruling party proved of no avail against BJS nominee Sri Y. D. Dube who scored over his rival by a margin of 5275 votes.

Other Ministers in the UP casualty list are Sri Mangala Prasad, Co-operation Minister (lost to his old PSP rival Sri Jaiswal) Sri Kailash Prakash Health Minister, and two Deputy Ministers Sri Rauf Jafri (winning candidate a PSP nominee) and Sri Wasi Naqvi (defeated in the Rokha constituency of Rae Bareilly by Jana Sangh's Narendra Bahadur Singh), and Sri R. S. Yadav.

In Other States

The Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Sri K. V. R. Reddy has been defeated in the Medchal Assembly Constituency by an Independent Sri Vandemataram Ramachandra Rao by 17,000 votes.

In West Bengal, Labour Minister Sri Abdul Sattar has lost to a Red nominee in Ketugram and Sri Satish Chandra Roy Singh, Deputy Minister for Transport, has been defeated by Sri Sunil Basunia (Forward Bloc.) Sri Bhimpati Majumdar too has been unseated.

Sri Laliteshwar Prasad Sahik, Bihar's Deputy Minister for Planning, has lost to Sri Bateshwar Prasad (Hindu Sabha).

Other Ministers who have gone down in this 1962 battle are:

Assam: Sri Hareshwar Prasad, Revenue Minister.

Andhra: Sri K. V. Ranga Reddy, Sri P. Ranga Reddy, Sri Konda Lakshman and Smt. Masuma Begum.

Madras: Smt. Lourdhamma Simon.

Punjab: Sri Suraj Mal and Sri Dalbir Singh.

Maharashtra: Dr. T. R. Naravane Prohibition Minister, S. G. Kazi, B. G. Gharde, and Deputy Ministers Agarwal, Chauhan Devisingh, N. U. Deshmukh.

Lid Off Burmese Coup. Ne Win Strikes at Leftists' Policy Of Import Nationalisation

The Burmese coup was the result of the Army's alarm at the growing ascendancy of the extreme Leftists in the Government, led by the China-leaning Planning and Finance Minister Thakin Tin, and at the policy of import nationalisation in which he had encouraged U Nu.

The Army was also alarmed at the Government weakness toward separatist demands, especially in the north. It opposed U Nu's making Buddhism the State religion.

Observers here had been expecting the Army to act—though not so soon. It was known to be unhappy at U Nu's determination to press ahead with import nationalisation plans despite the advice of moderates.

PRINCIPLES IGNORED

The import nationalisation policy had aroused fierce opposition. Some of U Nu's own party members had openly criticised it. The opposition Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, which had been mild so far in criticising the Government, came out with a blistering attack.

Opposition politicians and journalists attacked it as "burning the barn to kill the rats"—rats which had earlier been fed and fattened by the U Nu Government.

U Nu explained that unscrupulous import licene holders had ben profiteering by selling licences to Indian and Chinese traders.

— Indian Express News Service.

CHOICE OF ENEMY: WAR OR COMMUNISM

With better luck than we deserve, it is conceivable that we could be spared both war and communism. But there is no getting through or around the wider horns of the strict dilemma. Indeed, our dilemma is of that most unhappy kind which does not even permit us to avoid one horn by grasping the other. Whatever we do, we shall confront the acute and catastrophic dangers of both war and communism. We must grasp both horns of our dilemma, or be impaled.

Does this not mean that a prudent man will be equally against both war and communism? Theoretically, yes, perhaps; in practice, no. In practise you must have one main enemy, because your choice of enemy determines your line of action, your programme, your attitude. The programme and attitude of those who choose war as the main enemy are almost totally different from the programme and attitude of those who choose communism. Cf, for example, SANE with NATIONAL REVIEW; or Bertrand Russell with Barry Goldwater.

—Burnham

MR. KHRUSHCHEV & CONSUMER GOODS

Standard of living means meaningful production of goods and services. In a private enterprise

economy, which is an economy run by the people through their own enterprise to produce goods and services required by the people, consumer goods are plenty. In communist and socialist economies, the emphasis is on heavy industries to the neglect of consumer goods industries.

The following extract from a recent speech by Mr. Khrushchev, Premier of Communist Russia, shows the recognition of this fact:

"I want to stress once more that in the production of all consumer goods, all that man really needs, we shall in the immediate future reach the production and consumption level of the United States, the wealthiest country in the capitalist world".

ITALITAN COMMUNIST LEADER REPUDIATES COMPLETE NATIONALISATION

Nationalisation is no longer the panacea for all economic maladies as once advocated. Experience of socialist parties in countries like Great Britain has proved the futility of nationalisation. Now even the Communists seem to be disillusioned with nationalisation. The following quotation from Palmiro Togliatti, Italian Communist leader, is very instructive:

"Nationalisation of public utilities is not being sought by anyone. We have never asked for such measures, nor will we. We have always seen the necessity of the co-existence of nationalised utilities with the vaster zone of private enterprise".

KENNEDY READY FOR ATOM TESTS

Time Limit For Pact With Russia

WASHINGTON.

President Kennedy has offered Mr. Khrushchev two months in which to conclude a controlled nuclear test ban treaty or face new United States testing in the atmosphere.

Speaking in a nation-wide television broadcast last night, the President also said that if Mr. Khrushchev agreed to a ban, subject to international inspection, he could have a summit conference with himself and Mr. Harold Macmillan in Geneva to sign the final pact.

The American tests, he said, would be held over the Pacific Ocean beginning late next month and ending as quickly as possible within two or three months. Radioactive fall-out would be restricted to the absolute minimum.

REGIONAL LANGUAGE AT HIGH COURT LEVEL DISFAVOURED

A warning against the serious complications that would creep in by the introduction of regional language at High Court level was given by the former Chief Justice of Bombay, Mr. M. C. Chagla.

Mr. Chagla asked the protagonists for languages to realise what complications and difficulties that system would create for the judicial structure in the country where English has been in use for many decades.

The former Chief Jusice was speaking at the centenary celebration of the Bombay High Court under Law College Ex-Students Association.

He was afraid that the matter of regional language being made the administrative language in High Courts was not an "imaginary danger, but a close one".

In his opinion, English was an internatonal language and many countries were willingly taking it up. "It is an asset to us", he added.

Joint Cooperative Farming Vs Private Farming in Hungary and Poland

Joint co-operative farming is recommended as the panacea for agricultural problems of India. One of the virtues attributed to it is that it is said to increase production of foodgrains. The principle of voluntary co-operation in a democratic society is welcome because voluntary co-operation is but another form of free enterprise of the people. But joint co-operatives under the auspices of the State can be described as collectives as in communist countries. Experience of communist countries today serves as an eye-opener as to the futility of adopting joint co-operative or collective farming. The contrast between two communist countries, Hungary and Poland, carries a lesson.

The following report in the "Statesman" of January 9, 1962, makes this clear:

"VIENNA. — Collective farming, though increasingly developed in Europe's Communist countries, is apparently unattractive to the Poles. The latest issue of he Polish Statistical Bulletin shows that about a month ago only 1,926 collective farms were registered and that for the past 18 months their number has been decreasing.

"At the same time there has been a small increase in new private farms and there are now about 3,600,000 private holdings in the country. Two-thirds of the land sold by the State since August, 1958, has been bought by people starting new holdings. At the present time collective farms account for only 1% of Poland's arable land. State farms employing direct labour another 12% the remaining 87% are with individual farms.

"Although Hungarian farming is far more collectivized — in fact, collectivization is almost complete — production has shrunk and last year was about 9% below the planned total. In the last three years collectivization has made rapid progress in Hungary and official newspapers take pains to exonerate this form of farming from blame for the shortfall in production and exports.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE BANGALORE

Prof. M. A. Venkatrao delivered on 24th Feb. 1962 a Lecture at the Institute, on Lessons from Election Experiences.

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