THE Indian Socialist Movement enters in 1959 its Silver Jubilee Year. Born in hope and nurtured by sacrifice, it has grown from strength to strength and stands today in the vanguard of the struggle for Democratic Socialism in the country. Plans are under way to celebrate the Silver Jubilee sometime later this year. On this day, as the nation crosses another milestone on its path of progress, we pay our respectful homage to Acharya Narendra Deva, Father of Indian Socialism, whose inspiring leadership and personality have brought the ideals of the Indian Socialist movement nearer its goal, and dedicate ourselves anew to the cause he lived, struggled and died for.
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NOTES ON INDIAN SOCIALISM

Several weeks back I picked up a London bookshop a book, *Conviction*, wherein twelve young Socialists have outlined a new Socialist policy relevant to Britain today. None of the essays reflects awareness of the problems Socialists face in the under-developed countries. It was therefore surprising to discover community of outlook between the “older” Socialists of Asia and the younger Socialists of Britain.

It seems similar problems confront Socialists in early stages of development and after economic growth has been achieved. The difference lies in the fact that for the former these problems are more parts of the means of social change, while they form the core of the ends for the latter. Such appears to be the dialectics of Socialist development.

Beyond the welfare state is the need for involvement of the people in activities of society. As Peter Townsend says, “A society for the people” has to be brought into being where in Raymond Williams’ words it is recognised that “culture is ordinary.” Likewise, in a country struggling for development, involvement of the people in the process of growth is the inescapable precondition of development. Peter Shore bemoans the fact that he “could not detect any significant shift in the values of our society—no decline in acquisitiveness, no increase in the awareness that we are involved in and must help each other.”

**Institution-Orientation**

Such a shift in values is evidently necessary in Britain to make Socialism meaningful: in India it is necessary to make development possible. The anguished cry of Peter Townsend, “The more privileges you have the fewer there are for others,” may reflect the need for providing an adequate coping-stone to the edifice of welfare state, but in India it is the corner-stone—without it the edifice cannot rise.

Significant shifts in values are not easy to achieve in a world that is so much institution-oriented. That is why “other-directedness” (as Reisman has called it) wins in welfare communities and Communists make gains in Asia.

Institutional changes are undoubtedly necessary for development, as I shall show later, but the point that I want to make here is that such changes without the needed shift in values may fail to evoke the vital strain.

There is another point from the book that I want to underscore. Peter Shore in his essay, “In the Room at the Top,” writes:

In November 1956 I was chosen by the Halifax Labour Party as their prospective candidate. Thereafter every third weekend I travelled from my home in Harlow to my new constituency. It was a strange journey. I was travelling, not just between Essex and West Riding, but between two industrial revolutions, between two centuries... It was a journey too between two sorts of politics.

**Cavalcade of Centuries**

In India such journeys are stranger still: not only one travels between two industrial revolutions, but to the pre-industrial world; not just two centuries but many centuries co-exist here. As I said some years back, we in India live in the midst of a cavalcade of centuries. There are inevitably many sorts of politics and they have to be harmonised for normal democratic functioning.

Socialist ideas have achieved elemental power because of their profound involvement with social justice. In the West, Socialists have been concerned mainly with juster distribution to the neglect of the processes of production. In Asia too Socialism tends to get a similar emphasis, while the needs of development—of augmenting savings and investments—demand treatment of distribution as a function of production. Here again, the ends Socialists seek in the West emerge as means (without losing their validity as ends) in Asia.

Socialists’ ex hypothesis are egalitarian. In Asian countries, where development claims sacrifices, equality has a functional role also. But often, growth of production depends on provision of incentives. Again, consumption pattern of those who run a steel mill, even in the public sector, or who work in National Science Laboratories or in atomic plants, is likely to be closer to Western standards and very different from that of farm labourers.

**Unequal Equality**

Is it equality to treat them alike or is the desired objective served by treating them unequally? Will equal treatment be understood as such by the technicians and scientists? Will unequal treatment be accepted as dynamic equality by the farm labourers? Verily, among equals, some are more equal than others!

The Asian countries have low per capita income and unappeased hunger presses heavily on any surplus that emerges in the economy. In democratic framework this pressure gets aggravated. Surpluses emerge as profits—it is the essence of development that share of profit in the economy expands. Profits emerge in either private sector or public sector, and in either case profits have a bad odour with popular Socialism.

The logic of development implies that the rich tend to become richer and the poor poorer, whether the rich are individuals, classes, regions or sectors of economy. Countervailing action has to be a necessary part of informed social action.

But such action cannot beat a simultaneous rhythm with development. In the dissimilar rhythm how much is inescapable, and how much induced by the self-interest of the power elites?

**An Example**

Development brings about sectoral imbalance in economy. Production at higher levels of technique can grow at the expense of the lower level of technique. In India, in the sugar industry for instance, factory production is 2.04 million tons, providing employment to 150,000 workers and involving a capital outlay of Rs. 547.3 million while the cottage industry’s production is 3.15 million tons, providing employment...
to 2.26 million workers and involving a capital outlay of Rs. 390 million. Development of the sugar industry is likely to mean the growth of the factory sector at the expense of the cottage industry. Co-ordinated production programme, set in the framework of development, requires training of the flow of technique for which the necessary guidance is not available.

In traditional capitalist societies, as also under communism, sectoral imbalances get corrected over a period of time through the mute misery of its victims. In a democratic society, a sector tends to become a lobby, and correction of imbalances confronts resistance and demands concessions.

In the shrinking area of democratic Socialism in Asia, economic development demands careful orchestration as a necessary condition of development while elsewhere the emerging disharmonies get resolved during and as a consequence of development.

Sir Dennis Robertson has said somewhere that “the sacrifices necessary to achieve growth consist not merely in passive abstinence from consumption, but in consent to be disturbed in established routines of life and work”. Such disturbance is easier to evoke where new techniques are introduced, which induce new rhythms of work; but in India, the key job is to induce the 60 million peasant households and 12 million small artisans to produce more with traditional tools and techniques, because the wherewithal of improving them have first to be fabricated in more involved industrial sectors.

Odd Challenge

Peter Shore in his essay in Conviction says, “The only generalisation that one could safely make is that large-scale organisation, public or private, is, under twentieth century conditions, likely to be more efficient than small-scale enterprises.” But in India growth of large-scale enterprises depends on the success achieved in making small-scale production efficient. In the resulting efficiency lies the hope of political stability and the provision of the surplus needed for the capital-consuming sectors of economy. In the twentieth century, Indians have thus to challenge successfully its cardinal generalisation.

Socialists everywhere have feared and fought against concentration of wealth—often by creating massive concentration in the hands of the state. The influence of Mahatma Gandhi has made Indians conscious of the dangers inherent in any concentration.

“Accumulate, accumulate, that is their Moses and their prophets,” that is how Marx had thundered against concentration of wealth. Gandhi has taught that the evil resides not in capital, but in concentration.

Every concentration leads to a focus of power. As Vinoba Bhave, Gandhi’s noblest disciple has put it, “Every heap causes a hollow nearby”.

The need for articulating communities, of building up a web of associative life, is further cherished because that is deemed to be the secret of the free society in many countries the Socialists admire, such as Scandinavia. A free society is free to the extent the infra-structure of associative life—trade unions, co-operatives, craft associations, communes, folk schools—has been built inside the State.

Time-span Short

In the West, the web grew up over years. In India, living under the double pressure of growing population (nearly 2 per cent a year) and expanding urbanisation (3.5 million a year) the available time span is too short for evolutionary growth. For us, the infra-structure is not just the expression of freedom but the means of sustaining the yet fragile fabric of democracy. Should the State-ways be utilised to evolve the folk-ways?

Jayaprakash Narayan, the doyen of Indian Socialists, broke away from his colleagues on this point. He feels that the primacy belongs to janashakti, or the people’s power, over raj shakti, or the State power. He has joined Vinoba Bhave in the
Bhoodan or the land-gifts movement that seeks to evoke humanity in men and community solidarity in work. The intensive campaign for land gifts for the landless, carried to almost all of India's 500,000 villages, has brought in gifts over 5,000,000 acres of lands. Now, the movement is engaged in encouraging gramdan or villagisation of agricultural life, where all property gets donated to the village community. Over 5,000 villages have responded to the call.

**Government Aid Sought**

The movement however has not been able to organise distribution of lands donated, to assist the landless settled on such lands, and even less in giving shape to gramdan. Recently it has sought the help of the Community Development Administration of the State. Enlivening spirit by itself has not been able to evoke the needed structure.

As against this, the Government suffers from a proliferation of Socialist forms and misses the enlivening spirit. In the Second (Five-Year) Plan, the Government accepted Socialist objectives and began to expand the public sector, nationalised some banks and all life insurance companies, introduced integrated tax system, including wealth tax and expenditure tax (over and above the usual income-tax, super tax, corporation tax, inheritance and gift tax). It has just declared in favour of socialisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains and co-operation of agriculture.

The forms multiply and tend to become oppressive. The Government's success with the Third Plan, where the main hurdle is lack of internal resources, depends upon their ability to energise the people, to impart to the forms of Socialism an evocative ethos.

The Gandhians emphasise the primacy of the peasant in India and arraign his neglect in Western Socialism. The peasant is under-employed. With the fragmentary holdings he can never make the two ends meet without other avenues of employment being provided to him. This leads to the demand for diversification of occupations in villages and to the plea to reconcile the villager's needs with the productive powers of the village (or a cluster of villages), i.e., to village self-sufficiency.

**Marketed Surpluses**

As against that, over 70 million urban people, whose number grows at the rate of 3 to 4 million a year largely through people migrating from rural areas, demand increasing supplies of foodgrains and agricultural raw materials. This necessitates attention on not just increased production in the villages but marked increase in the marketed surplus. The marketed surplus depends on what the peasant gets in return from the urban people: goods and services. That requires diversification and multiplication of wants of the peasant.

The Socialists thus view the rural sector in the wider framework of economic development and tend to get lost in forms and lose the spirit. The Gandhians view the peasants in their own "milieu" and offer solutions which in the context of modern world, with all its pressures and compulsions, act as mere palliatives.

Under-developed countries by definition suffer from paucity of capital. Many of them have abundance of labour. The lack of capital has to be overcome by larger doses of organisational effort.

**Other Handicaps**

Often these countries face erosion of the key organisation built up. Not only is there the breakdown of the traditional order, but in most of the newly liberated countries the rallying of people behind the banner of one great party—the Congress in India, the Muslim League in Pakistan, the AFPFL in Burma, the Neo Destour in Tunisia—achieved during the freedom struggle does not survive long. After independence, different groups and sections among the people begin to seek self-identification and its stresses and strains affect the big party. Add to it the usual decline in prestige of any party that shoulders the burdens of government too long. The old party begins to decay—and often nothing else, nothing vital and expanding—comes up.

So a vacuum threatens to emerge, and where it does as in Pakistan or Burma, the armed forces move in. In India, the supreme task is to accelerate the organisational effort, to wed the spirit and forms. That gives to Socialists an almost Promethean responsibility.

Growth through stability is the pursuit of all democrats. In India the growth has to be accelerated, and stability has to be distinguished from the traditional stagnation.

This necessitates the mating of humanist ethics (which has been the essence of the appeal of Socialism) with social engineering that planned and purposeful efforts at economic development demand. The two together determine the texture of social change.

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Reflections on the Perspective of Socialism

by Julius Braenthall

The attempt to forecast the destiny of Socialism is indeed a bold adventure, because the course of history is very complex and is given to unpredictable developments.

Forty or fifty years ago, most Socialists were, however, untroubled by such considerations. They were certain to live to see the fulfilment of Socialism. Characteristic of the sanguine optimism which swayed them was a speech by Eugen Debs, the great American Socialist, made during the first World War at the dawn of the Russian Revolution, and for which he incidentally was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. "Socialism," he said, "is a growing idea; an expanding philosophy. It is spreading over the face of the earth. It is in vain to resist it as it would be to arrest the sunrise on the morrow". And he concluded with the clarion call: "It is coming, coming all along the line".

What became, however, of Deb's hopes and expectations, the hopes and expectations of so many Socialists of his time?

We have only to remember, of what most people are not any more aware, that less than 40 or 50 years ago, most countries of Europe and Asia were still ruled by feudal or semi-feudal dynasties: by the Hohenzollerns in Germany, the Hapsburgs in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Romanoffs in Russia, the Ottoman dynasty in Turkey, the Manchu dynasty in China. They had ruled their countries for hundreds of years and their power seemed to be so deeply rooted in the institutions and traditions of their countries that the idea of revolutions which might overthrow them appeared utterly fantastic. Yet less than in a decade—between 1912 and 1918—they were altogether swept away and are now entirely forgotten.

Independence—a Dream

Again, a little over a decade ago, Britain still ruled India, Burma, Ceylon and Malaya, Holland ruled Indonesia, and Africa was partitioned among Britain, France and Belgium. Freedom and independence of the subject people was then, even in India, no more than a dream. Now all of us have witnessed the national revolutions which liberated 1,500 million people from imperialism in Asia and which are undermining colonialism in Africa and everywhere else in the world.

Furthermore, less than half a century ago the worker in Europe and America, no less than in Asia, was still the underdog, despised and callously exploited, and social security appeared to be an unattainable aim, because the working class was powerless and even the right to vote was denied to them in most countries of the world. Now the working class is respected as a most powerful political and social force, predominant in Europe, and a "countervailing force" against monopoly capitalism in America, as J. K. Galbraith called it. And the atmosphere which surrounds society is penetrated by Socialist ideas, the social welfare state is taken for granted just as the Socialist governments wherever they are in power.

The Significance

These tremendous changes occurred in the brief span of the past 40 or 50 years. Yet, have they brought us nearer the goal to which Debs aspired?

I think they did. I cannot attempt in the compass of a brief article to analyse the significance of these changes. But it might perhaps be possible to summarise rapidly their significance.

In Asia, hundreds of million people were liberated from humiliating foreign domination and status of inferiority—the first step towards the socialist ideal of the equality of men. In Central Europe, semi-autocratic regimes were swept away and self-determination of the people was established.

Finally, the economic fabric of the societies of Europe and Asia, and even of America, has been in varying degrees permeated with socialist elements. It is true, we have yet nowhere Socialism. But we have today nowhere any more unbridled capitalism. The European and North American countries are social welfare states, and we have experienced, particularly in America, an increase in the standard of living of the working classes undreamed of 40 years ago. In some countries, as for example in Great Britain and Scandinavia, the foundations of a socialist society are laid, in the remaining European and North American countries the economic structure has assumed the character of a hydrid form of capitalism and Socialism, and in South Asia, coun-
tries are aspiring to a socialist pattern of society.

Yet, the most momentous changes in the world of yesterday, of course occurred in Russia and China. I do not need to add to the Socialist criticism of Communism. I fully share the condemnation of Communism as a monstrous travesty of Socialism. Yet we should not blind ourselves to the historical significance of the Communist revolutions in Russia and China. Although they replaced one form of despotism by another form of despotism, they have produced at the same time the conditions for the transformation of their totalitarian societies into socio-democratic societies.

When 40 years ago Debs spoke about the triumphant spread of Socialism over the face of the earth, he hoped that the tendencies he observed would come to fruition “all along the line.” They indeed came after all to fruition, though not fully and along twisted lines.

Now what can be expected from the tendencies operating in our contemporary society, in the first place from the bewildering advances in science and technology? They carry the potentiality of tremendous changes in the conditions of life. The utilisation of atomic energy for industrial purposes opens overwhelming vistas. Mankind is now able to increase enormously the resources at its disposal, thus providing it with the power to multiply industrial production, to fertilise the arid soil of whole continents, to transform vast deserts into arable lands, indeed, to conquer poverty all over the world.

At the same time, the advances in technology during the past decade have ushered in what is called the age of automation, a second industrial revolution. It is destined to replace human labour on a vast scale by self-operating mechanical or electronic devices which supervise and regulate the production process. Thus automation is not a mere evolution of the older types of technological changes. It is a fundamental change in the mode of production, to use a term by Marx, bound to produce fundamental changes in the industrial organisation and the stratification of society.

Systemic Antagonism

There is another social aspect of the effects of automation. Automation, designed to increase immensely the productivity of labour, is bound, if subjected to uncontrolled capitalist exploitation, to accentuate the antagonism inherent in the capitalist economy. For if increases in the productivity of labour are not synchronised with an equivalent increase in the purchasing power needed for the absorption of the increased output, it produces economic crises. The tremendous increase in the productivity of labour by automation might produce economic and social crises on a tremendous scale which would foster the tendencies towards a more egalitarian distribution of wealth and an extension of social welfare.

Furthermore, automation greatly accentuates the tendency towards concentration of industry and capital in even fewer units, because its adoption requires large investments. It appears inevitable that the big corporations, especially in America, will become bigger still, wielding enormous economic and political power. All the more urgent will the need be felt to subject economic power wielded by private capitalism to public control.

Indeed, it appears to me inevitable that a revolution in the mode of production of such a magnitude as the industrial revolution caused by automation will set in motion a process of social revolution. We should also remember that the first industrial revolution begot a formidable social revolution changing. An aristocratic society based on landed property into a bourgeois society based on capitalist property. The second industrial revolution which we are experiencing is bound to bring forth a kind of socialist society based on social control over the means of production.

Challenge of Automation

It is, of course, impossible to forecast how the social revolution will operate, or the forms and phases of the economic and social changes which the interaction of technology and social struggle might generate. Under the stress of the industrial and political struggle of the working class attempts will be made to meet the challenge of automation on an emergency basis by a progressive reduction of working hours, by an increase in real wages, by an extension of social services and large-scale public work projects—in brief, by measures of social democracy.

Yet these measures will probably be found insufficient in the face of the magnitude of the problem, namely, how to absorb the superabundance which modern technology combined with atomic power is able to produce, that is to say, how to avoid a major economic and social crisis caused by the discrepancy between production and consumption.

The avenue of escape from this dilemma appears to be projects of aid on a vast scale to the Asian countries for their industrial development in order to increase the world markets by an increase in the purchasing power of the Asian people and, at the same time, by an increase in their standard of living in order to avert the conquest of Asia by Communism.

Aid to the under-developed nations, which live in grinding poverty, by the privileged nations, which enjoy plenty, is surely a measure in a genuine Socialist spirit. It can, however, not be expected that governments under strong capitalist influence as, say, the American Government, would be prompted in their policy by a Socialist code of ethics. But it was precisely an American Government which embarked on such a Socialist action unprecedented in history. Under the Marshall Aid Programme, America sent to war-ravaged Europe year after year gifts of goods in the value of millions of dollars, regardless of whether the countries were ruled by Socialist governments, like Great Britain, or by capitalist systems, like Germany.

Three Factors

It should certainly not be denied that sincere humanitarian impulses played a part in the motivation of the Marshall Aid Programme. But it was prompted mainly by three considerations. Firstly, to avert the conquest of Europe by Communism. Secondly, to avert a possible economic and social crisis in America itself under the impact of a collapse of Europe. And, finally, to re-establish world trade by restoring the markets of Europe.

These considerations are as valid today in respect of the under-developed countries of Asia as they were after the war in respect of the devastated European countries. They are valid, moreover, not only for America but for every industrial country outside the Communist orbit. (Continued on page 10)
A Plea for Understanding

by Prof. Hiren Mukerjee

IT is in response to a generous request from "Janata" that I write with real pleasure as I think of the days when we wanted in our country a unified socialist movement and I remind myself that we still hope, perhaps against hope, that the Indian genius for adaptation and co-ordination, even of diversities, will lend our socialism the capacity to overcome non-fundamental differences.

On occasions like the present, one might be permitted a little reminiscence. Drawn strongly in early youth by Gandhiji's magic, I felt, on maturer reflection, a compulsion that pulled me away from earlier loyalties. The world-view (Weltanschauung) of Marxism made a conquest of the minds and hearts of many of us who in the early and middle 'thirties of this century were groping their way to an understanding of the social process.

Shelter of Socialism

For myself, I strayed into political life, rather than entered it by the front door—I had other interests, by no means yet dimmed, but I needed an ideology which could make sense of life and its seeming oddities. And when in 1935-36, it was important for me to belong somewhere, it was the Congress Socialist Party which gave me shelter.

The Communist Party, banned in 1934, was then "underground", and with some of its leaders I had already come in contact. Quite apart from the Communist Party's inability then to function in the open, what drew me to the CSP was the feeling I had, not I believe with reason, that in India's special circumstances the CSP could play a powerful mobilising role in respect of the rising forces of socialism. My work, mainly by way of propagating the ideas of socialism by the spoken and the written word, earned the CSP's confidence and for a time I was an office-bearer in its Bengal Committee.

Even in retrospect, I have the conviction that the CSP, in the 'thirties, had special, strategic advantages in the task of advancing the cause of socialism in India. The world depression of those days—how ancient we are to be recalling such things!—and the very experience of our freedom struggle had brought socialism forward to India's order of the day. After all, it is good to recall that Jawaharlal Nehru's articles, "Whither India?", made people sit up and take notice of socialism and discover that it could not be lightly dismissed as a mental aberration which the powers-that-be could cure by a Meerut Conspiracy case and similar devices.

Role of CSP

In the CSP there were, among its founding fathers, men like Narendra Deva, symbol of some of the finest aspects of our national movement, and Jayaprakash Narayan, already marked out to grow into nearly an Indian legend. If socialism were to be thoroughly acclimatised in India, if certain militant exaggerations psychologically inevitable at one time were to be creatively overcome and transmuted to Indian conditions, it was, par excellence, the nearly pre-destined role of the CSP. No wonder, it roused expectations in diverse quarters, and though inside the CSP many of us were a motley crew, not always happy with our ways of thought and sometimes with our very premises about revolution, we had hopes of pulling well together. I remember how, over the issue of our attitude towards the world's first socialist country whose triumph in the face of incredible odds illumined history's horizon, we had differences that were the cause, to me, of some anguish. Even so, there were hopes of some basic co-ordination of ideas emerging. After all, we were still in the thick of the national struggle which, it was fondly believed, would cleanse us of our dross.

I am not writing in order to apportion blame, but it is to me a matter of much regret that we could not all then pull together. There came recurrent crises—in 1938-39, in 1942 particularly—which revealed that our differences could not be wished away. And we parted—some of us to find, as I did, unashamed, a firm home only in the Communist movement.

Hopes Revived

Yet, from time to time, in spite of events happening—like our former colleagues' horror of the socialist world, the USSR and Peoples' China and the East European democracies, or their recent onslaught on Kerala's Communist administration—I wish to revive my old hope of a joining together, for Indian purposes, of the apparently disparate forces of socialism. I wish I could say to my former colleagues what Cromwell once said to his Parliament: "I beseech thee, in the bowels of Christ, think for a moment what Cromwell once said to his Parliament: "I beseech thee, in the bowels of Christ, think for a moment you might be wrong!"

Must we disrupt our own forces, just because everything has not gone right with the socialist world? Is it permissible to expect that the building of socialism, in almost impossibly difficult conditions, could be accomplished without mistakes and even the crimes and follies to which human nature, as we know it, is still prone? Should not the very immensity and complexity of the task of socialist construction, particularly in countries where many historical gaps had to be rapidly bridged, enable us to understand the process of revolutionary change, and by understanding to forgive the weaknesses that were its invariable concomitant? How can it be that certain abstract conceptions of liberty, valuable no doubt in individual cases but disproportionately estimated in our present social context, drive many of us away from friendship with the socialist world?
an orderly manner towards the diffusion of social justice by making it possible for the human personality to develop and flower in better material conditions and towards a greater measure of equality of opportunity among different classes of people, all of us would without exception subscribe to it. If, however, it were to take the form, as it is apt to do, of judging the country's advancement by the amount of steel that it manufactures, of measuring its progress by the "rate of economic growth", of glorifying so-called "co-operative farming" as practised in Communist China, which has now revealed itself in its true colours as a hideous regimentation of the people, which Professor S. Chandrasekhar, a recent visitor to that country, has described as "a new form of colonialism", the plight of the inhabitants of the agricultural communes reminding him of the inhabitants of "a zoo", with never a smile on their face; if it means the accentuation of class consciousness and conflict, or vilification of those who have something at stake in the country; then the Socialist pattern goes to sap the moral foundations of society and to undermine the glorious...

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traditions of our country and to replace them by a crude materialism.

Similarly, if the secular State means that all religions are to be equally respected and all forms of worship to be tolerated, it is something to be admired. If, on the other hand, anyone who believes in God is to be looked upon with suspicion and if the President of a Republic is to be vilified when he participates in a religious ceremony, then again the cry of secularism can weaken the spiritual foundations of the social order. It would be as if President Eisenhower, Mr. Adenauer or Mr. Macmillan were to be reviled as reactionaries just because they go church and behave like good Christians.

Profession and Practice

Another thing to be considered is the wide gap between profession and practice. One can think of two illustrations. There is the profession that our plans of economic development are to raise the standard of life of our people. Anyone however who cares to analyse the development are to raise the standard of life of our people. Anyone however who cares to analyse the way it is operated will be forced to admit that if anything it is a plan to reduce consumption standards and, as the phrase goes, “to ask the people to tighten the belts” which, as Shri T. T. Krishnamachari once observed, they do not even possess. A second example of the gulf between the profession and practice is the constant reiteration on the platform of the need for austerity while in practice the people see a picture of a fight for the acquisition of power, perquisites and patronage on the part of a large section of the natural leadership.

Two Phenomena

Finally, perhaps the most vital element in the vacuum is the lack of discipline. After the recent events in Banaras University it is not necessary to expiate on the evils of student indiscipline. We are all aware of labour indiscipline — illegal strikes and slow down which take place without punishment for those who lead them. In the House of the People one watches walk-out after walk-out as a form of protest against the rulings of the Chair, the unquestioning acceptance of which is the very bedrock of parliamentary democracy.

On the one side, we find this setting indiscipline; on the other, the cult of personality and a blind and unquestioning acceptance of the views of those above. These two phenomena are not inconsistent with each other. They are in fact only two sides of the same medal. Gandhiji was never tired of stressing that only a man with internal restraint and self-discipline can become a true satyagrahi and in his own life he embodied these values of self-discipline and of rebellion. Would I be wrong, if as a result of this brief survey, I were to suggest that all the ingredients in a vacuum are incipient in our national life today—the absence of a public philosophy, the gap between profession and practice, a wide and growing cynicism and contempt for all parties and all politicians?

What then is to be done about it? What is our duty as citizens in this new democracy which is a tender plant in need of nursing before it can strike roots and become a strong tree? I shall make two suggestions which are distinct but not unrelated.

The first is to stress the obligations of individual citizenship. As each of us can testify, there is widespread, almost universal, grumbling about the government, about politicians, about trade union leaders. “They’re” are corrupt. “They” do not listen, “they” are harming the country. It is always the other fellow who is letting the country down, never ourselves. If ministers and officials are corrupt, who is it that makes it necessary for electric light bulbs to be enclosed in barbed wire cases in III class compartments in the railways? How many who have grumbled have tried to get together and put a wrong right, to redress an injustice or, as the Americans would say, “to clean up city hall”? A great deal of American democracy and the same goes for Britain and Scandinavia—lies not in parliamentary processes but in grass roots actively at the parish or town level. Is it not true that the weakest links in our democracy are perhaps the municipal and district boards and the co-operative societies where the common people would really have their say if they only had the will to assert themselves? How many of those who object to governmental policies are prepared to stand up and be counted? Gandhiji used to say in the days of the struggle for independence that India had to learn to say ‘NO’. Have we learnt to say ‘NO’ yet to those in authority? And is it surprising that in such a context the cry should go up that what India needs above all is a strong opposition?

Imbalance Is Two-fold

That brings me to my second suggestion and that is in regard to the need to take steps to rectify the prevailing imbalance in our political life. That imbalance is two-fold. There is the imbalance between Government and opposition, and then there is the ideological imbalance. Let me amplify these two thoughts.

The dangers of too strong a Government and too weak an opposition are clear. They make for complacency and arbitrariness on the part of the Government and a lack of responsibility on the part of the opposition. In our own House of the People, there are some 365 Congress members, while the Opposition of about 135 is hopelessly divided among groups and elements who have less in common among themselves than they have with the ruling party. I for one feel that we should be grateful that our parliamentary life functions as well as it does despite this lop-sided balance of power.
Dictatorship May Emerge

The ideological imbalance is just as marked. We now have four parties or groups in parliament which stand for Socialism or State capitalism of one kind or another—the Congress party, the Praja Socialist party, the Socialist party and the Communist party. The adherents of liberalism or conservatism are scattered among the few Independents in Opposition. There are two good reasons why this imbalance needs to be rectified. Since the Congress adopted a Socialist programme, there is unfortunately no outlook for another democratic Socialist party. In absence of another big democratic party, a polarisation will naturally develop with the Congress on one side and the Communists on the other, and a situation similar to that which developed in China between the Kuomintang and the Communists may arise. Already in Kerala this tendency has crystallised. The other reason is that unless the drift to State Capitalism is checked, the country will be led to disaster, and dictatorship of one kind or another will emerge to end the chaos.

It is in this context that our elder statesman, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, has given a call for a Conservative party. The only opposition that can be a true democratic balance to the ruling party in Delhi, he writes, “is a conservative party—a party that openly and boldly stands for and is guided by the principle of conserving what we have and what is good, before changing or disturbing the status quo. A conservative party”, he proceeds, firmly adhering to the goal of general welfare and progress but careful of what we already have and what is good may achieve through social advance more of happiness for the people as a whole than what the Congress has been able to do. . . . It can fill the gap that now makes democracy hop on one foot. . . . A wide public is waiting to give support to such an opposition.”

A Liberal Party

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, when he was in Bombay last month, made exactly the same remark to me and said that, while he was himself not a conservative, India’s prime need today was the emergence of a conservative party. Now, I am not a conservative either and I would like to call the party Jayaprakash and Shri Shyama Prasad Mookerjee to rally and lead a combination of democratic forces in India. They have idealism and integrity. In recent years, they have acquired an understanding of the evils of totalitarianism and of the dangers of State Capitalism which has not yet permeated other sections of the intelligentsia. If they will agree to join hands with those others who may not be Socialists in the orthodox sense of the word but who are democrats and are prepared to join with them in defending the free way of life, I am confident they will rally much wider support than if they cling to the Socialist label while life slowly ebbs away from the democratic system itself.

A Challenge and Opportunity

In this second half of the 20th Century, the main threat to the liberties of the people comes not from a chastined and retreating system of private capitalism but from the aggressive and ever spreading tentacles of the total State. Lovers of freedom have to learn to shift their sights and to spy new enemies of freedom rather than to keep their eyes glued on old evils. The line of battle today throughout the world is drawn not between Socialism and capitalism but between democracy and totalitarianism.

I believe that it should be possible to establish a party of ordered progress wedded to the ideal of “a free and equal society” in which Socialists and others can cooperate for the next few years or decades. To such a party the Indian people will respond. Will democratic Socialists let such a challenge and opportunity pass by?
In examining the issues of Socialism in the light of our growing understanding and experience I am not bothered by the likely consequence of my views on my career. I state this personal factor because I have strongly felt that any reconsideration of political beliefs is hampered by the desire not to provoke avoidable opposition. In case one has to take decisions and face the risk of disagreement, the temptation is to take shelter under pragmatism and just not raise or think about the long-term or the ultimate issues.

Emphasis of Socialism

At the outset I would like to make a brief recital of factors which have led me to re-think and re-examine the traditional views, interpretations, and emphasis of Socialism. The first was the surprising resilience of capitalism to adapt itself, in some measure and direction, to the compulsions of political democracy and welfare economy. The attitude of the British Conservative Party to the national social and welfare services introduced by the Labour Government or the growing power of trade unions in the USA and other capitalist countries are only two of the many instances which may be cited. The lay-off and retiring benefits which some of the private industrial firms offer to their workers in the USA could not have been dreamt of by any Socialist in the nineteenth century.

In shocking contrast, the fate of the experiment to establish a Socialist society in the USSR raised serious doubts about the validity of many assumptions of the traditional Socialist theory. Instead of the establishment of “a free and equal society”, we witnessed a process of total enslavement of a people. It would be too naive to consider the degeneration of the Socialist ideals as a freak of history or attribute it to the villainy of an individual—that would be contrary to the ‘materialist’ interpretation. The ideology—as understood and practised—no doubt carried the seeds of its own distortion.

A Pure Stream of Ideas

To these mere adjustments and corrections of accepted beliefs was added a pure stream of ideas distilled from what Gandhiji said and did nearer home. In spite of its pre-scientific odour, apparent contradictions, repellent revivalism and even unabashed utopianism it had a magic quality of purification. The element of hate, “chopping of tall heads, and clipping of bulging pockets”, as Shri Nehru once put it, associated with what I had learned as Socialism was not, I found to my great relief, an integral component of Socialism. The conflict of head and heart was resolved, and, for the first time, I was not ashamed of being a Socialist.

What then is the net outcome of these impacts and experiences? Do we place our faith in the gradual reformation of capitalism or accept communism minus its violence? Neither. Firstly, because both are amoral and, secondly, the society they visualise is essentially impersonal, contractual, acquisitive and highly materialistic. It won’t be, to repeat, a “society of the free and equal”.

The individual will continue to be reckoned in terms of economic or political categories and not essentially as a human being. Does this then lead to some sort of Sarvodaya with its bias against intricate economics and high politics? No. For one thing, it is not yet a working system and the institutional framework has yet to be worked out. Judging by the current thinking, I have doubts regarding the viability of its economic system. I also do not share their view that the urban and the industrial sector are inimical to rural interests. But I do think a synthesis of all the three currents of thought is possible. Now I know the great aversion of the intellectuals to what they would almost instinctively describe as hotchpotch. They may accept none in its pure form and would rather live without faith than condense to attempt a blending—they prefer security of the anchor to daring with the compass.

The Basic Ends

Having clarified the approach, we may proceed to the main theme of reconsideration.

It is necessary even at the risk of being considered puerile to remind ourselves of the basic ends which Socialism seeks to serve. I do not know whether there is unanimity on this or not; but at any rate for me these ends are primarily ethical. Socialism is not merely a better system of economic management. If I rejected capitalism—in its raw form as expounded in the 19th century text-books and against which Marx and many others before him led the attack—it was primarily because it gave rise to a society which was ethnically revolting. If this ethical approach to Socialism is considered romantic and sentimental and, therefore, unscientific, I am not perturbed. Science provides a method, an analytical tool, it cannot presume to dictate (inevitable) ends.

For Marx, too, the objective of Socialism was the establishment of a society of the free and equal. Based on his analysis of the historical process, he prescribed technique
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and methods by which that objective could be achieved. His disciples—or those who monopolised that title—made the not-uncommon mistake of investing these methods and tools with infallibility and absoluteness, while reconciling themselves with the emerging ends as something inevitable, though not in consonance with the dreams and aspirations of the Master. Thus the entire approach became distorted and topsy-turvy. The method became inviolate and absolute, the ends merely consequential. The main task of Socialists today is, therefore, to restore Socialism on its ethical pedestal and re-examine the process by which the superstructure could be raised.

**A Doctrinaire Approach**

Fortunately, there are many in India and outside who readily accept the need to avoid what is called a doctrinaire approach to the task of building up a Socialist society. Such realisation is dawning even upon some of the devout followers and fellow-travellers. Yet there is a certain amount of timidity in doing so. The hangover of the past intellectual commitments persists. There is a fear of being considered a renegade and also lack of self-confidence.

There may be, for those of us who are in politics, political considerations, if not compulsions. Can one retain the claim to be a Socialist even after rejecting most of the orthodox, traditional, conventional mechanics of the Socialist society? This fear is perhaps at the root of their desire—or need—to avoid discussion of several issues, especially those which are not immediately relevant. It is possible, that their approach is purely pragmatic. Let the sleeping dogs lie. Why upset the entire apple cart? Why not accept propositions which do not have immediate consequences? But this is a dangerous game; for one may fall a victim to this deliberate postponement of fundamental re-examination all along the line. Unless each step is informed with the ultimate purpose, we will willingly walk into, or will be driven to, uninvited destinations. Besides, pragmatism can never inspire the same confidence. /

We must have faith that our image of Socialism—restored to its ethical foundations—is radical enough. Equally, should we be prepared to adopt such means as may be necessary, however radical, for achieving the end—of course with the supreme proviso that such means are not inconsistent with the ethical basis of our ends. These means and methods—immediate as well as subsequent—must be thought out here and now in the light of the accumulated experience as well as the basic values implicit in our objectives. These methods will not just be milder, pink versions of the prescribed orthodoxy, nor would they be elevated into new unorthodox dogmas. The criterion will be two-fold: they must take us to our goal speedily enough and the path will be clean and straight, lighted by values which the end exemplifies.

**Attitude to Property**

The general theme can, however, be illustrated by specific examples. I shall touch upon only one of them: attitude of socialism to property.

Interpretation of the historical development of society convinced the early Socialists that ownership and control over property and means of production were at the root of social inequality and exploitation. The validity of this formulation is even today indisputable. But the remedy thought of was to abolish private property and transfer it to public ownership. But the experiment did not lead to the desired results; concentration of economic power persisted, the class distinctions did not vanish, freedom and dignity of the individual were not established. On the contrary, as the experience in Soviet Russia showed, tyranny became total when economic power was added to political power of the State. Here, then, is one of the most perplexing dilemma facing the Socialists all over the world. Their reactions are varied.

Some question the very premise which considered ownership and control over property as the root cause of exploitation and inequality. They hold that any attempt at control or regulation of property by the State would ipso facto constitute a denial of individual freedom.

Others put their faith in experimenting with different forms of public ownership such as autonomous corporations, co-operatives, etc.

A third group objects to the physical concentration of production resources, giant factories, multi-purpose irrigation and power generation and advocate decentralization vertically and horizontally.

**Concept of Trusteeship**

Closely allied to the above is the concept of trusteeship, under which a person in possession of property does not use it for his personal gain but holds it in trust for the entire community. Lastly, the political type prefers, once again, the pragmatic approach, that is, neither accepts nor rejects the ultimate goal but is cautious with the immediate programme.

This is not a complete list, nor a sharply defined one. It is not possible to discuss fully and fairly the merit of each view. But if the Socialists wish to avoid being considered perennially confused, a firm, positive stand has to be taken. Does our foregoing analysis indicate any concrete policy in regard to the institutional framework into which our revised ideas about property could be fitted in? The revision, it may be remembered, has been influenced by three sources: adaptability of capitalism, failure of the Soviet experiment, and ethical values preached and practised by Gandhi. Could the impact of these influences by synthesised and, if so, to what extent? Let us first search for the area of agreement. All the three would perhaps agree that excessive concentration of property and the resulting glaring inequalities are not socially desirable and, therefore, must be eliminated.

Similarly, some social control of property in the entire economy is today acceptable even to the champions of free enterprise. As pointed out earlier, the nature and extent of accepted social control in USA is very impressive.

**A Growing Realisation**

On the other hand, in the Communist countries, prejudice against
private or group ownership is lessening, for example, disbandment of the MTS and permitting the collective to own agricultural machinery. Then again there is a growing realisation of the advantages of decentralisation and dispersal of economic enterprises. This much is common ground. For the rest, we have to borrow from each that which appeals to us, taking care to see that as a result a consistent pattern emerges. I am aware how suspect such an attempt always is. However, if our purpose is honest, we need not be afraid of any intellectual pollution.

I must, however, admit here that I cannot do anything more than indicate broadly the basic stand. Details will have to be filled in and in doing so the first thoughts may have to be revised or, may be, the edifice itself will collapse.

Strategic Field

1. We should state unequivocally that individual (private) ownership in what may be called strategic spheres of production is incompatible with Socialism.

2. Even in the rest of the economy, private ownership will be subject to social control. In fact, ownership as understood today will cease to exist. The content and degree of freedom which ownership gives has been constantly changing, almost from generation to generation.

3. Social control does not necessarily imply state ownership and management. Managers in state enterprises are prone to be more sensitive to politics around than to the economics of the firm. Consistent with the ultimate goal of withering away of the state, the public sector—based as it is on the distrust of the individual—should also wither away.

4. As long as an enterprise is (i) running efficiently, and (ii) conforms to democratically determined social policy, its independent, individual management will be preferred. This is contrary to the currently accepted view that the extension of the public sector is merely a matter of time and convenience.

5. In order that social controls may not become coercive, the main reliance will be on generation of appropriate social climate.

6. To start with, emphasis will be placed on inculcation of Socialist values before launching of Socialist institutions. A word about these values.

If I may say so, they will have to be richer than those as yet accepted by the Socialists. In one word, they should be essentially Gandhian and would thus include some hitherto unfamiliar in Socialist thinking—such as, non-acquisitiveness and simplicity, limitation of wants as a way of life.

Decentralisation.

7. Every effort will be made to simplify the economic structure through decentralisation, dispersal and active encouragement of the economy of the small unit, so that every individual will have the satisfaction of active participation in creative work. This ideal will be pursued even if it involved some sacrifice of efficiency—in the input-output sense—and slowing down the process of economic development. We should, however, express confidence that developing technology will be able to impart the same efficiency to small units. An individual will not be free in any real sense of the word, unless he understands the economic process under which he lives and earns his bread. Just as mere assurance of the vote does not make a person politically "free and equal", assurance of work does not make one economically "free and equal".

Economic government like political government through (elected but unfamiliar) representatives may be unavoidable in the highly complex society of the day; and managers may be as inevitable as ministers. But the greater the distance—intellectual and emotional as much as spatial between the "doers" and the managers—in economics as much as in politics, the remotest would be the "society of the free and equal". Democracy has meaning if it ensures participation to all and unto the last; and participation becomes creative only when it emanates from understanding.
SUBHAS BÖSE AS A SOCIALIST

by Atindranath Bose

IN 1941, when the creed of non-violence had landed the Indian National Congress in a tragic dilemma, so that it could neither support the ruling power in its war, nor strike it at its hour of peril, Subhas Chandra Bose was on flight across Afghanistan and wrote from Kabul:

A genuine anti-imperialist is one who believes in undiluted Independence (not Mahatma Gandhi's substance of Independence) as the political objective and in uncompromising national struggle as the means for attaining it. After the attainment of political independence Leftism will mean Socialism and the task before the people will then be the reconstruction of national life on a Socialist basis.

—Meaning of Leftism.

With Bose the national struggle for freedom was a consuming passion. On this supreme issue he was prepared to stake the unity of the national party. The party of freedom must be a party of the masses. Hence the fight for political freedom must go on simultaneously with the fight for their social emancipation. If the Congress, under the pressure of the Rightists, did not stand by the masses, he visualised the possibility that the economic struggle might break away and itself become the main stream of the freedom movement. In the interview with Romain Rolland (April 3, 1935) he asked:

What would be Mon. Rolland's attitude if the united-front policy of the Indian National Congress fails to win freedom for India and a radical party emerges which identifies itself with the interest of the peasants and workers?

To harness the forces of social revolution with the national party Bose pleaded for collective affiliation of workers' and peasants' organisations to the Congress and referred to it in his presidential speech at Haripura (February 19, 1938).

Ray of Hope

The fear that the Congress might fail to rise to its mission weighed upon him during the depressing years of the mid-thirties. The emergence of the Congress Socialist Party was a ray of hope. He did not fully share its ideas and wanted it to be more homogeneous and revolutionary. But he welcomed its formation and wrote in 1935:

But the instinct that has urged the formation of the Party is right. Out of this Left-Wing revolt there will ultimately emerge a new full-fledged party with a clear ideology, programme and plan of action.

—Indian Struggle (p. 428)

The Socialist programme that the Party must adopt included for him:

1. Scientific, large-scale production and state planning with plenty of room for cottage industries;

2. A new social structure based on the village communities of the past breaking down social barriers like caste;

3. Abolition of landlordism and a uniform land tenure;

4. Liquidation of agricultural indebtedness;

5. Linguistic and cultural autonomy for all sections; and

6. Freedom of religious worship and equal rights for all.

Bose firmly believed that real power will come through a popular revolution and not by peaceful transfer. He apprehended that without a strong government at the post-revolutionary stage, the country will go into chaos and power may be seized by the reactionaries. In the speech at the University of Tokyo (November, 1944) he affirmed that immediately after independence India must have:

A Socialist system, in which the initiative will not be left to private individuals, but the state will take over the responsibility for solving economic questions. Whether it is a question of industrialising the country or modernising agriculture, we want the state to step in to take over the responsibility and put through reforms within a short period, so that the Indian people could be put on their legs at a very early date.

These ideas of an authoritarian state, and his association with the Axis powers during the war gave a handle to his traducers who painted him as a Fascist. The slander was started with his observation in the Indian Struggle that the future lay in a synthesis of Communism and Fascism. This was in connection with a statement issued by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in December 18, 1933 in which Nehru wrote:

I do believe that fundamentally the choice before the world today is one between some form of Communism and some form of Fascism, and I am all for the former, that is Communism. I dislike Fascism intensely and indeed I do not think it is anything more than a crude and brutal effort of the present capitalist order to preserve itself at any cost. There is no middle road between Fascism and Communism. One has to choose between the two and I choose the Communist ideal.

Refuting this opinion Bose wrote in the Indian Struggle:

The view expressed here is, according to the writer, fundamentally wrong. Unless we are at the end of the process of evolution or unless we deny evolution altogether, there is no reason to hold that our choice is restricted to two alternatives.... Considering everything, one is inclined to hold that the next phase in world history will produce a synthesis between Communism and Fascism. And will it be a surprise if that synthesis is produced in India?... there need be no surprise if an experiment, of importance to the whole world, is made in India—especially when we have seen with our own eyes that another experiment (that of Mahatma Gandhi) made in India has roused profound interest all over the world. (Pp. 430-31)

Acceptable Elements

What is the element in Fascism which Bose thought to be acceptable? Firstly, the powerful sentiment of nationalism for which Communism has no sympathy. Secondly, the national solidarity and discipline under the aegis of the State which led to quick recovery from the post-war slough. As for Communism, he was impressed by the remarkable success of the Soviet State Plans and by the Soviet solution of the problem of minorities.

But he did not accept either Fascism or Communism in substance:

I am opposed to Hitlerism whether in India within the Congress or any other country, but it appears to me that Socialism is the only alternative to Hitlerism.

—Delhi Speech, October 12, 1938.

National Socialism has been able to create national unity and solidarity and to improve the condition of the masses. But it has not been able to radically reform the prevailing economic system, which was built up on a capitalist basis.

—Tokyo speech, November 1944.

On the other hand, Communism was anti-national, anti-religious and atheistic while “in India a national awakening is in most cases heralded by a religious reformation and a cultural renaissance”. Bose did not regard patriotism as a regressive force, particularly as it has been nurtured in India. Unlike Nehru in his statement above, he did not believe in the materialistic interpretation of history and thought that in it “too much importance is given to the economic factor in human life.”

He also regarded that Communism over-emphasises the role of the working class, while in India “the problem of the peasants will be more important.”

Dilip Kumar Roy who had deep personal intimacy with Bose wrote about him in 1946:

Those who, during the last war, called Subhas an intolerant Fascist who would yoke all human animals to the same harness, cannot have known him. His faith in the deepest moral values was too genuine, his heart of affection too pure, his mental sympathy too lucid to allow him to roll down a slope of hateful dictatorship.


A synthesis is not a combination of good elements of two opposites. It is a new formation which contains the constructive elements of opposite ideas. Bose’s doctrine of synthesis, which he calls Samyavada is not a hotch-potch of Fascism and Communism. It is Socialism grown on Indian soil. He posed it in his speech as President of the Indian Trade Union Congress on July 4, 1931:

Various currents and cross-currents of thought sometimes make trade union workers feel bewildered as to the path or the modus operandi they should follow. There is on the one hand the Right wing who stand for a reformist programme above everything else. On the other side there are our Communist friends who, if I have understood them aright, are adherents and followers of Moscow.

Between these two groups stands another group which stands for Socialism—for full-blooded Socialism—but which desires that India should evolve her own form of Socialism as well as her own methods. To this group I humbly claim to belong. I have no doubt in my mind that the salvation of India, as of the world depends on Socialism. India should learn from and profit by the experience of other nations, but India should be able to evolve her own methods in keeping with her own needs and her own environments.

Bose threw himself in the national struggle with a reckless abandon and had no time to expound his doctrine. But he made no secret of it. (Continued on page 46)
DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL PARTIES

by S. Natarajan

While we have retained the externals of democracy, there seems to be a feeling in certain quarters that parliamentary democracy is not functioning as it should in India. Various suggestions have been advanced but none of them secures that measure of freedom which flows from parliamentary democracy. The party system is a natural outcome of democracy, whether there are two parties or many more than two. It is not uncommon for one political party to dominate the scene, as the Congress does in India, and there have been instances of party domination extending for longer periods than the ten years that we have had the Congress. The test of democracy is not whether one party holds power securely or whether two parties alternate, but whether opposition opinion is allowed freedom to organise into political parties.

A Fallacy

One hears frequently the view that an effective opposition is essential to democracy, with the implication that the absence of it is proof of a denial of democracy. This is a fallacy. A strong opposition is, no doubt, desirable but there is no way of ensuring this since political parties in democracies depend upon public support. Moreover, no party in power can be expected to ask the electorate to put in enough of its opponents to secure a strong opposition. We may sympathise with the petulant politician who grumbles against the Congress, but we could not reasonably ask the Congress to give opposition parties a chance. Not being infallible, the Congress makes political mistakes but no single party has been so far able to take advantage of them, except in Kerala, where the conditions are peculiar.

Independence with partition brought a transformation in the political scene. The permanent minority government was removed as well as the irreconcilable minority opposition. The power of the Congress was unchallenged. On the other hand, the absorption in office of the bulk of the Congress leadership and their own uneasiness at having to sponsor policies so much against their own preaching led to a withdrawal of national leaders from their almost continuous contact with the people. Thus the removal of tensions was accompanied by a simultaneous cessation of political activity. The problems that troubled the party were organisational—whether the party or the Congress governments were to decide matters of policy. To decide the issue, Shri Nehru had for a time to assume the Presidentship of the Congress in addition to the Prime Ministership. With this development, we came nearer to satisfying the first essential of any political system, having a party which supported the policies of the Government. It is true that at the Centre, where most of the Congress Ministers were also members of the Congress Working Committee, this identity of interest was already there. But in the States very often there were strained relations between the Congress Ministry and Congress House. And what happened in the States greatly disturbed party organisers.

Programme of Socialists

Despite the adjustment of the party-government relation, however, considerable confusion prevailed because the Congress would not declare itself clearly on any issue which offered a rallying-point for parties of the Left. Its one firm stand with its opposition was to communalism, on which the Leftists were in basic agreement with it. Shri Nehru refused consistently to declare himself for a definite Socialist programme as it was conveniently understood and all the persuasions of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan failed to elicit a clear-cut lead. Shri Nehru's advocacy of Socialism and his refusal to imitate the traditional programme proved a political asset to the Congress.

The boundaries of thought between the Congress and the Socialist parties were blurred while at the same time vested interests derived some confidence from the rejection of the programme of the Socialists.

The Congress, under skilful leadership, has moved from the "Socialist pattern" to "Socialism". Shri Nehru substituted for nationalisation of industries the policy of capturing strategic points in industry, and, as recently disclosed by him, the technique is one of extending the public sector in an expanding economy where the share of the private sector becomes proportionately less but at least for some time grows larger in every plan period. In the first Five-Year Plan, the ratio of private to public investment was 50:50; in the second Plan it is around 40:60; and in the third Plan it is proposed to make it 30:70. In actual terms, total investment in the first Plan was Rs. 3,100 crores of which the private sector's share was Rs. 1,600 crores; in the second Plan it was Rs. 6,200 crores of which the private sector's share was Rs. 2,400; and of a total investment of Rs. 10,000 crores in the third Plan it is expected that the private sector will contribute Rs. 3,000 crores.

A natural consequence of this policy is that the bigger industrial concerns exert their whole effort to extend their operations and the smaller units are crowded out. As the regulation of industries is in the hands of the Government, pressures on licensing authorities emerge, and normal industry and trade is obstructed. It would be interesting to consider the connection between the policy of regulating private enterprise in this manner and the spread of corruption—not as generally understood only in the public sector but in the private sector itself. It may also be mentioned that the technique of anticipating future demand calls for a far greater accu-
INDIVIDUAL’S FIGHT FOR HIS DIGNITY

When Anaximander declared that man was the measure of all things, he was trying to fix the dignity of the individual in the scheme of things. Probably, never before, man as an individual had, in his own eyes, attained that amount of dignity about himself as Anaximander wanted him to do. During earlier ages (and even during later ages, of course) man was habituated to look outside himself for standards of values. The result was disastrous to the psychological and spiritual health of man; he relied upon everything else but himself; he was unaware of his own powers. Yet, in spite of Anaximander’s declaration, man’s dignity never found a place equal to the measure of its inherent significance. For centuries, individual was prevented, by a network of sectarian and partial ideas and social systems, from realising both in its theoretical and practical aspects, the dignity he possessed as man was suppressed by those in authority as well as by social conventions and he was never allowed to raise his head in human pride. Philosophers were worried about this, of course, but their positive voice was lost in the din of the arms of the mighty; and many of them, like Socrates paid heavily for their human audacity.

The Sanctity of Man

The Greek philosophers had hinted at the sanctity of man. Sophocles in his immortal masterpiece “Antigone”, propounded the doctrine of man’s central place in the universal scheme of things by declaring that “wonderful of all is man”. Gregory Palamas continued the tradition by imbuing the Byzantine civilisation with the idea that there was “nothing higher than man”. The Medieval age believed in miracles; the belief was not nonsense as the moderns have whispered to a friend round his death-bed “Never forget dear one, life is magnificent”. Rilke, in spite of the terrible suffering during his last hours raised the value of life. He meant, in other words, that with all the evil and ugliness human life was worthwhile and should be lived to the full. It was, to state it philosophically, the fulfilment of the purpose of creation.

Strange it may seem, that this great heritage of the dignity of the individual has received its most decisive set-back in the modern time, in the age of democracy and of science. The old place of the individual has been taken either by the party or by the both. The State or the party have become supreme: where both are identified and become one, the individual has lost his significance, and been subjected to acute intellectual and spiritual regimentation. Socialism, often in the name of social revolution, thinks in terms of central control (which is euphimistically called social control) of the forces of production, distribution and exchange. This kind of central control, even it be socialistic, renders the individual puny before the mighty economic forces by determining his life from cradle to the grave. This is, however, not a plea against Socialism—the author himself in a confirmed Socialist—but it is undoubtedly a plea for the introduction of such measures or corrective in the framework of the Socialist society as would avoid the cramping of the personality of the individual and render his inherent potentialities creatively dynamic; in other words, while avoiding the evils of capitalism, as would, safeguard the individual from becoming a cog in the monstrous wheel of political and economic determinism and release his personality in variety of freedoms.

Individual As An End

The net result of the supremacy of the State or the party is that the individual has ceased to be an end into himself. To Kant and to many other thinkers before and after him the individual was an end, and every thing else was a means to sponsor that end. The principle that individual is an end was almost a “categorical imperative”, a moral (Continued on page 27)
TIME FOR DECISION ON THE KAMERUN

by Jean-Paul Sende

MORE than ten years ago, on April 10, 1948, the movement which was to lead and is still leading the struggle of the Kamerunian people for unification and independence, the Union of the Populations of the Kamerun (Cameroons), was born.

Since then, the years have witnessed everything that can happen during the struggle of a people for freedom: threats, intimidations, arrests, brutalities, imprisonments, tortures, exile, deportation, even shootings. But the people have won victory after victory; a common electoral roll for both Whites and Blacks, universal adult suffrage, and a firm announcement, at last, of independence by 1960.

Despite these victories, however, battles have still to be fought, as the situation in the Kamerun is still in favour of the colonialists. A wild repression is still being carried on against the population; concentration camps and prisons are still being built and packed with nationalists; many exiles and deportees are still staying outside their own country; nationalist political parties are still outlawed; political liberties are still lacking; and on top of everything, anti-popular governments, set up and maintained either by French bayonets or the interested will of the British, are still in power, serving as stooges for the imperialists and actively helping in the repression of their own people.

In these conditions, the Kamerunian people perfectly realise that even a firm commitment for independence by 1960 is no solution to the problem. Indeed, it appears only as a means of stopping the struggle of the people for a bright future. And that is why they understand that the time for decision on the destiny of their country is really approaching now, not because of the announcement of independence, but because in view of the fact that something has to be done to normalise the situation, the United Nations General Assembly, one of the parties, in fact the most important party to the Trusteeship Agreement, resumes its 13th Session on February 20, 1959 in New York for the exclusive purpose of discussing the future of the Kamerun.

Time to Know Our True Friends

Now that the struggle of the Kamerunian people has neared success, now that the blood of our compatriots has forced a formal announcement of independence, now that the decision does not depend on us alone any more, our eyes are turned towards world opinion as a whole, towards every U.N. membership in person, and particularly towards every member of the U.N. Mission which recently toured the two parts of the Kamerun, i.e., the United States of America, New Zealand, Haiti and singularly India. This Mission, which is due to recommence to the Trusteeship Council the measures it deems necessary to be applied in the Kamerun before the proclamation of independence now knows, in spite of the obstructions brought to its work by the French authorities, that the situation in the Kamerun is very serious indeed.

The Mission’s members know that the U.N. Assembly has, through its petitioners, submitted precise steps to the U.N. Fourth Committee. The proposals submitted by the interested parties, the writer among them, and by the French Mission, are to be discussed this week in New York.

The United Nations, and the interest of the Trusteeship Agreement, has, through the mission, recommended the term of independence to the United Nations. But in establishing its report, will this Mission, repeating the 1955 unfortunate precedent, ignore those facts, as if they never existed, and limit itself to supporting the plans proposed by the colonialists? Will this Mission recommend the termination of trusteeship when people are crowding prisons and concentration camps, when exiles and deportees are unable to return home, when, in fact, the whole country is turned into a huge gaol? Will the Mission, bypassing the necessity of dissolving the present Assemblies and holding free and fair elections under U.N. control, support the French idea of transferring power to the present so-called governments after a mere referendum, when it is well-known that a non-negligible part of public opinion is still gagged and cannot take part in the elections which gave birth to the present legislative organs? We really do not want to believe so. This is the time or never for the member-states of the Mission to earn the gratitude and friendship of the Kamerun people, by recommending democratic measures liable to restore genuine peace, to remove bitterness from the heart of our people and to restore its confidence in the United Nations.

Three Indispensable Steps

In this respect, the Union of the Populations of Kamerun (Cameroons) has, through its petitioner in the past sitting of the U.N. Assembly, submitted precise steps to the U.N. Fourth Committee. The proposals...
were in fact commended by many delegates as being reasonably moderate. Those proposals still hold, naturally, as the situation has not changed overnight.

First and foremost, the Mission should recommend measures of political and moral "detente", including not only a general and unconditional amnesty, but the restoration of the legality of the dissolved nationalistic organisations, and not only the re-estabishment of a normal political climate involving freedom of press, meeting and expression, but also the withdrawal of colonialist troops which number five divisions in Eastern Kamerun alone. These steps are dictated by the need, on the one hand, of allowing all sectors of opinion of expressing themselves as clearly and as fully as possible. It should not be fair that while some people are clearly expressing themselves for, say, the integration of British Kamerun with Nigeria, the exponents of the opposite idea should not be able to speak too, because of the threat of deportation, or for fear to speak in the name of a dissolved organisation, for which the consequence would be imprisonment. On the other hand, those steps are also dictated by the necessity for a moral "detente" between all sections of the population before the achievement of independence, if further internal strife is to be avoided and the very prestige of the U.N. enhanced. For, conversely, failure to do so would keep not only bitterness in our people's heart, but also a very bad souvenir of the United Nations, because of the way its trusteeship would have been terminated.

Secondly, the Mission should recommend that a referendum be simultaneously conducted in both parts of the Kamerun by a U.N. staff excluding all colonial and interested powers, and that the sole question to be asked should be whether the peoples of both parts of the Kamerun are in favour of the unification and independence of their country.

In this connection, we might say a word about the British proposal that such a referendum should be held only in the British-administered part, and should offer the alternative of independence with the French Kamerun or independence within the Federation of Nigeria. We maintain the view that in offering the alternative of independence within the Nigerian Federation, the British authorities are bypassing the U.N. Charter in order to satisfy their own aims, because the administration of the British Kamerun as a part of Nigeria was exclusively devised as an administrative arrangement, and was in no way meant to destroy the national entity of the Kamerun. Indeed, such an integration would create new problems instead of solving present ones, and the United Nations, as a greatly concerned party, should try to avoid the possibility of the creation of potential hotbeds of insecurity for world peace in the future.

Thirdly and lastly, the Mission should recommend that a U.N.-conducted general election should take place after the aforesaid referendum in both parts of the Kamerun. This election should be organised by the same U.N. staff which would have organised a referendum earlier. The necessity of elections is self-evident. First, it is difficult and rather queer to conceive that after a positive referendum the present assemblies should not be dissolved but rather mixed up to form a national constituent assembly. It would be far more democratic to ask the Kamerunians to provide new representatives through free and fair elections. Then, the very validity and representative capacity of the present assemblies is of a disputable nature: In the French Kamerun, the 1956 elections were conducted under military repression, with nationalistic parties dissolved and no amnesty; in the British Kamerun, the 1957 elections will go down in history as a masterpiece of fraud designed to bring the "good boys" of the British Government. It is not those people who should sit down to decide the future of the country.

The time for decision is really now. The Kamerun people have done everything they can. The United Nations and world opinion must do what is incumbent upon them.

(Continued on page 21)
COMMUNISM AND THE INDIAN INTELLECTUAL

by Amlan Datta

The average Indian intellectual is a "neutralist" with a bias. That bias is towards communism. He would be indignant if you called him a Communist—and, in fact, he is not one. He would bear with some mild criticism of the Soviet system, but protest if the criticism is really sharp. On the other hand, no criticism of "Western imperialists" is too sharp for him.

This neutralism with a bias is easily explained, even when it is hard to justify. The average Indian had experience of Western imperialism; he has never had any experience of Soviet imperialism. His political heroes are people who had fought against and suffered at the hands of the British rulers in India. He has read or heard about the many acts of perfidy, high-handedness and oppression committed by the British from the time of Clive down to the partition of India.

He has never quite understood why the British left India so peacefully; and he is ever ready to suspect that the foreign ruler who ruled till yesterday is again hatching some plot somewhere—in Kashmir, or the Naga Hills, or Kerala, or some other obscure corner of India—which will draw this country into a fresh mishap.

Some Instances

No such deep-seated suspiciousness colours his views about the Soviet Union, to which country he is always ready to give in generous measure the benefit of doubt, in face of conflicting reports. In short, the Western powers are old convicts, and whenever there is some suggestion of new crime they must be held guilty unless they can prove their innocence, while the Communist bloc is considered innocent until the crime is proved.

Despite aggression against Finland, despite bullying tactics against Yugoslavia, despite the tell-tale events in East Germany, Poland and Hungary, despite the Twentieth Party Congress, the Soviet Union continues to receive the benefit of doubt, though perhaps in diminishing measure. In the case of the Western countries, on the other hand, crimes in the Suez, Algeria and elsewhere effectively overshadow the general significance of the massive withdrawal of Western imperialism from large parts of Asia and Africa.

Even this contemporary retreat of Western imperialism is often interpreted here to be a result of the rise of the Soviet Power. This, at first sight, is slightly surprising. The nationalist movement in India had already been established as a self-conscious and irreversible process by 1905, definitely before the Russian Revolution. It may seem more natural to take the view that it is the strength of this indigenous nationalist movement which is chiefly to thank for the ultimate retreat of the British as rulers.

Real Danger

But a movement for national emancipation in one country hardly ever succeeds without being helped by circumstances beyond its boundaries. Just as at one stage Indian nationalism came to regard Germany and Japan as its potential allies against the British, so Asian nationalism today finds in the Soviet Union its chief ally against the Western imperialists.

It matters little to the Asian that the risk of subjugation in future, for the smaller countries like Malaya, Burma, Bhutan or Afghanistan, in the same way as for Tibet, comes not so much from the Western Powers as from China and the Soviet Union. The ways of the new imperialism are not sufficiently familiar to most Asians, as they were not to countless East Europeans until it was too late.

The antipathy that the average Indian intellectual feels towards the Western Powers inclines him also to excuse many of the more outrageous features of the Soviet system as it functions internally.

The Soviet rulers may have exploited the peasants, adopted methods of forced industrialisation, and in the process set up a system of tyranny over the proletariat by an all-powerful bureaucracy. But how could they have acted otherwise while the Soviet Union, as an island of Socialism, was beleaguered by hostile capitalist countries?

To the average Indian intellectual it is self-evident that the responsibility for the strained relations between the Soviet Union and the Western countries since the October Revolution belongs wholly to the West. It does not occur to him that Bolshevism, with its philosophy of hatred, its unmistakable designs to spread Communism and insurrection abroad, and its calculated double talk, has contributed in no uncertain manner to the creation of that atmosphere in which combative instincts have been aroused on either side.

General Impression

Again, the facts may be that after World War II the USA speedily disarmed to a greater extent than the USSR, and that it is only the Berlin blockade, the treacherous coup in Czechoslovakia, and the aggression in Korea that put the West on the alert and on the way to rearmament.

But the average Indian intellectual, like his counterpart in any other country, would rather go by general impressions, and his most vivid impression, the impression that helps him to connect the largest
number of facts within living memory in his own part of the world, is that the Western Powers are rapacious and war-like.

Even more revealing in certain ways are some grotesque equations that Indian intellectuals are sometimes found to maintain. It is true that there is little freedom of thought under Soviet communism. But is not nearly as little freedom allowed in the Western countries too? If the Soviet Union imprisons those who criticise Socialism or the Party-line, neither do the Western countries tolerate any really serious attack on capitalism.

When it is pointed out that the Western democracies do, in fact, allow criticism of capitalism, that Marx wrote his monumental indictment of capitalism in the leading capitalist country of his day, that, by and large, it is not criticism but attempts at forcible subversion of the established government which are not tolerated in the democratic countries, while communism demands conformity to the Marxist-Leninist theory as officially interpreted, the distinction appears tenuous to an extraordinarily large number of intellectuals here.

Reason Behind Bias

The explanation for this last phenomenon is rather complicated. First, the average Indian’s absence of experience of totalitarianism. Thus, it is not quite evident to the average Indian that there is much less freedom of thought in the Soviet Union or in China than there was in India under the British rule. Secondly, Indian thinking in the near past has been mostly of religious inspiration and concerned with the question of the relation of the individual to what is conceived to be the ultimate spiritual substance of the universe. This sort of thinking is particularly difficult to regiment by external compulsions. The average Indian accordingly tends to doubt the very possibility of regimentation of thought.

It is only with the development of the social sciences which call for a good deal of outward organisation and at the same time afford scope for great diversity of opinion, and the individualistic trend in art and literature and the recognition of its value by an appreciable number of people, that society is culturally prepared to treat the threat of cultural consequence. One may start wondering at this point why the Indian intellectual should be a “neutralist” at all, or what prevents him from identifying himself with, or, at least, openly sympathising with, the Communist cause. There are at least three reasons which prevent him from adopting that course. These can now be indicated briefly in an ascending order of importance.

Ambivalent Attitude

To represent the average Indian intellectual as anti-Western is an over-simplification which we have adopted thus far only to bring into relief certain features of the situation. In fact, the attitude of the Indian intellectual towards the West is ambivalent. If he hates the Western qua imperialist, if his appreciation of the value of freedom of thought is as yet limited, he does yet have a real admiration for the British system of justice and rule of law as well as a certain attachment to parliamentary democracy.

As regards “justice”, the average Indian feels that the British are quite hypocritical when it comes to questions of relation between States but strikingly conscientious in matters which concern relations between individuals within a country. Most Indian intellectuals are equally repelled by the mock trials of political opponents staged in Communist countries.

As regards the average Indian intellectual’s attachment to the parliamentary system, this is eloquently attested by the declaration of the Communist Party of India that it has no intention to overthrow this system even if it comes into power. One may question the sincerity of this declaration; but the very fact that the Party has deemed it necessary to make such a declaration is evidence of the strength of the popular sentiments in its favour. That the Communist Party has, at the same time, to uphold the anti-democratic systems in the Soviet Union and China as “real” democracy deprives the Party of the support of a sizable section of democratic opinion in India.

Old Thought-Habit

The second factor, which stands between communism and the Indian people, is religion. It is true that the religious tradition itself, in certain ways, makes totalitarianism appear innocuous, perhaps even acceptable. It is true, again, that the very tradition of freedom of speculation that Hindu religion has upheld since ancient times tends to make people accommodating in their attitude to the latest brand of atheism, Marxism-Leninism.

That tolerance as a virtue is subject to those limits which it cannot cross without being involved in self-contradiction, that it does not quite include toleration of intolerance, still less that of a systematized intolerance, is a rather fine point to grasp. Yet it remains true that even when people tolerate communism, the religious tradition is sufficiently deep-rooted in many of them to prevent their identifying themselves with communism. People do not live by spirit alone; but a religiously disposed people does not accept denial of spirit, even when the denial is dialectically couched.

Nationalist Sentiment

Finally, the average Indian intellectual is far too much of a nationalist to be able to identify himself comfortably with the Communist movement. That the Communist has sold his soul to Moscow is a widely held belief which repeated protestations to the contrary by the Communist Party of India have not succeeded in shaking seriously. Even anti-Communists are some-
times found to concede that this subservience to Moscow has perhaps been accepted for no consideration of money, and often, indeed, from idealistic considerations; but the general impression is that the Communist Party, as Nehru is never tired of repeating, has lost the habit of independent thinking.

The public may not care to follow every twist and turn of its policy; but it cannot fail to notice that the Communist Party invariably supports the current policy of the Kremlin, and criticises that policy only after it has already been criticised from Moscow.

The average Indian intellectual, even when he is attracted by the anti-Western slogans of the Indian Communist, is reluctant to leave the charge of his country to a party which, if it had the power, would reduce this country to the status of a willing satellite.

There is a large volume of non-Communist opinion in India; but its effectiveness is reduced by internal division. First, there is the distinction between those who expect Communism in India to be different from what it is elsewhere and those who have no such expectation. Abstractly considered, the idea of an Indian variety of communism may appear plausible. But a careful study of the actual career of communism in different countries lends little support to this idea. The most recent onslaught on “revisionism”, “Titoism”, and “national communism” brings out once more how difficult it is for any country to join the Soviet bloc and then strike out on a new path. More serious perhaps is the division based on attitude towards religion.

Polarisations

Those in this country who are opposed to communism chiefly on grounds of religion and nationalism are typically drawn towards the Jan Sangh. Those others whose opposition is based chiefly on democracy and nationalism are mostly attracted towards the Congress or the PSP. The few who do not feel any attachment whatever to religion of nationalism and are critical of communism exclusively for reasons of democracy, are drawn towards some such group as the one founded by the late M. N. Roy.

Outright opposition to religion is confined only to a few; but the faith in religion is weak in the urban areas and among the rising generation. The time is perhaps ripe for a re-examination of the fundamentals of religion, to find out how much of it must wither away with the rise of the, rationalist, spirit in an era of industrialisation and how much can be combined with reason, not in the sense that it would follow from reason, but in that reason would be neutral towards it or find in it the affirmation of a purpose which it would gladly accept.

This is, indeed, what some truth. Hence, to go counter to this principle was to strike at the root of moral progress of the human race. The crisis of the modern age is largely due to the fact that the individual has ceased to be an end. He has become a stereotyped mechanical “hand” of a system, sometimes under democracy, and always under totalitarianism. Since it is the individual who essentially creates culture, any degradation of the individual has corresponding adverse effect on the general culture, which in its turn, gives rise to a chain of crisis.

The tendency, therefore, of subordinating the individual to the Party as under Communism, or to the State as under Fascism, is a dangerous bye-product of the modern political thought. By such subordination, the individual is eliminated and with the elimination of the individual, the psychological and spiritual roots of the society are shattered; and what ultimately remains is a mere mass of robots.

Willingness of Sacrifice

Is there a way out of this monstrousity of the modern age?

The way out is, in fact, simple. The individual must begin to be conscious that the Party and the State constitute the means to an end, which is himself. And being so conscious, he must be prepared to resist any encroachment on the domain of his individuality either by the Party or the State or by both. History is replete with examples of man’s supreme willingness for sacrifice for great causes. In the context of the present, the dignity of the individual is undoubtedly a cause worth fighting for. With his willingness to fight for this cause man will perpetuate the worth of his being. And, no Party or State will ever succeed in cramping him.

(GREETINGS TO “JANATA”)

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RECENT BURMESE EVENTS—A PROBE

by Prem Bhasin

The function of a probe is to lay bare, to expose, and to find out if a pattern reveals itself behind a mass of confusing detail. One who attempts it, however, soon runs up against one difficulty. It is not one pattern that reveals itself but two, or perhaps three, each with a large modicum of truth, each intertwined with the other, each appearing to be competent of being presented as a whole, but in reality just falling short of it.

If the two, or the three, patterns could be somehow synthesised into one, a more satisfactory picture, much nearer truth than any one individual pattern, could emerge. But that is not an easy task. Much better, rather easier, would it be to lay bare the two or three patterns and let them lie side by side to allow anyone, who has the capacity, to weave out a synthesis.

Recent Burmese events, culminating in the establishment of Bo Ne Win's Civilian Government, are in any case too near us to allow a complete synthesis of the different patterns yielded by a probe. One has, therefore, to content oneself with simply laying them bare and letting them lie side by side.

Constitutional Appearance

The most obvious pattern is that of the failure of parliamentary democracy in Burma and its substitution by military dictatorship. Nothing could be more obvious than the fact that General Ne Win, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of Burma, is today the real power as the Prime Minister of the country. It is true that the General was installed in office on the strength of a majority vote in Parliament. All his Cabinet Ministers are civilians. The Constitution has not been abrogated. Political parties have not been banned. The Parliament has not been dissolved. There is no Martial Law. General Elections have not only been promised—but the main declared task of the new government is to make the country safe for the General Elections under the existing constitution.

What led to such a state of affairs is another question that may not need much of debate as the basic facts are by now well-known. When one comes to this aspect of the probe, the dominant pattern which reveals is that of a quarrel among politicians, leading to instability and near-anarchy, necessitating army intervention to put the house in order for a free play of democracy.

There was a split in the ruling party, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League. The leader of the party lost the confidence of a majority of party members in the Parliament as well as in the Supreme Council of the party. But he refused to resign from the leadership or abide by the verdict of the Supreme Council or the Parliamentary Party. The majority group then resigned from the Cabinet and moved a vote of "no confidence" in their leader on the floor of the Parliament. The Prime Minister sought to defeat this move by seeking support from the main Opposition Party, the National United Front, consisting of the Communists and arch-reactionaries. This support naturally had its price, which had to be paid in advance. Unfortunately, however, even with the support of the N.U.F. the Prime Minister could scrape through only with a slender majority of eight.

An attempt is sometimes made to show as if nothing unconstitutional or extraordinary has happened in Burma. Such an attempt, by its very nature, will be self-defeating. That the normal functioning of parliamentary democracy has broken down in Burma will not be seriously contested by any one. Argument is, however, possible on the extent or degree of abnormality that has been injected into the body politic, and how long it will last.

The Coup Plot

Even this majority began to dwindle finally, and it became apparent that he might not be able to push through his Budget in the Parliament, the Prime Minister got
the Budget Session cancelled and promised early General Elections.

This added to the general feeling of instability and there were whispers of the adherents of rival factions taking to arms. To the Communists it was an opportunity and they planned a "coup". The army got wind of it and appraised the Prime Minister, who finding himself no longer able to control the Frankenstein he had raised, invited the Commander-in-Chief to form a government of his choice.

The above is an outline of the background. Now to complete the picture we must have a closer look at the ruling party, the A.F.P.F.L. Towards the beginning of 1948, the Communists started their insurrection, and with it quit the A.F.P.F.L. With their exit, the Socialist Party, led by U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nyein, was left as the only organised, and certainly the most influential, group in the A.F.P.F.L. U Nu, who has never been a member of the Socialist Party, was the Prime Minister, and his moral stock among the people was in reality very high. With a genuinely religious bent of mind, known for courage, daring and self-sacrifice, simple and austere in habits, an eloquent speaker and prolific writer, with a reputation for incorruptibility and lack of personal ambition, he presented the picture of a veritable Yogi compelled to assume the role of a Commissar, almost against his will, at the behest of Destiny. His leadership of the A.F.P.F.L, and of the Government, at that critical juncture proved an invaluable asset to the nascent democracy fighting for its life.

The U Nu-Socialist combination proved to be formidable and it was able to check and defeat the simultaneous insurrections launched by the Communists, the Karens, the Mons and the Muslim Mujahids. Around 1950, however, the position had become so desperate that it was a touch-and-go affair. The Government controlled only a few towns in the central region and the various insurgents had been driven to the hills and the jungles, where they still are.

It was a glorious chapter in the history of democracy, made possible by an equally glorious partnership between U Nu and the Socialist Party.

Not that this partnership was without its normal quota of internal strains and stresses. One can recollect that even in 1952, it was being whispered about in Rangoon that U Nu and U Kyaw Nyein had temperamental differences. U Kyaw Nyein's name was missing from the list of Cabinet members and he was, instead, sent abroad, to Europe, on a study mission.

Oblivion of Tin

Nor was the Socialist Party itself entirely free from its internal difficulties. One can, again, recollect that even in 1952-53, there was a feeling of vague tension and estrangement in the air. Thakin Tin, Minister for Land Nationalisation and President, the All-Burma Peasant Organisation, for instance, might have nursed a grievance for not being accorded the position he thought he deserved. As early as 1941, he had been elected President of the Organisation at its Fourth Conference held at Pegu and was thus one of the seniormost leaders of the party. But in the effective leadership of the party he was being gradually relegated to a comparatively back-number position. In any case he was quieter in those days, and aloof, than was considered good either for himself or the party.

Again, already in 1952-53, Thakin Kyaw Dun, Minister for Agriculture, General Secretary, All-Burma Organisation and Joint Secretary of the Socialist Party, was a rising young man. Rather shy, at that time, he had nevertheless, determination, intelligence, and perhaps ambition. Looking back one can imagine how he was bound to clash with some of his seniors if his ambition developed beyond a certain measure.

The Yogi in U Nu came to the fore many a time in this period and everytime he wanted to relinquish Prime Ministership to cleanse and strengthen the Party. But everytime he was persuaded to continue. In 1956, however, when the A.F.P.F.L. was returned to power with a reduced majority and the Communists as well as the reactionaries had made inroads into its power, he would not be persuaded to continue in office. U Kyaw Nyein then came forward with a compromise proposal: that U Nu should be relieved, but only for a year. This suggestion was accepted and U Ba Swe, who was the only natural successor to U Nu, was elected Prime Minister.

Human Weakness

At this point one runs up against those imponderables in human nature and psychology that defy all rational explanation. Perhaps it is only after one goes out of power that its full import is borne in on oneself. Perhaps, when the Yogi remains a Commissar for a long time, the Yogi gets imperceptibly sub-ordinated but the realisation is late in coming, and the Yogi-Commissar gets involved in contradictions. Be that as it may, it remains a fact that U Nu, who had voluntarily given up power to rid the party of corruption, intrigue and groupism, henceforward began to act in such a manner that all these ills received unprecedented fillip, leading ultimately to the destruction of the very party he wanted to save.

It is difficult to speak with any amount of certainty in these matters, particularly for an outsider who is no longer in intimate touch with them, but a double process seems to have set in: conflict within the Socialist Party and conflict between the Socialist Party and U Nu, both acting and interact-acting on each other.

Dissensions within the Socialist Party became sharper, simultaneously with the realisation by U Nu that he could not prove effective by remaining out of power. Thakin Kyaw Dun clashed with U Kyaw Nyein and began to threaten the latter's position seriously. In this quarrel he (Thakin, Kyaw Dun) tried to enlist the support of U Nu, who was found to be a ready listener and willing helper. Perhaps U Nu could not resist the temptation of utilising this quarrel to humble
U Kyaw Nyein on the one hand and split the Socialist Party on the other. The Socialist Party was no doubt the largest obstacle in his way. For without breaking it he could not be sure of his position even when he came back to power.

Campaign For Nu

Thakin Kyaw Dun and his associates now started a campaign for the return of U Nu and sought to create an impression that the Socialists, and particularly U Kyaw Nyein, were planning to prevent his return even after the lapse of a year. It will be worthwhile to remember, at this point, that while U Nu had wanted to retire for good, it was U Kyaw Nyein who had proposed that his retirement should be short and specific and should be confined to one year. But such things are easily forgotten in the heat of the campaign, or deliberately ignored. Anyway, finding U Nu anxious to stage a come back, U Ba Swe decided to step down in his favour and U Nu was back in the saddle before nine months were out. U Nu was now properly launched. He appointed a number of Deputy Prime Ministers. But significantly enough, it was not U Ba Swe who was appointed his First Deputy, but Thakin Tin. Again, U Ba Swe who had relinquished the General Secretaryship of the A.F.P.F.L. on his elevation to the Premiership, did not get it back when he ceased to be the Prime Minister. Thakin Kyaw Dun, who had stepped into his shoes and became the General Secretary, remained so. U Nu insisted that he should continue to be the General Secretary of the party.

Swe's Patient Outlook

The intentions and alignments were now becoming clearer. Soon enough the feud began to rage fiercely. U Ba Swe tried to calm it and remain aloof for a long time. He wanted to restrict its area and scope and requested U Nu also to do the same. He wanted U Nu to act in the national interest and not adopt partisan attitudes and postures. He solicited U Nu’s help in composing the differences and saving the A.F.P.F.L. But it was not to be. U Nu’s attitude is portrayed by the remarks that he is reported to have made to an interviewer:

“I asked U Nu whether he took any steps or put forward any concrete proposals for settling the differences in the Party. He frankly admitted he had not. When I asked him why he was disinclined to support the candidature of U Ba Swe, one of his senior and most trusted colleagues, U Nu said that he saw no reason why he should let down Thakin Kyaw Dun, especially when the latter had stood by him in all his quarrels with U Kyaw Nyein. Thakin Kyaw Dun had been functioning as Secretary-General for a whole year ever since he took over after U Ba Swe and no one had pointed out what mistakes he had committed during that period. U Nu added with some feeling, “I have never been known to let down my friends all these years. Therefore, I refused even to suggest, directly or indirectly, the withdrawal of Thakin Kyaw Dun’s candidature.”

—National Herald (Lucknow), November 15, 1958.

Such an attitude made the split inevitable. A split in the ruling Party does not ordinarily lead to an invitation to the Army to take charge of the situation. But in Burma it was in a way inevitable. It was inherent in the situation. For, here was another pattern, running deeper than others, unmindful of the personalities involved and perhaps irrespective of their conscious wishes and designs, which may be discerned clearly.

Anti-Totalitarianism

Perhaps the biggest single political fact in the recent history of Burma is the constant attempt made by totalitarian communism to capture it and the up-to-now successful resistance offered to it by nationalists, democrats and Socialists, under the leadership of the A.F.P.F.L., of which the Socialist Party constituted the main driving force. What happened now, in fact, may be a continuation of that struggle, with a shift in the role of many a participant in it.

This struggle is an old as the A.F.P.F.L., or perhaps older. The story begins when during the Second World War the British pulled out of Burma and the Japanese walked in with the assistance of the Burma Independence Army, organised by Aung Sang and the “Thirty Comrades” chosen by the People’s Revolutionary Party at the time of the Fourth Conference of the All-Burma Peasants Organisation in 1941. Ne Win was one of these “Thirty Comrades.”

The People’s Revolutionary Party, under the leadership of Thakin Mya who was assassinated along with Aung San in July, 1947, having grown out of the Thakin Party of the middle and late thirties, was later on to throw up, in turn, the Socialist Party of Burma. The Burma Independence Army was converted into the Burma Defence Army by the Japanese after they had occupied Burma and set up a Provisional Government.

Resistance Movement

The People’s Revolutionary Party and the Burma Defence Army were soon disillusioned about Japanese intentions and started organising an underground resistance movement to fight the Japanese. The Communists, who had gone underground as soon as the Japanese had walked in, were also invited to join this resistance movement, which they ultimately did. Towards the end of 1944 was thus formed the Anti-Fascist Organisation or the AFO, which was converted into the Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League or the A.F.P.F.L., on August 19, 1945, in order to make it evident that the organisation’s task was to achieve Burma’s freedom besides fighting Fascism.

The struggle we are discussing now started approximately at this moment. Adhering to their world strategy, the Communists were against fighting the British at that time. Thakin Than Tun, the Communist leader, had declared that “Resorting to armed revolt would be a blunderous course. Don’t use arms; work peacefully within the orbit of law and secure Burma’s independence from the British.” Then the People’s Revolutionary Party, under Thakin Mya and U Ba Swe, which had crystallised into the Socialist Party by this time, was, on the other hand, for striking at the British.

Strange things began to happen. The British, helped and guided by the A.F.O., were advancing into Burma and carrying out large-scale raids. One of the tasks of the A.F.O. helpers was to indicate points of Japanese troop concentrations and other strategic points as targets for these raids. It was found that the British often bombed not only the Japanese positions, but areas held by the Socialists and other non-Com-
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This insurrection continues. And so does the battle to end it. Till some time ago the A.F.P.F.L. was the inspirer and organiser of this battle waged by the Army under General Ne Win's command. No wonder the Communists should be anxious to destroy this army. After the split, some of U Nu's new-found colleagues became perhaps equally anxious. The U Nu-Thakin Tin faction had to buy Communist support at the latter's price. Communist insurgents left their arms behind and were allowed to "surrender" with a promise of amnesty and restoration of full rights. Very soon thousands of Communist insurgents came to the open and a visible co-ordination grew up between them and their underground comrades. Some of the "surrendered" Communists became so confident and bold that they began to make public utterances to the effect that the "surrender" was only a matter of strategy and that they would take to arms again if they failed to achieve their objective of a full-scale Communist state.

**.Move to Wreck Army**

The resistance, moral as well as physical, to the Communist insurrection started crumbling and the army could not fail to get alarmed about it. N Uu's supporters were aware of this and they were afraid that the Army might go against them. A two-pronged attack was then prepared. On the one hand, U Ba Swe, U Kyaw Nyein and their colleagues were denounced as "American Agents" and, on the other, moves were set afoot to crush and destroy the army as an organised force with the help of Communist insurgents, thousands of village Home Guards, thousands of armed forest guards and the Union Military Police. The Defence Ministry issued orders making crucial transfers. The Union Military Police was moved out of the barracks in the districts and ordered to proceed towards the capital.

It was at this moment that the Army started taking precautions and it intervened to stop the march on Rangoon. It was at this stage, again, that U Nu, returning from a tour of the districts, was called out of a Cabinet meeting and informed of the plot to assassinate political leaders, à la 1947 fashion, and carry out a coup. Next day some Army officers saw him and gave him further information and U Nu decided to invite General Ne Win to form a Government of his choice and head it.

Whether U Nu's hands were forced by the Army or he acted on his own, it is difficult to say. It may, however, be futile—even irrelevant—to argue about it. The fact remains that the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Burma is the Prime Minister of the country and the Communists, in the open and underground, who have bitterly denounced him, are pledged to resist him.

The battle for free Burma, far from being ended, has merely entered a new phase.

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Yugoslavia—In Fact And In Prospect

by Dr. Gyanchand

The achievements and problems of Yugoslavia are widely known owing to her very special position in international affairs. As a country which has faith in communist philosophy and has lived by it for the last thirteen years the different phases of her development programme are of great interest owing to her having found an orbit of her own and having evolved working hypotheses which she is acting upon experimentally with conviction and understanding. This has given rise to, as is well known, conflicts of varying degrees of severity and created stresses in the working of her economy. The interest, which the West in general and the USA in particular has taken in her development has been largely conditioned by the changes in her relations with the U.S.S.R. and the other Socialist countries. In essentials, however, Yugoslavia has steadfastly followed her own line, and her policy and programme have not been materially affected by the reactions of other countries to the principles which she has formulated and the methods and manner of their implementation. Significance of the course, which she has pursued and the results which she has obtained, lies much more in the way she has shaped her own policy and brought into play new social processes in the life of her people than in their international repercussions.

A Matter of Regret

The phase of estragement with the Soviet Union, China and the other Socialist countries through which she has again been passing, is a matter for regret—but it will not, it may be hoped, last long and with the general improvement in international position, its acrimonious character will be greatly mitigated. Yugoslavia has not permitted her-

life, education, culture, social insurance and other creative activities. Validity of the view that the State has to play an all-important role in laying the foundations of and building up Socialist society and the Communist party has to be its most important instrument is accepted and acted upon; and yet conscious efforts have been and are being made to provide safeguards against the abuse of authority, undue reliance upon government by decrees and aberrations caused by bureaucratic trends. Education and pursuasion are relied upon more and more for introducing and carrying through social changes, and it is realised that the latter can be sustained only by changing the mainsprings of thought and behaviours within the new framework of social relations.

It is assumed that the Communist Party has yet to be a decisive factor in framing and executing policies; but it is also understood that it has to work for its own supercession and start self-sustaining autonomous processes by which the prospect of attaining this object can be brought nearer realization. This object is being actually pursued and, subject to the limitations inherent in putting fundamental concepts into practice, a measure of real success is, in fact, being achieved. External, even more than internal, stresses have had cramping effect on the growth of the autonomous processes, but the progress already achieved in this respect is creditable and the general atmosphere is favourable for substituting increasingly essentially democratic processes for administrative directives as primary factors in the shaping and working of the national economy in Yugoslavia. Integrity of purpose and earnestness of endeavour are being combined with
creative growth from within and continuous adjustment to the changing facts of the concrete situation.

Socialist Agriculture

Agriculture has been and still is the mainstay of economic life in Yugoslavia. The pre-war land reform eliminated large landed estates but even in 1938, 72 per cent. of the arable area was owned by farmers with estates of 50 acres and more that were only 22 per cent. of the total number of farms. After the war the whole agriculture structure has been changed; ceiling for land-holdings has been fixed at 25 acres and most of the farms are between 10 and 15 acres. Land was re-distributed among the landless labourers and small peasants, vigorous efforts to form farming co-operatives and make them the dominant feature of the agrarian economy led to very considerable area being covered by farming co-operatives; but it was soon realized that the policy was essentially mistaken and opposed to the wishes and attitudes of the farmers. The policy was reversed and the fact was one of the important reasons for very strained relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia up to 1954. The area now under co-operative farming is less than 7 per cent of the available funds were invested in agriculture—funds and a network of contacts through which these co-operatives are becoming factors of crucial importance not only in the development of agriculture, but also in the working of the economy as a whole. In spite of the pre-dominance of individual farming in Yugoslavia, agriculture is, as stated above, being developed in the interest of and according to the needs of the community. This is being done by enlisting the interest and co-operation of the individual farmers and promoting his well-being and prosperity. The farmer has greatly improved his production and productivity of land and is feeling a sense of security; and yet he is being increasingly drawn into network of social plan, and educated to understand and work for the interest of the community. There is no programme of the development of farming co-operatives as such, and yet there is no doubt that foundations for the building up of co-operative production in agriculture is being firmly and truly laid.

The co-operatives have their agricultural experts, traders, thrashers, agricultural machines, processing factories, mechanical workshops and marketing agencies both for purchase of agricultural surplus and sales of commodities needed by the agriculturists. Large funds are being placed at their disposal; they, through commercial and other operations, are accumulating their own funds and a network of contacts and activities is being built up through which these co-operatives are becoming factors of crucial importance not only in the development of agriculture, but also in the working of the economy as a whole.

In spite of the pre-dominance of individual farming in Yugoslavia, agriculture is, as stated above, being developed in the interest of and according to the needs of the community. This is being done by enlisting the interest and co-operation of the individual farmers and promoting his well-being and prosperity. The farmer has greatly improved his production and productivity of land and is feeling a sense of security; and yet he is being increasingly drawn into network of social plan, and educated to understand and work for the interest of the community. There is no programme of the development of farming co-operatives as such, and yet there is no doubt that foundations for the building up of co-operative production in agriculture is being firmly and truly laid.

The Rapid Industrialisation

Two other changes are taking place in agriculture which are of vital importance. In the first place the relative importance of agriculture in the national economy has been decreasing and would decrease further owing to the increase of industrial and other non-agricultural production. Since 1939 the proportion of national income derived from agriculture has decreased from 44.3 to 34 per cent in 1949, 28.3 per cent in 1952 and 25.7 per cent in 1956. This is partly due to the stagnation of agriculture, but largely to the rapid industrialization of the country. Agriculture up to 1955 was practically in a state of stagnation owing to the resources of the country being utilized for industry and defence. From 1947 to 1956 less than 7 per cent of the available funds were invested in agriculture—most of them for constructing buildings on state and co-operative farms—while more than 58 per cent were used for the development of industries.

A Real Combination

The result has been that in spite of the increase of population of nearly 3 millions, there has been hardly any increase in food production and the country has had to depend increasingly on imported food. This process has been arrested already and a much more rapid development of agriculture has been provided in the new five-year plan (1956-61) now in operation. Investment in agriculture will treble during this period (from 30 billion to 90 billion dinars), its proportion to the total investment would increase from 6 per cent to 15 per cent and taking into account investment in irrigation, reclamation and drainage to 25 per cent, agricultural production as a whole by 41 per cent, of wheat by 51 per cent, maize by 61 per cent and sugar beet by 101 per cent. There is also provision for large increase in live-stock, milk, fruit and vegetable—that is, protective foods—and it is expected by 1961 nutrition standard would be very greatly raised and shortage of domestic production of agricultural commodities very largely overcome.

This change in policy and structure of production would be a real contribution to the solution of the balance of payment problem and, of course, to the well being of the people. This change has already been in progress since 1956, but is being very greatly accelerated and is due to the impact of the new forces at work in the country.
In spite of this change Yugoslavia is still committed to rapid development of industries and the proportion of increase derived from industries in particular and other non-agricultural sectors in general would continue to grow. The proportion of national income derived from industries and crafts has increased since 1939 from 33.9 to 53.3 per cent. in 1956 and from industries from 28.8 to 48.8 per cent.; and index of industrial production during this period shows a rise of 168 per cent. in 1956 and 211 per cent. in 1957. Of the total investment in production of power, coal, oil and steel, non-ferrous metals, machines, ships, electricity and chemicals accounted for more than 60 per cent and in all these industries the country has made relatively speaking very considerable progress and risen to high level of technical performance.

Manufacturing industries have not received their due attention and serious shortage of certain types of consumer goods have, in fact, been experienced by the people. During this period (1947-1956) investment was on the average maintained by 24.1 per cent. of the national income and in certain years it rose to more than 28 per cent. The Federal and the Republic budgets were the most important source of capital formation and private investment played a very secondary role in the process. The high proportion of investment for a poor country like Yugoslavia, of course, involved serious self-denial; and stagnation of agriculture and shortage of consumer goods were the direct result of high capital accumulation and concentration on the development of power production and basic industries. In spite of this imbalance the Yugoslav economy has largely got over what is called 'hump' in development and can count upon being able to maintain a high rate of development and yet provide for significant improvement in the living standard of her people.

Development of Large-Scale Industry

In 1957-61 investment in industry, in spite of the shift referred to above, would rise from 167.4 in 1956 to 187.4 billion Dinars in 1961), that is by 11 per cent and will be more than double of the investment in agriculture, that is 90 billion Dinars. This indicates the relative importance of industry in the economic development of the country. Industrialization of the country— with some shift in favour of the relative development of consumer goods industries (a rise of 50 per cent. in their production over the 1956 level is envisaged) is to continue and very considerable further increase in the production of iron and steel, power, coal, chemicals, etc., has been provided for. Development of the aluminium industry will be retarded owing to the Soviet Union's withdrawal—perhaps postponement—of the assistance which Yugoslavia was counting upon, but otherwise she is likely to keep up a high rate of industrial development and forge ahead in spite of the reduction of average investment in industry and mining from 61.2 in 1952-56 to 43.7 per cent in 1956-61.

Transport, which is of importance to the whole economy, but of special importance to industry, will have its share of investment raised 22.3 to 26 per cent in the same period, that is from 1952-56 to 1957-61. Industrialization for Yugoslavia still means development of large-scale industry. Handicrafts, which at present account for less than 5 per cent. of the total national income, will have 1.1 per cent of the total investment of 1957-61—a slight rise over .8 per cent in 1956, would continue to have a secondary place in the planned development of the country's economy in spite of the workmanship of the Yugoslav craftsmen.

Economic development in general and industrialisation in particular have brought about a structural change in the distribution of population. In 1931, 77 per cent. population was engaged in agriculture, in 1955 the proportion fell to 61 per cent and in 1956 to 58 per cent. From 1946 to 1956 the population employed in non-agricultural activities has increased from 400 thousand to 1.9 millions. As in the same period active population in Yugoslavia has increased by a million; this really amounts to transfer of half a million active population from agriculture to industrial, commercial and social occupations. There has been large increase in technical, administrative and cultural personnel in the country and the new distribution of population really represents a much higher level of attainment in every respect besides, of course, relief from the pressure of population in agriculture.

Another important feature of the development in Yugoslavia is the larger allocation of investment funds to the backward part of the country. Particularly Macedonia, Montenegro and the AKM region—the three areas which have to make a long lee-way in order even to come up to the level of the republics like Serbia and Croatia, are receiving differential financial allotments for more accelerated development which are intended to reduce the existing territorial disparities in income and the level of development. Federal allocations of these areas are proportionately much larger and in the development of communications, irrigation, power and social services special efforts are being made to redress, as far as possible, the inequalities which are very serious handicaps in the development of these areas.

One of the most creditable achievements of Yugoslavia, it is well known, is the success with which old animosities have been reduced and a sense of community promoted in spite of the diversities of language, religions and historical associations. The process of integration is not complete yet, and removal of economic disparities is accepted as one of the most effective solvents of these evil legacies. The progress already achieved in this respect is re-assuring and can be the basis for realising fuller national unity through and in the balanced development of the entire economy.

Social Content of Development

Social content of the development in Yugoslavia is of greater value than its pace and extent, and has rightly aroused wide interests. Measures like land reform and its re-distribution, nationalization of industrial and commercial establishments, banking and all financial institutions and the new income structure have all profound social import and produced results of far-reaching importance. Special interest, however, attaches to the change in economic planning and administration which has been brought about through management of industrial, commercial and all other economic enterprises by the
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workers employed in them. This change was introduced in 1951, and it is held that the experience of its actual working has justified its introduction and extension. Its essence is that all workers, including the technical and administrative personnel of an enterprise, are, under this measure, entrusted with full responsibility of planning and developing the enterprise and administering it on behalf of the community and in its interest and within the general framework of broad economic directives issued by the state.

The workers function through the elected workers’ councils and their managing boards; they consider, review and determine all economic measures and policies. They are not the owners of the enterprise and have to abide by and carry out both short and long-term policy of the state. Any decision, which is in the opinion of the Director, is not in keeping with the letter and spirit of the general directives of the social policy has to be held in abeyance until the point at issue has been referred to the higher authorities and decided by them. Subject to this over-riding consideration, the workers' councils and their managing boards formulate plans in their technical, administrative and financial aspects, administer them, assess results, make readjustments in the light of experience and changes in conditions of production and markets and subject to general rules decide how the net receipts of the enterprises, after the payment of dues to the state, should be distributed among different purposes like production bonus, housing and other amenities for the workers, capital accumulation, etc.

Sound and Salutary

From the accounts of those, who have had opportunities to form an opinion on the subject, including my own, the conclusion is justified that this change is sound and salutary, it does introduce a measure of direct democracy, reduces friction and creates an atmosphere of common purpose and endeavour which is beneficial from the standpoint of productive efficiency, sound human relations and growing sense of social solidarity. The degree of success achieved in the working of these institutions varies among different enterprises, industries and areas; and the workers as a whole have still to rise to a higher level of attainment and understanding in order to discharge their duties with full competence and confidence, but decentralization and de-bureaucratization—the two most important objects of this organic change—have, in fact, been realized in a large measure without impairing the unity of social purpose and policy or sense of responsibility of the managerial personnel.

All producers, including the workers, have also a share in formulating and reviewing general policies of the state at all levels—through the elected producers’ councils which, together with the general elected assemblies, have joint responsibility for determining and changing of all policy matters. There is also a large measure of devolution of authority and local self-governing authorities—particularly the People's Committees of the Communities (nearly 1,200 in number)—the basic units of autonomous administration, exercise general supervisory and directive powers not only in civil affairs or social services but also in relation to the development and work of the industrial and commercial enterprises. They have their own resources and banks. Each industry has its own organization at higher levels and all industries federate through common organizations at different territorial levels, and these horizontal and vertical organizations are reported to be playing a very useful role in developing and working a multipointed network of authority and responsibility. These trends, that is decentralization and democratization of economic life in its operational aspect, are not confined to Yugoslavia. They are also at work in other Socialist countries but in this country they find a fuller and a more coherent expression and have therefore a significance of their own.

The New Income Structure

The content of social transformation is also indicated by the new income structure of the economy and the latter has to be briefly referred to. In agriculture the range of inequalities is limited by the ceiling of 25 acres on land holdings, and though there also exist very small holdings, individual farming is not leading to increasing disparities, small peasants have alternative outlets and are more and more moving to industries and other social enterprises and their holding to an increasing extent are being purchased by the general co-operatives. In the villages the range of inequalities being limited, social differences and divisions are of diminishing importance, and through common co-operatives and the working of the communities real community life is being built up. Differences of income in non-agricultural sectors, industries, trading, banking, co-operatives, public administration and cultural institutions are, generally speaking, confined to one to three or four, and the higher incomes are of the order of 3,500 to 4,500 Dinars per month which corresponds to Rs. 700 to 900 at current range of exchange and have somewhat lower real purchasing power. Egalitarianism is a part of the new social philosophy of Yugoslavia and is being practised, in fact, in a large measure.

The Flexible Empirical Approach

In a short general article it is not possible to deal with or explain many other features of the national economy of Yugoslavia which are of real interest for understanding the structure and working of the economy. There is, for example, increasing reliance on prices freely negotiated between enterprises, co-operatives and organizations for the sale and purchase of goods and the system of appointment of managerial personnel through competition is being resorted to. In investment again an attempt is being made to evolve formulas for the allocation of available funds among different enterprises and industries without recourse to administrative directives. These and similar measures are an indication of the earnest desire of those who are developing or steering the economy of Yugoslavia to reduce its rigidity and combine a large degree of flexibility in its working with a unity of purpose and a clear sense of direction in the planned development of the country. Social priorities have to be and are determined, not by competitive forces or indices of freely-negotiated prices, but by cardinal considerations of social policy and general assessment of concrete situations by the men in power. Empirically, however, efforts are being made to avoid rigidity as far as possible and introduce incentives for securing optimum benefits at the lowest real costs and achieve as large a measure as possible of decentralized initiative and avoid-
slavia has increased from 15.6 million in 1961. This rate of growth, try, is very uneven. The rate is, rate in different parts of the country. The difference in the birth and death-rate from 20.9 per thousand in 1921 to 26.6 in 1947 and 25.7 in 1956. There has also been a fall of death-rate from 20.9 per thousand in 1921 to 12.7 in 1947 and 11.1 in 1956.

The rate of growth, owing to the difference in the birth and death-rate in different parts of the country, is very uneven. The rate is, for example, 2.7 per cent. per year in 1956 in AKM autonomous district, 2.38 per cent in Bosnia and Hercegovinia, 2.28 per cent in Macedonia and 2.18 per cent in Montenegro compared with the national average of 25.7, 23.2 in Serbia, 19.9 in Voidovina, 21.1 in Croatia and 20.5 in Slovenia. Differences between the death rates are not comparable to the differences in the birth-rates; they are about 10 to 12 per thousand, the two exceptions being AKM district where the death-rate in 1956 was 15 and Montenegro where it was 8 per thousand. These details are given to show the need for assessing the population situation in Yugoslavia in specific terms. This need is fully appreciated in Yugoslavia; it is known that the three southern provinces, owing to their differential rates of growth, are a special demographic problem for the country and call for the adoption of specific measures. This approach is an illustration of flexibility in thinking and freedom from dogmatic inhibitions in respect of population as in other respects. These and all other co-related problems are discussed in Yugoslavia with refreshing candour and indicate a commendable quality of the public mind.

A Backward Country

Yugoslavia is still a backward country. It will have to go a long way to work off its legacies or attain a stable or developed Socialist society. What she has achieved in spite of serious handicaps is to her credit and the manner in which she has done it is much more so. The context of her historical experience and her specific problems have to be duly borne in mind in assessing the extent and meaning of these achievements. The latter, however, are also of value and interest from the general standpoint. She believes in co-operation between Socialist countries and in my opinion, is genuine in her desire to cultivate it to the utmost extent. The present differences between her and the Socialist countries can and, may be hoped, will be resolved.

She, like every country, has to choose her own road to Socialism, and the road which she has chosen is a good road for her and is good in itself. For countries like India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, where Socialist trends are strong or are gaining strength, understanding and appreciation of what Yugoslavia has achieved and the way she has achieved it has a special meaning and importance. They can, with advantage, acquire an insight into her system and its special features and be truly benefitted by it. Yugoslavia is entitled to warm appreciation for what she has achieved and done and will, it may be hoped, receive it in full measure.
Military Dictatorship—Challenge To Democrats

by Prof. Mukut Behari Lal

In recent times civil authorities failed to hold power in five countries of Asia—Iraq, Lebanon, Thailand, Pakistan and Burma. Of these, Iraq, Thailand and Lebanon could hardly claim to have democratic regimes. They were more or less oligarchies; power was held by a group of aristocrats who lacked robust national spirit and social vision and were ever prepared to compromise with imperialist forces with a view to serving their personal interests. At least in Iraq and Lebanon military officers who replaced political leaders are much more determined in their opposition to imperialism and represent robust national spirit much better. Dictatorship in these countries is a warning to imperialist powers. It clearly demonstrates that the people of Western Asia are tired of their machinations and that they could not hope to retain their hold over Western Asia with the help of reactionary feudal forces.

Clash with Communism

Fear of Communism does not deter them from their opposition to imperialist domination and exploitation as well as to such military alliances as may involve the people of Western Asia in a world war. Still, recent events in Syria also demonstrate that Communists cannot be trusted to uphold the unity of the Arab nation and that the nationalist forces in Western Asia may find themselves compelled to come in clash with communism which is ever prepared to disrupt national unity in the name of international proletariat, to sacrifice national interests at the behest of the Soviet Union and to involve even Asian countries in international conflicts as allies of the Soviet Union in the name of the world peace.

Military dictatorship in Thailand is a warning to Communists. It demonstrates that resentment against growing Communist menace may assume the form of a military dictatorship in case weak civil authorities fail to face it. It is but obvious that neither Western powers nor Communist powers can be trusted to promote national unity and democratic system in Asia, that each is prepared to undermine them and uphold and support military dictatorship with a view to promoting its interests and causing harassment to the other. That national unity and independence demand the policy of non-involvement in power bloc politics. It seems to be increasingly realised by responsible statesmen of even Western Asia.

What is yet to be realised by them is that neither military dictatorship nor feudal authority is a permanent solution of the problems of national unity and freedom of the people. Youth, imbued with the nationalist spirit must strive for building up a regime democratic both in form and in content. It is to be not only by the people but also for the people. National freedom is a means to human freedom. It must ensure to the working people freedom to shape their destiny as well as means of happy life and cultural advancement. Civil authorities can only then command the willing loyalty of the people.

Political Confusion

Pakistan and Burma had democratic regimes similar to what we have in India. In Pakistan soon after partition the Muslim League assumed power, but after some years it began to disintegrate for want of effective leadership and positive programme for people's welfare and on account of its failure to check internal dissensions and administrative corruptions and inefficiencies as well as to satisfy basic needs of the masses and to maintain contacts with them. The opposition instead of building up an efficient alternative on the basis of some well defined policy and programme relied mostly on the combination and coalition of splinter groups. This process failed to provide to the country a stable and honest government and to solve its economic problems.

It simply promoted political confusion and led the people increasingly to lose interest in politics and confidence in parliamentary democracy. It was accused of all ills from which the country suffered, even of evil influences of such forces as ran counter to the spirit of democracy and militated against it. While religious parochialism and narrow regionalism did not permit the growth of national spirit and civic consciousness, the bedrocks of democracy; political leadership composed mostly of landed aristocrats failed to give to the people a lead of democratic character. Consequently neither the constitution of Pakistan could be finalised nor the general election of the National Assembly could ever once be held by the people directly. Increasing economic difficulties of the masses deepened the crisis and completely shook people's faith in the political regime which masqueraded in the name of democracy.

Under circumstances the President of Pakistan, a scion of landed aristocracy, instead of trying to infuse a true democratic spirit in the politics of the country, talked of controlled democracy and indulged in political machinations and thereby added to political confusion and prepared the ground for dictatorship. For obvious reasons he did not wish the type of dictatorship which ultimately emerged in Pakistan. But when the facade of democracy was corroded, political leadership collapsed before the might of armed forces and he had meekly to sign the death-warrant of his political life.

No Half-way House

Developments in Pakistan have clearly demonstrated that there is no half-way house between democracy and dictatorship, that political leaders can undermine democracy at their own peril, that it needs for its existence national spirit, civic consciousness and faith in its principles and process and that it can flourish
only when it can provide a stable, honest government capable of ministering to the needs of the people. They have also demonstrated that military alliances cannot for long buttress an inefficient and corrupt regime and that strength of a government depends on the quality of service it renders to the people.

Accurate Appraisal Needed

We are not to learn much from developments in Thailand and Western Asia, specially because feudal elements have lost their hold over India. But we must take serious note of developments in Pakistan and Burma, not only because they are our neighbours but also because in certain respects our conditions are similar to theirs. The corrosive forces that have sapped democracy in neighbouring countries are not absent in India and we can be complacent only at our peril. It is, however, equally necessary to remember that democracy has deeper roots in India, lest we may suffer from unnecessary pessimism and alarm. The situation demands accurate appraisal and proper correctives.

Indian Constitution, which was finalised as early as 1950, is basically democratic in character. It is broad-based on universal suffrage and thus affords an opportunity to the masses to shape the character of the government if they so will. Princely States are integrated in the Indian Union, landlordism is liquidated, and Communists are led to profess faith in peaceful democratic process after their miserable failure in their attempts of violent character. While public men are sufficiently conversant with the technique of parliamentary democracy, elections are being carried on by the people very peacefully and are being conducted by the Election Commission on the whole in a proper manner. Though occasionally passions burst out in violence and unrestrained language and behaviour are not common, the innate conservatism of the people inclines them to attach sufficient importance to stability and the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi along with our cultural traditions lead us to carry on even our acute political controversies in a non-violent manner which include civil resistance and Satyagraha. All this augurs well for the future of democracy in India.

Danger to Democracy

While Pakistan is founded on the principle of religious nationalism, Indian Union is founded on the principle of territorial nationalism, comprehending in a common national brotherhood Indians of all castes and communities. Consequently religious parochialism is not so strong in India as it is in Pakistan. Still, it does prevail in our country and is being exploited by Ram Rajya Parishad and Jan Sangh and upheld by reactionary and conservative elements of our community. This danger to democracy is to be met on a cultural plane. Democracy is to be translated into a way of life and democratic culture is to be cultivated and permeated in all walks of life. This is a common concern of all those pledged to democracy and is a special responsibility of educationists, literateurs and artists. It is their duty to foster democratic culture and translate it in literature and art. Youths must cultivate democratic character and organise their activities on cultural basis. They must cultivate wide human sympathies and deep faith in democratic ideals and process, must be purposive in their intellectual pursuits, must be solicitous of social good. To be creative in thought they must preserve what is best in the Indian culture and synthesise with it humanitarian, democratic and Socialist elements of other cultures of the world.

Youths are the future leaders of the society and must so act, live and work as to be builders of a new society free from domination, exploitation and poverty. To fulfil this mission of their lives, it is necessary for them to desist from dissipating their energies in pursuits of transitory character and to remember that leadership demands to self-discipline and self-restraint and that without public character no ideology can help India.

Socialist Democracy

India suffers from casteism and communalism which stand in the way of the development of democratic spirit and civic consciousness. While communalism led to the partition of the country and is today causing a lot of difficulty in forging national unity, intensifying social tension and disharmony and undermining people's faith in democratic process. These maladies from which educated classes suffer as much as ignorant masses need both educative and constructive treatments. While the people are to be educated in virtues, qualities and responsibilities of democratic citizenship, peasants and workers of all castes and communities are to be trained in values, art and urgency of organised co-operative efforts both for the

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Also contains a review of Howard Fast's The Naked God by S. Dharmarajan and a reply to Yudin's criticism of Nehru's views on Socialism.

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satisfaction of their immediate needs and for the building up of an equalitarian order of harmony, prosperity and progress.

Minorities, religious and linguistic, are to be assured the full enjoyment of cultural autonomy guaranteed in the Constitution; and backward classes, including Harijans and tribal people, are to be provided facilities for marching ahead towards economic sufficiency and cultural and social equality. Recommendations of the Kaleshkar Commission for Backward Classes should forthwith be taken into consideration and their implementation should be given high priority in the third Plan. Above all, both minority communities and backward classes ought to be led to realize that their interest to foster political democracy and to advance it towards Socialist democracy.

Indian democracy is also being stifled by an undemocratic economic system. There can be no real political democracy without economic freedom to serve as a foundation for it. As pointed out by the late Prof. Cole, "it is nonsense to speak of democracy as actually in being where men are divided into social classes differing grossly in wealth, opportunity, status, education, in short, in all those things which make the difference between ruling and being ruled, between the classes for whose sake society is administered and the classes which are doomed to serve as means to other men's ends". In the modern world there is no real democracy short of Socialism. Consequently we must strive for both democracy and Socialism simultaneously.

People’s Support to Democracy

People’s support to democracy grows where the Government quickens social change and economic development, provides clean and efficient administration, assures the enjoyment of rights and liberties and ensures responsiveness to the clearly expressed verdict of the people. It will have to be regretfully admitted that the government is not fully conscious of its responsibilities in this connection, that it suffers from bureaucratism, autocracy, corruption and nepotism. The tardy and timid efforts for providing jobs, the encroachment on liberties, common in many parts of the country, the failure of the administration to function impartially as, for instance, in the trade union field, and the stubborn refusal to revise policies decisively rejected by the people, as in some cases of states reorganisation, the failure to solve the problem of rehabilitation of refugees clearly demonstrate that to foster democracy in the country the ways and attitude of the Government require to be considerably changed, to be turned to basic needs and urges of the people, to be reoriented on basic principle of democracy such as the independence of judiciary from executive control at all levels, the enactment of laws by the legislature except in cases of grave emergency, regard for human dignity, civil liberties and public opinion as well as for impartial administration.

Loyalty to Lokahit

Commitment to democracy grows to the extent the people participate in public affairs and in the process of administration. Effective transfer of power to Panchayats and district councils has, therefore, today a new and insistent urgency. Public initiative also requires to be encouraged. Constructive projects initiated by the people deserve to be helped by the Government irrespective of party affiliations of their sponsors and management. Community projects should be so organized as to develop in the people to community sense and urge for promoting common good. Democratic leadership should emerge out of these efforts and enrich national life which is possible only when a large number of citizens deem it their duty to devote some of their valuable time to public work, and cultivate in themselves sense of responsibility and loyalty to Lokahit. To foster democracy and people’s faith in democratic leadership, political parties need to formulate a code of conduct whereby the requisite responsibility and restraints will become the normal basis of functioning. The elaboration and implementation of such a code by all political parties jointly would be most welcome. But no party need wait for others to co-operate in the matter. Even if the ruling party which suffers from corruptive influences of power and internal dissensions is not inclined to mend its ways or finds difficult to impose necessary discipline and restraint of its members, opposition parties which decry the ruling party for its undemocratic and corrupt ways will be advised to set an example of proper public conduct.

A party in opposition will win the general confidence of the people, tired of the corruptions of the government, much more easily than otherwise if its workers are devoted, heroic, self-sacrificing and honest and possess moral earnestness and deep human sympathy along with the spirit of revolt against social injustice. They must be honest to principles they claim to uphold as well as to responsibilities which may be entrusted to them by the people. The spirit of revolt against social injustice requires to be balanced by self-discipline and loyalty to the cause of justice. Every political party must uphold its objectives with courage and determination, lay emphasis on distinctive features of its policy and programme and expose fallacies and inadequacies of the stands of other parties, but it must at the same time so behave as to convince the people that it can be trusted to discharge responsibilities with dignity, vigour and honesty.

The opposition cannot afford to be lukewarm in exposing corruptions and inefficiencies of administration, but it must also place before the people its own solutions as an alternative to those pursued by the government and always remember that if it is undignified it will fail to command public respect and that if it indulges in wild accusations which cannot be substantiated it will be discredited. Parties in opposition have, thus, to function with responsibility and restraint because they in truth are the vital built-in defences of democracy. This responsibility is to be clearly understood as the menace to democracy grows and the Congress party finds it impossible to reform itself and meet the situation.

PSP’s Responsibility

In this matter the Praja Socialist Party which claims to stand for democracy consistently and is opposed to dictatorship in any form owes a special responsibility. It is its duty to strive to fill up the political vacuum which is being caused by the rapid disintegration of the Congress and to provide to the nation a democratic socialist alternative to the Congress rule of corruption. While it must welcome unity and co-operation with like-minded parties (Continued on page 48)
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The Economic Policy of the Congress

The resolution on planning got precedence over that on international affairs at the sixty-fourth Session of the Congress, contrary to the established practice, in view of, as Shri Dhebar explained it, the importance of the subject. At a time when approach to the third Plan is being finalised this indication to the thinking of the ruling party on the subject assumes an added significance.

The resolution does give a directive to the framers of the next plan. It asks them to so conceive the third Five-Year Plan as should lead to more rapid growth. Though the implications and requirements of a speedier growth have not been sketched; only suggestion that has been made to bring this about is to step up the rate of investment. The need for achieving a sufficiently high rate of capital formation, too, is stressed elsewhere.

This, in fact, amounts to stating the same proposition in different words. By emphasising the necessity of rapid development the Congress had hardly clarified its stand on the issue. For, it is not the necessity that has ever been in doubt. The controversy that has been going on in the country is about the possibility of a speedier rate of development and more so about what are the best and most effective ways for that.

General Pattern of Development

Where from the additional resources necessary for increasing the present tempo of growth are to come? Will there be more of taxation? Or will there be more reliance on deficit financing? Will some new means be explored for mobilising more savings? And what are their prospects? How much further drain on the present level of consumption will be necessary to release funds for a higher rate of investment? Alternatively, do we envisage more of foreign aid? One has to search in vain for an answer to any one of these questions in the deliberations at Abhyankarnagar.

On ultimate objectives and general pattern of development, the Congress resolution is marked with similar platitudes and ambiguities. The discussion that followed hardly shed any further light. The "growing astonishment" of the Prime Minister on the speeches of the members on the resolution is understandable. For, as he said, they bore no relation to it or to planning. But can one ask if there is a clear relation between this resolution, including the elucidation made by Shri Nehru, and the fundamentals of planning? After all he was making a plea to the Congressmen for fully understanding and explaining to the people the basic approach of planning.

The resolution clearly fails to clarify the approach of the Congress to planning. Though the objective of planning is stated to be the creation of a democratic and Socialist society which should be "clearly and unambiguously placed before the nation", it is hardly a clear enough enunciation. For, the concepts of democracy and Socialism are not as unambiguous as it has been assumed particularly because the latter was acquired by the party as its objective not very long ago.

References, in the resolution, to the need for a rapid increase in agricultural production and industrialisation, to the problem of unemployment and bringing the benefits of the Plan to the mass of the people, etc., may, superficially, imply a comprehensive approach to the problems of planning. But an uncoordinated and unrelated mention of a number of points does not lead to a clear policy. For, some of these objectives do not automatically form a harmonious pattern. The problem of choices and priorities, adjustments and co-ordination is the essence of planning and was, indeed, worthy of a mention in the Congress resolution on planning.

The concern expressed by the Congress resolution for the problem of unemployment may be very genuine and its recommendation for the "utilisation of the vast manpower resources of the country" may be welcomed. But it did not pause to enquire why fuller utilisation could not be made so far? Why, as admitted by it, the backlog of unemployment would tend to increase at the end of the second Plan? Is not it pertinent to ask if the third Plan will be different in this respect? If so, will it not involve a change in the "approach" or a shift in the emphasis as compared to the second Plan? Should it not have clearly brought out in the resolution?

It may be all right for a ruling party to try to take credit for what it calls the achievements of eight years of planned economy. But to present first, second and third Plans in a logical sequence, as if the successive plans automatically followed from the previous one without any change of basic approach, is not only a travesty of facts but perhaps also an instance of what Shri Nehru calls "too much of non-thinking".

The only conclusion that emerges is that the repeated changes in approach and emphasis were, probably, not a result of a conscious process but due to various temporary pulls in the Congress and the country.

The first Plan almost completely ignored the importance of basic industries like steel and was rather modest in effort. When its inadequacy became glaring, an ambitious plan with emphasis on heavy industry was adopted and put through. Soon the weaknesses of the second Plan, mainly due to ignoring the claims of the agricultural sector be-
gan to be felt. Accordingly, the Mussoorie conference of Agricultural Ministers proposed to raise the target of food production from 15 to 28 per cent, but without any extra allocation. Subsequently, food agitations all over the country more clearly lay bare the consequences of neglecting agriculture in a country like India. This brought forth a confession from the Prime Minister, a couple of months back on the floor of Parliament, that the importance of agriculture had not been properly realised till that time.

Repeated shift of emphasis, as Maurice Dobb pointed out, causes wastage of resources. And we, too, have paid a price for the round of oscillations in the case discussed above. This could have been compensated had we learnt a proportionate lesson. Even if self-criticism was beyond the Congressmen assembled at Abhyankarnagar, a word or two, even in a platitudinous way, on the need for balancing and linking the two sectors of Indian economy could have given an indication of the fact that the lessons of their mistakes were not completely lost upon them.

A Hand-to-Mouth Policy

Either the third Plan is to be like the second one or it is not. In the former case, the problem of, say, food, unemployment, foreign exchange and transport bottlenecks will obviously become more acute at the end of that plan than it is today; particularly in view of increasing population and depleting foreign assets with repayments of the mounting foreign debts due by that time. Without a radical revision in the approach to planning, the third Plan cannot be made to yield radically different results than done by the earlier plans.

A hand-to-mouth policy without a sense of a perspective may have the virtue of being flexible and help the ruling party in making compromises with various interests that assume importance at different times and thus retain its power. But at this crucial time of Indian history lack of a clear conception about direction and ultimate goals of planning and appropriate pattern of development may handicap the country in rising up to some challenges and opportunities. More skill in working out adjustments between various objectives and more boldness in expressing choices and preferences, where adjustment is difficult, are necessary if the Congress is to play a role in moulding the destinies of the nation and is not merely to toss about by conflicting pulls of diverse interest groups. Otherwise, as the statesmen commenting upon the Nagpur resolutions have observed, trying to be all things to all men often leads to being nothing to anybody.

(Continued from page 20)

his passionate love for India's thought and culture, which, although in rare moments of her history, "were able to strike the golden mean between the demands of spirit and of matter, of the soul and of the body—and thereby progress simultaneously on both fronts." ("Pyramids"), January, 1935.

Technological Advance

While welcoming Western science and technology, Indian Socialism must not lose this unique heritage, equality of man without any class privileges, destined him for a role quite different from that of Mussolini, Hitler or Stalin. But he firmly believed that a dependent people after revolutionary capture of power cannot immediately settle down to peaceful democratic institutions and solve its manifold problems. Such premature experiments, he believed, might lead to what is happening now in Pakistan, Thailand and Sudan.

"The vision of a free India is a perfect synthesis of all that is good in the East and in the West."—Amraoti Students' Conference, January 22, 1929.

Bose wanted an authoritarian state only as a temporary phase to set the nation on its feet after the slump and discords of the post-war period. His abiding faith in India's spiritual values, in the village communities and self-governing institutions of the past, in the ideals of complete equality of man without any class privileges, destined him for a role quite different from that of Mussolini, Hitler or Stalin. But he firmly believed that a dependent people after revolutionary capture of power cannot immediately settle down to peaceful democratic institutions and solve its manifold problems. Such premature experiments, he believed, might lead to what is happening now in Pakistan, Thailand and Sudan.
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(Continued from page 43)

Parties and groups, it must try to build up its strength on mass support. It must build itself up as an effective instrument of democratic socialism, foster people's efforts to face the difficulties in organised and constructive spirit, deepen their faith in democracy, cultivate their loyalty for socialism and infuse in them new spirit, faith and vigour as well as confidence in their capacity to overcome the crisis. It is only a resurgence of national spirit and endeavour, rooted in a revival of moral values in our national life, which can best check the centrifugal forces and the feelings of apathy and frustration and enable the nation to uphold democracy in this country.

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From Whimsical To Ornamental

(UKYAW Nyein, the Socialist leader of Burma, while in power once said, half sotto voce half to us, “If only some one would restate Revisionism.” It was a part whimsical thought, a part serious, anxious wish. A Socialist party on the threshold of power, and even more so in the saddle of responsibility, discovers a ballast and understanding in Revisionism. For it is the Socialism of the phase of stabilisation. For under-developed countries striving to develop democratically there is a natural attraction to evolutionary Socialism. Yet, as the British and the Scandinavian Labour Movements, despite their outstanding achievements, do not remove, because of the countries’ long period of industrial advance, the hopes and doubts raised by the Soviet Union, so Bernstein, arguing on a different plane from ours, seems unable to quieten the hesitations that the flood of Communist literature constantly provoke.

The fact, however, remains that Socialists in power desire to restrain the impetuousness of the Movement and to divert it to constructive ends. The appeal of Fabianism and Revisionism becomes obvious. Somerset Maugham has said somewhere, “prose is a Rococo art; poetry is Baroque.” One might say likewise that revolutionary Socialism, which is elemental, massive, mystical, tragic is Baroque; revisionist Socialism, which as it were prefers accomplishment to power, stability to intransigence, vigour to grandeur, is Rococo. In the free countries of Asia a shift is desired from the Baroque to the Rococo. Here, too, in the words of King Victor Emmanuel II uttered in parallel circumstances, “now the prose must follow the poetry.”

by
Asoka Mehta

Britain and Germany are the homelands of Rococo Socialism.

Western Scene
In Britain, the tradition of the Magna Carta goes deep. Every upheaval, ephemeral or elemental, ends in a demand for political rights. Popular reactions to the industrial revolution did not transgress the hoary tradition. The Luddite disturbances of 1811-12 and again in 1816-17 were channelled into agitation for political reforms by Major Cartwright and Cobbett. In 1830, there was a recrudescence of machine breaking and incendiarism. In spite of savage repression, the leaders, such as William Cobbett (1763-1835), succeeded in diverting discontent to agitation for parliamentary reform.
In early thirties, workers were restive once again: a mass rally of 150,000 held in Birmingham threatened no-tax. Nottingham castle was burned, Bristol passed into the control of insurgents for several days, who sacked the prison, the Mansion House and the Bishop’s Palace. The Chartist Movement headed the discontent towards political reforms: At Manchester, 300,000 persons assembles to cheer the six-point Charter. In 1839, the Chartist Convention presented a petition to the Parliament having 1,250,000 signatures. The Commons rejected it by 235 to 46 votes.

A New Upsurge

A new upsurge of the workers, such as that of the coal-miners at Newport, gave another impetus to Chartism. A second petition, bearing 3,000,000 signatures, was presented to the Parliament again to be rejected. The uprisings of 1848 on the Continent were reflected in Britain in another Charter signed by 6,000,000 citizens. Ultimately, five of the six points of the Charter were conceded and enacted. A new method of political agitation had been discovered. It is not surprising that all but one British leader of the International resigned when Marx eulogised the Paris Commune. As Prof. Cole puts it in his work, Fabian Socialism, “Since the last echoes of chartism died away in eighteen-fifties, we English have been on the whole a quiet people.” Rococo is the “style” appropriate to “quiet people.”

The quietness was at once the cause and the effect of the improvements made and advantages gained by the British workers: not only political rights were won but economic amelioration achieved. Not in England alone, but in the Atlantic countries generally, harshness and crudity of capitalism were changing through legislative efforts: the working week which was, in 1840, 69 hours in England, 78 hours in the United States and France, 83 hours in Germany, became 52 hours in England and 60 hours elsewhere, by 1880. Scandalously low wages, such as equivalent of seven to 46.6 lbs. of bread a week, improved steadily: the average annual per capita consumption of wheat went up from 280 lbs. in 1840 to 384 lbs. in 1880. The sacred rights of property that as late as 1845 came in the way of compelling landlords and house-owners to make drains into sewers progressively ceased to be sacred and less of rights. Reforms were slowly but significantly altering the contours of capitalism.

Strength of Reformism

Germany’s lack of political democracy was somewhat made up by a deep-seated community-consciousness that spurred the country to pioneer in social reforms: in factory laws, in public education, in social insurance. The workers shared the community consciousness, the trade unions developed as “the most aggressive and powerful of reformist forces” and hence the stabilising slant of revisionism appealed to them. On the other hand, “where great urban agglomerations were few, any long-run success of Social Democracy was felt to depend on making some inroads into the independent peasantry and the peasant-artisan class. It was here that reformism first appeared in strength.”

The second industrial revolution with its technological innovations and tempo of development, the emergence of Finance Kapital with its rationalising finesse harmonised with the basic postulates of revisionism, with the Roccio spirit. Three random illustrations show the process of stream-lining: the Midland Bank was established as a joint-stock bank in 1836. During the first 53 years, it opened 17 branches, added another ten by merger, and the deposits grew from under £ 100,000 to over £ 2,000,000. In the next 30 years, branches increased to 1,444, of which 913 were added by merger. The deposits increased to £ 400,000,000 in 1930.

In Germany, in 1911, the six leading Berlin banks had 825 of their directors sitting on the boards of industrial companies: of these 20 per cent. were chairmen, and 15 per cent. were vice-chairmen of the Boards. Reciprocally, 57 representatives of industry sat on the boards of the six banks. The Siemens brothers with their inter-industry and inter-national ramifications symbolise the new integration. Werner Siemens (1816-92) pioneered in electric engineering with his firm “Siemens and Haloke”; Sir William Siemens (1823-83) developed in England the open hearth system and gained a powerful position for Siemens brothers in the steel industry. Friedrich Siemens (1826-1904) invented a smelting oven and won his spurs in glass industry. George Siemens founded the Deutsche Bank, and Karl Siemens extended the firm’s influence to Russia. The developing concentration seemed to be weaving the great veil of a socialist Minerva. The unfolding called for co-operation, not conflict a outrance.

Logic of the situation was driving the bourgeois State to nationalisation: in Germany, nationalisation of railways had begun as early as 1879, by 1914, almost the railroads were owned by the States. Navigation canals were generally owned and operated by the State in France as well as Germany; Telegraphs were taken over by the State, in 1889 in France, in Germany from the beginning.

Indifference Risky

Bismarck had shown a classic indifference to imperialism: in 1871, he had rejected the offer of French possessions in Africa and had favoured the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Again, in 1890, he acquired the strategic island of Heligoland from the British in return for Uganda and Zanzibar. Likewise Clemenceau had surrendered the Mosul oil lands to Britain for political advantages. It was true that the tide of the time was against the mood: in the imperialist decades, British colonial possessions increased by 4,500,000 square miles (66,000,000 inhabitants), the French by 3,500,000 square miles (26,000,000 people) and the German by 1,000,000 square miles (13,000,000 population). But the deeper currents were believed to be different as the patterns and purposes behind foreign investments, the real dynamism behind imperialism, tended to show.

British overseas investments rose hundred-fold between 1875 and 1914. One the eve of the War, annual foreign investment was almost half of the national savings. The total foreign investments were about £ 4,000,000,000 or a fourth of the national wealth. Seven per cent. of the national income was annually invested abroad and the accumulated investments yielded a tenth of the national income. The investments were almost equally divided between Empire and non-Empire areas. Britain was realising from experience that (1) non-Empire areas provided equally profitable fields for investments.
The idea of modern Socialism emerged in the wake of industrial revolution in Europe. At first it appeared as an "alternative" to capitalism that was working as the fore-runner of that revolution, but with the advancement of the latter, its role changed into that of following capitalism.

At the beginning of the industrial revolution when the pain of transition from pre-capitalist mode of production to that of the capitalist one was very acute, Socialist thinkers of that age, according to their test and temperament though reacted differently, were not satisfied with emerging capitalist way and were searching for some other social blue-prints, and were experimenting with them with a hope that at their success people would emulate them and a new social order of efficiency and justice would emerge thereby. They were social reconstructors par excellence. But in the historical situation of that age, though their experiments could not be successful enough to enthuse people to be imbited with, they contributed enough creative thinking towards the enrichment—not only of the Socialists who came later, but also of the capitalists—who battled with them.

The Success of Capitalism

The causes of failures of this first group of Socialists were many, but primary one was the success of capitalism towards the solution of European problem by creating industrial plenty and individual freedom. The capitalist could equally fail, had the situation of Europe and the history of the world at large been otherwise at that time.

Among the multiferious causes of capitalist success, two things stand as most illuminating—(1) its liberating role from the morass of feudal stagnation at home, and (2) its dominating role over the people outside. Both of these roles contributed towards the creation of industrial capital and market necessary for the advancement of capitalism. As a result of this situation Europe began to prosper and its colonies damned into decay. It is at this stage of capitalist progress and European prosperity, the "alternative" Socialist began to fade away and the situation began to ripen for later group of Socialists who thought Socialism would come from the womb of capitalism.

Karl Marx was the fore-runner of this latter group of Socialists. But it must be mentioned here that when he, along with his friend Frederick Engels, wrote their famous "Communist Manifesto", i.e., by the middle of the 19th century (the tradition of "alternative Socialism" was not yet eliminated. They had yet to fight them. In this period, it will be a high estimate to say that 10 per cent. of the world population was under the capitalist system of production. Germany, France and the United States were still prudently agricultural countries. Only in England capitalism was dominant in these days. But that domination was so sure that Marx and Engels had little doubt that it soon developed the rest of the world, and they accordingly, built up their Socialist theories on these background of developing capitalism. They discarded the "alternative" Socialists as creative thinkers and social experimenters as "Utopian". They thought Socialism would come not out of any nobler idea or experiment, but out of material condition created by capitalism. So for "Socialism" they analysed "capitalism" and thought that with the advancement of the latter, production would be socialised and the society would be polarised into two irreconcilable classes—on the one side, a handful of prosperous capitalists and, on the other side, a vast majority of the society—proletariats who had nothing but the labour to sell for their livings. Henceforth, the task of the Socialists, according to them, would be to organise this proletariat against the capitalists and seek opportunity to seize power so that socialisation of production that had taken place in the capitalist process of production could be attained with its historical mission of socialisation of its ownership as well. Its grand mission was now to fight capitalist relation of production so that its (capitalist) forces of production could grow. Marx and Engels did not hesitate to hail capitalism and thought it to be the historical agent of bringing Socialism.

But capitalism could not bring industrialism throughout the world. It could not embrace even in its hayday, that is, from the middle of the 19th century to the first World War, more than 30 per cent. of the world population. As a matter of fact, capitalism worked as a stumbling block towards industrial progress of the colonial countries. The hope of Karl Marx that "the railway system in India would, in fact, be the forerunner of modern industrial system" dashed to the ground and we find to our dismay that India was, on the contrary, progressively ruralised! About 55 per cent. of the Indian population is said to have been dependent on agriculture by the middle of the 19th century, that is, the period when industrialism began to raise its head in Europe. But with the continuation of British rule it was found that more than 70 per cent of Indian people were living by agriculture.

The Marxist Illusion

It is in this period the Revisionists came to the fore and the Marxist wanted to adjust their Socialism to the reality of Europe. But the Marxist illusion of irreconcilable class conflict and the crisis of capitalism was still an article of faith to the European Socialists. But the crisis of capitalism in this period was not found in its internal dynamics, or class relation, but in its imperial tension or outer base.

We know capitalism from the very beginning was connected with colonial exploitation. Historically speaking, industrial revolution could not exist in Great Britain because of our colonial base. I do not say by that a colonial power could necessarily be an industrial one. But industry needs capital and British capitalism got it mainly from imperial plunder. Student of history knows it well that Britain was not the only country that was advanced in the field of industrial inventions. There were also other countries equally well advanced in this field, but they could not bring an industrial age. One of the important reasons of their inability was the lack of adequate capital which Brit...
tishers got mainly from imperial adventures. I do not say that capital could only be formed as it was done by imperial powers, but historically saying no body can deny the fact that British inventions got special incentive only after the Battle of Plassey.

European capitalism could never detach itself from this imperial dynamics. After the expansion of capitalism internally and the division of the world into their respective spheres of influence, the capitalist countries of Europe found themselves at daggers drawn and they came in conflict that ultimately culminated into the first World War; and this war acted towards the decay of capitalism as a gainful productive system. The war found not only to be unremunerative as there was practically no vacant place for the capitalist countries to expand, the colonial and semi-colonial countries found in their quarrel an opportunity to rise against them, and the Russian Revolution gave a definite blow to the world capitalism.

**The Socialist International**

But this war at the same time weakened the Socialist movements of the European countries. The Socialist International collapsed at its first touch. It exposed also the inherent defects of the European Socialist theories which were built up on the background of developing capitalism without caring to integrate its totally opposite nature in the colonial countries. The Russian Revolution, though occurring in the name of Marxism, was perhaps the greatest blow to the Marxist laws of social dynamics that capitalism would break at the peak point of its development. Lenin wanted to justify this situation saying that it was in the weakest link of world capitalism that the Socialist revolution was unleashed.

Capitalism was not weak only in Russia, it was weaker in India, China and other colonial or semi-colonial countries. As a matter of fact, revolution could break up only in those countries where colonial or semi-colonial people could project their strongest anti-capitalist link. Here, the imperial basis of capitalism not only strengthened the decaying position of feudalism, but also, due to that, undermined the enterprising incentive of the indigenous capital which feared to take risk in a situation of extreme poverty of the colonial people and unbridled competition from their foreign overlords. They were, naturally, under these circumstances, lured more by the prospect of money-lending business and security of investment in immovable properties. As a result, very few indigenous enterprise could thrive without being attuned themselves with the imperial interest, and that too, in the period of their imperial conflict and the general decay of world capitalism.

It is on this background one can understand why the national movements in colonial countries could be vigorous only as anti-capitalist movements. Here, capitalism was found, because of this historical condition, an inadequate economic system for rapid industrial advancement. It is because of this we find the cry of Socialism so deep in those under-developed countries. But Socialism is not mere anti-capitalism. Not only ownership of means of production has remained unsocialised. So the Socialist theories built up on the background of developing capitalism were found quite inadequate in the under-developed world. But the anti-capitalists of these regions in their hurry for an ideological stand gobbled up the European Socialist ideas almost blindly, and after the success of their anti-capitalism they found those ideas at logger-heads.

**Anti-thetical**

The same situation appeared also in Russia after the revolution. The Socialist ideas of industrial plenty and working-class democracy appeared as something anti-thetical to the Russian communists and they did not hesitate to sacrifice the latter for the supposed achievement of the former.

The rise of Russian communism has created more than one problem in the Socialist movement of the world. It has given a Russian orientation of the western Socialism and has been trying to push it as the only model of Socialism for the entire world.

The first World War broke out in a situation of industrial plenty where the workers of the metropolis countries were not enthused by their slogans that they had nothing to lose but to gain in revolt against their respective Governments. As a matter of fact, the prosperous European workers found many things to lose by the war. So, we find them supporting anti-war campaign of the Socialists before the actual starting of war, but when the latter actually started into a shooting business, they hurriedly joined their respective governments for fear of losing that prosperity by their defeat in the war. But that slogan became somewhat catchy to the workers where industrialisation was yet a very painful process.
Towards Constructive Union-Management Relationship

The important term in the theme is the word "constructive". There is always a relationship between the management and the employees, but it may be a destructive rather than a constructive relationship. Both or either may try to destroy the other party, resulting in constant strife and serious damage to the efficient running of the industrial unit. It is now recognised on all hands that this type of relationship is desirable neither from the point of view of the management nor from that of workers. It is agreed that there should be a relationship of co-operation between the two and that without such relationship neither the workers will get a fair deal nor the industry will prosper. This theoretical understanding is, however, yet to be translated into action.

The First Step

The first step towards securing a constructive relationship is, of course, the recognition of a bona fide representative union. Workers must have a free choice of a union. They must have the freedom to choose the union they desire should be recognised as a representative union through a secret ballot. No other method can be as democratic or fruitful. The ballot must be open to all employees whom the union to be chosen is to represent. On occasions workers may make a wrong choice, but they will learn by experience and experience will teach them that a communist union, which believes in and works on the basis of the doctrine of class struggle and class war, is not able to represent them in a proper and effective manner.

Recognition must confer some valuable rights upon the union. If recognition means only the right to receive negative replies, no union worth its name will be keen on getting it. There will be, then, a multiplicity of unions and the management will never be sure if it is dealing with a union which can deliver the goods. Every intelligent management will agree that it is better to deal with a reliable union than with a crowd or a medley of unions. This can be avoided only if there is a union which is recognised and dealt with as a collective bargaining agent.

As a collective bargaining agent a union must have the right of consultation on all matters relating to the terms and conditions of employment. The consultation must not again be a mere formal matter. There are cases where management merely get together representatives of workers and communicate to them the decisions that have been already taken. This surely is no consultation. In a consultation there must be scope for mutual give and take. Workers must feel that their suggestions weigh with the management and the latter is prepared to modify its policies and decisions in order to accommodate their point of view. Consultation will lose all its meaning if representatives of management will enter all conferences with their minds made up on all issues and will accord representatives of workers only a patient and polite hearing.

A Phrase of Wide Import

Terms and conditions of employment is a phrase of wide import. It will cover wages, allowances, hours of work, benefits, safety and welfare measures and many other things. All these things should be fixed in consultation with a representative union of workers. And agreements once fixed cannot be expected to be of a permanent character. They may have to be changed from time to time according to the demands of workers and the conditions of the industry. A fair deal to workers is a dynamic concept. What was fair a few years back is no longer fair today and what is fair today may not be fair after some time. A demand for a rising standard of living is a legitimate demand and as the industry progresses the standard of workers' wages, allowances and amenities must also rise. An enlightened management will always be ready to consider such demands and will not regard a union as irresponsible only because it submits from year to year fresh demands on behalf of workers. The demands must certainly be within the paying capacity of the concern. No responsible union will advocate such demands as would drive the concern out of business, for if the concern goes out of business the employer may lose his profits, but the workers will lose their means of livelihood.

Knowledge of Financial Position

The financial condition of a concern is always regarded as a topic with which workers or the union should have no concern. But surprisingly enough the demands of workers are usually turned down on the ground of the financial position of the concern. If the union is to accept the reason as a valid justification, it must be given full information from time to time about the financial situation. If such information is made available, the union and workers will be in a better position to appreciate the difficulties of the management. Given that information, they will not knowingly do anything that will damage the interest of the concern, for they are intelligent enough to understand that by doing that they will also damage their own interests. It is in the interest of efficient management that such financial information should be always made available to the union. Knowledge of the financial position of the concern will always act as a check on extravagant or immoderate demands.

The complaint is usual that unions are irresponsible and adopt an intransigent and, on many occasions, a cursed attitude. The complaint is not altogether unjustified. But one should not forget the fact that an organisation can develop a sense of responsibility only when it is assured of a stable existence and is dealt with and treated in a responsible manner. In most cases, the union is still regarded and treated as an unnecessary nuisance.

The attitude towards a union is that of suspicion, if not of hostility. It is this attitude which prevents the growth of the sense of responsibility. If unions are recognised and dealt with as an essential part of the industrial system, they will very soon learn to act and behave like responsible organisations. This has
been the experience where a proper attitude has been adopted. A change is necessary in the relationship between the union and the management and the first step in that direction must be taken by the management. If the management treats a union with respect and confidence, the union will also deal with the management with responsibility and consideration. Trust will beget trust and responsibility will grow out of the confidence that fair and legitimate demands will always receive sympathetic consideration.

Management Not Honest

Those who complain that unions are irresponsible should not forget that the same charge can be levelled against the managements. For every one case of union irresponsibility one can cite ten cases of similar and worse behaviour on the other side. There is an additional factor. In some cases the management is not even honest in its dealings. The accounts are padded, extraneous expenses are charged to the concern and attempts are made to extract large amounts of money through commissions and various other charges. Sometimes one fails to notice any consideration for the industry. A terribly narrow outlook is adopted and the long-term needs of the industry are criminally neglected. Many, many such misdeeds can be pointed out, but no useful purpose will be served by recounting them. The point to be emphasised is that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones at others.

Recognition will be worthwhile only if it secures some rights and privileges. Ordinarily recognition should bring with it some facilities for the work of the union. The facilities may take such forms as periodical meetings at various levels for the discussion of grievances and demands, paid leave for attending meetings of the union executive, permission to hold meetings on factory premises and provision for collecting union subscriptions on pay days.

In course of time and with greater confidence in each other the recognition may develop into a union-shop agreement. If a union gets such rights on recognition, it will think a hundred times before endangering them through irresponsible action. Rights beget responsibility. The responsibility on the part of the union will be to conduct its affairs in a peaceful and lawful manner. No union worth its name will give up its right of defending and advancing the interests of workers; but if the management is responsive and co-operative, it will realise by experience that conducting its affairs in a peaceful and lawful manner secures better results than violent speeches, intimidation or illegal stoppages of work.

After all, unions are interested in securing a better deal for workers, and if they find that they can work towards that end more effectively through representations, negotiations and collective bargaining, they will not be foolish enough to take the futile path of bickerings and struggles. Workers, howsoever backward, are intelligent enough to understand that co-operation and adjustments are always preferable to perpetual quarrels and contests. But the managements must always so behave that the workers will not find their confidence misplaced.

Labour Officer's Decisive Role

In creating this atmosphere of confidence and co-operation labour and personnel officers can play an important and, many a time, a decisive role. Those officers are no doubt the representatives of the management; they cannot be independent or a neutral third party. But being in constant touch with workers, they can acquaint the management with the mood and the feelings of the workers and at the same time keep the latter informed of the policies and decisions of the management. They are the main channel of communication between the management and workers, but they should also be the main factor in determining labour policies and implementing them.

To enable labour and personnel officers to play this role more effectively it will be necessary to improve their status. They should be given a higher position in the managerial hierarchy and should be vested with larger powers to take decisions on labour matters, of course, within the framework of the policies formulated by the management as a whole. Officers enjoying such higher status and large powers will command better respect and confidence from workers and will be more effective in developing constructive relations between a union and the management.

Another important factor which will go a long way towards creating co-operative relations is the effort to create amongst workers a sense of belonging. A psychological link must be established between the workers and the industrial establishment. Workers come to it from their villages. In the cities and towns where they are required to live they feel themselves lost and un cared for. They should be integrated into the new industrial community which should grow around the establishment in which they work.

Community and Worker

Workers must feel that they have an important place in that community, that the community will look after their needs, that it will give them help and co-operation when they find themselves in difficulties and that it will provide them opportunities for a better life. If such integration takes place, it will develop in course of time a sense of pride in belonging to the particular establishment. Once such links are established, conflicts will be few and far between and co-operation and joint working will become the normal rule. In order to attain this end it is necessary to treat workers as reasonable, rational human beings and not as mere hands to be hired or fired according to the sweet will of the management. This type of understanding and sympathetic treatment is an essential condition for a harmonious relationship and its absence cannot be compensated by mere economic factors, such as, higher wages or better conditions of work. The latter are essential, but equally essential is the recognition of the human dignity of workers.

The trade union movement is as anxious as enlightened management to improve the union-management relationship and to make it more and more constructive. It has now come of age and is anxious to play its legitimate part in the development of healthy industrial relations. Any step taken by the management to improve the relations will not fail to meet with a ready response. The votaries of the doctrine of class struggle and class war are losing their influence over workers and the best way to accelerate that process is to recognise the constructive role that unions can play and to enable them to play it in an effective manner.
LETTER FROM EUROPE

BERLIN STORY—III

[This is the third instalment of the "Berlin Story". The last instalment appeared in "Janata" of January 11, 1959. The concluding instalment will appear next week.]

WHEN Stalin rejected the results of Berlin election (20th October, 1946) barriers went up all along the Russian Zone and along the East European countries. In this entire region that was the shape of things to come—rejection of the people's verdict. We have discussed that with facts and figures in the second instalment—within two years free election by secret ballot, freedom of political organisation and that of press became matter of the past.

The Russian zone of Germany and communist countries still have elections which are completely different from the way we understand it. If you can imagine Nehru or the Congress Working Committee selecting each and every candidate for the 1961 general election—no communist, no socialist, no independent, just Nehru's candidates—then you have got the picture. This is the sort of election that takes place everywhere between East Berlin and Peking. Whether we like it or not does not matter in the least.

Subversions Failed

External crusades and internal subversions have miserably failed. Both East and West are party to this crime. These efforts have generated false hopes at home and abroad and delayed the time-table for negotiated peace. The irresponsible section of the press on both sides of the Atlantic has repeatedly made it known that Mr. Bulganin is more acceptable to the West than Mr. Khrushchev. This might have contributed towards the breaking up of the partnership between Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Bulganin.

It was the worst thing that could have happened for the European peace in general and unification of Germany in particular. The West had the satisfaction of witnessing another quarrel in the Kremlin. But that fortress since its second red brick was laid on the first is synonymous with quarrels, intrigues, plots, assassinations, liquidations, banishment and executions. Russia did not crumble. Her title over Eastern Europe remained unchallenged. She had survived the loss of bigger personalities than Mr. Bulganin. Now Germany will have to deal with tougher men. The price of unification will be dearer. Germany had better be prepared to pay it.

In Russia's reckoning handing over E. Germany (including E. Berlin) to the Federal Republic is as good as handing it over to the NATO. At least she cannot be blamed for making it look like that. West Berlin is a part of Federal Germany and as such a NATO base which is technically true. But the presence of Three Power occupation troops in West Berlin is not the same thing as presence of Russian troops in East Germany. These troops are the only token of survival of the Potsdam Agreement. They are there more as an instrument of the present policy of the

West German Government than anything else. Absence of these troops will compel the Federal Government to deal directly with the Democratic Government which means indirect recognition of the East German regime. And that means official acceptance of a partitioned Germany. We do not have diplomatic relations with the East German government.

Russia agreed to allow three fellow conquerors to occupy Berlin, but not for nothing. The latter had to pull back nearly a hundred mile south east of Elbe for a few square miles in Berlin. Russia received her pound of flesh from America, Britain and France. It could be called a fair deal but for the fact it was not theirs to barter.

Confusion in the Enemy Camp

On the eve of every West German election, East German Government leaders issue an "eve of the poll" statement. This has never done any good to anybody. On the contrary, such messages pretended to help the

by

Nripendranath Ghosh
section of his great family about
national solidarity and its advan-
tages, communist threat to swallow
up West Berlin and Einheit. Instead,
he campaigned for the C. D. U. can-
didates and to aggravate the situa-
tion refused to meet Brandt
privately.

Brandt and his Social Democrat
candidates have survived all this.
They have won 78 seats and the rest
—55— have gone to the CDU; the
communists did not get a single
seat.

On the election day 180 commun-
ist youths were arrested by the
West Berlin Police for crimes like
tearing up or defacing opposition
posters. One of their favourite
"crime" was to draw a lock of hair
and a butterfly moustache on every
non-communist candidate to make
him look like Adolf Hitler. 40 of
these starry-eyed enthusiasts were
West Berliners and the rest came
from East Berlin. All were released
on the same day. They returned to
their own sector like heroes who
fought with valour but lost the
battle. They must have felt as bad
as their leaders who used every
trick of the trade. (I don't have to
tell our readers what those tricks
are!) but failed to get a single com-
munist on the West Berlin City
Council.

The Egerman Premier hastened to
announce that the Berlin election
results did not constitute a rejection
of the Russian proposal to turn
West Berlin into a free city. There
are people who might agree with
him. But he and his Socialist
Einheit-Partei Deutsche has turned
a local municipal election into a
plebiscite and a mayor into a sym-
bol of national unity. Willy Brandt
has entered international politics.

These developments are causing
the West German government and
the Opposition to have second
thoughts. Throughout the world the
mayoral post of the metropolis is
the traditional training ground for
the executive head of the nation.
Chancellor Adenauer himself was
the Lord Mayor of Cologne before
and immediately after the war.

Now Herr Brandt is equally well-
known to the European chancel-
lories. Besides, the West German
constitution clearly stipulates that
the Lord Mayor of Berlin be con-
sulted on all affairs affecting the
whole Germany. That is where con-
servative Adenauer and Social De-
mocrat Brandt have crossed swords
and will continue to do so from time
to time.

Germany’s Heritage

Although one safely predicts that
young Willy is a contender to the
Chancellor’s throne, he has yet to
secure the mandate of his own
party.

The Social Democratic party—
banned in Russian zone—is a part
of Germany’s heritage. It is gener-
ally known to political critics as ‘der
apparat’ or the apparatus. The men
who control this apparatus are Prof.
Carlos Smidt, Fritz Erler and Von
Kroningen. The recent addition to
the ruling body is Herbert Wehner.
During the war he was active in
neutral Sweden as the special agent
of the Comintern. The Swedes put
him in prison where he overhauled
his ideas and after the war joined
the German Social Democratic party.
If any German points at his Red
origin Wehner points out that Herr
Bundes Kanzeller himself used to
lead a sectarian party called “Rhine-
land for Rhinelanders” right upto
the beginning of the war.

The apparatus is headed by Eric
Ollenhauer, a quiet man who looks
at politics as a game of chess and
himself a distinguished chess-player.
Prof. Carlos Smidt is an intellectual
par excellence and a legal lion. He
is the vice-president of the ‘Bunde-
stag. But his weak heart is a hin-
drance to activity. He is fatter than
Herr Ludwig Erhard the Minister of
economy. Fritz Erler is too scholastic,
Von Kroningen too retiring and Wehner is too much of
a new-comer to be backed for the
‘throne’. But none of them are man-
of-the-people as late Kurt Schuma-
cher was. That leaves Ollenhauer
and Brandt. Brandt can wait.

But the unification of Germany
will need more than one leader and
more than one party. It will need all
the parties. And donner wetter! (German expression meaning: by
Thunder) the German political
parties and personalities have that
unity as far as unification is con-
cerned.

It is a tragedy that the German
communist party has been launch-
ed in 1956. Before that they oper-
ated freely in West Germany and con-
tested every local and national
election. In the parliamentary general
election of 1953 they were at the
bottom of poll.

If they were allowed to function
legally after 1956 they would have
got less and less votes in the subse-
quent elections. They are known—
as everywhere else—as the mouth-
piece of a foreign power and all Ger-
mans are not in favour of prescrib-
ing them. There is a current politi-
cal joke about it: Hitler set fire to
the Reichstag to ban the communist
party. Adenauer has done it without
setting fire to the Bundestag. We
are making progress. Are'nt we？

Precious Little Future

Communist party itself has pre-
cious little future in Germany. Karl
Marx was born in this country in a
little town called Trier. His house is
still open to the visitors like that of
Beethoven in Bonn. (The capitalism
country takes good care of the com-
munist shrine). Germany was on
the top of Marx’s list of countries
heading for proletarian revolution.
His predatory successors are busy
saving the proletarian revolution
from “Germany”. They have pushed
it down to the bottom of the lost. If
Marx is still alive—in spirit—in the
communist countries, then he might
some day return to his native land
to seek refuge after seeing things
for himself. For he must have real-
ised by now that he sowed flies and
reaped dragons.

It would have been a great move
in favour of West Germany if the
West German communist party
were legalised. It will add more
strength to Adenauer's elbow when
he talks to Mr. Khruschev. After
all he is the man whose word is final
whether it is Oder-Neisse line or
unification or Berlin. Exchange of
diplomatic relations brought home
centuries of German prisoners of
war. Trade relations helped in
lessening the tension. Legalising
the communist party might bring
new advantages in the way of uni-

fication.

(To be concluded)

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ON THE PSP FRONT

The Socialist Denmark

SHRI Mir Mushtaq introduced the Delhi PSP workers to Mr. Frode Jakobsen, Socialist M.P. from Denmark. Shri Prabhakar Padhye also made a brief introductory speech.

Replying Mr. Jakobsen said that Shri Padhye had told them that he was interested in birds. This was true. But he was much more interested in human beings. He was therefore as a Socialist striving to bring about social equality.

Continuing Mr. Jakobsen said, "I can say many nice things about India. There are many nice things which can be said about this great country. But there are some more important things which must be said. Inequality, for instance. There are great inequalities in India. On the other hand, in Denmark there was social equality. You will not be able to tell from mere appearance who in Denmark is a worker, who is a farmer or a professor. They have more or less the same standard of life; and they have more or less the same way of living. This is an achievement of social democracy."

Mr. Jakobsen further said, "Because the Social Democratic Party of Denmark has been in power for about 40 years it was asked whether there was no danger of stagnation facing the Party. Of course, there is such a danger. But we have not yet reached our goal; much work remains to be done. Our Socialism, by the way, does not mean nationalization—ownership by the State of all means of production. It rather means national control of the means of production. We have very largely achieved that.

"The achievements of our social democracy have been mainly through trade unionism. Every worker in Denmark is a member of some trade union and trade unions have been fighting for higher and higher wages. The average wage of a worker is about half of that of a professor. There is many-sided social legislation in Denmark. There is old age pension, insurance against sickness, unemployment, etc."

After the speech there were questions and answers:

**Question**: What part does the Socialist youth play in the development of the country?

**Answer**: The Socialist youth does not play any great part in politics. It is played by the Party. Maybe this is a sign of stagnation, to which reference was made. There is, of course, a Socialist youth movement in Denmark. But the youth movements of all the parties are at present rather weak. One of the reasons may be that there are not great differences between political parties, because differences between classes are not great. In the 20s, when there were greater social-differences, there was a strong youth movement interested in social problems. But now the youths are more interested in the problems pertaining to their own peculiar needs.

**Question**: Does the Danish Government fire on Danish workers?

**Answer**: Why should it fire? The Government of Denmark is a Socialist Government and the workers are also Socialists. You do not expect a Socialist Government to fire on Socialist workers.

**Question**: Is there workers' participation in the management in Denmark?

**Answer**: Yes. There is a board on which there are representatives of owners, workers and consumers. They discuss various things connected with the industry and conditions of work. Sharing of profits is however not normal. In Denmark industry is privately owned but strictly controlled by the Government.

**Question**: What are the differences in income in Denmark?

**Answer**: I cannot give you exact figures but generally the differences are as follows:

- The proportion between the lowest wage of a worker and the highest wage is 1 to 2 or 3.
- Between workers and civil servants 1 to 5.
- Between owners and workers there are no great visible difference in the way of living. Of course, the income of some capitalist is very great, but the taxes also are great.

Very very few people in Denmark get 10 times as much as an average worker.

**Question**: What is the difference between your Socialism and Yugoslav Socialism?

**Answer**: Our Socialism is democratic. If a man like Djilas writes a good book attacking the Government he would in Denmark earn a lot of money and enjoy great publicity. In Yugoslavia he is put into jail. In Yugoslavia they don't tolerate political opposition. Our Socialism exists to enrich political democracy.

**Question**: Can you tell us something about the co-operative movements in Denmark?
**Answer:** I am not an expert on co-operation. I know as much of Danish co-operation as the average intelligent Dane. From what I know I can say that co-operation in Denmark is different from co-operation in your country. I saw a co-operative farm in Poona. That I would have called a collective farm. The land was owned in common. Our farmers do not own the land collectively. They own it individually. Co-operation comes in for the disposal of farm products like cheese, eggs, butter, etc.

There are another type of co-operatives. For instance, in our villages there are very few private merchants. Consumer goods shops are co-operatively owned. Here in India I see too many people engaged in selling in many very small shops. I believe it would be a great advantage if those people were producing wares, not selling them.

**UTTAR PRADESH**

**Stop Sugar Cane Supply**

The PSP sub-committee on sugar-cane met at Lucknow, on January 20 in the state office of the Party. The Committee decided to observe January 28, 1958 as DEMAND’S DAY. It also decided to give a call to the cane-growers of the State to stop supply of sugar-cane to the mills if their demands are not conceded.

Leaders have left for different districts for organizing the cane-growers to muster strong at the call of the party.

In a resolution the Cane sub-committee has expressed its deep concern over the attitude of the U.P. Government and that of certain political parties in dealing with the question of increasing sugar-cane prices.

The PSP has consistently tried to deal this question on purely economic level and not to give the government and the mill-owners a chance to deride the legitimate claims of the cane growers as political stunt of interested parties. With this consideration in view the party emphasised time and again the decisions of the Bihar and U.P. legislatures in this connection and advised the concerned interests to settle thispute through mutual negotiations and consultations.

The committee urged upon the mill-owners and the U.P. Government to see the light of reason and justice and hopes that by conceding the demand of peasants they will avert the catastrophe which is bound to hamper production in the sugar industry. In the name of peasants’ solidarity the committee appealed to all political parties not to fritter away their energies in sporadic actions and invited all concerned to extend their full co-operation in leading this struggle to success.

**WEST BENGAL**

**Netaji’s Birthday**

A public meeting was held on 23rd January 1959 at Sainthia under the auspices of PSP to observe the birth-day of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Shri Nihir Lal Chatterjee, M.L.A., Shri Kashi Nath Saha, Shri Kanai Lal Das and Shri Shridhan Chandra Ghosh delivered speeches regarding patriotism, valour, sacrifice and sufferings of Netaji in the battle of freedom of India, and appealed to the people to work for the achievement of economic and social emancipation of the country on the Socialist outlook of Netaji.

**BOMBAY**

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay) was held on 31st January and 1st of February, 1959 under the chairmanship of Shri N. G. Goray, General Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party and Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party (Maharashtra).

The following Resolutions were passed:—

**New Union in Cotton Textiles**

“The Executive Committee of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay) has given its serious consideration to the situation arising out of the formation of the new Union of Cotton Textile workers in the city of Bombay.

“The Executive Committee regrets the fact that though a large number of Party members expressed their disapproval of the formation of the new Union and have refrained from joining it, they have failed to dissuade Com. S. M. Joshi and some other Party members from participation in the new Union.

“The Executive Committee, after reviewing the present situation in the Cotton Textiles, reaffirm its faith in the General Policy of the Party to support the H.M.S. affiliated Unions and expects that in the interests of the unity and solidarity of the Party, the members of the P.S.P. refrain from participation in the new Union and concentrate their energies on strengthening the H.M.S.-affiliated Cotton Mill Mazdoor Sabha.”

**Kerosene Scarcity**

“The Executive Committee of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay) regrets, that in spite of the assurances given to the delegation of the Party which waited upon the Minister for Civil Supplies, the scarcity of kerosene in different parts of the city is acute.

“The Executive Committee suggests that the Government should immediately arrange for the distribution of kerosene through Fair Price shops and Co-operative societies and directs the members of the Party from the city in the Bombay Assembly to raise the issue on the floor of the Assembly.

“The Executive Committee further decides to organize a march on the Bombay Assembly to focus the attention of the people and the Government on the problem of kerosene shortage.”

**Anomalies in Bus Fares**

“The Executive Committee of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay) has noted the concern expressed by the citizens of Bombay over the revised bus fares and is of the opinion that the B.E.S. & T. Committee of Bombay Municipal Corporation should remove the anomalies in the bus fares and devise means to give to the travelling public to whatever relief is possible.”

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BOMBAY 2
LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Adulteration in Gramodyog Goods

WITH much regret and sorrow I wish to bring to the public notice certain facts which have come to my knowledge regarding the authenticity and honesty of the several organisations affiliated to the All-India Khadi and Gramodyog Board.

Some months back I purchased a pair of Gramodyogi chappals made out of Ahimsak leather from the Gramodyog Bhandar, Indore. After some months when the worn straps of the chappals gave way I realized to my great amazement that they contained a thick lining of rexin, a mill-made artificial leather. I brought this to the notice of the Secretary, Madhya Bharat Khadi Sangh, who admitted the presence of rexin in the chappals and asked that they be returned to the Gramodyog Bhandar. He further wrote to say that since the manufacturers of that chappals were certified by the Khadi Gramodyog Commission, Lucknow, the entire blame lay with them.

A letter of enquiry was written to Gramodyog Mandir, Rajkot (Saurashtra) where the chappals had been made. The contents of the letter of the Chief Manager, Gramodyog Mandir, Rajkot horrified me when I realized how my great amazement of them contained a thick lining of rexin, a mill-made artificial leather. I brought this to the notice of the Manager, Gramodyog Bhandar, Indore, he told me that rexin used in their chappals was pure Gramodyogi. But later on he very wisely wrote in reply to a letter of mine that just as we tolerate a mill-made thread in sewing similarly we should tolerate it here also. He further wrote, "the way Gramodyogs are being mass produced, there is no guarantee of full implementation of pledges."

It means that this Bhandar as well as Rajkot centre do not treat the use of Ahimsak leather as an article of faith. Gramodyogs to them is not associated with the principle of Truth, Non-violence and Social Justice. It is merely a commercial policy that is highly flexible and violable.

These instances are only straws in the wind. On the one hand, Vinoba and these institutions are preaching the Nation to take a pledge of Gramodyog and, on the other hand, confession by the same institutions that Gramodyog pledges cannot be practiced safely in the present mode of mass production of goods. If Gramodyogs do not appear suitable to the present climate and Gramodyog preachers are willing to make all sorts of marriages of convenience, then, why so much hue and cry for the Gramodyogs? The argument advanced in favour of tolerating mill-made materials in the production of Gramodyog goods will ultimately lead to a negation of Gramodyog as a moral and ethical concept. That will mean a surrender to the large-scale mechanization that Vinoba abhors.

Two important questions arise from this adulteration. Firstly, Are the persons in charge of Gramodyogs clear in their minds about its philosophy? If it is not practicable and needs adulteration then arises another question, whether there is something wrong fundamentally with the philosophy if persons in charge do not practice according to the philosophy of Gramodyogs. Secondly, How far is it justified to deceive the public by an organisation inspired by Gandhian ideals?

Not to speak of the Gramodyog institutions, there is not the least justification even for an ordinary man to advertise one thing and do another. If products are advertised as Ahimsak, they should be strictly Ahimsak. The adulteration discussed above is leading the Gramodyog bodies to a policy of dishonesty and untruth that is shameful to say the least.

It is sad indeed that such a rot is setting in in the philosophy of Khadi and Gramodyog. It needs serious heart searching on the part of its leaders who are wasting invaluable human and material resources for preaching the principles and philosophies which are respected more in their violation.

— Diwan Chandra Wadhwa


THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The next issue of "JANATA" will be devoted to the Third Five-Year Plan and will carry articles by Asoka Mehta, Bohit Dave, Prof. M. L. Dantwala and others.

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investment, e.g. the United States: nearly a billion pound sterling of British investments were in the States; (2) portfolio investments were as advantageous as direct, entrepreneurial, e.g. in the U.S. a total change-over on these lines had been usefully carried out; (3) heavy export of capital was starving and weakening the home industries. French foreign investments amounted to less than £2,000,000,000, or one-sixth of the national wealth. French investments were usually debt rather than equity financing. The spirit of rentier survived all frontiers! By 1914, a fourth of the French foreign investments were in Russia, obviously political rather than financial investments, as 1,600,000 Frenchmen ruefully discovered in 1917. From 1878, however, France had pursued a policy of planned home investments also: Charles de Freycinet's (1828-1923) programme of public works—construction of 5,141 kilometers of railways between 1878-82, had initiated a new policy.
Implementation of Third Plan

This year's Address of the President to Parliament is devoted mainly to the economic and financial problems facing the country, though as is customary some salient features of the work of other Ministries have also been included in the Address.

This is important in view of the studies now going on in the Planning Commission and in various Ministries for preparing a plan-frame for the Third Plan. The President informed the members of Parliament that it is proposed to prepare preliminary draft outlines of plan-frame for the Third Plan by the end of this year. In view of this, one would have expected a realistic appreciation of the economic situation we are facing and the steps which the Government proposes to take to deal with that situation. Unfortunately, very little light is thrown in the Address either on the situation or on the steps proposed to be taken.

One of the most important developments which the framers of the draft outline will have to take note of is the erratic movements in prices for which no rational explanation in terms of market forces is available.

As is mentioned in the Address we have a very good rice crop this year and the present indications are that the rabi crop will be good. And yet the prices on the produce market fail to register a substantial fall and there are local rises in prices at many places. This clearly indicates that the administration has failed to evolve a machinery that would keep the prices under control even when the crops are good and supply of foodgrains is plentiful. Obviously, the traders are still at liberty to manipulate markets in their own interests and the Government is a helpless spectator unable to protect the interests of the public.

This fact has to be taken note of when we are thinking of maintaining an accelerating tempo of development already attained. The threat of socialisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains has no effect on the market. That the rise in prices is due to speculative activities is borne out by some drop in prices on the warning by the Forward Market Commission to take steps to check speculation in foodgrains. Unless we are able to evolve a machinery that can effectively check speculation in commodities all the efforts at planning would fail to achieve the objectives which the Planning Commission has in mind.

In fact, the central issue of planning has still to be tackled by the Planning Commission and the Government. Planning means conscientious and
HOMAGE TO ACHARYA NARENDRA DEVA

Acharya Narendra Deva, father of the Socialist Movement in India, passed away on the 19th of February, 1956. Three years have now passed by. But the sense of personal bereavement, that each one of us had then, has not in any way diminished. His supreme sacrifice, while it left the Party virtually orphaned, stemmed the process of disruption and enabled us to master it. On the 19th of this month we shall pay our grateful homage to his memory.

He died so that the Praja Socialist Party may live. The Party is today not only alive but marching ahead with confidence. On the 19th of February we shall re-dedicate ourselves to the task of building up the Party he cherished more than his life.

Ganga Sharan Sinha,
Chairman, Praja Socialist Party.

deliberate attempts on the part of the authorities to control the market prices in such a way that they result in greater well-being of the community at large and not of a few who are able to manipulate markets in their own interests.

The Planning Commission while fully alive to the proposition has mainly relied on fiscal and credit policies to regulate the market prices. The debacle in the textile industry is enough to show how risky it is to rely solely on that fiscal policy to control supply, demand and prices. The excise duty on the textiles was meant to raise prices, to restrict demand and to increase export. The prices did rise and the demand was held in check, but exports refused to look up with the result that stocks got accumulated, some textile units were closed down, others had to reduce shifts and there was unemployment.

The only result of the fiscal policy was thus to create in the textile workers a general sense of insecurity. It is not possible to take shelter under the plea that the forces governing our exports are beyond the jurisdiction of the Government and, therefore, it was not possible to regulate that aspect of the Government's policy.

The Report of the Textile Enquiry Committee bears eloquent testimony to the distortions caused in the production pattern of the textile units—the distortions that discouraged exports and were responsible for the accumulation of stocks, at a time when internal demand was fairly heavy as can be gauged from the high ruling prices even in the face of accumulated stocks.

Developments in the engineering industries emphasise the other aspect of the failure on the part of the authorities to ensure planned development. Here productive capacities were greatly enlarged and the development tempo was much higher than envisaged in the Second Plan. And yet because of the foreign exchange crisis and the failure on the part of the planning authorities to provide for the raw materials to be imported from abroad, these capacities could not be fully utilised. We spent large amounts of precious foreign exchange in the development of engineering industry but the plants had to work at reduced capacity because of the non-availability of raw materials and again it is the workers who had to bear the burden of the mistakes of the planning authorities.

All these facts will have to be faced at the time of preparing the Third Plan. Unless an adequate implementing machinery is devised all our planning efforts will be in vain. What is worse it will enrich those who have means to take advantage of the violent fluctuations in prices that arise when planning goes wrong and will work against the interests of those who have to depend on the even working of the economy to earn their daily bread.

The creation of an effective implementing and controlling machinery is thus at the very heart of the problem we are facing. One would have expected some reference to this issue in the President's Address. Its omission makes one suspect that even after the bitter lessons learned during the last few years the Government has still not realised what is involved in planning. They continued to rely on emphasising the more hopeful aspects of the economic development and avoid the basic questions as to why the miseries of the people go on increasing in spite of the progress we are making in our economic development and to which pointed references have been made in the Address.

Another fact emerging from the President's Address which has a direct bearing on planning is the reluctance of the Government to face the problem as to why we failed to make progress during the Second Plan towards objectives specified in that Plan. We are now told that the Government of India has accepted as the principal objectives: "a substantial increase in national income, rapid industrialisation, expansion of employment on a sufficient scale and a reduction in inequalities of income and wealth." These were the objectives defined in the Second Plan also. We know that these objectives are not likely to be fulfilled during the Second Plan period.

It is, therefore, necessary to address ourselves to the question: why has the Plan devised to achieve these objectives failed to realise them? Unless we face this question squarely it will not be possible to ensure that the Third Plan will be more successful in making advance towards these objectives. There is still a year in hand before the Third Plan draft outline is to be published. It will be necessary to utilize this period in tackling these issues and finding solutions for them.
SOME THOUGHTS ON THE THIRD PLAN

THE debate on India's Third Five-Year Plan has already started. Should it be another big plan? Do not the needs of the country, economic as well as political, require that the tempo of development be kept up? Is it not self-evident that slackening is suicidal? As against that, others turn to our shrinking resources, to the accumulated cost and the as yet meagre results of the Second Plan. On such slender and insecure resources is it wise to raise the fabric of another plan? Did not the large gap in foreign exchange, and the difficulties it caused, uncover the inherent danger in a plan so dependent on external assistance?

Further, by the end of the Second Plan, our foreign debts will amount to Rs. 1,300 crores and in the Third Plan period not only Rs. 60 to Rs. 65 crores will have to be provided annually as interest, but nearly Rs. 423 crores will have to be repaid. With these liabilities is it not better to have a pause of consolidation, particularly because increased taxes and rise in prices have put heavy strain on the people, who deserve a respite?

It is necessary to analyse the arguments on both sides in order to discover whether it is possible to transcend the debate and thereby resolve it.

I

CONTESTANTS on both sides of the debate will agree that those schemes from the Second Plan (and from the First too) that are under construction and may not be completed by the end of the Second Plan must be pushed ahead and wherewithals found to complete them. It is not possible to provide an estimate of the spill-over, but it is likely to be significant.

Irrigation Potential

It will likewise be readily agreed on both sides that productive resources created must be fully utilized. This has not always happened. The irrigation potential created, mainly with major and medium irrigation schemes, has often remained unutilized because either distributories have not been constructed or the rates have been so high as to be unattractive to the cultivator. It is not always realised that to induce the peasant to use irrigation facilities, he has to be provided with the necessary credit and help to change his rhythm of life and work. Irrigation remains inadequately utilized if it is used only as a standby for bad monsoon; it must lead to double or multiple crops; and for these, persuasion, demonstration and assistance—all have a part to play. The efficacy of a betterment levy in bringing about the transformation needs to be dispassionately assessed. All this envisions a determined follow-up work

by

Asoka Mehta

in the wake of important development projects, particularly in the agricultural sector.

It would be useful, as a prelude to the Third Plan, to find out where, through comparatively minor additions and alterations, replacements and modernisation, production can be stepped up and led to fuller use of the existing capacity. Such items should naturally receive high priority in the Third Plan.

Planners' Task

It will be agreed on all sides that by the end of the Second Plan and in the early stages of the Third Plan a tidying up operation should be carried out. It is the task of the Planning Commission to spell out in details this operation.

II

NOW let us consider the needs of development. No serious person will want to discuss our needs in abstract or ideal terms. It is futile to compare India's miserable per capita income of $56 a year with that of the U.S.A. ($1,960) or the United Kingdom ($836) or even Japan ($212). The difference threatens to increase from year to year, and there can be for us no question of catching up with the West and surpassing it. On the basis of projections made in the earlier plans, i.e., on the basis of bigger and bigger plans involving higher effort (because the rate of investment is expected to increase with every plan from 5 to 7 to 10 (or 11) to 14 to 17 per cent of the expanding national income), the per capita income would be just $100 by 1973-74. To move away from the projection is to abandon even this pitiful hope of a 50-dollar increase in the per capita income over a period of 25 years.

Events have proved the projection to be over-optimistic. The various prunings of the Second Plan and the rise in prices which has made the physical content of the plan smaller than assumed in financial terms, will make it impossible to achieve 25 per cent increase in the national income as envisaged in the Plan. Add to it the rate of population growth, which has proved to be an under-estimate. The Plan had assumed the rate of growth of 1.2 per cent a year; it now appears that the rate is nearer 2 than 1 per cent. This higher rate reduces the per capita income, that it flattens out the curve of increase. Per capita income suffers from both sides: the cake of national income will not be of the size envisaged in the Second Plan and the number of sharers will be larger. Slackening of the development effort affects adversely the size of the cake and its rate of expansion, without checking in any way the rate of growth of population.

Standstill Plan

The problem can also be stated differently. The net national income of India in 1956-57 was estimated at Rs. 1,100 crores. With the population increasing between 1.75 to 2 per cent, the increase in income necessary for the purpose of merely preventing the standard of living from going down is about Rs. 200 crores a year. A larger investment is necessary to produce this quantum of increase in national income; the actual size will depend on the ratio between capital and output. In agriculture and crafts the ratio is lower, as was the case with the First Plan (1.8:1), but then it demands greater organisational effort; in industry the ratio is higher in the Second Plan the ratio is likely to
be 2.5:1 or even 3:1. An investment of at least Rs. 500 crores a year is needed to maintain our meagre standard of living; that means even a standstill plan requires an investment outlay of Rs. 2,500 crores over a period of five years.

A standstill plan might harden the rigidities of economy; in an expanding economy it is easier to soften disparities. A standstill plan would involve a freeze in social reform and change. If the elbow room needed for such change is to be obtained, the national income must increase at least by 2 per cent a year, which means an investment of another Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 crores a year. The minimum outlay thus works out to Rs. 5,000 to 6,000 crores over a plan period.

Scope for Jobs

Then there is the question of employment.

In the Second Plan the back-log of unemployment from previous years was estimated at 5 million, and it was believed that there would be another 10 million new entrants in the labour field seeking employment. The employment potentiality of the Second Plan was put at 8 million. In view of the shortfalls in the Plan, actual employment found may not exceed 5 to 6 million. Because the rate of growth of population has turned out to be higher than estimated, in future the number of new entrants will go up. If any worthwhile impact is to be made on unemployment, the Third and further plans must provide for 10 million or more jobs. That has undoubtedly considerable relevance on the pattern of the plans, but none can gainsay the need for substantial investment.

The traditional social and economic order covers up a lot of under-employment. As the old social mores weaken and the traditional order decays, as they must, the veiled unemployment will come in the open. Any neglect of employment is thus instinct with disaster.

This prospectus of our needs shows that we cannot bound our horizon by a static conception of our resources. Resources are never given; they depend on our ability to use. The ability is a function of policy and organisation of will and wisdom. It is imperative to discover the element of resiliency in our resources and exploit it to the full, because it would be courting disaster to operate on the adage, "Cut your coat according to your cloth".

III

BEFORE we turn to our resources position, it is necessary to find out whether we have in the past eight years of planning used our resources wisely. Has there been any real development?

I do not propose to discuss alternate patterns of planning that were open for the Second Plan. For the Third Plan it is a vital, because open, question. For the Second Plan, which was adopted by the Parliament and accepted somewhat generally by the electorate, the relevant question is to examine the use of resources within the framework of the Plan.

Food Front

It is often argued that in spite of the large expenditure on irrigation, etc., the food problem remains intractable. It is also argued, often by the same persons, that the main defect of the Second Plan has been the inadequate allocation for agriculture. Even after conceding elements of truth in both these criticisms, I would like to point out that our food production has been steadily going up. There may be seasonal fluctuations (and the inadequate utilization of irrigation potential created becomes doubly disturbing when these fluctuations are noted), but for the country as a whole the trend of production is upward. There are regions of stagnant production, and there intensive study and intensive efforts are necessary. The food problem remains intractable not because production is stagnant, but because demand is moving up fast.

It is neglect of the uncoiling of demand that leads even intelligent people to berate imports and bemoan our failure on the food front. The failure will emerge in the right focus only when facts, as they are, are first recognised. Failures there have been; they have been partly administrative, largely organisational, and it will help to remedy the failures if the statement of the problem remains clear. It is significant to note that in some States even the present allocations for agriculture remain partially unused. Until the administration is geared up and organisational channels set out, the bottle-neck will not be finance.

It is often suggested that a great part of the resources raised have been diverted to non-development activities. The defence expenditure has gone up (from Rs. 170.96 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 278.14 crores in 1958-59). So has the expenditure on civil administration. Even in development services, like C. D. and N.E.S., it is generally agreed that expenditure on buildings and staff has been disproportionate. Having conceded this, let us get the right perspective.

Expenditure Details

Total development expenditure, both on revenue and capital accounts, has increased from Rs. 490 crores (in 1951-52) to Rs. 1,480 crores (in 1958-59), an increase of 200 per cent. The non-development expenditure has increased, in the same period, from Rs. 538 to Rs. 809 crores, or by 50 per cent. Development expenditure as percentage of total expenditure has increased from 47.6 to 64.6 per cent.

A detailed break-up of development expenditure of the Centre and the States, both within and outside the plan, suggests that in the first three years of the Second Plan (1956-59) Rs. 4,068 crores have been spent as against Rs. 3,182 crores during the entire First Plan (1951-56). Even the social services, that have been axed during the appraisal and re-appraisal of the Second Plan, have received Rs. 3 crores more (Rs. 637 crores as against Rs. 634 crores) during 1956-59 compared to 1951-56. For agriculture, irrigation, power, transport, communications and industries the expenditure in 1956-59 is Rs. 2,579 crores as against Rs. 1,801 crores in 1951-56.

There has been a stepping up of investment in the economy: it was 5 per cent in 1951, 7 per cent in 1956; currently it is running at 10-11 per cent. A higher proportion of an expanding national income is being invested; in the public sector the set-up has been from Rs. 212 crores (in 1951-52) to Rs. 860 crores (1958-59) and in the private sector investment is today around Rs. 470 crores.

In terms of the net capital formation on Government account the position is far from unsatisfactory. In the First Plan period it was (Continued on page 9)
COMPULSIONS OF THE THIRD PLAN

It is now being authoritatively stated that the Third Five-Year Plan will be very much bigger than the Second Plan. A big and bold plan has a mass appeal and it is but natural that political leadership in the country should want to exploit it. But the question we should ask is: is that the only qualification for a bigger plan? Viewed as an instrument of all round national progress, is a “bigger” plan justified? Later, we will have to ask one—or two—more questions. However desirable a bigger plan may be, is the economy of the country and, what is equally important, are its social and political institutions capable of sustaining such a plan? It is often argued, and rightly, that the resources in the economy are not fixed (pre-determined) and unalterable. Their mobilization depends a great deal upon the type of social and political institutions and above all on the evocation ability of the leadership. If so and assuming that the requisite leadership would be available, what changes in the existing institutions would be necessary for the mobilisation of the resources that would be needed for a “bigger” plan?

Justification of the Bigger Plan

Let us first look into the economic (or other than purely political) justification of the bigger plan. According to the original estimates of the Second Five-Year Plan, the National Income is estimated to reach Rs. 13,480 crores (at 1952-53 prices) by 1960-61. The corresponding figure of per capita income of Rs. 331 cannot, however, be considered as quite firm, inasmuch as this figure is based on an estimated average annual increase of 1.25 per cent in population. What little evidence is available to-date, suggests that the population is increasing at a much faster rate and a figure of 1.5—or may be 1.75—would be more realistic. In that case the per capita National Income will be nearer to Rs. 327 (or may be Rs. 323 than Rs. 331 estimated in the Plan. No elaborate reasoning is necessary to show that this level of average income is deplorably low and presents a challenge to the planning effort of the nation.

In the sphere of employment, the picture is not likely to be more assuring. The Second Five-Year Plan estimated that 15.3 million job opportunities will have to be created “if unemployment was to be eradicated during the Second Plan period”. As against this, the investment of Rs. 6,200 crores in the private and public sectors was estimated to provide 8 million jobs by the end of 1960-61, leaving a backlog of 7 million. As it is, the rise in prices and the cut of Rs. 300 crores in the plan outlay in the public sector will reduce the physical content of the outlay, correspondingly reducing its employment potential. A recent estimate puts the employment potential of the revised Second Five-Year Plan at 64 million which will leave a backlog of unemployment much larger than 7 million estimated in the Plan.

This persistence of the two biggest economic maladies of the low incomes (poverty) and unemployment despite the efforts of the two Five-Year Plans cannot be viewed with complacency. If the Third Five-Year Plan also indicates the inability to provide any marked relief in the situation, people will lose faith in India’s future and the disastrous social and political consequence of such a state of mind can be easily imagined. A bigger and bolder Plan is an imperative obligation and not merely a matter of choice or an election bait.

Is Such a Plan Feasible?

But as pointed out earlier, a question may be asked: however desirable a bigger Plan may be, is such a plan feasible? If the economy has not just got the strength to move faster, any attempt to force the pace may make matters worse. If discretion, in this case, is a better part of valour, why not face the facts and take the people in confidence rather than feed them on hopes which, we should know, can never be fulfilled!

In assessing the economy’s capacity to achieve a particular rate of progress, the actual experience of the past 7 or 8 years would be extremely relevant. Some basic facts regarding our past performance are reviewed below.

The most crucial factor in the process of development is the rate of capital formation which, in its turn, largely depends or should depend—on the genuine savings of the community. Capital formation can also be accomplished through savings which the people outside the country may lend (or donate), that is, through foreign borrowings, which sooner or later—if not by our generation, by the next—will have to be repaid. As regards what we have called the genuine savings of the people, some distinctions need to be made. Firstly, there may be past savings which we may utilise for current purposes, as we have done by withdrawing our sterling balances. Secondly, speaking of the Public Sector, there is a distinction between the tax income (revenue surpluses) of the Government and the “borrowings” (loans, small savings, etc.). The latter, though they may be considered genuine savings of the people, are a liability of Government inasmuch as repayments have to be made, in the ultimate analysis, from the revenue surpluses. Deficit financing also, in a sense, represents “savings” and genuine too, (though not voluntary but forced) inasmuch as the money is found and actually utilised for productive purposes.

Plan Outlay

Let us now see the past record and analyse it in terms of the categories noted above. Figures of capital formation are difficult to calculate and are not readily available. The analysis is, therefore, made of the Plan Outlay in Government sector which besides the amount spent on creation of productive assets includes expenditure on social services, etc. The table below gives figures of Plan Outlay on Government account and the sources from which it was financed during the First Plan and the first three years of the Second Plan.
### First Plan Period (Rs. in Crores)

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<th>Total Outlay</th>
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<tr>
<td>Financed by:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Current Savings of Govt.</td>
<td>689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Voluntary Savings of the Private Sector mobilised by Govt.</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) External assistance</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Deficit Financing</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### First Three Years of second Plan* (Rs. in Crores)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Outlay</th>
<th>2,466</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financed by:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Current Savings of Govt.</td>
<td>554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Voluntary Savings of the Private Sector mobilised by Govt.</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) External assistance</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Deficit Financing</td>
<td>882</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1957-58 Revised Estimate, 1958-59 Budget estimates

---

As will be seen from the above table, the financial outlay of Rs. 2,012 crores during the First Plan period was financed to the extent of 34.2 per cent by "Revenue Surplus", 29.2 per cent. by borrowings (public loans, small savings etc.), 10.1 per cent. by external assistance and 26.5 per cent. by deficit financing. During the first 3 years of the Second Plan, the pattern of financing has been radically altered, a fact which has not yet received sufficient attention. During this period, there was acceleration in the Plan expen-

---

**Of course mine is a safe job!**

*We*: It's secure, yes. Nobody is going to sack you!

*The Boss*: And I sit behind a desk all day— no danger in that.

*We*: What about danger from dirt? Dirt carries disease-causing germs, you know!

*The Boss*: Interesting! But since mine is a spotless office...

*We*: Yes, but even here there's ordinary, everyday dirt. You may not notice it—but you can't escape it anywhere.

*The Boss*: Good Heavens! Never thought of that!

*We*: Don't panic! Just make it a habit to bathe the healthy way and...

wash away the germs in dirt with

**LIFEBUOY SOAP**

—and enjoy that healthy feeling of freshness!
diture, the annual average increasing from Rs. 402 crores in the First Five-Year Plan to Rs. 822 crores. But to this progress, Revenue Surpluses made only a meagre contribution of 22.5 per cent; borrowings provided 23.2 per cent, (as against 29.2 per cent. during the First Plan), while as much as 54.3 per cent. was contributed by external assistance (18.6 per cent.) and deficit financing (38.7 per cent).

If the “current savings of the Government” were able to contribute no more than 23 per cent. to this achievement, and nearly one-fifth had to come from abroad and more importantly as much as 38 per cent. had to be forced out of the people through deficit financing one cannot but take a rather pessimistic view of the intrinsic strength of the economy to sustain further rapid economic development. It may be argued that the meagre contribution of “current savings of Government” indicates the inability of the Government to promote and mobilise savings rather than the intrinsic capacity of the economy. This may or may not be so. Yet one cannot ignore the fact that every section of the community today considers the tax levels as excessive.

**Domestic Resources**

It should be further noted that at the present level of taxation, the contribution of revenue surplus to development in the Third Five-Year Plan will be smaller still, because of the increase in the maintenance expenditure—which will be categorised as non-developmental on projects executed during the Second Plan. If the contribution of revenue surplus to development in the Third Plan is likely to be insignificant, we will have to depend largely on borrowings, external aid and deficit financing. The scope for deficit financing will depend upon availability of wage goods

The relevance of appropriate institutional set up for purposes of mobilising domestic resources is illustrated by a recent suggestion that “the pricing policy of public enterprise must be formulated with a view to maximising the surplus of receipts over costs”. In other words, public enterprises should deliberately endeavour to make a profit and thereby contribute to the resources of the State. While, in principle, there could be no objection to the public enterprises, in suitable spheres, making a profit, in practice, it might prove to be difficult to implement such a policy. Take, for instance, State Trading in foodgrains. If the State becomes the principal buyer and the seller of foodgrains, there would be severe pressure, on the one hand, from the farmers to maintain high purchase price and, on the other, from the consumers to keep the sale price low. Political pressures from both sides would make it impossible for the State Trading authority to make profits. The recent rise in prices of foodgrains, in spite of a very favourable production position, may be due to the manipulations of the traders, but it is also suggested that the farmers are withholding supply in expectation of realising higher prices when the State Purchase Scheme begins to operate.

### III

**Institutional Devices**

How, then can we have a “bigger” Plan? What will be the sources from which we will finance it, however desirable a bigger Plan may be? Strangely, the politician does not seem to be worried about this. On the contrary, he thinks that professors and such other experts have limited vision and are obsessed with out-dated text-books. Achievements of China and Soviet Russia are cited to disprove the dismal resource assessments by economists. Being a good democrat, however, he believes that the strategy of totalitarian planning could be adopted, minus its violence and suppression of individual freedom.

Perhaps there is an area, as yet not fully explored, which lies between full-fledged totalitarianism and the sort of “mixed” economic system adopted for implementing the First and the Second Plans. Its exploration is not an easy exercise; and if the economists have not done much serious thinking over it, neither have the politicians done more than pin their faith in a few panaceas such as co-operative farming, State Trading and vaguely hinted at compulsory social service.

Each one of these institutional devices has great potentialities, but the exact contribution they can make to mobilisation of resources for development and the modus operandi of harnessing them for the purpose, have not yet been meticulously worked out. In fact, it is doubtful whether the objective of all these institutional changes, as development or merely distributive conceived by their advocates, is justice.

The task of designing out institutional changes geared to development cannot be performed singly by an individual or even by exclusive groups, political or professional. It will have to be entrusted to composite Working Parties or Panels of politicians, administrators, technicians and social scientists.

Then, there is another fact to reckon with. The immediate effect of any radical institutional change may involve a certain amount of dislocation. During this period the results may be contradictory to the expectations. Prices may rise; production may fall. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that the change must be quick and decisive. While the new pattern must be well thought out there must not be a long lapse of time between the announcement of a policy and its implementation.

Our previous record in this respect is not at all creditable. The policy of ceiling on land holdings was announced as early as the First Five-Year Plan. Seven years after, the process of implementation is far from complete. The outcome of the Nagpur Resolution will have to be eagerly watched. Apart from shaking people's confidence in the intentions of the Government, it has created a lot of uncertainty which am sure has had an adverse effect on agricultural production. The Tenancy Reform too, which was avowedly intended to impart security of tenure to a large population of cultivating tenants, did, in fact, accelerate evictions and changes in tenancy.

There is no evidence of the Government having benefited by this experience. Policies continue to be announced with scant consideration of the Government's ability or preparedness to implement them. Working groups are hastily constituted after the announcement of policies to examine their implications and even then the organisational machinery needed for implementation is left to be thought of by the civil service. By this time, the vested...
interest muster their forces, some high level lobbying is done, doubts are born and "the native hue of Resolution is sickled over by the pale cast of thought".

Implementation of Policies
Implementation of policies involving revolutionary institutional changes cannot be accomplished by the civil service, however efficient it may be. In China and Russia, where such changes have been accomplished, the party cadres played a dominant role, of course with added "advantage" that no dissenting voice was permitted to sow doubts in people's minds.

We in India will have to invent a political system which while permitting dissent would enable mobilisation of an army of workers in the task of reconstruction and development. I do not know whether this is asking for the impossible, but I am sure nothing short of a National Government which has the backing of a vast majority of the people will make it possible.

The news that the Congress has decided to implement the land reforms including the ceilings on existing holdings latest by the end of 1959 is indeed welcome. But the much more significant decision is the clear indication that ultimate goal of land reforms would be co-operative joint farming. Personally, I doubt whether all its social, technical and organisational implications have as yet been fully thought out. What is welcome, however, is the end—one hopes—of hesitation and equivocation of this question. Once the pattern of land ownership and use is determined, the rest must follow in a consistent and logical course. Unrestricted individual ownership and profit motive in the non-agricultural sector must wither away not soon after.

The Testing Time
It is all to the good that the compulsion of formulating a bigger Third Five-Year Plan has posed the issues which the people must face in a sharper focus. It has not only compelled serious thinking but has begun to reveal the shape of the institutional pattern to come.

The transition towards the new institutional set-up will be smooth if it is accompanied or preferably proceeded by an intense educational effort to inculcate attitude and values implicit in the social order we are endeavouring to establish.

The next two years will be the testing time for people's faith in the socialist pattern of society with all its implications in terms of future hope and immediate sacrifice. It is as much a testing time for the leadership to convince the people of their earnestness and ability to usher the revolutionary changes.

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Concrete Roads

stand the test of time and traffic

The ever-growing traffic in India needs concrete roads, because:

Concrete Roads
- Cost less to build than any other road of equal load-carrying capacity
- Cost less to maintain
- Give long years of service
- Give better visibility
- Help to avoid accidents

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THE ASSOCIATED CEMENT COMPANIES LIMITED
The Cement Marketing Company of India Private Ltd.
(Continued from page 4)

Rs. 1,502 crores while in 1956-59 it is Rs. 2,165 crores. Some assets are being built up.

If notwithstanding these development activities, we feel in many spheres inadequacy of development, what would be the position if the effort is slowed down? (I recognise the possible advantage of allocating the available resources in different proportions between the sectors, and the advantage in altering the phasing of activities. But that is another plane of debate that we shall reach later).

The net criticism is that the development effort, whatever be its worth, is being attempted at the cost of unbearable burdens on the people.

New Taxation

Let us then study the pattern of additional taxation in the two plan periods. In 1951-56 Rs. 278.8 crores were raised in additional taxes (Rs. 194.4 crores by the Centre and Rs. 80.4 crores by the States). Of these Rs. 60.4 crores were through direct taxes and Rs. 216.4 crores by indirect taxes). Between 1956-59, the tax burden has increased by Rs. 452.3 crores (Rs. 373 crores at the Centre, and Rs. 79.3 crores in the States). The break-up between direct and indirect taxes shows Rs. 53.7 crores from the former and Rs. 388.6 crores from the latter, in which Central excise duties account for Rs. 271.8 crores.

As far as new direct taxes are concerned, agriculturists during the two-Plan years, have paid only Rs. 11.4 and Rs. 7.3 crores as agricultural income-tax and increase in land revenue. Urban property owners have paid Rs. 49 and Rs. 46.4 crores. When the volume of development expenditure is taken into account (Rs. 7,250 crores in eight years), the increase in direct taxes is not crushing (though certain sections may have been hit). The quarrel is really with indirect taxes.

Government's development policies have necessitated restrictions on imports, encouragement of exports, and deficit financing. (Central Government's revenue surplus declined from Rs. 128.1 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 5.05 crores in 1957-58 only to be converted into a deficit of Rs. 27.02 crores in 1958-59). Such a policy inevitably exercises upward pressure on prices. (There has been an increase of 15 per cent between 1956-59 as against a decline of 7 per cent in 1951-56). Most of the commodities that pay additional excise duties would have suffered price rise. The consumer would have paid more in any event. It would have been very difficult to get at the windfall profits of manufacturers and traders through direct taxation. The choice was between permitting certain classes to make extra gains or getting them for the Exchequer. The choice never existed between stable prices and the increased prices the consumer was foredoomed to pay more.

Spread of Inflation

The argument then shifts to the policies pursued by the Government. Was it wise to follow such inflation-inducing policies?

The Plan outlay between 1956-59 was Rs. 2,466 crores. Of that amount, Rs. 554 crores came from budgetary surpluses (including contribution of Railways) produced by the sharp set-up in taxation. If that tax effort had not been made, the surplus would have disappeared. Loans, small savings, etc., accounted for Rs. 572 crores. It is doubtful if the banks would have subscribed to loans in the measure they did if the inflationary pressure in the economy had not provided them with boom conditions. External assistance amounted to Rs. 458 crores, at which cautious men prefer to look askance. Deficit financing accounted for Rs. 882 crores, which prudent finance frowned upon. If all the objectionable sources of financing are eschewed, the plan expenditure would have shrunk by 75 per cent. Would such a large-scale jettisoning of development projects—assuming that it was possible—have left the economy any healthier, or the people less burdened?

The choice is between two sets of discomfort. And the choice we made was not unwise.

This apologia does not mean that I condone extravagance and waste in administration and society. When our resource position is so difficult the two-fold waste is a crime. Checks against such waste need to be carefully worked out and condign punishment meted out to the guilty. I do not think, however, that by fanning the heat of my anger I make up for lack of light in understanding the basic realities of economics of development. If I emphasise the other side it is because it is so often overlooked.

IV

I SHALL be told that these long arguments do not add to our resources—which after all condition the size of the Third Plan. It is to that ultimate core of the Plan to which we must now turn.

The resources position has been deteriorating. A critic might call it Rake's Progress.

Exchange Position

The sterling balances with the Reserve Bank have come down from Rs. 746 crores at the beginning of the Second Plan to Rs. 190 crores (and that with a drawal equivalent to Rs. 95 crores from the I.M.F.). The total deficit on foreign exchange account will be nearer Rs. 2,000 crores than Rs. 1,100 crores as was estimated when the Plan was drawn up. That means that nearly a third (32 per cent) of the Plan outlay will come from foreign loans (23 per cent) and running down of our foreign balances (9 per cent). In the First Plan the comparable figure was Rs. 190 crores (6 per cent).

India's favourable terms of trade during the First Plan resulted in a gain of Rs. 325 crores. During the Second Plan, in the first two years, the gains dropped to Rs. 88 crores and a loss of Rs. 7 crores respectively.

Deficit financing for the first three years (1956-59) amount to Rs. 917 crores or 37.4 per cent of the Plan outlay during the period. During the remaining two years of the Plan, external assistance is expected to contribute Rs. 642 crores, deficit financing between Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores, and budgetary financing between Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores, and budgetary resources Rs. 900 crores (of which over Rs. 800 crores will be from loans and savings).

The following table gives a fuller insight into the financing of the Second Plan:

**READ**

Samajwadi Yuval Sabba
Publications

socialism—An Approach
By Rohit Dave 50 nP.

operative Socialism
By Amlan Datta Re. 1

Available from:
The Manager, "JANATA", 6, Tulloch Road, BOMBAY-1.
The Second Plan got into serious trouble in the second year itself. In that year Government's savings dropped to a fraction of the previous year, and loans and small savings yielded poor response. The Plan was kept afloat by deficit financing to the order of 70 per cent and external assistance of 15 per cent. In 1958-59, voluntary savings have shown buoyancy, but the Government has entered the phase of dis-saving!

Pay-rise Demand

It is in this context that the Report of the Central Pay Commission will have to be considered, the legitimacy of the claims of Government employees notwithstanding. An increment of Rs. 5 a month per employee means nearly Rs. 25 crores a year for the Central and State Governments (as there are 1.8 million employees of the Central Government and 2.1 million of State Governments, not to speak of 1.7 million employees of local bodies).

It is not easy to assess the resources available for the Third Plan. Budgetary surplus is likely to be non-existent. When one moves from one plan to the next, a number of activities started under the plan have to be continued, and it becomes expenditure outside for the next plan. That is why there is generally a sharp fall in the ratio of development expenditure to plan outlay, when a new plan is launched—generally from a little less than 2/3rds to a little over half. To add to development expenditure fresh draft on people's income becomes necessary. Even a standstill plan will need fresh tax effort, on a significant scale, in 1962.

There is therefore little hope of reduction in taxes and every prospect of new imposts. That underlines the imperative need for economy and vigilance. The Parliament needs a special committee on Economy and Expenditure as the U.K. had during the two World Wars. The yield from direct taxes needs to be improved. The Finance Ministry's complacency over the near-stagnation of the revenue (Rs. 187.6 crores in 1951-52; Rs. 220 crores in 1958-59), massive development expenditure notwithstanding, is disturbing. The findings of the Direct Taxes Administration Reforms (Tyagi) Committee will deserve close attention. There is tax evasion as well as escape from the tax net altogether. Through frequent sample surveys, incomes of different sections of traders, manufacturers, contractors and professional people need to be studied, particularly in major urban centres. Streams of incomes generated by the Government, e.g., through Rs. 1,000 crores...
spent on construction during the Second Plan, need to be followed to see what the Exchequer gets or fails to receive through their multiple effects.

**Tax ‘Brigades’**

The research unit of the C.B.R. needs to be greatly strengthened to enable it to provide suggestive data to tax officials for fruitful enquiries and significant checks. “Polyvalent brigades” of tax-officials connected to tax officials for fruitful enquiries and significant checks. “Polyvalent enable it to provide suggestive data with different tax authorities, e.g., sales tax, income-tax, need to ‘swoop down’ on different trades, etc., in different regions from time to time. It may be useful to consider carefully the desirability of nationalising book-keeping (as in Yugoslavia) to provide firm check on tax-dodging.

It will also be necessary to bring within the ambit of the expenditure tax larger number of persons. The need for austerity will demand stringent control on higher consumption. In the last analysis, it may be necessary to consider a once-for-all capital levy, to make the Third Plan possible.

It will be necessary to step up small savings drive, and extend to the farthest limits insurance prize-bonds and State lotteries need not be dismissed off-hand as has been our wont. All these efforts at economy in administration and efficiency in tax-gathering will not produce resources sufficient even for a standstill plan. What then shall we do?

Some people argue that provided production—particularly agriculture—goes up there is no harm, in deficit financing. This is a facile statement. Unless increase in production is first assured, deficit finance does not irrigate the economy, (that is make it more productive), but leads merely to “water-logging” (i.e., inflationary distortion of the economy).

The crisis that confronts the nation cannot be overcome in ostrichwise plunging our heads in what is fashionably called “a period of pause, of consolidation”. The crisis demands a thorough study of our resources.

Resources usually add up in terms of capital, land labour and organisation. It is the paucity of capital that plagues us with difficulties. Because of scarcity of capital, those who possess or obtain capital have to show great social responsibility. Gandhiji’s concept of ‘trustee” (or St. Aquinas’ concept of “stewardship”) has not only moral power but economic significance. The lack of capital has to be made up by the most productive use of land and labour, not by demanding additional doses of capital, (for it is not available) but by better organisation. The size of the Third Plan is thus determined by our organisational ability.

**V**

BEFORE we explore the difficult area of organisational efforts, it is useful to discuss briefly the pattern of the next plan, because not only the size but the pattern too depends, to a large measure, on our organisational effort.

Whether steel is the core of the plan is arguable, but none will contest the fact that agriculture is the base of the plan. Primacy of agricultural production is recognised and that gives a certain bias to the plan.

Growing unemployment makes it obligatory to have the next plan employment-oriented. It must create employment opportunities for many millions, which means large parts of the plan will have to be labour-intensive.

It will also be readily conceded that the growth of the developed sector should not be at the expense of the undeveloped sector. For example, in sugar industry the following position prevails:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Production (in Million)</th>
<th>Employment (in Thousands)</th>
<th>Capital (Rs. in Thous.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factory</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>39.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cottage</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>2,258</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Growth of the factor sector at the expense of the cottage production is no growth, but only increase in the misery of those rendered workless. The test of development lies in making the tools and techniques of cottage production more efficient.

**Organisational Change**

These are aims that command universal allegiance. Their realisation, however, creates the same problem that one meets within other kinds of planning. Productivisation of traditional methods, undoubtedly makes little claim on capital but a considerable draft on organisational effort. Sir Dennis Robertson, the eminent economist, has said somewhere, “The sacrifices necessary to achieve growth consist not merely in passive abstinence from consumption, but in consent to be disturbed in established routines of life and work.” It is this change in the rhythm of life and work, sought without introduction of new technique, that postulates major organisational effort.

It is not in major irrigation alone that difficulties arise in the utilisation of water; even with minor irrigation, silting of tanks and neglect of wells have caused serious loss. As we have discovered, administrative effort, after some delay and a considerable waste, can set right the gaps in major projects; in small-scale efforts, administration can achieve little; there the key role remains with social organisation.

Organisation is not just institutions, though organisational effort is facilitated by favourable institutional framework. It is not enough to say that agricultural production can increase through co-operatives. It is also necessary to say who will organise the co-operatives and who will make them tick.

All development depends on application of doses of capital. Productivisation of traditional methods yields some results; beyond them a process of capitalisation is inevitable. For example, electrification implies considerable capitalisation, so does substitution of Amber Charkha for the traditional spinning-wheel. In the sector of large production, the surplus remains elusive because it is scattered with many producers. To collect it and mobilise it for the capital needs of small-scale production demands great organisational responsibility.

**Plan Orientations**

If our economy had not got complicated with a large and expanding urban sector, we could have concentrated on rural orientation in planning. We have today 70 million people in urban areas, and they increase at the rate of 3 to 4 million a year. The urban population must produce goods and services to get food and raw materials they need from rural areas. This expanding urban population makes social and economic life more complex, and makes it incumbent that
we provide a more involved orientation to the plan than what our Sarvodaya friends envisage.

As an instance of social complexity: the consumption pattern of those who run a steel mill, even in the public sector, or who work in National Science Laboratories or in an atomic plant will be different—perhaps will have to be different—from that of a farm worker. Is it equality to treat them alike, or is the desired objective served by treating them unequally? Will equal treatment be understood as such by the technicians or scientists? or will unequal treatment be accepted as "dynamic equality" by the farm labourer?

As an instance of economic complexity: the demand for foodgrains from urban areas, which seems to increase at the rate of 25 per cent a quinquennium, will not only require more transport, etc., but the production of marketable surplus with the agriculturist and its marketing. He will market only if he hopes to buy something—some goods or services produced by the

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urban people—in return, which means his wants must diversify and village self-sufficiency emerges as a shoal in the rural—urban—rural flow of economic life.

**Dual Considerations**

Anyone who seriously settles down to plan cannot ignore the primary need of helping agriculturists to increase production, nor can he lose sight of the needs of development of the technically advanced sector—like steel, engineering—because it is the most powerful growth-inducing sector in the economy. Its development will enable the introduction of new tools and techniques without which neither production growth nor organisational effort can be long sustained. In the immediate future agriculture is primary; in the perspective, fabrication of new tools and techniques is paramount.

The extension of the public sector as a part of economic development is necessitated by the inability of the private sector to branch out into heavy industry, etc., and also by the need for resources for development that extension of the public sector might bring into the hands of the State. The recent decisions to socialise wholesale trade in foodgrains and extend co-operatives are meant both to help the agriculturists and enable the State to tap the surplus that improved production generates.

Some alteration in phasing or deepening different sectors of the plan is always possible. And full scrutiny is welcome. But it is my contention that the controversy between agriculture-oriented and industry-oriented plans is mostly arid. Either plan needs a new social ethos and organisational effort. Without them the first can dismally fail, with them even the second can become a resounding success.

**Fallacious Thinking**

Assuming that the Second Plan had not given the importance that steel has actually received, and the various heavy fabricating workshops had not been organised, would not a far greater drain on foreign resources have emerged in the Third and succeeding plans? Our inelastic exports could not have met the needs. Sooner we reach the stage of self-sustaining development the less becomes our reliance on foreign supplies and foreign assistance. Whenever we attempt to build the industrial base of our economy we have to face the foreign exchange crisis. There is no escape from foreign loans to tide over this transformation. To eschew them is either to reject development or to extract out of the people sacrifices they cannot make. A fallacy enters our thinking when we view each quinquennial plan as an end in itself—they have to be conceived as integral parts of fundamental transformation, which is what perspective planning teaches us.

It is, however, true that mental lethargy makes us plump for not just large plants but for import of many components of them, that with scrutiny can be fabricated at home. Both in the public and the private sectors, the need to reach technologically optimum decisions—optimum in terms of our resources and the stage of our growth—and the need to improve locally as much as possible, is absent. In the Third Plan it is these neglected areas of operation that need to be activated. But our thinking will not reach them if our debate revolves round the arguments familiarised in the first two Plans.

There is another aspect of planning that deserves attention. In industrialisation as now planned, agriculturists have no interest and no involvement—and that bodes danger. In Yugoslavia, communes (or what the Community Development Block Panchayats will be in India when the Balwantrai Mehta Team’s recommendations are carried out) not only co-ordinate resources and activities in the villages but bid for industrial establishments. The Planning Commission or a similar body formulates a number of schemes for medium and small-scale industries—it indicates the raw materials, etc., needed, and services such as roads, etc., required. Communes possessing such materials offer to develop the services needed and bid for getting the enterprise. On the basis of the commune’s guarantee banks advance credit. The commune shares in profits of the enterprise and feels a direct stake in its efficient functioning.

**New Living Pattern**

There are at least two other advantages. The introduction of industrial enterprises in rural areas brings to them opportunities for work on higher levels of technique, with different rhythms of life and work and thereby fundamentally stir the traditional modes. In this manner an efficiency potential enters rural life which would spread to other activities of the area. Secondly, it prevents urban agglomerations, where the social overheads are heavy. Every person that migrates to a city, sooner or later, necessitates for roads, sanitation, hospitals, schools, housing, etc., a considerable expenditure—an expenditure which will be very large compared to the social overheads required by medium and small industries planted in rural areas. Such an involvement of the agriculturist in industrialisation can introduce a new pattern in our planning.

**VI**

It is time we return to our main proposition: the size of the Third Plan is determined by our organisational ability.

Organisation means efficiency in work and the discipline of co-operation. These qualities do not emerge merely by creating forms. Supposing a co-operative is set up in a village, just by that neither efficiency will come nor co-operation be ensured, except to the extent that additional credit might flow from outside. The success depends upon the enlivening spirit, without which forms tend to be oppressive.

The enlivening spirit comes from education, demonstration, etc., but above all from conscious, determined persons who set the pace. Such pace-setters are either men filled with missionary zeal or indoctrinated party cadre. As many of dedicated persons as Sarvodaya or the Bharat Sevak Samaj can provide are welcome, provided they undergo an initial period of training. But they will not come in large enough numbers to meet the needs of the half a million villages—where a fifth of the population lives in villages with less than 500 people, another fifth in villages of 500 to 1,000. Party cadres, as things stand, do not serve constructive ends very much.

What is then our instrument for organising people in rural areas—apart from exhortations? I believe the forging of such an instrument is the key to our success.
Social Service Units

We should initiate compulsory social service and recruit in it initially 1,000,000 young persons, with a tenth of them coming from universities and other educated strata. These persons should be under mobilisation orders for two years. They should be modestly looked after at the cost of Re. 1 per day per person. The million mobilised persons would be utilised in groups of sizes needed in rural areas to level lands, construct bunds, deepen tanks, rig channels, etc. Like shock brigades they take up over-needed work and exhort others to join through sustained action. These persons, being mobilized, will be partially trained, supervised and disciplined to carry out orders.

The educated will gain experience of rural and manual work and will as per schedule arranged have opportunity of imparting literacy to others in their group as also organise cultural activities in the group and outside. They will also assess resources in the village and help their efficient utilisation. The persons recruited from rural areas will learn, while earning a small income, the art of working together and in a disciplined fashion. After two years' mobilisation when the recruits return to work they will carry with them a new sense of disciplined action. That way thenamese will grow in the lump.

The force of a million or two so organised and kept changing every two years would provide an instrument through which schemes of rural development agreed upon in fact get implemented. Around this mobilised, and hence disciplined, force of a million or two a considerable voluntary mobilisation will take place in villages in constructive efforts. The social service corps will augment production by many times what is spent on it, which inclusive of training and supervision need not be more than Rs. 50 crores a year for million persons. The best need not be more than Rs. 50 crores inclusive of training and supervision and organisation of works projects. Without such a force at command, efforts at food production must remain like a gamble on rains and a gamble on the mood of the people.

Planning in the difficult circumstances that have arisen will require considerable regulations. The more organisations or associations are helped to achieve self-regulation, the less will be the need of State regulations, which usually tend to be irksome.

As an instance: the cotton textile mills have now an all-India association. The Government can endow it with a charter, and make it obligatory on every mill to be its member and under its collective discipline. It would be for the Government to work out with the Association the needs and responsibility of the industry. While endeavouring to meet the former, they can make the Association responsible for the latter. The Association's team of experts can examine mills in difficulties and help them to get over them—that is, help them to maximum efficiency within the means available. Through cost accounting, under supervision of the Government, the Association could keep the margins of different mills in the process of production under check, help the export drive, organise quality control, assist in the improvement of textile machinery and remain answerable—because it will have the power to punish an erring mill—for the efficient functioning of the industry.

Another instance: fragmentation in the trade union movement must end. Trade unions must be united and rationalised. The new unions should have the right to organise "union shops". The unions will not only look after the interests of workers, but should shoulder responsibilities in production. To ensure effective democracy in the unions, a body like the Election Commission should be set up to hold periodic elections impartially. The nationalisation of book-keeping will prevent watering of accounts, as some unions have sometimes attempted.

I have sketched above the outlines of just three organisational innovations. There have to be many more. The point I seek to make is that organisational potential does not emerge by just creating the forms, nor is public exhortation (a depreciated coin!) become a substitute for well-thought-out operational efficiency.

Terror Methods

The organisational effort has to be made in the context of administrative reforms (such as those outlined by the Balwantral Mehta Team) and social changes already announced, like ceiling on land holding. Without forging the kind of instruments I have suggested, reforms, whether administrative or economic, will remain ineffective, or still worse, weaken the social fabric.

It needs to be realised that our efforts cannot produce results obtained by Communist countries. The reason is obvious: they use a fifth ingredient of production—terror. Terror, exercised within limits, can act as a galvanising force, though it has its demoralising effects. Because we are averse to terror, we should not renounce the benefit of disciplined, co-operative functioning, which should be the pride of a stable democracy.

Such a deepening of democracy will demand a new climate of opinion and a return with renewed ardour to the values of our national movement. That means national unity, and a sense of urgency evoking a spirit of dedication. For that political understanding has to be achieved. The Third Plan depends upon the people's capacity "to disturb the established routine of life and work." In order to successfully invite them to such an effort—which is so crucial to our future, because needs brook no delay in development, and our resources so handicap us—we have first to shake ourselves out of our "established routines of life and work".

If the elite—and more so, the political elite—can attempt this in the remaining two years of the current Plan, we can face the Third Plan with confidence, because we shall then have touched and opened a vein of resources abounding—the elan and organised effort of our countrymen.

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EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION
VITAL TO PLAN SUCCESS

In paragraph 3 of Chapter VI of the Second Five-Year Plan, the principal administrative tasks during the Second Five-Year Plan have been classified into eight broad categories.

It is emphasised that the various tasks (listed there) have to be valued together as inter-dependent elements in the execution of the Plan. But to examine each one of these tasks in detail in the light of the experience of the last seven years, is a huge undertaking and is not possible in this small note. Nor is it necessary to do so in the purpose of this note is merely to indicate the administrative problems we are likely to face during the Third Plan period. The plea is that unless these problems are adequately tackled, the planning efforts of the community instead of carrying the country forward on the path of prosperity will put the clock back and even the progress that can be reasonably expected under the impact of market forces will not be achieved.

The first problem is that of demarcating clearly the role which the administration has to play in the Plan efforts of the community. This role can be briefly defined as that of implementing the policy decided upon through democratic processes and the projects listed to execute this policy. This implies two things. It means that it is not the function of the administration to lay down policies or to detail the projects to be undertaken at any level. It also implies that organs are required at each level to determine these policies and these projects. These requirements of democratic planning and execution have not yet been fulfilled.

Village Organisation

We have sufficient demarcation of functions and appropriate organisations to carry out these functions at the top. But below the State level, this demarcation gets blurred and it becomes the responsibility of the administration to work out the details of the general policy laid down at the State level and to list projects that are not decided upon at the State level. The failure of planned efforts at district and village levels as also of big projects when the details at these levels are reached, is mainly due to the absence of policy making and project determining organisation at district and village levels. The problem of desired vs. the felt needs which is confronted at these levels has also its roots in this lacuna.

Recent emphasis on village panchayats and co-operatives may be a partial answer to this problem. But these organs are conceived more in terms of execution of the policy and as such become units of the administrative machinery rather than organs of decentralised democratic planning. It is, therefore, necessary that these bodies are really made the organs of policy making and project determining, of course, within the four corners of the over all plan framed at the State level and below. The functions of a district development council enumerated in para 28 of Chapter VII will have to be reviewed in the light of these considerations. The principle on which the plea is made is that of permitting the small communities to learn, through mistakes, if need be, provided that general allocations and essential objects are not disturbed.

Once the role of administration is clearly defined, the next step is to re-organise the administration with a view to increase its capacity to the new tasks that it is called upon to undertake in the new set up. Our administration is still based mainly on the principle of authority or of hierarchy, i.e., the principle of succession of levels of decision with each giving order to the lower level. This principle works well as long as positive tasks are not undertaken by the administration. In a Welfare State and in the era of planned economy, however, administration is charged with certain positive functions which were carried out before by private voluntary agencies, by local authorities and by private enterprise. If these new functions are to be discharged with competence, administration has to provide for conditions and practices ensuring requisite knowledge necessary to discharge these. Voluntary associations and local authorities are well conversant with local conditions, aspirations and attitudes. Unless this knowledge is brought to bear on the decisions made at various levels, innumerable complications are likely to arise.

Technical Help

Similarly, technical knowledge has also to be an indispensable component of decision making machinery. Hence the need for continuous flow of advice from local centres to headquarters and also from technical personnel to administrative personnel. We have not yet developed these practices in our administration. There are no doubt any number of conferences, seminars, papers, etc. But the advice flows only laterally and not vertical.

by
Rohit Dave

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The principle of hierarchy is also responsible for the narrow view of responsibility accepted by the philosophy of our administration. The only responsibility expected of our civil servant is that of obeying the orders of the superior. If he is able to answer satisfactorily for his actions in the light of the orders from higher quarters, he is free from all further responsibility. Where this type of responsibility is very essential for the successful functioning of the administration, it is not enough. In a positive State, initiative is as important a qualification for the public servant as obedience. This entails delegation of authority with proper safeguards.

If a man is able to accomplish a task through his own initiative and without bothering his overworked superior about minor details, he should be considered worthy of adulation. Very little scope for such individual initiative and assuming of personal responsibility exists in our administrative structure at present. The result is a fetish of conforming to rules as the main criterion for any action or lack of it. Rules thus become ends in themselves, giving rise to official rituals.

**Co-ordination**

One would have expected that the problems of co-ordination and control would not prove insurmountable in an administration mainly based on the principle of hierarchy. This exception, however, is not borne out in the last seven years. Unpardonable delays have occurred in the execution of projects mainly because of the lack of co-ordination between the Finance Department and spending departments as well as among spending departments themselves. The over-zealous enforcement of the principle of conforming to rules has resulted in quarrels regarding jurisdiction, a scramble for desirable tasks and avoidance of the irksome ones. These can be avoided by clearly establishing the authority in charge of every project and every main item of expenditure while sanctioning these projects and expenditure.

This needs a planning nucleus in every Ministry in every area. It should not require any additional personnel, work or expenditure. In fact, it should only amount to streamlining and rationalising the execution of the projects and tasks and as such should result in saving of efforts, time and money.

**Co-ordination among departments**

Among departments of the Central Government and various State Governments raises more formidable issues as they raise constitutional issues. Some attempts are made to deal with them by arranging inter-government conferences, but these conferences hardly touch the crux of the problem and endless correspondence continues regarding problems of jurisdiction and responsibility. These conferences should take up more concrete tasks and the decisions arrived at these conferences should be sufficient to set the co-ordination machinery moving without any further orders. The co-ordinating authority should be a specific body from which all the officers concerned should derive their authority and to which they should be accountable as far as that particular project or task is concerned. This will require changes in service rules.

**Accounts and Audit**

With great encouragement to individual initiative and assuming of personal as opposed to institutional responsibility, with devolution of power and authority, with the constitution of agencies the personnel of which are derived from various departments and the public servants of various States as well as the Centre, the problems of supervision and accountability will become more complex, but not insurmountable. Perhaps what is needed is the reorganisation of accounts and audit departments and overhauling of the Finance Code.

Every department and inter-departmental agency specially created to undertake a specific task must have the services of accountants answerable to the Accountant-General. The powers of Comptroller and Auditor-General should be enlarged so that his department may not have to confine itself to find out whether proper rules and procedure are observed and whether accounts conform to the vouchers and receipts, but will be able to audit the accounts in a more general sense of that concept which includes assessment of efficiency, as well as of integrity. This department will have to be considerably enlarged. But the price is worth paying as this is the only way in which the requirements of initiative at a lower level and accountability can be satisfied.

All these reforms should go some way in shaping the administration for the new responsibilities it is called upon to assume. Of course, they would come to nothing if a new sense of urgency and a social conscience are not developed by the administration itself. There is a widespread impression that the integrity of Indian Administration is not what it should be. No rules and regulations or structural changes, however well thought out, can be effective unless the administration itself is determined to clean itself up of the bad sheep. Social resume and political vigilance can help in this direction.

This can only be done, however, if caste bureaucracy and patronage bureaucracy are replaced by the merit bureaucracy. During the British days, we have developed caste bureaucracy which after independence is assuming the form of patronage bureaucracy. If the Administration has to discharge its functions properly, a determined effort in the direction of building up a merit bureaucracy should be made.

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Editorial

P.S.P. and the Third Plan

The eclipse of democracy in many parts of Asia and in some parts of Africa has created a situation which requires urgent consideration by all those who believe in the possibility of rapid progress through democratic methods and procedures.

The first main task is to unravel the various factors that were responsible in different countries for the collapse of democracy. If one were to examine these factors one would come across many divergent forces working in the community that resulted in the establishment of dictatorship in one form or another. But one factor which seems to be common to all these countries is the inability of the political authority in the country to fulfil the aspirations of the people. Not only were the hopes of the people belied but there was a widespread belief that the achievement of independence or the continuance of the old forms of government was putting the clock back.

The old authorities that exploited the people observed at least some method in the various measures they adopted to achieve their results. There was a known objective over and above the persons in authority that governed their policies and programmes. But with the disappearance of that authority the objective disappeared simultaneously and the new objectives which the new rulers professed were all idealistic and devoid of any reference to the realities of the considerations which in fact governed the actions of the political leaders in the community. The result was hypocrisy carried to its utmost brunt or so the people thought.

Politicians Made of Clay

Corruption was rampant, nepotism was openly practised and political life became not only an avenue for political power but of social and economic power and status as well. In spite of all this concentration of power and prestige in the hands of a small coterie of leaders, they failed to deliver the goods and only succeeded in achieving self-aggrandisement. Right or wrong, this was the feeling among the people at large and so when someone came on the scene with a determination to put the politicians in their place he was welcomed irrespective of what he in turn might have in store for the man in the street. The change was desired for its own sake, for seeing that the politicians were exposed to be what they really were—made of clay that was reduced to dust at the first blow from a better organised force in the country which in all these cases happened to be the military.

If this be the true picture of these happenings it has a lesson or us. It is often argued that conditions in India are different; that the political leaders here enjoy wide popular
support; that the country is making a progress howsoever haltingly; and that the people have begun to appreciate the fruits of freedom and democracy and are not likely to acquiesce in its loss so early as in other countries. It is also pointed out that the chances of a military coup in our country are remote because the army is well disciplined here and has given ample evidence of its loyalty to the State.

The Clock of Progress

All this may be true but even in its cumulative effect it is not enough to guarantee the maintenance of democratic values and institutions without a constant vigilance on our part and without our straining every nerve to satisfy the needs and the desires of the people in a democratic way. If the political system fails to live up to the expectations of the people - the foundations of democracy will be slowly undermined and attempts will be made to bypass democratic processes. A scramble for power will come which will definitely put the clock of progress back.

The main responsibility of delivering the goods, of course, lies with the party in power because of the vast concentration of political, economic and social power in its hands. If it fails to rise to the occasion, the efforts of others, however sincere and determined, will fail to achieve the desired goals, unless it is removed from power and the policy of the Government is radically changed. The chances for this in the near future do not appear to be very bright.

The policy and attitude of the ruling party will thus be crucial factor in the possible developments in the country in the near future. But the opposition parties cannot be absolved of all duties and obligations. If the ruling party refuses to adopt a correct policy and approach to the problems of the nation, public sanctions will have to be created to compel it to do so. And even if the ruling party decides to rise to the occasion by itself, solely on its own efforts it will not be able to meet the requirements of the situation. The opposition parties will also have to play their part in the national efforts at rapid economic development and the achievement of socialist objectives. A code of conduct prescribing do's and don'ts both for the ruling party and the opposition parties is thus the need of the hour.

What this code of behaviour of the political parties should be, what they should do and what they should not, would be determined by the exigencies of the situation and our attitude to the problem of how to meet them.

Problem of Suitable Organization

It is agreed that even if a minimum rate of economic progress is to be maintained, nay, even if regression is to be avoided, a large-scale mobilisation of resources will be necessary. It is true that mobilisation of resources is not enough. A bigger problem is to utilise these resources in the best possible way. Every political party will have to apply its mind as to the best model of economic development that would ensure achievement of prosperity and socialist objectives in the shortest possible trip. But no economic model is possible which can dispense with a large-scale mobilisation of capital and this fact will have to be taken note of by the various political parties in determining their approach to the social and economic situation facing the country.

The experience during the last seven years has shown that the existing economic social and political institutions in the country are not quite suited either for the mobilisation of resources or for implementing plans of economic development adequate to meet the needs of the situation. It was only during the Second Plan period that these problems of suitable organisation were recognised and attempts were made to define at least their forms, though not their contents. The problems of organisation connected with the management of enterprise in the Public Sector came to the fore during the last two or three years. The gigantic issues involved in the credit and currency controls were also appreciated more clearly only during this period.

The control and regulation of the Private Sector so as to make it conform not only to the general plan of economic development, even to its break-up from year to year, are yet only gleamed institutional framework for the task has yet to be evolved. The importance of agriculture as a key-stone in the economic structure of the country and the part which the land reforms and socialisation of trade in essential commodities can play in the effective regulation of the economy as a whole have only now been appreciated and that too grudgingly. The co-operative movement, the community development programme and extension work and village panchayats will have to be filled into this realisation and that will profoundly affect the forms and content of these organisations.

Issues to the Fore

During the Third Plan period, these issues will come more and more to the fore. It is desirable that the PSP applies its mind to these problems and shape a well-defined policy regarding them. The whole problem of implementation of the Plan is resolved in these considerations and in the interest of the development of the nation it will have to be tackled.

What are the defects in the present administrative set up? Does it need reorganisation, if so, on what principles? How to reconcile individual freedom of the sturdy peasants, whom we want to flourish in our land, with the need for building co-operatives of the peasants so as to rationalise the use of land, of agricultural implements and resources and also to organise marketing of agricultural produce on more scientific lines? What should be power and the function of the Village Panchayats? What should be their relation with the village cooperatives and the Community Development Projects? What sector of our economy, production and of trade, of credit and of finance should be socialised? What should be the relation between the Parliament and the management in the socialised sector? How far is the State responsible for catering to the needs of the private sector and on what terms? Those and many other problems will crop up during the Third Plan period and even while framing the Third Plan to which the Praja Socialist Party will have to find adequate answers.

PSP and Class Organisations

These questions cannot be answered in the abstract. They will have to be answered in concrete terms regarding the programme of the Party in legislatures, in the class organisations, in local bodies, in cooperatives and in village panchayats.

(Continued on Page 4)
Problems Facing Our Planners

The First Five-Year Plan provides for an expenditure of nearly Rs. 2,200 crores. Emphasis was laid on food production and it was expected that the country would reach self-sufficiency before 1956-57, but unfortunately though much amount has been spent in both the Plan periods, the food position remains unsolved.

A number of irrigation projects were undertaken both during the First and Second periods, and thousands of crores have been invested. Some have been completed and a good many are awaiting completion. Works of big magnitude like Bhakra, Chambal and Hirakud have not yet been completed. Further expenditure to a considerable extent has to be incurred for their completion. Projects started even during the First Five-Year Plan are still awaiting completion.

The Bhadra Project, which was started in the First Five-Year will take another 10 years for its completion. The Tungabhadra Project, though the reservoir has been completed, has not yet been put into service. As against an acreage of six lakhs, only 50,000 acres have been brought under cultivation. The High Level canal has yet to be commenced. Similarly, big projects like Bhakra, Chambal, Nagarjunasagar are still in an early stage and considerable expenditure has to be incurred. The Sharawati Hydro-Electric Project needs considerable foreign exchange. All these are firm commitments which cannot be avoided.

Benefit Utilisation

Attention has to be paid to complete all these incomplete works and to see that the area under them is brought under cultivation. The unfortunate position is that many of the reservoirs are complete and full, but the water is not made use of for the purpose for which it was intended.

The same can be said of industrial projects, steel plants, Neivilly Lignite, oils and other hydro-electric projects. We cannot say with certainty that all these projects will be completed. It is, more or less, certain that a considerable portion of the expenditure will have to be carried over to the next Plan. All the projects undertaken in the course of the Second Five-Year Plan will not be completed. They are commitments which cannot be avoided and considerable funds will have to be earmarked for their completion and consolidation. It will be necessary to assess the expenditure of these commitments before we embark and commit ourselves upon the Third Five-Year Plan, specially as an indication has been given that the Third Five-Year Plan contemplates a bigger expenditure than the previous Plans. I am not against the Plan, but when you undertake a Plan of such a big magnitude, it must be within our capacity and it should conform to our resources.

I now come to the resources available for the Third Five-Year Plan. It has to be admitted that the Second Five-Year Plan ran into difficulties even in the first year of its operation. There has been considerable strain on the economy, both internal and external, and a steady decline in the foreign exchange resources. Inflation is mounting and these are symptoms which cannot be overlooked while framing the Third Plan. That the economy has been subjected to inflationary pressure, calls for a re-thinking before committing ourselves to another Plan.

Foreign Debts

What will be the financial background for the formulation of the Third Plan and what are the resources needed? Internal resources are almost negligible. There are no funds and no reserve and our present Budget position does not admit of any substantial amount being set apart for the Plan, as a good slice of our revenue has to be set apart for defence expenditure, debt services and growing civil expenditure. Our debt position will have mounted alarmingly and the Second Plan alone has added an extra liability of nearly Rs. 1,200 crores, and the debts due to foreign countries will be nearly Rs. 1,300 crores. The probable gap in foreign exchange up to the end of the Plan is estimated to be Rs. 570 crores. This will necessitate the cutting down of imports and stepping up exports. If imports are cut down, the Plan suffers to that extent. It is very unlikely that we can stop up exports, as they depend on foreign market and foreign competition. In the absence of internal resources, the funds for the implementation of the new Plan have to come as in the past through—

(1) Additional taxation, (2) Borrowed funds, (3) External assistance, (4) Deficit financing and we have to consider what will be the effect on the economy of the country, if we depend on these resources. Firstly, they are uncertain resources. So far taxation is concerned, the people have been taxed, and are being taxed ever since the commencement of the Plan period. The rate of increase in taxation has exceeded the rate of increase in national income. Indirect taxation has reached the peak level and the additional excise duty levied last year is the last straw to break the camel's back. All the taxation proposals recommended by Kaldor, have been implemented and I do not think, there is scope for additional taxes either direct or indirect.

Taxation Limit

While the national income is more or less static, the people have already been burdened with taxation and there is no scope for any extra taxation. Another factor to be borne in mind is that the entire revenue derived from taxation is not earmarked towards the Plan expenditure. A good slice of it is absorbed for Defence expenditure and for other non-Plan expenditure. Before we commit ourselves for the Third Five-Year Plan, it is necessary to find out to what extent people can be taxed further and what would be the amount that would be collected from them, and how much of burden they can bear.

India has already contracted huge debts in the name of the Plan and a considerable portion of it is being utilised for non-productive works. Contribution towards the debt services is increasing. Any further borrowing will increase the
load on posterity without corresponding assets. Accumulation of huge public debts must be avoided. The more the debts, the greater the instability which will lead to extra-taxation.

We have to reckon with the debts contracted with foreign countries. We owe more than one thousand crores and more debts have to be contracted. Repayment begins from 1960-61 and it is not clear how the Government proposes to meet these obligations. Our Finance Minister has to approach foreign countries every year. It is true he has succeeded in securing some foreign assistance, but if he repeats his visits to foreign countries, he may be an unwelcome visitor. It is well-known that our financial liabilities stand at high figure.

The combined effect of additional taxation, borrowing, over-expenditure, deficit financing will lead to further unlimited inflation. Already we are subjected to heavy inflationary pressure. Can we stand further strain? Prices are soaring high, and the purchasing capacity of the people is going down considerably. The idea that we tax ourselves to prosperity is one of the crudest illusions. Taxes will not restore our prosperity, and we have to oppose hereafter every measure of taxation.

(Continued from Page 2)

Take the case of the work of the Party members in the class organisations. These organisations are formed to protect the interest of workers, of peasants, of tenants of petty merchants, etc. It is their primary responsibility to protect these organisations have also to accept the responsibility of seeing that democratic values and interests are preserved in the country. They have, therefore, to accept limitations on their enthusiasm for furthering the interests of their members if at any point these interests clash with national interests. In this generalised form perhaps many would accept this proposition but when it comes to the definition of national interests in a given concrete situation difficulties would arise which it would be difficult to surmount. What the Party will have to decide is what under the present circumstances the Party considers to constitute national interests.

An example might perhaps make the point clear. Recently Shri Bharat Ram, speaking from the Chair in the Shareholders’ Meeting of the Delhi Cloth and General Mills Ltd., proposed that there should be freezing of wages, a ceiling on dividends and a ceiling on the Managing Agents’ Commission in order to mobilise resources for the Plan. Will our workers in the trade unions and Kisan Sabhas be prepared to consider some such scheme? There are many aspects of this issue and the matter is not so simple as it looks. But here at least is a basis for negotiation, a basis for regulating the incomes of various factors and sectors in the community. Should the Party accept the desirability of considering such a scheme or not is the question which we will have to decide sooner or later. By such a discussion the concepts of national and sectional interests and the possibility and desirability of reconciling the two will be clarified.

Such a discussion would lead us to examine not only the form but even the content of various institutions that will be necessary for the rapid development of our economy. Unless the contents of these institutions are examined continuously in the light of changing circumstances while keeping the basic values underlying them as relatively unchanged the forms of the institutions will themselves disintegrate. The fate of the caste system in India through centuries ought to be a warning and a challenge in this connection.

The Wider Problems

Of course, this would lead us to the wider problems of specific values we want to enshrine in our institutions—social, political and economic. What we consider to be the appropriate structure of the various institutions adequate to enshrine and realise these values and the detailed rules and regulations, conventions, the spirit and the basic law of these institutions so that the purpose for which they are created are served. It is a large question and no easy answers will be available in the near future. But the Party will have to select a few of the key institutions and investigate them in the light of the questions raised here.

If we do not undertake this task we will fail to serve the need of the hour. The planned efforts at development have so far made little dent on the problems facing the common man. His standard of life has not improved appreciably. If there is a rise at one place, there is a fall at another and the strains in the society have increased as a result of that. Unemployment and under-employment situation is not any the less acute. The pressure on population under the circumstances acts as a tremendous unbalancing force for the social structure. The agriculturists are crying for the adequate returns for their productive efforts. The workers are demanding substantial improvement in their standard of life consequent upon increase in production and in their productivity. The middle-class man feels that at last he has got the opportunity to contribute his best to the development efforts of the country and he must get his reward in the form of a better status in life and more material comforts. The entrepreneur feels that at the very moment when the shackles are removed from his enterprise, new bonds in the form of restraints born of ideological considerations are being forged to chain him to mediocrity. Each one of this section is thus resentful and by and large they are justified in getting impatient at their lot.

The Party has to decide how to reconcile these demands in terms of social justice and social equality and how to reconcile them with the needs of rapid development of the economy. And it is for this that some thinking on the fundamental issues become necessary.

Not only internal pressures but even happenings in the international field lead us to the same conclusion. China is making rapid progress in production of material goods. Within a short time the production of material goods in the Communist world will outstrip the production in the non-Communist world taken as a whole. At this point a tremendous challenge to all for which we stand will be irresistible and unless we are ready at that time to face it we will be lost.

All these considerations show that the Party should define more clearly its approach to the various issues now facing the country and which we are likely to face in the near future. This approach need not be ideological nor in terms of any definite political programme. It can be more general in terms of basic social, political and ethical values we all hold dear.
IN RETROSPECT

HAVING shaken off centuries—old torpor, the Indian nation is facing a plethora of problems. Some of these problems are regional but a good many of them, in the true sense of the term, are national. And the most challenging of them is the problem of emotionally integrating the 400 million souls, of diverse race, language and culture, into a nation.

So vast is the magnitude of the problem that occasionally even the dauntless amongst us, when confronted with the task of finding a solution to this, is found to be daunted. Nevertheless, the grand adventure of giving a fitting response to this defiant challenge of history, has gripped the imagination of everyone who deems it a proud privilege of breathing the invigorating air of this land with that enchanting name—India. A discerning eye can see the imprint of this writ so large in the face of the country; a sensitive ear can hear the strain of the symphony it produces.

Vision Gets Blurred

But, however discerning the eye or sensitive the ear may be, it misses in Bengal, what it comes across in many other parts of the country. Here the vision gets blurred, and a discordant note is audible. And at once, one is confronted with what is called Bengal’s “very own problem”. There is no gainsaying the fact that such a problem exists. But so much has of late been said about this by so many that, very few people bother to be specific about the nature of the problem. While viewing it, each individual uses a spectrum of a particular dimension which results in the problem being labelled as variously as possible.

With insufferable impertinence statements are made, by all and sundry, to the effect that Bengal is ailing from all sorts of diseases—from the corrosive disease of sectarianism to the erosive sickness of the soul. And this is not the end of it. Frequently an insolent attitude, which smacks of hate, disgust, pessiilanimity, pity and altruism, is adopted towards Bengal. The Bengalee, in his turn, resents this attitude with such vehemence that a climate of mutual distrust is generated between Bengal and the rest of the country. And in this climate, the Bengalee reigns supreme in his make-believe world of intellectual superiority over the rest of the country. Furthermore, he labours under the illusion of being the most undaunted and unsung martyr in the cause of the nation’s struggle for deliverance from bondage. In short, he considers his to be the tragedy of a Prometheus who, having shown the light of knowledge to the country, is left bound to suffer eternally. And, precisely it is this—the problem of the spirit—which is eating into the vitals of this fair land of the Bengalees.

It would be quite rewarding a venture if an attempt is made to analyse and understand this problem. Besides, it is also necessary in the larger interests of the country. A correct understanding of the problem, resulting in the pin-pointing of its causes, might suggest effective remedies also.

by

Bhola Chatterjee

It was 1757. On a hot June day that the mango-grove at Plassey echoed to the thunder of the guns, the lanyards of which were pulled at the orders of two opposing groups engaged in a death or deliverance combat. One of the groups was led by a lachrymose despot—Sirajdaulla by name—the last unslaved Nawab of Bengal; the other was captured by an illiterate British soldier of fortune—Clive by name. What, then, were the social, economic and political conditions obtaining in Bengal? Candly speaking, internal conflicts had rendered Bengal into an impotent house impossibly divided against itself. Its hostility towards Delhi was irreconciable; and its sterile, feudal aristocracy was corrupt to such an extent that it had a price for everything under the sun, ranging from the beauty of a woman to freedom of the country. And the challenger came from a land which, having been conquered only about 700 years ago by a Norman who gave it manners, customs, constitution and an unbroken record of history, had set in motion the process of founding an empire by any means—fair or foul. Judged by any standard it was a struggle, at least culturally if not otherwise, between two unequals.

Sirajdaulla was old with the heritage of an almost 5,000-year—old mellowed culture which certainly was not what Clive could lay his claim upon. But the younger of the two won the day, and along with it the trader-adventurer stumbled into the ownership of an empire. Of course, it was not armed might but something else which enabled Clive to win the battle. While Mirmadan and Mohanlal gave a heroic battle, Mirjaffar and Jagat Seth, Shaukat Jung and Umichand extended the ladder of treachery for Clive to climb over the ramparts of resistance. Plassey became a symbol which was interpreted, in later days, as a struggle between the forces of freedom and that of treachery; the former represented by the sons of the soil, namely Mirmadan and Mohanlal, the latter by North Indians, namely Mirjaffar, Jagat Seth and others. It is impossible to miss the obvious meaning in it.

Support to the New-found Empire

The British introduced the Permanent Settlement in 1793 and English education a little later in Bengal. The Permanent Settlement was introduced to create a parasitic landed aristocracy which was to become the fifth pillar of support to the new-found empire. And English education was intended to produce enough clerks for keeping the wheels of the empire moving. And how did the Bengalees react to this? They welcomed it. This would be obvious from what Raja Rammohan Roy, the tallest prince of what is most unimaginatively called the 'Renaissance in Bengal', wrote to Lord Amherst: "In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the government, it will subsequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction..." which may be accomplished with the sums proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning, educated in Europe. (Life of Ramtanu Lahiri, Brahman
It was not long, since Plassey, when Bengal accepted the British as liberators of Bengal's soul which had got bogged into, what was called, the quagmire of Indian darkness. At that point North India had not accepted English education. Consequently, the Bengalees, being the singular beneficiary of English education, went throughout the length and breadth of India as the sub-rulers of the empire, and herein Bengal found a chance of squaring up a few long-outstanding accounts with North India. Collaboration with the British helped Bengal to humble to the dust the much despised supremacy of North India. This was Bengal's hour of triumph.

**Aping and Imitating British**

The unabated aping and imitating the British continued in Bengal. All that was British was held to be superior to everything that was Indian. What was introduced in the name of Western education was nothing but some very shallow aspects of it. The deeper and more salutory aspects of Western thought and culture remained as elusive as ever. This would be obvious from even a cursory perusal of the writings, during that period, of a num-

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number of Englishmen including Macaulay. In the name of Western education, thought and culture, the traders from England gave Bengal a few tinsels and the Bengalees, with almost child-like contentment, kept on playing with these.

A century of slavery, since Plassey, passed away so very quietly. The groaning of the people, trampled under the spiked boots of the conqueror, was so very feeble that it did not disturb the peace, so ruthlessly imposed, in Bengal. The beneficiary of the permanent settlement, along with the British, sucked the people dry. And yet nothing untoward happened. There was not even a ripple anywhere in the river of life of the people. It seemed slavery had come to stay eternally in the country. That there would ever be an attempt, to break the chain of slavery, was ruled out as an impossibility. However, all calculations went wrong, and the impossible happened.

1857 and after

Came 1857. The sub-terranean rumbling, of the subjugated people of India, gradually developed into a crescendo which made itself audible even to the congenitally deaf. Freedom was what they wanted; freedom was what they took up arms for. Tearing to pieces the shroud of silence with which timelessness had wrapped the soul of India, the sepoys planted, for the first time since the British conquest, the glorious banner of freedom upon the ramparts of the Red Fort. All eyes were turned towards and all roads led to, that aged yet beautiful, Delhi which is proverbially intolerant of any permanent settler. So much meaning, which was not there, has been read into the 1857 war of independence and such absurd distortions have been made of it that, it becomes almost impossible, while writing about it, not to be led away by passion. However, any objective study of the events of 1857 would certainly convince one, in spite of some supposedly scholars—indigenous as well as foreign—contrary accounts, of the fact that urge for freedom was the motivating force behind the struggle. And what was Bengal's role in this struggle for freedom? Very scrupulously she stayed out of the vortex of that almost elemental upsurge which rocked the country from stem to stem.

A century has rolled by since the people of India made their first ever noble attempt to free the country from bondage. And yet no satisfactory explanation, as to the reasons of Bengal's non-participation in the freedom struggle, has been rendered. Indeed it is strange. It becomes stranger yet when one is reminded of the fact that those were the times when there lived and worked and ruled, in Bengal, a galaxy of illustrious men such as Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjee, Peary Chand Mitra, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Maharashi Debendra Nath Tagore, Madhusudan Dutt, Dinabandhu Mitra, Ramanu Lahiri, Akshay Kumar Dutt, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Raj Narayan Bose, Keshab Sen, Bankim Chatterjee and many others.

It may be interesting to note that Bankim Chatterjee was the first Bengali graduate, in 1857, from the Calcutta University. And again, these are names which have come to be associated with what is so fondly called the “Bengali Renaissance”. Many of these were the men who, being imbued with Western thoughts and ideas, raised the banner of revolt against innumerable totems and taboos of the diseased social system of Bengal. Their's was no mean share in the introduction of Western education in Bengal.

Above all, some of these men laid the granite foundation on which stands the literary heritage of Bengal—its very proud treasure. So much was done by these men to liberate the mind of man in this part of India. But what was it that so stubbornly stood in the way of their joining the main stream of rebellion of the Indian people, in 1857, to smash the shackles of British slavery? How was it that these men, who had had their bounds of knowledge expanded by the glorious tales of the American War of Independence and the French Revolution, did not so much as raise their little finger in support of the war of liberation of the country? An answer, to these questions, needs must be found out.

There can be only two answers. Firstly, it may be that Bengal considered the 1857 struggle as nothing but a mutiny of the sepoys who had grievances which were of a private nature. As such it had nothing to do with national liberation and, consequently, it did not merit Bengal's participation. This, however, should be rejected, without much ceremony, as a most untenable explanation. That the 1857 struggle was a genuine attempt at National Liberation, is beyond any dispute. The rebellion had mass participation in a large number of places, and it had a national leadership, however loosely that might have been constituted. Besides, the sepoys and their leaders readily vowed their oath of loyalty to one who was the rightful claimant to the foreign usurped Moghul throne in Delhi. Admittedly, the leadership of the struggle was feudal in character. But should this merit a rejection of the struggle, considering the then obtaining social, economic and political conditions in the country, as being reactionary, then many other freedom struggles of a number of countries including those of the nineteenth century Poland, would have to be similarly treated.

The other answer—and this would be more plausible—would be that a sense of fear and a spirit of cowardly vengeance prevented Bengal from participating in the struggle. The Permanent Settlement and Western education created a middle class in Bengal, which came to enjoy certain privileges including that of a fair amount of unearned income. The middle class, apprehensive of losing the privileges in the event of a re-imposition of North India's rule which certainly would have resulted from a successful culmination of the freedom struggle, did not feel enthusiastic about supporting the same.

Coupled with this was the fear that, the liberation of the country would put an end to the British-imposed peace of the graveyard in the country, which had experienced a considerable amount of lawlessness in the pre-British days. And then, there was the spirit of avenging the wrongs which the North Indians had, at the time of the Battle of Plassey, done to Bengal. A feeling of grievous animosity towards North India and a pathetic lack of those noble virtues, which have rendered the struggles of Carthage and Thermopylae, Porus and Haldighat, Sartoga and Stalingrad as a sublime part of that grand heritage of mankind, paralysed the Bengali middle class to such an extent that it miserably failed to respond to the challenge of history in 1857.

(To be continued)
Letter From Europe

BERLIN DIARY-IV

GERMAN unity is there but the physical unification is something else. This question has three aspects. Firstly, the military alliances already contracted by the Federal and the Democratic governments. The policy of the CDU, that is the Adenauer government, is to have an all-German election in which no doubt the Communists will be decisively defeated. But will Adenauer's party win? In West Germany he can swing the Catholic vote which is approximately half the West German population. East Germany is overwhelmingly Lutheran and traditionally Social Democrat. East Germany's Premier Otto Grotewohl, born in 1894, was a Social Democrat until 1946 (so was Mr. Cyranewitch, the Polish Foreign Minister).

As united Germany, led by the Social Democrats, may not be obliged to respect the military alliances contracted by the West German Federal Government. Fritz Erler, the SPD leader has pointed out, "Those Agreements, however, bind only the Federal Republic, not a reunified Germany. They are not damaged by our discussing with our Western partners whether a reunified Germany should have another status than that provided in the Paris Agreements. Article 10 provides: The Signatory States will review the terms in the event of the re-unification of Germany, or an international understanding being reached on steps towards bringing about the reunification of Germany.

Confederation, Perpetual Partition

As long as West Germany is a member of any Western military alliance, the USSR will not agree to Germany's unification. The maximum the USSR will concede to is a confederation which is perpetual partition. Now power on earth can evict her from East Germany. Hungary is the proof. But will the USSR agree to a German unification provided the re-unified Germany is not a member of any military alliance? The shameful truth about it is that the USSR has never been asked.

Blinded by prosperity (which very real) and fear of Russian communists (which is equally real) the German voters cannot see this finer point of diplomacy in which they have always excelled. I don't want to sound cynical but Unified Germany is not yet a reality. What Germany and Russia are. It is only through intercourse of these two realities that the new reality will be born.

Then there is the little big matter of class interest. The land in East Germany, theoretically, belongs to the tillers but in practice to the State. The farmers are merely farm-hands. With re-unification will the land belong in fact to the farm-hands or will it be handed over to the pre-war landlords? The workers of East Germany have built up large factories and plants on the sites of the enterprises either completely destroyed by the war or removed to Russia as compensation. Will these belong to the original stockholders? The world famous Carl Zeiss concern belonged the workers since 1906. The Communist government have made it a state property. Will it be taken over by the government of the re-unified Germany or returned the workers like the Volkswagen in West Germany?

The Social Democrats have a declared policy on this question. They want the land to remain in the hands of the present farmhands and newly built factories as national property and the Communist party to have the freedom of organisation. If the Adenauer government could offer a competitive policy on these vital questions then much of the damages done by the military commitments could be undone.

But the answer to Oder-Neisse question can be provided not by any German political party but by Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Khrushchev alone. Roosevelt, Churchill, De Gaulle, Truman and Attlee rammed this German territory down Poland's throat for three good reasons: (1) On the day of Hitler's attack on Poland Marshal Stalin incorporated more than one-third of her into Russia, and that was the end of it. (2) A substantial slice of Germany will make her forget the above loss. (3) The world may not find out their formal endorsement of this premature border re-adjustments as contracted in Tehran (November 28, 1943).

On 13th October, Stalin, Molotov, Churchill, Eden, Mikolajczyk (the Polish Prime Minister) and his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Romer, in the presence of the American Ambassador Averell Harriman, held a conference which was later dramatically described by Mikolajczyk. In his Memoirs Churchill omitted the discussion but Harriman reported it in full to his government.

Churchill (to Mikolajczyk): "Don't worry, we will see to it that for the land you lose in the east there will be compensations in Germany, in East Prussia, and Silesia. You'll get a nice outlet to the sea, a good port at Danzig, and the priceless minerals of Silesia."

Mikolajczyk: "I do not accept the offer of compensation but insist on the point of not being able to acknowledge the Curzon line ..."

Molotov (suddenly): "But all this was settled at Tehran" (looked from Churchill to Harriman who were silent. Mikolajczyk who had never been informed of the actual happening at Tehran, for details). "If your memories fail you, let me recall the facts to you. We all agreed at Tehran that the Curzon Line must divide Poland. You will recall that President Roosevelt agreed to this solution and strongly endorsed the line."

Startled by these words, Mikolajczyk looked at Churchill and Harriman, the Ambassador, looked down at the rug.

Churchill (quietly to Mikolajczyk): "I confirm this." At that moment, Stalin indignantly rose and declared that a future change of the frontier was not acceptable to the Soviets. Churchill threw a despairing glance at the ceiling—the session was over.

(by Ripendranath Ghosh)

JANATA, February 22, 1959
THOUGH the mansion of Marxian thought was built with the materials quarried out of British experience, Marxism has exercised singularly little influence on British Socialism. It has been irrigated in its growth by the springs from the nation's past. It shares the national characteristics of a sense of continuity, and of the urge for compromise.

English Socialism is little concerned with abstract principles or universal formulation. It sees Socialism as the contemporary manifestation of the characteristic traditions of the British people. Edmund Burke had said, "It has been the uniform policy of constitution to claim and assert our liberties as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transferred to our posterity, as an estate specially belonging to the people of this kingdom, without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right." British Socialism possesses this character of "entailed inheritance".

As Adam B. Ulam has shown in his book, Philosophical Foundations of English Socialism, the roots of Socialism in England lie deep in radicalism and liberalism. Its path was considerably beaten by the readings of Mill and Bentham. As a matter of fact, Sidney Webb once said, "The Socialists are the Benthamites of this generation."

Newman in his Development of Economic Thought observes, "Mill's picture of distribution was quite different from that painted by Ricardo. Not only the so-called laws of distribution mutable, but the very right of property itself is relative to one granted by society" (p. 108). It was further development and unfolding of such readings that shaped English Socialism.

Unlike the countries of European Continent, in Britain there was not only no deep-seated antagonism between Socialists and Liberals, there was in fact considerable collaboration. As Prof. L. T. Lobbouse put it, "I venture to conclude that the differences between a true and consistent public spirited liberalism and a rational collectivism ought, with genuine effort at mutual understanding, to disappear."

The characteristic expression of English Socialism was the Fabian Society. Of it Adam B. Ulam writes, "The Fabian movement acted for a long time as the general and research staff of English Socialism, and it has helped to convince, for good or for bad, a large part of the nation that Socialism is a refinement and the logical conclusion of democracy."

Another student of Socialism, Peter Gay comes to equally significant conclusion: "It is difficult to resist the temptation of describing the Fabian Society as typical of the British spirit of compromise and moderation."

Engels' scornful criticism of Fabian Socialism, was that it was "an extreme but inevitable consequence of bourgeois liberalism, and hence following tactics of not decisively opposing the Liberals as adversaries but of pushing them, permeating liberalism with Socialism."

Unorthodox and Undogmatic

As soon as they got on to their specific tactics of hushing up the class struggle all turns putrid—misses the main point. In England the State has never been conceived as Klassenstaat, the English Socialists never doubted the neutral character of the State and the grand significance of the tactic of permeation. The spirit of compromise, ingrained in the English, makes that kind of intransigence impossible. As Compton Mackenzie put it, "The English suspect a man who cannot contrive a compromise, whether it be with Almighty God or with fellow mortals."

(To be continued)
The dress of the people...

Costumes, whether they are for occasions or for daily wear, vary all over the world. Climatic conditions, natural materials available, religious demands and individual ingenuity are some of the factors that determine the dress of a people.

Many varied costumes are worn in India but different costumes need different qualities of cloth. The Mafatlal Group of Mills manufactures a wide range of cloth for everyday use in all parts of the country.

The fisherwoman of Bombay, a familiar figure in the market, wears a nine-yard saree. The style is indicative of the freedom and strength these women draw from the ocean.

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MAFATLAL HOUSE, BACKBAY RECLAMATION, BOMBAY I.
SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AND ITS PROSPECTS—II

[This is the concluding instalment of Shri Amlendu Das Gupta's article on "Socialist Movement and Its Prospects". The first instalment appeared in "Janata" of February 8, 1959]

We have discussed Socialism only on the background of metropolitan and colonial bases. The main reason of this preference is that Socialism is not still a distinct movement to count in other countries, specially in the American world. In a sense, Marx was found correct in his analysis of capitalism only in the American background where capitalism needed no colonial dynamics to develop. Here capitalism found a vast field to develop internally and up to the first World War its capitalists found less interest in world market. In her long history America has never earned even 10 per cent. of her national production from foreign trade. The imperialist ventures of America were due to corrupting influence of some or other financial interest in the State Department, and not of capitalism in general. The validity of Marxian analysis is found correct in another respect in America when we see the formation of the American Socialist party in the beginning of the 19th Century. It was a period when American capitalism had almost completed its internal conquest and American Socialism was coming up as an organised political party.

An Intellectual Movement

But Marxism had also its adverse influence on American Socialism. Being influenced by its historicity that Socialism is sure to come out of capitalist development, American Socialists devoted much of their time in the purity of their ideas rather than its organisational sphere. As a result Socialism in America became an intellectual movement rather than an organised political party. The Marxian tradition of class analysis though got a special attention of the American Socialist intellectual, the development of capitalism in a vast field of immense potentiality created a condition of healthy social mobility that ultimately, thanks to its democratic pressures, resulted towards a situation of class adjustment rather than sharp conflict. It is due to this intellectual basis of the American Socialist and the reality of the American social situation. Socialism there is found to develop mainly as an intellectual and moral movement; and in America, though it has not yet come out as a significant political party, its influence over the American people is so deep and abiding as an intellectual and moral force that no political party dare to oppose them. And as a result, many of the Socialist principles have been found to be within the accepted programmes of the American governments.

Not a Political Force

It is on this background one can understand the rise of Roosevelt and New Deals and state backing in the formation of American Trade

by

Amlendu Das Gupta

Union. And it is on this background alone one can understand the contribution of American Socialism as an intellectual and moral force in American society and find the clue why in spite of gradual recognition of its programmes and principles, the American Socialist party has not advanced, rather decayed, from its original position. In America, Socialism is not a political force, it is Fabianism on a grand scale. Not only friends, but also its foes, had to accept its ideas willy-nilly by the pressure of the situation. It is still advancing there. It can be opposed only at its acceptance!

So we find, in the words of one of its great opponents—Von Mises—that socialism has advanced throughout the world. But there is still more than one stumbling block on its way:—(1) The decaying capitalism in its efforts of survival is trying to boost it throughout the world and it may, if the Socialists are not alert, create many complications. By saying this, I do not warn Socialists to be alert on any particular government alone, because no government is today representing only a particular interest. The world is today a world of mixed economy. But that mixed economy has not come out of any social plan or agreed arrangement; it is where different interests jostling with one another for their survival, Socialist vigilance is necessary for the victory of Socialism and the defeat of capitalist interest.

Today, America is said to be the main votary of capitalist system. But that capitalism is in decay in the American continent as well. The American capitalism can thrive only if it can expand in the old world. American capitalists may try their best to expand, but will fail to do so because they come in a period when there is no scope of capitalist expansion, when Socialism has become the only way to national reconstruction of the under-developed countries and when the might of Russia has become a formidable challenge, and when the American people themselves have been deeply influenced by their Socialist intellectual. It is in this background one can understand why the American capitalists, in spite of invitations from the under-developed countries and the inspirations given by their government, hesitate to invest their capital liberally in the under-developed world. Internally as well as externally, by and large, the American government, instead of its capitalists, is seen to play gradually a major role in financial investment as well. Capitalism is vanishing from the American scene.

Rise of Russian Communism

(2) But the other stumbling block towards Socialism is the rise of Russian Communism. It does not tolerate any other Socialism except its national one. Being influenced by the historicity of Marxism the communists think that Socialism is inevitable and their brand of Socialism is the only true Socialism, and so they can temporarily adjust with other varieties, but cannot tolerate them in the long run. Sometimes they think, they can stiffle the capitalists only over the dead body of the Socialists!
I have tried to scan some of the situations which contributed to this cleavage in international Socialism. Socialist theories developed in the background of developing capitalism of Europe, was fond to be mainly an economic doctrine. But in under-developed Russia, where not only ownership but also the production remained unsocialised, the communists wanted to socialise production by the socialisation of ownership. By socialisation they meant largely the political control of their party. But a political party is just one of the many units of society. Communists wanted to subordinate all other social units for their party dictatorship and as a result, not only no political aspects of human life were undermined, but also the political life faced a situation of continued crisis.

A "New Class" of Exploiters . . .

In a society of political dictatorship even a party cannot work democratically as power is found to be concentrated in a few hands. It is in this situation a "new class" of exploiters have emerged in the communist world. History has never seen such unrivalled position of the "new class". It has monopolised not only political and ideological power, but also through them, the economic power of the society as well. It is not only exploiting the people of the communist world, but also trying more and more to expand in the non-communist world. But it also has got less chance to be successful in this period when nationalism of the under-developed world is becoming more attuned with the idea of "alternative Socialism", when the people of the communist countries have already begun to revolt against their communist governments and when America has come out with her unbinding zeal to oppose communism. This American stand has not only saved the world from the open aggression from communism, but also contributed to a great extent towards the liberalising process of the communist world as well. Had Stalin been successful on the Korean front, not only that drive would have swept the whole of the under-developed world, perhaps even the present anti-Stalinist faction of the communist world would not have come up on the scene!

But that does not mean, we have nothing to ponder over American or any other intervention in any part of the world. America or any other country for that matter, just as us, is a nation with many good and bad potentialities. It gives different results—good and bad, in different situations. It would be better if it could be abolished. But unfortunately we are not working for a world system where there will be no need of intervention by any particular Government. As a matter of fact, we are not against intervention. We cry only against that intervention which goes against our interests and we hail that serves us. We accuse big powers when they do not intervene on our side. The best way to avoid intervention is to strengthen the United Nations. Today it is the United States that is bearing the major burden of that world body, and it is surely not the way to diminish her influence from the world situation.

Socialism—the Only Force

So in this post-war situation of capitalist decay and communist domination, the only force that can save the world is the force of Socialism with its "alternative" clan of social reconstruction. It is here the socialist of the newly liberated and under-developed countries can show the world a picture of "alternative Socialism." Here, Socialism is bound to be "alternative" because not only has capitalism proved here to be defunct, but so also has communism proved cruel to the working people. Capitalism has proved barren as it has failed to do its social function of capital accumulation. The imperial basis of Western capitalism has dried up such possibilities. Communism wanted to achieve this end of capital accumulation through its party dictatorship and state enterprise, and in that venture it has proved very cruel and expensive. The low capital basis of the under-developed countries has obviated the gainful possibilities of capitalism and communism or any other types of capital-oriented social system. Even for capital accumulation, people shall have to pursue here a non-capitalist way—not only in its relation of production but also in its forces of production.

In countries where there is dearth of capital, any gainful economic system must have to be labour-oriented, and economic development will depend also on the development of the non-economic qualities of their people. Neither economic way of capitalism, nor the political means of communism, can do this task in the under-developed countries. Economic incentive, in this case, is bound to be low, and political party, if it is not a dictatorial one, will fear to reform the weaknesses of the people, and as a result social development will remain tardy. Communists thought that, through their dictatorship, and that dictatorship has proved not only a costly process they were also the off-springs of that stagnation! And so, within a short period we found that in their effort of sweeping away that stagnation, they have swept away some but added many. For rapid economic advancement they had established dictatorship, and that dictatorship is proved not only a costly process of development, but is now sapping the lion's share of that development at the cost of the common people.

Integration of Social Forces

So, neither an economic way, nor any political way alone can do this job of developing the under-developed world. Nor even intellectual and moral approaches can do this task by themselves. Intellectual and moral approaches are necessary for the advancement of the under-developed countries, but to make those approaches effective, economic and political re-construction of the society is also essential. Economic, political and cultural revolutions are integrated. It is in this situation, the "alternative Socialism" comes up with its social blue-prints where economic, political, intellectual, and moral forces of the society are duly integrated into a harmonious whole, and social organisations are recognised as the manifestations of the manifold personalities of man. Socialism comes not on any structure and super-structural conception, but as an integration of social forces that can demand only our mutual allegiance, and we, in our turn, cannot ignore our obligations towards their functional importance.

(Concluded)
March 1, 1959

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Editorial

Macmillan And Moscow

Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister of U.K., has emerged as the outstanding figure in the Western Bloc. Partly this is due to indisposition of Mr. Dulles who has till now succeeded in keeping in his own hands the initiative and leadership. But partly it is also due to the need for a fresh approach to international problems which Mr. Dulles is yet reluctant to try.

The days of threat of massive retaliation were already numbered when the Soviet Union succeeded in developing medium range and long range rockets. The policy of encircling the Soviet world had also become out of date due to this development. The West still hoped to isolate the Soviet world by trying to get as many nations as possible committed to the theory of regional military alliance for self-defence and by wooing the non-aligned nations through economic help, through cold war propaganda and through the appeal to their instinct of self-preservation. The Soviet Union has succeeded in defeating this policy also. The military alliances instead of creating a greater sense of security in the participating nations only precipitated the internal crisis in country after country and gave a handle to the Russian propaganda bringing these alliances into disrepute and depicting them as the game of new imperialism.

The non-aligned nations were determined to preserve their attitude of non-commitment to either bloc and were prepared to accept the aid only on these terms. Meanwhile, the Soviet economy was slowly emerging out of the difficulties of the post-war period and was showing signs of increasing strength. It was clear that the Russian economy was now ready to lower the counter-offensive on the economic front also. The deliberations of the Twenty-first Congress of the Russian Communist Party clearly testify to the news spirit of confidence which Russia has acquired due to the successful launching of the artificial planet and the Seven-year Plan.

Under the circumstances it is in the interest of the West to explore the possibilities of a new approach and Mr. Macmillan seems to be an ideal person to undertake this delicate mission. Of late he has shown awareness of the need for fresh approach and his reputation as a miracle man makes him a person who can undertake this mission with confidence.

The General Elections are due in the United Kingdom in a short time. The growing unemployment at home and the fears of the sterling balances running down as a result of the convertibility of sterling need to be counterbalanced by some outstanding performances in the international field.
British public opinion is prepared to accept any thaw in the cold war if it can be produced without sacrificing the security and also as far as possible the prestige of the Western world. If Mr. Macmillan succeeds in paving a way for such a thaw that would increase the election chances of his party considerably. Mr. Macmillan has, therefore, a great stake in this mission also and one may expect him to do his best to seize the initiative which has now come on his way.

NOTES AND COMMENT

In one week the Prime Minister availed himself of two occasions to stress the need for family planning for the rapid progress and well-being of the country.

Inaugurating the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Medical Council of India, he asked the doctors to help solve country's population problem which, as he said, was becoming more and more acute every day. Later in the week he inaugurated the sixth International Conference on Planned Parenthood. In this address he again laid stress on this all important problem.

If this sudden interest in the problem is an indication of the realisation by the Government of India of the seriousness of the situation we are facing on the population front it is a very welcome development. As was pointed out by some speakers in the Parliament the complete omission of this issue in the President's Address was regrettable.

Mr. Karmarkar informed the International Conference about the various steps which the Government of India have taken in the direction of encouraging planned parenthood. They have opened 675 clinics in the country so far and 2,000 field workers have been trained to propagate the idea and give technical assistance to the people in cheap and effective methods of family planning. Research in this direction is also being encouraged and this subject has been included in the medical course. But in spite of all these attempts no serious dent in the problem has been made so far and the rise in population continues to cause anxiety to those who have studied the trends in some details.

Under these circumstances the Government should think of ways and means of making their policy more effective. It is no use seeking satisfaction in the fact, as the Prime Minister has done, that the Government of India was the only Government to adopt a policy of planned parenthood. Unless this policy becomes effective it will only be a matter of academic interest.

Nor can blame be laid at the door of the people. As the Prime Minister himself has pointed out even people in rural areas are "getting over their first reaction of amusement and slight shyness" and they are anxious to help the Government in their policy of planned parenthood. What is required, therefore, is a drive with missionary zeal to make this policy effective. Till now the Government has failed to show any signs of any pressurised drive in this direction.

The Congress High Command seems to have been embarrassed by the outright condemnation by some of the top-ranking Congress leaders of the Nagpur Resolution on agrarian reforms. There are clear signs that a section of the Congressmen, the Jan Sangh and other reactionary elements in our society have decided to launch a vigorous drive against the policy of agrarian reforms and especially against the programme of co-operative farming.

The Congress leaders are trying to convince the country that the Nagpur Resolution was not any departure from the Congress policy, and that co-operative farming was always on the agenda of the Congress Party. Partly this is true; but is is equally true that till now the Government or the Congress leaders have not done anything substantial in the direction of making this policy effective and have prevented on more than one occasion by never clearly laying down the concrete contents of the policy.

There are many in the country who even today are not quite convinced about the sense of urgency on the part of the Congress High Command on this issue. But the admission by Prime Minister that only very recently the crucial importance of food and agriculture in our economy was realised, the decision of the National Development Council to socialise wholesale trade in foodgrains and the Prime Minister's insistence on the co-operative farming as the only solution for increasing agricultural production have made the people opposed to this idea rather panicky and they have decided to launch a powerful drive against the policy.

If the Government remains steadfast and tries to put the policy in effect in earnest there is a possibility that out of the present crusade against the policy may emerge a party that is wedded to the interest of the substantial peasants in the rural area. There is a growing realisation by this section of our community of the crucial place they occupy in our democracy and they are bound to utilise their political strength in their attempts not to allow the small peasants to have equal bargaining power through effective contribution on co-operative lines.

It is, therefore, possible that in near future the drive against the co-operative farming will assume serious proportions and that will be the test of the bona fides of the Congress Government. It is likely that on the eve of the third General Election, the Congress leadership might develop cold feet and might torpedo the plan under one pretext or another. It is necessary, therefore, for all those who consider co-operative farming as a vital link in our planned efforts to be vigilant and to counter the propaganda of the substantial peasants against it.
I M M E D I A T E L Y , after my return from Goa prison I was anxious to discuss with Vinobaji some fundamental doubts in my mind regarding the scope and potentiality of the Bhooman or Gramdan movement. But any how meeting was postponed till recently when I was fortunate enough to have long talk with him at Shamalaji, the last camp of his Gujarat tour.

While showing my disagreement with him on the interpretation of the technique of Satyagraha, particularly with regard to his disapproval of the resistance aspect of Satyagraha, I posed following long question.

Satyagraha

Question: You do not doubt believe satyagraha has a place in democracy. But you do not conceive non-violence as a weapon of resistance in the present national and international context. Do you really believe that our country has marched ahead in Gandhian thought not only in theory but also in practice since independence? What new development took place in science except invention of Sputnik during last ten years which induced you to re-think the technique of Satyagraha? We resisted the British rule in the past. Can you not resist even non-violently the present misrule because it happens to be swadeshi? Such attitude reminds me of Arjuna who began to philosophise in order to hide his mood of perplexion when he had actually to face with his own relatives in the war at Kurukshetra.

Or, do you think the foundation of Sarvodaya Samaj is already laid and major task of social revolution is almost completed such movements of peaceful resistance have become out of date?

You seem to believe that truth has an inner potency to assert itself. That it needs no personal or mass effort to establish or good thought in life. Here I must point out that the ideals of truth, love and compassion had been integral parts of our cultural heritage since the days of Buddha and even much before. And yet, after ages only Gandhiji could successfully introduce them in our social life for the first time by application of the active dynamic weapon of Satyagraha on individual or mass basis. Truth and non-violence need the positive sanction of active soul-force based on self-suffering.

I understand your non-stop continuous Padayatra for last seven years to popularise message of Bhooman. It can be well described as Satyagraha but this cannot be our Satyagraha.

Lastly, if even non-violent form of resistance is ruled out, then violence and rowdyst will remain the only alternative for ventilation of people’s grievances when democratic means fail.

Vinobaji: I have firm faith; my voice will be heard. Jawaharlal seems to re-think and show some inclination in that direction. He had written “Discovery of India” in the past but he seems to re-discover India again.

Shanti Sena and Gramdan

Question: I can understand your emphasis on raising of Shanti Sena based on the conviction that the weapon which is capable of defend-
ing the country will alone be trusted as the effective instrument of social or economic change. If India is to be protected by the Army, who will put trust in Khadi and Gramodyoga? But, I put it otherwise. If non-violence effectively becomes the lever of socio-economic change, then only the people will put faith in the efficacy of non-violence for defence purposes. As such Gramdan should be the main programme while Shanti Sena is mere symbolic.

Vinobaji: I cannot conceive of Gramdan without Shanti Sena. Both are inter-dependent, no doubt. Just as Gandhiji while opposing the British rule assured them the protection of their lives, so while preaching liquidation of ownership on land I must create an atmosphere of fearlessness through Shanti Sena.

Democracy and Party System

Question: I believe you are not opposed to the idea or principle of democracy. For the first time in history political expression is given to our ancient ideals of equality of soul and brotherhood of man. In Asia, democracies have fallen because no sincere trial was given to them. They are betrayed rather than defeated. Asia is well suited to experiment with democracy. But have you no faith in the parliamentary form of government based on party system as in the West. I believe new mould can be given to party system, but once the candidates are elected they should cease to be partymen and act as the representatives of the people. There should be no rigid discipline and no whip in the Parliament, and the Cabinet to be national must represent all parties and reflect all shades of opinion in the House.

In order to make democracy real, our villages—the source of material power—should be made the real centres of power. There should be indirect elections in the upper layers where naturally real merits will get an ascendance. In the case the Central Government at Delhi will function as moral government not requiring to exercise wide coercive powers.

I accept your suggestion of ten per cent rajniti, if parties decide issues on the basis of lokniti. Questions in which there is a general unanimity, parties must accept them as national policy, with freedom to propagate views in matters in which there are differences.

Political Organization

Question: You believe in creating people's consciousness and mass power, but you do not believe in their political organization. Class organization of Marxian conception has no doubt undergone change in the Gandhian era. But if toiling masses are not politically organized, how will mass power act and assert? New thought is the germ of revolution, but how can we bring about a revolution without active non-violent mass pressure?

Vinobaji: I believe in people's sanction, but idea of class organization is defective thinking of Europe. There are good or bad elements in all classes. I believe village as a whole should be made a unit of organisation and not one class, may be of the poor. If villages are organised on the basis of gram swarajya, it will be a revolution.

Sarvodaya thought pre-supposes oneness of social life. Divisions in society do not promote good of all. There will be movements on a national plane on basic issues which will become capable enough to alter the present socio-economic set up.

Future of Village Industries

Question: Big industry is the basis of the State policy and yet it talks of concessions to village industries. How long will this co-existence last?

Vinobaji: Government supports Khadi and Village Industries to supplement the needs of big industries and combat unemployment in the transitional period. I asked Jawaharlal whether there should be something like 'Indian economy'. He believes in industrialization to eradicate poverty and backwardness. He believes in Gramdan, but he is not prepared to accept village industries as the base of our national economy, though he is willing to help them in the process of village reconstruction. Still I have faith: our national planning will have to proceed in the direction of decentralized industries.

(To be concluded)

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PYROVIN, etc.
Revisionism of Jean Jaures

The most able and ardent exponent of revisionism was Jean Jaures (1859-1914). Not in France alone, but in the Socialist movement as a whole he was recognised as the foremost revisionist: the Congress of the Second International had rejected only one heresy, and that was the heresy of "Jauresism".

Jaures was a conspicuous and weighty figure in French Socialism. His independence of mind, lucidity of thought and felicity of expression was universally recognised. Behind his accomplished mastery of the spoken and the written word were great scholarship and deep humanity. In 1881 he passed out of the Ecole Normale, second only to Henri Bergson. Twice he had worked as Professor of Philosophy at Toulouse; his many-sided contributions to his journal, L'Humanite, showed that in the open spaces of his thought, there was room for everything human. It came naturally to him to appreciate affinities rather than differences, to discover the common ground and indicate the common horizon, to work through sympathy and understanding.

He was a lover as well as student of his nation's past: his deepest devotion was reserved for the French Revolution. He saw the revolution not as a sudden eruption but as the culmination of silent maturing. The new conception of right that the Revolution had unveiled Socialism adopts and makes its own. It becomes "the party of democracy and the Great Revolution". Though Socialism identifies itself with the French Revolution under the combined action of two forces, the force of idea of the right and the force of the new born activity of the proletariat. The abolition of capitalism was not merely inevitable, but just.

The French Socialist movement was sharply divided: at one extreme were the Broussouists, (Paul Brousses 1854-1912), who prided on being practical, "possibilities": "We split up our programme until we finally make it possible." It was a French version of the Fabian tactic: "step by step and slice by slice". At the other extreme were the Guestdists who shared their leader's belief that "In multiplying reforms one only multiplies shame, for all rights granted to the workers in the capitalist regime will always remain a dead letter." (Jules Guesde 1845-1922). For Jaures reforms were not palliatives, but preparations: "reforms which pave the way and prepare for a new social order, and by their organic force hasten the dissolution of the old."

Detested War

For him Socialism was not some "spirit moving over the face of the waters," but something incorporated in institutions, such as universal suffrage, democracy, trade unions, co-operative society. Through their development and strength, and never through any "decisive rupture", would the egalitarian objectives be reached. "Decomposition" of economic and social life was no revolution but "exactly counter to the revolution." Revolution is growth, steady and sure change: "It is like the silent budding of the tree in Spring."

Such an evolutionary and organic conception of revolution led him to counter forces of disruption and cherish conserving forces. He detested war. Against war he pressed the Socialists to use the sanctions of the general strike, and it was as an ardent pacifist, as an uncompromising denouncer of war, that he fell a victim to an assassin's bullet on July 31, 1914—the first and the noblest casualty of the war. "You must know how to be popular" he once said, "but you must know how to spend your popularity."

It was his fear of the war machine that has led Jaures to plunge headlong into L'Affair Dreyfus. Dreyfus was a victim of racial prejudice, of the army's corruption and high-handedness. In rushing to Dreyfus's defence Jaures felt that he was guarding the democratic base of the Republic against dire threats. The tragic figure of Dreyfus was transfigured for Jaures, as for Zola into a symbol of the lost man fighting the Leviathan. "We are not bound to put ourselves outside humanity, for the sake of remaining inside Socialism."

Nation-States

In Jaures's internationalism accent was on nation too. Marx's aphorism, "The worker has no fatherland," was to Jaures a jest to be overcome, not a lever to be operated. In the nation he saw the sole "universal association that can guarantee the rights of all individuals without exception, not only those of the living, but of those who are yet unborn." He welcomed the emergence of new nation-states, of Italy and Germany: "For a long time to come the nation as such will furnish the historical setting for Socialism; it will be the mould in which the new justice will be cast."

The proletariat as the carrier of Socialism, must infuse with its ideals other sections of society, above all the peasants. Flocon's warning to Engels that the 11 million peasant farmers of France were "passionate property owners" was not lost on Jaures. He believed it was unwise to break, in the name of Socialism, the peculiarly close relationship that the peasant had formed with the land. He wished Socialism to modulate its pace and form in such a manner as to enlist the allegiance of the peasant: "I think it extremely short-sighted to say that if the peasants are neutral that will be enough. No social force can remain neutral when a great movement is afoot. If they are not with us, they will be against us."

Continuous Growth

He believed that the revolution was continuously broadening and deepening: from 80,000 voters in 1815 and 200,000 in 1830. France had grown, by the end of the century, to a democratic republic founded on adult suffrage. Socialism was to
As capitalism menaced all small people, the movement towards Socialism became for Jaures a grand alliance with all Radicals and Republicans. Such a unity was especially necessary where the gains of democracy were in peril. His high road to Socialism was an alliance, at the governmental level, of Socialists and Radical Republicans. That was the heresy of Jauresism.

In 1899, Jaures, as many others felt, that the Republic was menaced. To strengthen democratic forces he approved of Millerand joining the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet: the first Socialist in a bourgeois Government: This was l'affair Millerand that shocked and rocked the Socialist movement in many countries.

How did Jaures justify such a sea-change in Socialism?

There was no under-estimation of the evils of capitalism: The proletarian's road of life is cut by toll-gates set up by capital; the toll was on the life process itself because it spelt "alienation of his individuality." He is mere "hands" with no control on the purpose or the process of his labour. "The personality of the proletarian was lessened as well as his substance". Jaures agreed with the Marxian diagnosis of the disease, but no further. Marxian prognosis was superannuated because "it proceeds either from worn-out historical hypotheses, or from inexact economic hypotheses."

Gratifying Process

Marx had argued in the Manifesto that by violent revolution against the middle class would the working class grasp power and realise Communism. But the revolution had still to be a bourgeois revolution, because the proletariat was too weak to initiate one itself. The proletarian revolution is to be grafted on a victorious bourgeois revolution. Jaures contended that the proletariat's social power cannot grow by such convulsions; He warningly reproduced Miguel's words to Marx (1850), "We can perhaps give an anti-bourgeois direction to the Revolution for a little while, we can destroy the essential conditions of bourgeois production; but we cannot possibly beat down the small trades people and shop-keeping class. My motto is to secure all that you can get. We ought to prevent the lower and middle-class from forming any organisation for as long a time as possible after the first victory, and especially to oppose ourselves in serried ranks to every constitutional assembly. Partial terrorism, local anarchy, must replace for us what we lack in bulk."

To replace "lack in bulk" in this fashion was to disrupt life and destroy society. Jaures dismissed the idea as "a parasite Revolution."

Manifesto Exposed

And what does such revolution achieve? Jaures analysed the programme of the Manifesto and showed it to be a strange mixture of "the agrarian communism of the 18th century and some of the elements of what we call today the programme of St. Mande." He was, however, appalled more by "the chaos of method" than by "the chaos of programme" in the Manifesto. The latter could be unravelled, the former was beyond repair.

Marx, literally believed in the increasing misery of the worker; he had no faith in the proletariat's capacity for reforms, social amelioration. In his opinion, all that it could achieve was a sense of injury and a sense of strength. To his dialectical understanding, absolute destitution was the pre-condition of the absolute liberation. And there, asserts Jaures with the whole strength of his being, "Marx was mistaken." The fundamental error lay in "giving precedence to the forces that in a capitalist society tend to lower the status of the workmen over those forces that tend to raise it." The error further lies in looking for "the sudden downfall of capitalism, and the sudden accession of the proletariat to power" due to a political upheaval or an economic collapse. Revolution is not sudden collapse and change, but basic transformation imperceptibly matured. Ultimately, it is enrancement, not deracination.

The deep springs of life that gush forth with marvellous abundance are the real sinews of Socialism. The capital fact to remember was that "in all constitutions of Central and Western Europe, there are already enough democratic elements for the transition to real democracy to be made without a revolutionary crisis." Experience had proved the democratic state to be penetrable to workers' influence; in France especially, the proletariat was in possession of the "tools and workshop" of its destiny.

Jaures quotes with full approval long extracts from William Liebknecht (1826-1900), "The S. D. P. is a party of all the people. It ought then to turn towards the people, and, as soon as the occasion arises, by practical proposals and projects of legislation of general interest, to give positive proof that the good of the people is its only aim, and the will of the people its only rule. . . . We have a higher conception of the duty of the state towards the individual than our adversaries have, and we shall not lower it, even if we are dealing with our adversaries, the privileged and the monopolists." Harmonious Evolution

Details of this "peaceful and harmonious evolution to bring about the transition from legal injustice to legal justice" Jaures supplied from the writings of Liebknecht himself. A fragment of his notes written in the dark days of 1881 and published posthumously was particularly underscored by Jaures. Therein Liebknecht foresaw the possibility of the Socialists being called upon, as result of either military set-back or political liberalisation, "to govern, or at least to share in the government."

Such possibilities were an integral part of the great social adaptation that was proceeding apace. Those who were enemies of Socialism, from interest, not ignorance, were "almost negligible." The immense majority was moving towards social change by the pressure of social forces. It was the task of the Socialist to convert the process into a conscious effort, to convert ignorant antipathy into sympathetic understanding. In rolling prose, Jaures summed up the position. "In other words, since the pressure of events and the growing organisation of the Socialist Party, the proletariat have finally induced even those classes and those parties which would be naturally most opposed to them to accept the projects of social legislation which will eventually lead to Socialism; since the immense majority of the nation has allowed itself to be started in the direction of Socialism, and one might say, lifted up to the first step of social organisation, we may conclude that in the same way the immense majority of the nation can be lifted, step by step, by means of an ever more active and..."
IN RETROSPECT—II

POST-1857 days ushered in an era of all pervading gloom in the country. A nation, so badly defeated in the filed of battle, was lying prostrate in utter humiliation at the feet of the proud conqueror. Light—the holy and kindly light—had gone out of the nation's eye. And in that soul killing abysmal darkness, the nation prayed and patiently waited for a new dawn, pregnant with the promise of freedom from slavery, to light up the eastern horizon. In the meanwhile, powerful forces of rebellion were being generated in the dark womb of history.

There came a time when Bengal realised that the British had not come to the country with the genuine message of liberation from the forces of tyranny, torture and starvation. On the contrary, these were precisely the things to which Britain was determined to subject the country. Bengal also realised, after the introduction of English education in North India, that her cherished hope of intellectual overlordship was about to be shipwrecked.

It was at this point Bengal took up the challenge. She became a rebel. In the beginning the tone was modest, almost to the point of begging, in which Bengal asked the foreigners to behave. Her appeal and petitions to the British bore little or no fruit. Gradually Bengal's tone rose to a pitch and a flame in her heart fanned by the ever-tempestuous wind of the will to freedom, developed into an all-consuming blaze. North India, at that point, was almost in a state of suspended animation.

Blood and Iron

It was 1905 when the British proposal to partition Bengal supplied the necessary spark to the magazine. A wild fire engulfed the land of Bengal. The partition of Bengal, a settled fact of Curzon, was unsettled by the will of the people. In her bid to break the chains of slavery, Bengal very determinedly took to the glorious path where, until then, the weeds drew the sap from the congealed blood of the soldiers of the 1857 war of freedom. It was the path of blood and iron. Innumerable sons of the soil gave their everything in the cause of freedom. Violent struggles raged unremittingly in Bengal. At this point, Bengal did not have the mind or the time to listen to any other message. She became the unchallenged leader of the national struggle for freedom. And the heroism of Bengal's youth became the symbol of the country's noble hope for a radiant future.

Then, Gandhiji arrived, with his message of non-violence, on the political scene of the country. North India, almost without a murmur, accepted him. Bengal, however, refused to do so. Once again conflicts arose over the question of the ethics of violence and non-violence.

by

Bhola Chatterjee

in the freedom struggle, between Bengal and North India. Gradually the freedom struggle, so long restricted in its scope, developed into a non-violence oriented mass struggle, and its leadership passed into the hands of North India. Resenting this Bengal made repeated efforts to reconvert the country into the captivating message of violent resistance to the British. Here she failed. Not only that, partisans of the Gandhian school of thought appeared in Bengal and made efforts at reconciliation. However, these efforts did not have desired effect. Things continued in this manner until Bengal found at the Tripury Congress, in 1938, an opportunity to rally once again.

That year Subhas Bose had, deputifying Gandhiji's nominee, been reelected for a second term of presidency of the Congress. Subhas, with his vision and crusading zeal for unblemished freedom though struggle, was impatient to give an immediate call for a nation-wide fight to throw the British off the shores of India. Here was Bengal's opportunity to ride the storm and to lead the country, at the crest of the waves of a gigantic mass struggle, into the very gates of the promised land. Bengal rose to a man at Subhas's call; but Gandhiji remained unresponsive. Not only quit the Congress. This resulted in that; had; offered; such determined opposition that Subhas was compelled, for all practical purposes, to an amount of bitterness against North India, the depth of which would be difficult to gauge.

Then came the second World War. With Japan participating in it, Bengal was turned overnight into a major theatre of operation against the "Axis". While air-raid sirens were wailing in many parts of Bengal and the Japanese guns were booming across all the north-eastern frontiers of India, came Gandhiji's call for "Quit India" in 1942. The people of India fought heroically against the British; but Bengal's share of it was not, judged by any standard, as large as it should have been.

"People's War"

At this point, a speck of hideously dark cloud, in the shape of the Communist Party, appeared in the gloomy sky of Bengal. An unadulterated imperialist war suddenly changed its character, with Russia's involvement in it, into that of a "People's War". And very dutifully the Bengal Communists echoed, though feebly, the same. Scores of bent-back and famished Bengalees with hollow cheeks and sunken eyes, wearing red caps and waving tiny red banners, appeared in the streets, lanes and alley-ways of Bengal's cities and villages as recruiting agents of the British. God must have had a shudder at the sight of these men who were supposed to have been made in his own image. It was a pathetic sight indeed. But Bengal's cup of misery had yet to be filled up to the brim.

1943 witnessed recorded history's worst ever man made famine in Bengal. Criminally misguided policy of the British, and the cannibalistic greed of a large number of native rice-traders caused the famine which took a toll of nearly five million souls. Like rats the Bengalees died of starvation. They died right in front of over-loaded grain stores; they also died starving at over-stuffed foodshops. Not a single food-shop was looted; no voice, not even a whisper, of protest was heard. Bengal was left drifting like a flotsam in her sea of misery. Of course, the Communists and some other scraps of humanity, that included a number of the so-called eminent sons of Bengal, cheerfully helped the Government to run gruel kitchens. That spiritually
Bengal...survived, though badly mauled, the catastrophe was largely due to the fact that, the heroic exploits of the Azad Hind Fauz, led by Subhas, had kept a flickering light of hope burning.

The termination of the second World War raised new hopes in the country as a whole. The Labour Party's accession to power in Britain brought the dream of freedom very near to reality. And the beginning of the end of India's journey, on the road to freedom, began. Bengal pulsed with life. The movement, for release of the soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauz, whipped up the people of Bengal almost to a point of frenzy. Subhas gave a symbol which was considered to be Bengal's special privilege to treasure.

For a brief period it appeared as if Bengal had, from the wrecks into which she had been turned by the famine and the war, salvaged her soul. But it was not long before fresh complications cropped up in Bengal. The Muslim League, the leadership of which hailed from North India, staked its claim with serious determination for a separate Muslim State. The Muslim League's claim for a separate state had been there for a considerable period of time. But now the claim was clotted in the apron of sanctity supplied by the British Government, though socialist in character, in its own interest. The national leaders including Gandhiji, however, gave a solemn pledge to the effect that the division of the country would not, under any circumstance, be tolerated.

Cabinet Mission

At this point the stage was set for the writing of one of the darkest chapters of India's history. The British Cabinet Mission was here, and the national leaders were boundlessly busy for a negotiated freedom. The Muslim League, in order to back its claim for a separate state with sufficient seriousness, found it imperative to plunge the country into the chasm of a gigantic communal butchery. Bengal and the Punjab became the victims of a fratricide, a holocaust which owned by non-Bengalees, has presented a very dismal picture. Most of the state's industries are owned by non-West Bengalees, who are mostly Englishmen and North Indians. India's largest city Calcutta, the nerve centre of West Bengal's life, presents a very dismal picture.

This supposed city of palaces, where there are very few places which owned by non-Bengalees, has immense stretches of stinking filth in the shape of bustees which would have been tolerable as pigsties in Dickensian England. Of the few million dwellers of Calcutta, a little more than one-fourth per cent lives for every twenty-six heads and one latrine in these bustees where, not more than one water-tap for every twenty-six heads, would

(Continued on page 11)
LETTER FROM EUROPE

BERLIN

(This is concluding instalment of "Berlin Diary", question of Germany, particularly Berlin, is occupying the attention of the observers. Series of articles by Shri Nripendranath Ghosh must have been liked by our readers)

Unlike others, the then allies, Russia has territorially profited out of the second World War. Tehran was for her a Brestlitvovsk in reverse (March 3, 1948). Starting from the Arctic circle 70,000 square miles of Finland, whole of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, half of East Prussia, one-third of Poland, Czechoslovakia's tail-end called Ruthenia Bessarabia and Bukovina of Roumania and a slice of Bulgaria.

This annexation can be attributed to Marshal Stalin, not to Mr. Khrushchev. It is possible that he is fully aware of the hidden but smouldering resentment all along her border caused by retention of these territories.

Since Marshal Stalin's death Porkakala—in Finland—has been evacuated. Negotiation is going on over the return of Karelia and the rest of the annexed territories belonging to the countries who are at present Russia's friends. Perhaps Mr. Khrushchev is holding on to these as pawns for future moves. Once this process of "restoration" has started it is bound to touch the Polish frontiers—pre-Hitler frontiers. Nobody knows better than Mr. Khrushchev that the Poles have not written off her Eastern territories. And this matter is directly connected with the Oder-Neisse province of Germany.

The Potsdam Agreement

Russia, Britain and America signed the Potsdam Agreement on August 2, 1945:

The three heads of the Governments agree that pending final determination of Poland's western frontier, the former German territories east of a line running from the Baltic Sea immediately west of Swinemunde, and thence along the Oder river to the confluence of the Western Neisse river and along the Western Neisse to the Czechoslovak frontier shall be under the administration of the Polish State....

"The three Governments, having considered the question in all its aspects recognise the fact that the transfer to Germany of German populations, or elements thereof, remaining in Poland...will have to be undertaken." (From an article by John Peet, a brilliant journalist on the staff of Democratic German Report, September 27, 1947.)

Six million Germans have been removed from the areas concerned. Five million Poles have been freshly settled. Since then several heads of the Western States have said things which have put a different complexion to this problem. Lest there should be any error in representation, I am again quoting the Democratic German Report of the same date published in East Berlin.

President Harry Truman (August 9, 1945): "The territory will provide a short and easily defensible frontier between Poland and Germany. The action taken in Berlin (Potsdamer Platz is the name of the famous avenue) will help carry out the basic policy of the United Nations towards Poland—to create a strong, independent and prosperous nation with a government to be selected by the people themselves."

Britain's Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin (August 20, 1945): "There was no escaping the course adopted so that the economy of the region might be restored and enabled to make its full contribution as soon as possible to provisioning a devastated Europe."

Mr. Anthony Eden: "I cannot see how the Polish population can settle in these vast areas of Germany, man its industry, and look after its agricultural land to produce food for other parts of Europe."

The same article continues at the end, "The only thing that could drive out the more than five million Poles who now live and work there would be another world war." Mr. Feet is right.

Flushed by the military victory over Germany and haunted by their conscience dirtied in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam the leaders of Western world were trying to hide from their own painful realisation. They have earned the suffix "Great" by making great sacrifice of great hunks of others' territories to another "Great" one. Now they are stuck with the empty "Great" suffix and the "Great" one has the territory.

A Firm Friendship

Mr. Khrushchev knows that peace in Europe depends on a firm friendship between the USSR and Germany. The rest can be handled without any considerable difficulty. If Germany could show some practical appreciation of the same rule (as she did by exchanging diplomatic relations with Russia) the problem of Oder-Neisse would look different to Germany, Poland and Russia. After all a problem is only as hard as the determination of those concerned to solve it. And a gradual solution is far better than no solution at all. Even a bad start is better than immobility.

The USSR is the conqueror. The USSR can deliver the goods the Germans want. She is the party to talks to. A difference in approach and a different kind of spokesman may be thing Mr. Khrushchev is waiting for. If his government could offer a competitive policy on these vital questions then much of the damage done by the military commitments could be undone.

Berlin crisis would resolve in due course. Russia will not waste its grand army to please the East German government; but she may leave it to the latter to plague the path of unification. This is where West Berlin and its Burgomeister is going to assume more and more importance everyday. With the death of Kurt Schumacher, the Social Democrats have lost 10 million votes. With the emergence of Willy Brandt they have at last found a match for aging Adenauer and an answer to the Communist propaganda.
SINCE the end of the war quite a few countries had to face the question of partition: Korea, Indo-China, India, Palestine and Trieste. To bring forward an old unsettled account, Eire was the first to feel the pain of the geo-political surgery. In each and everyone of these cases, some or other big power or powers were interested. In case of Trieste, Russia backed capitalist Italy as against Communist Yugoslavia, and Israel's case against the Arabs. So one cannot help feeling that the big powers are more than interested in these acts of parceling out others' countries. But in cases of countries like Austria and Germany all of them adopted an altogether different attitude. The emphasis is on unity. Let us not forget that Russia left Austria most gracefully and even now, she talks of German unification.

As an Indian I cannot grudge unification of any country. I would like to see Germany unified before this article goes to the press. But judging from the score, I should say that the Big Powers are in no hurry, although they put up a gigantic show in favour of einheit. (Sometime one can be very static in a very dynamic way). What have they got to lose?

All these Big Powers have been sworn enemies of Germany in two world wars, within our memory. France is still licking her war-wounds. Britain is gradually losing her traditional customers to Germany. Deutsche Mark is becoming a challenge to U.S.A. in South America. A unified Germany will be a bigger competitor and hotter to handle. Russia does not want another economic rival on her western boarder since a "neutral" and unified Germany can easily undermine her economic and eventually political hegemony in entire Europe. China and West Germany have already discussed business transaction on a large-scale. These are the ugly prospects; and the ugliest of them all is that a "non-committed" Germany will certainly become the leader of the non-committed bloc which without exception will welcome her. So, why unite her!

All sorts of plans have been proposed: Rapachki, Kenan, Gaitskell, Khrushchev and what you have. The main theme of all these plans is that unified Germany should not be a militarised state, nor should she be a member of any military alliance. The most ridiculous feature of this "military" affair is that the Western powers have made West Germany a member of NATO and the USSR has made East Germany a member of the Warsaw Pact, both being strictly military alliances. They can make a start by releasing both East and West Germany from the respective war pacts.

As long as the Big Powers do not do that the world (which is far bigger now than it was during the Potsdam) has no reason to believe that they want Germany's unification.

A Pre-arranged Show

America, Britain, France and Russia fought and defeated Germany at a very heavy cost and partitioned her. Now they find it silly to go to war to unify her.

The war hoops in Berlin sound like a pre-arranged show staged by two set of braves who have got so used to war-paint that it pains them to wash it off and sit down together to smoke the peace-pipe. The militarists on both sides are like the female stars of Hollywood with whom obscenity is the stock-in-trade. If they draped themselves decently, no producer on earth would hire them. They are so powerful that they can boast of having the Big Powers as their devoted fans. Germany does not have to be a part of this global mono-maniac. She could turn the Berlin crisis into a gaping chasm and eventually their own Wundebar Deutschand and the world into an atomic graveyard. On the other hand, she could use Berlin as the laboratory for finding the much-desired einheit which will open the door to atomic prosperity.

All the nations specially the uncommitted ones are waiting for the golden day when they would greet Germany as the captain of the Third Force and Berlin its fountainhead.

(Concluded)
more energetic proletarian influence, and an even more effective mechanism of reforms, to the level of our ultimate ideal."

Liebknecht had, therefore, defined the working class in the broadest terms: "Thus besides the wage-earning-class the small framers and the small shop-keepers ... . Some maintain that the wage earning proletariat is the only really revolutionary class, that it alone forms the Socialist army, and that we ought to regard with suspicion all adherents belonging to other classes and other conditions of life. Fortunately, these senseless ideas have never taken hold of the German Social Democracy."

Liebknecht's Golden Rule

In the past, notwithstanding the epic heroism of the workmen of Paris and Lyons, because of this "fatal error" French socialism had to pay dearly. Liebknecht's "golden rule" was "to expand, not to contract": "The circle of Socialism should widen more and more, until we have converted most of our adversaries to being our friends, or at least disarmed their opposition." "The noblest thing about Socialism," commented Jaures, "is precisely that it is not the regime of a minority. It cannot, and ought not to be imposed by a minority."

For him a majority was not a mere product of parliamentary arithmetic. It was the recognition of a complex of facts: firstly "In all classes, in all conditions of life, we find active wills, forces in motion."

"Everywhere the individuals have become self-conscious." Secondly, "the cutting up and sub-division of life" that the insurrectionists desired "is exactly counter to the Revolution."

"Every great revolution presupposes an exaltation of life, and this exaltation is only possible when there is that consciousness of a vast unity by the ardent intercommunication of strength and enthusiasm." Parliamentary work for well-defined reforms; strikes for specific and widely accepted purposes, but above all, to work constructively to enable the Socialist Revolution to create new conditions and relations of production.

"In 1789, the Revolution had only a negative work to perform in the domain of property. It abolished, it did not create." The Scroll of socialism is concerned with creation, construction; only fugitive pages deal with destruction. It was as a Book of Life and a Song of Creation that Jaures embraced socialism.

Jaures did not believe that it is enough to try to arouse the passion for truth and justice in individual consciences, it is necessary also to forge for the use of the working-class "a tool for governing and law-making."

"Our interpretation of history," wrote Jaures in the Histoire Socialiste, "will be materialist as with Marx, and idealist as with Michelet. Economic life is certainly the root and source of human history, but throughout the whole succession of social forms man as a thinking creature aspires to the full life of the ideal, to the ardent communion between his uneasy spirit, hungry for unity, and the mysterious universe ... . There is no human being who entirely ceases to be a man and becomes a member of a class ... What is more, the classes-themselves, as such, are not moved exclusively by class consciousness. Just as at different temperatures the same chemical elements form quite different combinations, so is there a moral temperature, a human temperature, which forms the most diverse historical combinations from the same human elements."

Jaures had decisively moved away from Marxism, his sole debt to which was the fruitful union, achieved by Marx, of the labour movement and the socialist idea. Jaures's socialism had its roots in the historical tradition of France. In the goblet of his thought sparkled the juice of native vines. Socialism he viewed as the ripening of national awakening, related as fruit to the flower. He anathematised not just the violence of war, but violence by itself, because it damages humanity in man. Socialism, the society of free and equal men, L'Etat Social as against L'Etat Patron, can come only through greater self-awareness and social integration of man. Against the ravages of prejudice he sought to strengthen reason and sympathy. This constructive ethos, this concept of socialism as not just the voice of suffering masses but of martyred truth never became an integral part of French socialism. His emphasis on the need for policy to evolve with the degree of development of the proletariat was denounced as weakening the class instinct of the worker. The critics who were loth to abandon the dream of "The Revolution," were unwilling to commit themselves to a routine of steady improvement in the efficiency and the decency of life. They who had repulsed Proudhon's home-brew had little use for Jaures' elixir. Only in Sorel's intoxicant they faintly re-captured the flavour of Marx.

Failure to rise to the vision of Jaures paradoxically led French socialism first to the embrace of the War and then to the fold of the Moscow International. By a two-thirds majority, in 1920, French socialism became "Communist." L'Humanite, Jaures' Humanite, became the organ of Communism. Jaures remains canonised: his teachings ignored, reviled; his memory, the magic of his name, used for ends he would never bless.

(To be continued)
The Communist party is in any position to offer. The Congress cannot because of the fact that, it is irrevocably bound up with some of the most despicable aspects of the diseased social order, the complete eradication of which alone can solve the problem. What is required is a new social order embodying a set of values which, by releasing the pent up energy of the people, would create a climate where in the conquest of one's destiny would become the privilege of all, and not that of a limited few. Such a society can be built, not by giving a new look to the existing social order, but upon the very ruins of it. This is too ambitious a task for the Congress to perform.

The Communist party, given the opportunity, would probably be able to build a new society wherein the problems of bread might find a solution. But quite certainly it would have to be mortgaged for the solitary freedom from want of primary creature comforts. This is a remedy which would be much worse than the disease itself.
Editorial

Budget In The Planned Era

THE Finance Minister in his Budget speech has stated “The annual budget is now something more than a simple account of Governments' housekeeping”. The Budget in the planned era is, therefore, to be viewed as a result of the forces maturing in the economy and as an instrument of giving a definite direction to the economic trends. The ways and means position and the overall deficits and surpluses, especially, reflect the tempo of economic activities, in the community. The Budget is therefore rightly accompanied by the Economic Survey for the current year in terms of which alone its full implications are to be appreciated.

It must be said to the credit of the Minister of Finance that the Economic Survey gives us a faithful picture of the economy as it emerges from the statistics collected by the Ministry. It is possible that these statistics may not reflect in absolute terms the performance of the economy in a given year because the statistical organisation is still in its infancy. But the relative picture as it changes from year to year can be gleaned through these statistics and the main trends in the economy are reflected in the tables compiled by the Ministry.

The ways and means position as it emerges out of the revised estimate for the year 1958-59 and the Budget estimate for 1959-60 is such as would cause concern among those who want to see our country marching rapidly towards a stage where the growth of economy might be continuous and self-supporting. The revenue surplus of 1956-57 which stood at Rs. 89.40 crores dropped in 1957-58 to Rs. 42.05 crores and estimated to be turned into a deficit of Rs. 59.95 crores in 1958-59. The deficit for 1959-60 is expected to be of the order of Rs. 58.32 crores even if all the proposals of the Finance Minister are accepted by the Parliament. And even this figure does not reveal the true state of affairs as the Finance Minister is proposing to draw from the profits of the Reserve Bank Rs. 40 crores instead of Rs. 30 crores this year and tells us that this is a purely temporary arrangement.

He is also drawing Rs. 10 crores from out of the accumulated surpluses in the past on the circulation of rupees and small coins. These withdrawals represent only a windfall earning and will not be available in the future. The situation in the Revenue Account is thus rather disheartening indeed. It is quite clear that the resources are not developing at the rate at which the expenditure is mounting up.
The overall position emerging from the Revenue and Capital Accounts taken together is even more depressing as can be seen from the expansion of Treasury Bills. 1956-57 the order of expansion was nearly Rs. 240.45 crores. This mounted to Rs. 459.43 crores in 1957-58. After this there is some drop. In 1958-59 the expansion is likely to be of the order of Rs. 280 crores and in 1959-60 of the order of Rs. 250 crores. But this drop is largely due to the success in raising new loans which is largely attributable to the slackening of the demand for funds of the private sector which is perhaps a temporary phenomena.

This ways and means position clearly reflects and is the consequence of the slackening of economic activities. The economic indication as presented in the Economic Survey presents a rather dismal picture. There is a drop in agricultural production in spite of considerable investments in the preceding years both in the public and the private sector, there is a drop in the rate of growth of the industrial production. This trend in industrial production has been affected, according to the Economic Survey not only by import restriction, but also by some slackening in internal demand. There is a continuing pressure on the Balance of Payments because of the poor performance in the field of exports. Investment activity is levelling off in spite of continued rise in prices. Unemployment is increasing and so does the working class cost of living index.

One interesting fact to be noted in this connection is that the economy is reaching a stage of stagnation in spite of the fact that the total investment in the economy is likely to reach the target of Rs. 6,200 crores in spite of the curtailments in the Plan outlays. We are told that the Private Sector has already fulfilled its target of investment. In the Public Sector there is some lag but it is likely to be made up in the coming two years. And yet the productivity is not increasing at the rate encouraged in the Plan.

We are told by the Finance Minister that during the Third Plan period the aim would be to create "within the economic conditions which will make the process of growth continuous and self-supporting".

This can happen only when there is enough saving in the community, when this saving is turned into investment, and the investment is able to generate income that would meet both the consumption needs and the capital needs of the Community. We are nowhere near the situation.

This requires a revaluation of our economic policy and planning technique. Mere call for austerity and sacrifice is not enough. Such a call might result in the increase in unused capacity in the economy and consequent unemployment. What is needed is husbanding of resources in a manner whereby the capacity is utilised fully and capital formation is accelerated. All the sectors of the economy have to be geared to this task and the criteria to be applied are not only of restricting consumption and increasing productivity. The real criterion has to be maximum utilisation of existing capacity; savings that would be in the form which can at once be turned into investment and the maximum output from the increased capital so formed. It is also necessary to remember that human resources are as much important as physical resources, "if not more". Maximum utilisation of human resources and increasing their productivity have therefore to be objectives in the forefront of our economic policy. Only thus shall we succeed in generating forces that would lead to the process of growth continuous and self-supporting.

The Railway Budget now before the Parliament discloses certain developments that are of a highly satisfactory nature, while it also indicates certain trends which need to be watched very carefully. The most satisfactory aspect of the Budget is that it discloses that the country is fast reaching the point of self-sufficiency in matters of stores, rolling stocks and other requirements of the Indian Railways. As the Railway Minister, in his speech while introducing the Budget observed, "There has been a steady progress towards the objective of self-sufficiency in the country in the manufacture of steam locomotives, carriages, under-frames and wagons". At another place he says, "the indigenous production of railway equipment other than rolling stock and rolling stock parts also continues to make headway". This is very gratifying, especially in view of the shortage of foreign finance resources, and the Railway Ministry needs to be congratulated for the same.

The volume of traffic handled, the number of passengers originating, passenger miles, tonnage originating and ton-miles have also shown increasing trends. As the report of the Railway Board points out several indices of operation like net ton-mile per wagon-day, loads of goods trains and net ton-miles per goods-train-hour have touched fresh levels on both the broad and meter gauges.

Railways' Disquieting Feature

While all these developments are heartening, the financial results of the working of the Railways and the state of various Railway funds show tendencies that are disquieting. While gross traffic receipts are rising, the ordinary working expenses are rising still faster, with the result that the operating ratio, which was falling during the First Plan period, has shown tendencies to rise again. Surplus of earning over expenditure is also continuously falling. From Rs. 20.22 crores in 1956-57 it fell to Rs. 13.38 crores in 1957-58 and in the revised estimates for 1958-59 it is estimated to fall to Rs. 13 crores.

This has affected the Development Fund, which mainly depends on these surpluses. At the end of 1958-59 the fund is estimated to show a deficit of Rs. 10.95 crores. In the Budget year also, further deficit, to the tune of nearly Rs. 11 crores, is expected in this Fund. The Depreciation Reserve Fund is also getting depleted year after year. Only the Revenue Reserve Fund discloses a comfortable balance. This situation needs a very close examination as any complacency in this matter might prove a source of acute anxiety in future.

In his speech the Railway Minister has talked of the growing competition from the road transport, both in goods and passenger transport but especially in the
case of high rated goods. This is surprising in view of the fact that the Railway Ministry has always contended that the resources of development placed by the Planning Commission at its disposal are not sufficient to meet the increasing demands on Railways both for passengers and goods traffic. Instead of using Government authority to push the road transport out of the competitive position, the Railway Board should examine its own rates and conditions of service and should do the needful to attract more customers.

The Railway Minister has also referred to the unity move between the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and has expressed the hope "that unity would be achieved in near future". But the award of the Arbitrator whose services were made available by the Railway Minister "to help the Federation in the process of implementation of the unity agreement" clearly shows that the N.F.I.R. is determined to defeat any unity move. This attitude on the part of the N.F.I.R. is understandable because by refusing to honour the unity agreement it can enjoy the status of the sole recognised federation of railwaymen. It is, therefore, incumbent on the Railway Ministry in the interest of equity and fairplay, in the interest of contentment and well-being of those railwaymen who owe allegiance to the A.I.R.F. and in the interest of the efficient working of the Railways, to recognise the A.I.R.F. at least on the same terms as the N.F.I.R. is recognised. This might help in the unity move itself, because once the N.F.I.R. realises that it is not the sole federation in the Railway labour field, it will be willing to change its unhelpful attitude.

P. S. P. and National Government

This is the text of Acharya Kripalani's Press Conference after Shri Nehru put forward his plea for National Government. He made his speech in the Lok Sabha on the President's Address. Speech appears on p. 9 of this issue.

Question: Did you expect a favourable response from the Congress to the idea of the formation of the National Government?

Acharya Kripalani: I did not. I have during the course of my speech indicated the reason why. I said, "after all most of the wranglings in the Congress are due to rivalry about positions of power and privileges". That being so, I believe that the Congress cannot possibly invite outsiders to share a feast that is not big or sumptuous enough to satisfy their own appetite!

Question: What was your object in raising this issue?

Answer: That too I have made clear in my speech. I wanted to point out the natural implications of the oft repeated appeals of the Prime Minister to all sections of the people and to political parties to cooperate with the Government in the "broader tasks" which he holds "are not party tasks but national tasks". He adds that "the Government he presides over is not so brilliant as to solve all these problems".

I have pointed out that there are only two ways of meeting a difficult national situation which requires the utmost unity and concerted action. The one is through dictatorship and the other is through the democratic devise of a National Government. I have also emphasised another important reason for joint effort. It is that "the quantum of integrity, intelligence and organising capacity is so limited that unless we pool our resources we are not likely to succeed."

I have further pointed out that most of the mistakes made today are not so much due to the fact that our plans and projects are not properly and scientifically conceived or drawn, but because they are not properly executed. The All-Party Committees that the Government appoints from time to time are merely consultative and advisory. I have given the example of the present crisis in food prices. We are repeatedly told by the authorities that the recent rise of food prices is due to black-marketing, speculation, hoarding, etc., and not to any deficiency in foodgrains. No consultative or advisory body can possibly cure these evils. Action can be taken only at the executive level. Representatives of my party are in the 'Central and State food committees. They tell me that they can do nothing to check these evils.

I feel that the Prime Minister's appeals for co-operation are an oratorical flourish of a liberal politician. If he is serious about the co-operation of the parties in what he calls a high adventure he will

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Question: In advancing arguments for the need of a National Government were you not going against the declared policy of your party and putting it in an awkward position?

Answer: I have not invented these arguments. They have been repeatedly stated by the Prime Minister himself. I have merely drawn logical conclusions from the premises often enunciated by him that the utmost unity of aim and effort is needed in the task of reconstruction. He has also often complained about the paucity of men of ability, integrity and organising capacity. He has, therefore, called for the co-operation of all including the political parties. As for the co-operation of the people I have said that they can render it only if they have faith in the integrity and efficiency of the administration. The test of it is that the administration co-operates with the people in removing their difficulties and redressing their grievances. As for the co-operation of the parties it must be secured both at the consultative and the executive level. This can be done only through the formation of a National Government. The full and free co-operation of parties can be secured only through the formation of a National Government. The PSP believes that the economic position is difficult if not critical. But it, too, is running away from the logic of the situation because of its Policy Statement which precludes co-operation. But I can understand the stand of the PSP. It feels it is no use talking of a National Government when it is known that for obvious reasons the offer will not be accepted by the dominant party. Any talk of this by them will lead to misunderstanding of their motive.

Personally I am not inhibited by any such considerations. I have pointed out in my speech that the PSP cannot refuse co-operation on the discussion, consultation and advice level. I have already stated that the Government plans go wrong more at the level of execution and not because its policies are not always wrongly conceived. For example, the Government today contemplates ceilings on land and co-operative farming. These are reforms for long advocated by the PSP. There may be differences among Congressmen about these reforms. There are none in the PSP. These reforms, if they fail, will fall on account of defective execution. State trade in foodgrains was recommended by the Asoka Committee. After prolonged hesitations, when the prices of foodgrains rose to unprecedented heights the Government have now decided to organise State Trading in food. If this reform fails at the executive level, as it may, the PSP will not now be held responsible. I have clarified its position. Moreover, it was necessary to answer the earnest and friendly appeal of new Congress President to all those who had left the Congress after independence to return to the parent organisation. I have by my speech set at rest all expectations of come back. The PSP remains a distinct party. Those who want its co-operation may have it if they are serious both at the level of consultation and execution. If mere consultation is required I have made it clear that the party cannot hold itself responsible for the failures of the plans even though approved by it. I think by thus stating the party's position I have helped the Party. But anyway I wanted to give expression to what was working in the minds of the common people.

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THIS IS AUSTRALIA

AUSTRALIA is nearly three times the size of India, has over half our national income and has less than three per cent of our population—and that sets the framework for our understanding of Australia.

Australia is big, bustling, bustling with prosperity; it is very different from New Zealand and full of complexities and contradictions. The Tasman Empire Airlines invites Australians to New Zealand with the legend, "Not distant, but different"—and how true! New Zealand is a limpid pool, Australia a turgid sea. The sprawling suburbs of Sydney remind one of the U.S.A., only in the centre of the city, the old architecture emphasises links with Victorian England that make many countries of Europe are now flowing to Australia, threatening to convert it into a melting pot of European peoples as the great United States already is. Since the War, the net immigration has been of over a million, of whom only half have come from Britain. The campaign of "Bring a Briton" is flagging.

Another Germany

An able Minister of the Federal Government in Canberra told me how his children turn away from the beach because they dislike bathing with British immigrants. The new Australian has not much in common with the traditional Briton.

Australia has been having a tremendous spell of economic activity and prosperity, in that it is the West Germany of the southern hemisphere. The prosperity has not altered the robust social egalitarianism of the country, though economic equality is no longer as striking as in New Zealand.

A top Australian diplomat, who returned to Canberra, after nearly twelve years' service abroad, told me of his experience on the golf course. He fell in step with another player and asked him if he was in the Administration—most of most people in Canberra are. The compatriot grunted negatively. He asked him again, if he was in private enterprise. "In a sense", was the unusually cryptic reply and then he burst out, "I am a brick-layer."

It is not only that brick-layer play golf, but taxi drivers tell you of their plans to take their wives to Europe—a mere 10,000 miles away—next year.

One should never make the mistake of getting on the rear seat in the taxi, because then the driver will turn round and ask, "Well, myte, don't you like my face?" The correct form is to sit in the front, by his side. Our High Commissioner told me how at least on three occasions he happened to travel with Prime Minister Menzies and saw him step out of the plane, his bag in hand, and no fuss about him, walking out of the airport as other passengers.

In a summer camp on Trade Unions I attended—together with Lord Citrine from the United Kingdom, and Mr. MacDonald of the United Steel Workers from the U.S.A.—I was told that in the post-War years while in Europe and the States just 10 per cent of the increased income, through improved productivity, has been taken by workers in the shape of leisure, in Australia, the share of leisure was 30 per cent. The Australians are outward people par excellence—even on week-days at 3 p.m. men and women flock to the beach.

Race-Crazy

In every kind of sport Australians excel. But the kind of sports remains racing. I was told that Australians spend, on an average, £ 6.65 on racing. The Melbourne Cup Day is of course a national holiday and while the race is on, trams are abandoned on the tracks, policemen give up the beats and everyone crowds the T. V. or the radio—for the duration of the race life is at a standstill as on the Armistice Remembrance Day in the U.K.

In the garden city of Melbourne, the cultural capital of Australia, where the University keeps growing, and every extension is a fresh architectural foliation, I wrestled with the oft-raised question, "What about the culture of the people?" A visit to the Museum convinces one of their bursting vitality. It was only after Mr. C. B. Christesen had given me his "little mag", meaning, that I discovered that in 1957, Australians spent £ 1,300,000 on Australian books, £ 9,500,000 on British books and £ 2,000,000 on books of America and other sources. In Australia there has been no Massey Report (as in Canada), no urge to have one, and no $ 100,000,000 State-sponsored Foundation to help literature and arts that is today the pride of Canada.

On a Sunday morning, I found in a 60-page newspaper, 48 pages of advertisement, scanty news and indifferent features. No Australian newspaper maintains a correspondent in any Asian capital, and the editor has generally little control on the news columns or its display. The press is just big business.

Foreign Capital

The Australian economy has been booming. Over £ 100 million of foreign capital flows in annually—mostly from the U.K., U.S.A. and Canada. The Australian market keeps expanding. General Motors that closed their assembly plant in India, have gone ahead with manufacture of cars—the famous Holden—in Australia. Today Australia absorbs 200,000 cars a year as against 20,000 in India. I was told that 700 British firms have their Australian affiliates and subsidiaries.

The Australian Steel industry is "as strong as steel". To a taunting reference to the possession of H. B. shares, Australia's new Attorney-General (generally acclaimed as the future Prime Minister) replied, "We want every worker's child to own some H. B. shares." No one would dare to suggest nationalisation of the steel industry: People's capitalism is gaining almost as great a hold on Australian imagination as in the U.S.A.

And still the word Communist gets thrown back and forth. The Australian Council of Trade Unions is supposed to be Communist-infested. The Australian Labour Party is of course a nest of Communism in the eyes of its opponents—and a highly intelligent Labour Member of the Federal Parliament told me that the Liberal (ruling) Party supporters finance the Communists to keep the bugbear alive!
Political Arena

Australian politics are complicated: State politics are as vital as, perhaps more than, Federal. States have had different history: New South Wales began as a criminal settlement, Victoria as a free settlement. Victoria had a vested interest in tariffs, the N.S.W. is free trade. The States are uneven in size and importance: Tasmania has less the N.S.W. The Labour Governments in the States have not hesitated in the past to defy Labour Government at the Centre. There have been occasions when the Country Party has been associated in Government with the Liberal Party in the Centre and with the Labour Party in one or the other State Government—all at the same time. The massive fact of Australian politics is the A.L.P., which even after three successive defeats and a split continues to win more votes than any other party. It has set the tone of political life for generations. Its traditions are militant, its strength has often come from Irish immigrants who have provided the...
Labour Party with powerful "machines"—as they built the Tamany Hall in New York. One has only to read the *Wild Men of Sydney* to recollect the frontier life in Australia with its courage and cruelty, its flaunting corruption and strong comradeship. The A.L.P. is an heir to this mixed past—of heroism and machine politics. Some intellectuals like Dr. James Cairns, M.P. of Melbourne, and Mr. E. G. Whitlam, M.P. of Sydney, are striving to preserve the gold from the dross.

**Two Leaders**

The great duel of Australian politics is being fought out by Prime Minister Menzies and Dr. Evatt, Leader of the A.L.P. Mr. Menzies is a brilliant speaker, an excellent raconteur, and skilled politician. His polished performance, however, leaves one with doubt whether he means all that he says and says so well. The burst of prosperity and industrial peace his decade of power leaves one with doubt whether he have provided to Australia are his main assets.

Dr. Evatt is an indifferent speaker, yet oozes sincerity, but is capable of many second thoughts. A perspicacious British observer, John Douglas Pringle, in his book *Australian Accent* sums up the position: "At the present time the Liberal Party owes much of its strength to the commanding personality of Mr. Menzies, and the Labour Party some of its weaknesses to the extraordinary personality of Dr. Evatt, its leader since 1948."

I did not have the honour of meeting Mr. Menzies as he was away in Tasmania on a fishing trip, but I had the privilege of spending nearly two hours with Dr. and Mrs. Evatt. Dr. Evatt would have liked to direct Australia along the lines that Pandit Nehru takes in foreign policy. But then New Guinea must remain with Australians! He looks back wistfully to the leadership of small powers he achieved in the United Nations in the early years, but often he looks "lost" when he talks about the present and the future. There are moments when he reminds one of Dr. Meghnath Saha, the politician. (Of Dr. Saha as a physicist, Prof. Oliphant told me that Indians did not fully recognise his tremendous worth).

**Trade Unions**

Dr. Evatt, as the leader of the A.L.P., had agreed to the organisation of an industrial group to fight the Communists in the trade union movement. It was a remarkable young Catholic, Mr. B. A. Santamaria, who was the driving force behind the group. In the unions, where the general apathy of members had enabled some determined (and devoted) Communists to take over control, Mr. Santamaria's equally determined group had little difficulty in routing them. But as the A.L.P. had no socialist drive in it, Mr. Santamaria's strength came from the force of Catholic Action, to which he was fanatically dedicated.

As there is collective affiliation of trade unions to the A.L.P. and as the party's finance came almost wholly from the Unions, more and more Catholic names came up as delegates to the A.L.P. To the charge of having become giddy with success, Mr. Santamaria told me that he had tried hard to string others along, but the Catholic militants alone were willing to match Communist zeal with effective zeal. Mr. Santamaria, and his mentor, Dr. Mannix, the Archbishop of Melbourne, perhaps dreamt of transforming the A.L.P. into a Christian Social Party.

**A Bomb-burst**

Mr. Santamaria had jotted down his thoughts on paper, a copy of which Cardinal Gracias took with him during his visit to Australia. After lapse of a year or so, the Cardinal got the note published as an article in two issues of the *Examiner*, a Bombay Weekly. That burst a bomb in Australia. The A.L.P. was torn between forces shouting "Communists" and those countering "Catholics."

Cardinal Gilroy throws his weight against this growing estrangement. In Victoria, however, the Labour Government was defeated as a result of mutual heresy-hunting. In Queensland, the Premier was expelled by the party, and nine other ministers went out with him. Differences broadened into a split and the A.L.P. faced a rival party, the Democratic Labour Party enjoying support of half its Catholic members. In the recent General Elections the two Labour parties together polled 52 per cent of the votes cast and yet the Liberal-Country alliance scored their biggest victory.

These developments explain the paradox of Australian politics—a weak Communist Party (membership 6,000; votes polled 150,000) and the central position assigned to Communism in political controversies.

The political relations between India and Australia are formal and correct. The Australians have not yet fully discovered Asia—except for its able External Affairs Minister, Mr. Casey or a spokesman like Dr. Evatt. A large number of Asian students have started coming to Australia, and the universities are developing special courses on Asia—on China at the Federal University, Canberra; on Indonesia at the Melbourne University. Emotional attachment still remains with the U.K. as the Suez crisis showed, while strategic considerations push Australia closer to the U.S.A.

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A Challenge

Asia still remains a potential threat but also a friendly challenge. At least in the case of Malaya, there is a desire to take her under Australian wings. The personalities of the two Prime Ministers also matter. They have been in power over a decade: both have very different world views, and while Pandit Nehru, a born aristocrat, yearns to be of the demos, Mr. Menzies born of the people, has always aspired for aristocratic eminence and aloofness.

Australian politics is confused.

A few days back speaking in the Rajya Sabha he is reported to have said, "the broader tasks before us are not party tasks but national tasks, and therefore in this tremendous adventure we seek the co-operation of all. No Government, however wise and well meaning it may be, can succeed without that co-operation."

Let us see what happens when a country has to face a difficult situation or a crisis, internal or international. Such a situation requires utmost unity in the nation and concerted effort. These are either imposed though coercion from above or made available by the people themselves. In the former case recourse is taken to a temporary or permanent dictatorship. It imposes unity and drives the people to work. But this is not the democratic way. In a democracy unity and co-operative effort are achieved through the organisation of a national government.

It is no use asking the political parties to co-operate unless co-operation is invited not only at the level of consultation but also that of execution. Opposition parties cannot be asked to make themselves responsible for policies in the execution of which they have no effective voice.

I am afraid that the logical implication of the oft-repeated appeal of the Prime Minister is neither recognised by him, his Cabinet or his party.

The formation of a national government is the more necessary because the quantum of integrity, intelligence and organising capacity in the country is so limited, that unless we mobilise all our resources in these directions, we are not likely to succeed. It may, however, be argued that the Congress itself is a national organisation. It represents all the divergent interests in the country. But I hope the Prime Minister does not mean this when he calls upon the co-operation of other parties.

Role of Democratic Opposition

If the ruling party is reluctant to recognise the need of the situation in the country, the democratic opposition parties do no better. They often say that we are in the midst of an internal crisis but they shy at the very idea of national co-operation which will entail co-operation with the Congress they have opposed so long.

The PSP has a Policy Statement which precludes it from co-operation with the Congress or the Government in the political field. However, when its members are called upon to work on joint committees on Planning, etc., they do not and cannot refuse co-operation. If they did, they will be charged with avoiding responsibility for a national effort, designed to advance the interest of the masses. When, therefore, Food Committees were recently formed in the Centre and some of the States they had no choice but to co-operate.

They know that most of the food difficulties arose not so much from defective plans as from faulty execution. For instance, we are told that the present rise in prices is due to black-marketing and hoarding. Measures to check these evils can only be devised and executed not by the food committees but by the Executive. Even when Plans are carefully and wisely formulated, unless they are properly and promptly executed nothing much can be done.

The democratic opposition parties are as unwilling to follow the logic of the situation as the Government and the Congress. The tragedy, however, is that wisdom dawns on both sides when they have to face their common opponents in power, the Communists, as in Kerala. They close the stable gates after the horse has been stolen away.

What I have said in this connection represents my views and not those of my Party. However, I feel that I am faithfully voicing the opinions of the people as expressed in the market place.
Bureaucracy And The Socialist Ideal

(Text of Acharya Kripalani's speech in Lok Sabha on the President's Address this year.)

The President's Address gives a rosy picture of the achievements of our Government in every sphere of the national life. But these achievements do not appear to have made any significant change in the life of the mass of our people. There has been no diminution in their poverty and unemployment. Rather the hopes in this direction that had been formed on the basis of the Second Plan have been falsified.

After the completion of the present Plan there will be more unemployment than before. The outgoing Congress President was constrained to say at Nagpur that the rich were getting richer and the poor poorer. This is natural for there is an all-round increase in the prices and real wages and employment have not increased. This also to a great extent is due to inflation. Whatever the official economists may say when there is rise in prices and there are no reserves it is clear case of inflation. Whatever the official economists may say when there is rise in prices and there are no reserves it is clear case of inflation.

The result is that while people have to spend more on their primary needs of food, clothing, housing, education of their children and medical aid there is no proportionate rise in their incomes and their social amenities have not increased.

The "Bigger" Third Plan

Yet, without completing the tasks already undertaken the Government are thinking in terms of a bigger Third Plan. Some official connected with the Planning Commission has supplied the press with figures. We are told that Rs. 10,000 crores will be spent on the new Plan. We have also been given an idea of how the necessary funds will be raised through the profits accruing from State Trading in foodgrains. The Government, for its plans, needs and promises cheaper food. But we did not know that State Trading in foodgrains had behind it the profit motive. As if the people were not already apprehensive of the idea of State Trading in foodgrains this will scare them further.

It is also strange that the first glimpse we have of the new Plan is in terms of money and not in terms of actual projects, and the physical targets contemplated. This, I submit, is a wrong approach to planning. The figures have been published even before the all-party Consultative Committee had occasion to meet.

As for our capital resources are concerned we have often been told that however welcome foreign loans may be we must rely upon our-...

by

Acharya J. B. Kripalani

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The money we spend on shows and pageantry not only drains our slender resources but sets the fashion of conspicuous living among the rich and the administrators. While other countries have one national day we have two. The number of holidays we enjoy in this Sputnik Age of hard work and toil would impair the efficiency of hardier people than ourselves.

Planning is not a matter of good intentions and our capacity for careful and scientific drafting. What is most needed is, that those who devise the plans and those who are in charge of their execution should be in tune with the basic ideas about the reconstruction of the country. The Prime Minister in another context recently said, "when you make an individual or a group responsible for carrying out a policy which is not his own, difficulties are bound to arise". Further, the administration must be honest and efficient and must be able to create requisite organisation for the tasks that are assigned to it.

A Common Complaint

It is a common complaint that bribery, corruption and nepotism are rampant in government offices. The authorities hold that these exist at lower levels. But what would one think of the efficiency of an officer if he cannot check corruption in his subordinates? It is at these lower levels that people come in contact with the administration. It is also at those levels that details of the administration are given effect to. All possible co-operation of the common people can also be achieved at these levels. If they have no faith in the officer's integrity they possibly can give no co-operation. In addition to this widespread corruption, what is worse, that complaints against it often go unheeded.

I am at the head of a national organisation for Khadi, the Gandhi Ashram. The Ashram for years has organised manufacture of silk, in the Birbhum district of West Bengal. This centre has to book finished goods from a small station, Baswa, to all over the country.

Because the Ashram refuses to pay the customary gratification, its goods are either not accepted on one plea or the other or inordinately delayed to the deterioration of the goods. The losses that the Ashram thus suffers run into four figures. Complaint to higher authorities have gone unheeded. The House will be perhaps shocked to hear that under the circumstances as the Director of the Ashram I have passed orders before the all-party Consultative Committee had occasion to meet.

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I passed this order I was told that the auditor would object. I said that I would certify the expenditure and bear the consequences. To such humiliating position are even public workers driven by the wide corruption that prevails in the administration.

Sometimes, when corruption is exposed in the press or through pamphlets those who are maligned whether administrators or capitalists, take no action against their culminators. Therefore, I am glad that Shri Matthai has decided to vindicate his honour. I am also happy that the Government had instituted a Judicial enquiry. This will silence ugly rumours. It will also vindicate the honour of Shri Matthai about whose integrity and loyalty the Prime Minister has no doubt. Some papers have also made oblique reference to an ex-minister in the Centre and a State Governor. From their point of view too a thorough problem is necessary.

Officials, Agents of Power

We have often been told that the reconstruction of the country requires close co-operation between the officials and the people and the former should be the friends and the guides of the latter. But the official relation with the people is that of the old bureaucracy. They appear to be the agents of power and people are afraid of them. Yet the people are asked to give their co-operation. People can render co-operation only when the administration co-operates with them and remove their every day difficulties and grievances.

That the approach of the officials to the public is not as it should be, is clear from the exhortations that are administered to them from time to time by their political superiors.

Recently, our Rashtrapati, speaking at the Public School of Administration, said that the administration was not an end in itself but essentially a means for promoting the welfare of the community through the orderly management of day-to-day affairs and the smooth and steady disposal of work. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that a human approach was maintained in tackling problems and implementing programmes. "It was also necessary," he said, "to be responsive to public opinion and administrators should conduct themselves in a manner which would in

spire the confidence of the people. Without a human approach and a spirit for service even the best trained administrator will fail to have the right attitude to the public he is called upon to serve".

On the proper organisation of business depends the efficiency of the administrators. Much in this direction requires to be done. The Audit and the Estimates Committee Reports make in this respect sorry reading. In the Audit Report, recently published, on Defence Services, it is pointed out that there were several avoidable irregularities resulting in great loss to the public exchequer.

Lack of Supervision

The Report gives some important financial irregularities. It says that during recent years large savings have been made in Defence Services. In the year under review amounted to Rs. 304 crores about 12.5 per cent of the total grant voted. Stores are purchased which can never possibly be used. 240 tons of a certain material to be purchased for the manufacture of ammunition in 1952-53 only 8 tons were used till 1956. After reserving 83.5 tons for possible future use 148.5 tons have now been declared surplus valued at Rs. 8 lakhs.

In 1950-52, 15,250 gallons of varnish were purchased for some manufacturing purposes. In 1956, 11,250 gallons were declared as surplus and sold at a loss of Rs. 61,634. This shows how faulty estimates are made. The original estimate was that 25 gallons would be needed for manufacturing 1,000 units. In actual fact only 8 gallons were needed.

11,260 sq. ft of certain material was purchased in 1950. In 1955, 10,400 sq. ft were declared surplus, valued at Rs. 40,000 and sold for Rs. 13,000.

Lack of supervision and unsatisfactory co-ordination in the factories have resulted in the huge accumulation of components of the value of Rs. 9 lakhs in two cases alone. The Government had to pay a heavy loss of Rs. 75,000 on a road construction work due to faulty supervision. In spite of that the road constructed was below specifications and defective and inferior material had been used.

A vulcanising plant was purchased from American surplus stores in 1949 for Rs. 51,000. In 1956 the same was sold unused for Rs. 13,000 at a loss of Rs. 38,000 plus Rs. 6,000 spent on freight charges.

Another case reported in detail on page 10 of the Report makes
painful and strange reading. Arrangements were made for establishing a plant for the manufacture of a certain kind of ammunition. It did not function according to plan. Target dates have now been exceeded by 7 years. Meanwhile the firm of technical consultants have been paid more than the ceiling they were entitled to receive. Worse still the Defence Ministry is unable to allocate responsibility on any one. The over all costs of the project is over Rs. 470 lakhs.

In the public sector our big plans are executed through corporations. This will continue to be the pattern in this sector of our economy. In those Corporations under the guise of autonomy and flexibility what is being perpetrated is autocracy and irresponsibility. Public Service Commission is not consulted in the matter of appointments. The checks and counter-checks of the Auditor-General are avoided. The Corporations cannot be brought under the strict supervision of the Parliament. While there is need for a certain amount of flexibility in management this should not be allowed to degenerate into irresponsibility. This, I am afraid, is happening in some of our corporations, for instance, those of Insurance, Steel and State Trading.

Examples from Steel Plants

I do not want to go into the details of the working of these corporations at this stage. I shall give some examples from the steel plants. There is an over-all wastage of Rs. 100 crores in the three steel plants alone. Also every day's delay costs us about Rs. 40 lakhs for all the three plants, both by way of interest, overheads, working loss and loss of production.

I understand that for the Rourkela Plant, the Government was persuaded by its German contractors to hire certain equipment of theirs, which, according to those who know, would cost no more than Rs. 60 lakhs, if the equipment were new. I am informed that the amount of rent provided in the estimate for this equipment is more than Rs. 75 lakhs. The rent is calculated on the basis of certain percentages of the cost per month. For this purpose this equipment is taken as new. However, most of the equipment for which we are paying this huge rent is second hand almost completely written off.

TALKS WITH VINOBAJI—II

Gramdan and Co-operative Farming

This is concluding instalment of the article on “Talks with Vinoba” by Shri Ishverbhai Desai.

Question: Gramdan is a process of decentralized democracy and if Socialism is not to fall on the path of collectivised agriculture as in Russia, Gramdan will be the natural choice based on the Gandhian thinking. But in spite of village ownership of land, peasants' natural love for and attachment to the patches of land they cultivate, must not be disturbed and they must have the option to till their lands separately. If they are robbed of this freedom, who knows, some day they may be regimented as wage-earners under the bureaucratic apparatus of our centralized regime. Any joint farming should be on voluntary basis. Do you believe in giving compensation?

Vinobaji: I am amazed at the way these contracts are entered into and are passed by the Law and Finance Ministries. Persons who feel that there should be no criticism against the public sector are, I am afraid, not the real friends of this sector. By preventing criticism they are condoning weakness and inefficiency which are likely to make this sector unpopular.

Want of faith in our national aims and want of efficiency and defective organisation and co-ordination are not complaints voiced by the Opposition only. The Ginger Group in the Congress recently said “No matter how good and wonderful the theoretical building of a plan may be, it will not be of much consequence if it is not backed by an administrative machinery which has much regard for social ideas as for efficiency and honest work.”

Unless therefore our politicians and administrators are in tune with the Socialist ideal that we claim to be at the back of our plans for reconstruction and unless the administration is honest and efficient and can properly organise their work and is able to get the co-operation of the people, by co-operating with them in their difficulties and bring to its tasks the human touch, however well designed our plans may be, they will not succeed in making our economy, in the words of the President “self-reliant and self-generating”.

I CANNOT say I accept all the implications of the suggestions made by Vinobaji. But all his ideas originate from his basic philosophical attitude towards non-violence. I am still unconvinced particularly in regard to his interpretation of the technique of Satyagraha, and the need of political organization in democracy. I must say he has a world perspective and his vision has a vast horizon. I had a glimpse of new spark in his thought process during my discussion. His non-violence seeks to penetrate into the new frontiers of science. In spite of his alternation of climbings up and down as temporary phases, his upward revolutionary march knows no retreat.
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**Editorial**

**THE TWO SECTORS**

In his inaugural address at the 32nd annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the Prime Minister did some plain speaking which should help in clearing the various issues which we have to tackle to make our economic growth steady and self-supporting. It was a fashion for some time to reiterate *ad nauseam* that there was no conflict between the public and the private sector and that the very distinction was outmoded. The private sector now realises that that was too much of a simplification and that the private sector cannot be happy at the continuous growth of the public sector, as that would lead to the decrease of economic power which the captains of Big Business and Big Industries enjoy today. This realisation has encouraged the Private Sector to think more and more in political terms and there is already a move to establish a Conservative Party in the country.

These developments have made the Government and the Prime Minister to re-examine the facile assumptions of identity of interests between the public and the private sector and perhaps this realisation made the Prime Minister to assert in his speech, that vested interests conflicted with the demand for change are for a better deal by the people in general. Ignoring this fact, he said, would be shutting one's eyes to the facts of life.

The Prime Minister gave expression to these sentiments, even while perhaps knowing that the President of the Federation was to emphasize the need for the private and public sectors to function side by side and in harmony in the interests of the national economy; this suggests that the views he expressed were not of a casual nature and were the result of some temporary annoyance; they seem to reflect the realisation of the basic realities of the situation.

Of course, this does not mean that the two sectors cannot work side by side. But it does not mean that it is necessary to assess more critically than is done so far the points on which their interests diverge as well as those on which they converge. The basic purpose of both the sectors may be the same, as rightly pointed out by the President of the Federation, viz., "increased production, increased consumption and standards of living together with increased and diversified employment". But *these objectives at time conflict one with the other and when re-conciliation of objectives is attempted differences would arise between the two sectors*. The Private Sector would naturally give priority to increased production in preference to diversified
employment and increased standard of life. The Public Sector will have to take into consideration the needs and demands of the community as a whole.

This point has acquired great practical significance in the discussion regarding the goal of joint co-operative farming which the Nagpur Session of the Congress has defined to be the ultimate goal of the re-organisation of agriculture on more scientific basis. The policy cannot be reconciled into the interest of the Private Sector whose motto always is bigger and better organisations, controlled by a selected few at the top. This is the approach of the Private Sector and it cannot be reconciled with what the Prime Minister calls the public approach where the objective should be to create conditions in which economic powers percolated to the public at large.

Once this basic difference is realised it should be possible to assess each approach on realistic terms and to see how the two approaches can be reconciled. If ideological or sentimental moralist considerations were ignored it would be clear that there is some truth in the contentions of the Private Sector also. Economic power like any other power can ultimately be wielded only by those who have the necessary capacity to wield it. Mere possession of power is not enough. If the power is percolated to the broad masses and if they are not properly organised to use this power effectively it would only lead to the emergence of some unscrupulous persons wielding the power in their own interests and only camouflaging it as the rule by the people or the power would remain unused. It is here that the organisation of the masses acquires a special significance. Joint co-operative farming, if successful, would create effective foci of power with which the Private Sector will have to deal and this would mean a more rigorous test for the captains of industry and commerce in their capacity to compete and to survive them has been applied so far. Mediocre among these so-called captains are likely to be driven to the wall. And it is this fear which is at the bottom of the passionate opposition to the idea of joint co-operative farming.

But the more deserving among these have already begun to think in terms of creating effective foci of their own. Thus the President of the Federation appealed to his members to pay more attention to the needs of small industrialists and businessmen and welcomed the conventions organised in Bombay, Calcutta and Hyderabad of businessmen on a popular and wide basis. He also suggested that an all-India convention of this kind should be called.

All these developments would bring us nearer to the basic realities of an underdeveloped economy and would lead to beneficial results provided the programme of organising the broad masses is implemented as fast as possible. And here, the responsibility is not only of the Government but is that of all those who want to see that the weaker sections in our economy are strengthened through co-operative efforts.

American Finance Capitalism
Further X'Rayed

Mr. Robert J. Alexander has tried to make a so-called rebuttal of my article, "American Finance Capitalism", which was published in the "Janata." His article, "American Finance Capitalism---A Rebuttal", was published in the "Janata" of December 14, 1958. This article of Mr. Robert Alexander is one more proof of how he together with other hordes of professors, theoreticians, writers, journalists and diplomats inside and outside America are busy white-washing American finance capitalism. Nay, they are busy propping up the moribund parasitic Wall Street finance capitalism.

No Authoritative Sources

It is very unscientific of Mr. Robert Alexander making certain emphatic assertions while not quoting any undisputed authority. When there is any dispute about any point the accepted norm is to refer to the authoritative source. Throughout, his entire so-called rebuttal he has not done so. He says about the coal strike of 1949-50 that "This just did not occur", but he does not quote the records so that others can also see for themselves. He says that in the bituminous coal strike "perhaps 150,000, not 400,000" workers were involved, but he does not cite the facts which are nothing but the facts for all the time to come. By the way, Americans have, in the words of Walter Lippman, "the superstition of facts", but here

by

Shiva Chandra Jha

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Mr. Alexander is unnecessarily Un-American throughout his whole article. He has given his own figures to confuse the readers. But before I take up one by one the points he has touched in the article, I like to make a little digression.

In the United States, where I was for more than six years as a student, first of Yuba College, Marysville, California and then of the University of California, Berkeley, I came across a surprising atmosphere—professors (writers and social workers) shouting at the top of their voices in classes and out of classes that America "was" imperialist during the Spanish War and "is" not imperialist during the Korean War and other undeclared wars conducted at present by America in Asia and Europe. But this becomes simple to understand in view of the Gestapo-like role of the Un-American Activities Committee.

It is safe to say that America was imperialist two generations ago, as Mr. Robert Alexander does; it is safer to say that America was imperialist during the Texan War or when California was annexed; to go a little further, it is safest to say that America was imperialist during the Louisiana Purchase. Secondly, it is the general characteristic of American intellectuals, working in the present hysterical atmosphere in America, to think in terms of the "vices" and "virtues" of capitalism, as Mr. Alexander has done in his article. In the mid-twentieth century when we see every day how socialist forces, are

(Continued on page 11)
EDUARD Bernstein (1850-1932) is known to history as the father of revisionism. He wanted Socialism to be not scientific but critical, not revolutionary but evolutionary. These far-reaching changes he sought to achieve within the framework of Marxian thought.

Even in German social democracy, Bernstein was not the first revisionist. Georg von Vollmar (1850-1922) had anticipated him by almost a decade. His Bavarian background—its anti-Prussian regionalism, agrarianism, Catholicism—made him a natural critic of Marx. But because it was instructive and regional, the criticism licked the intellectual sweep and the philosophical depth of Bernstein.

Bernstein was no solitary sparrow of the revisionist summer. Though currents in the party were already running in that direction. As Bebel wrote to Adler, “we have a whole lot of Bernstein, and most in distinguished positions within the party.” As an exponent of revisionism, Bernstein was merely prime inter pares.

The strength of revisionism came from the fact that events did not conform with the forecasts of Marx, and the divergence was widening. As Bernstein put it, “Not doctrinal criticisms, but facts compelled me to correct my premises.”

Development of Capitalism

Marx had envisioned the development of capitalism through “accumulation of wealth at one pole, and misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, moral degradation, at the opposite pole.” Capitalism would face growing crisis leading to a collapse. Experience belied the analysis: wealth had undoubtedly grown, greatly, but was not all concentrated, and misery had visibly lifted. Economic life ran smoothly and the ghost of collapse had faded. Against Marx’s theory of catastrophe, life had worked out a practice of adaptation. The dispossessed were recovering their lost privileges through a process of slow red-integration into the society. The pessimistic prognostications of Marx had proved wrong, and with that had to go his apocalyptic emphasis. “Social Democracy”, wrote Bernstein, “does not want to dissolve this society and to make proletarians of all its members. Rather, it labours incessantly at lifting the worker from the social position of a proletariat to that of a ‘bourgeoisie’ and thus to make ‘bourgeoisie’—or citizenship—universal.”

Revisionism and Revolution

Revisionism believed neither in a revolutionary crisis nor in a revolutionary solution. It sought to lessen, attenuate, the capitalist contradictions. The antagonism of production and exchange was to be mollified by rationalisation of the economy, the conflict between capital and labour was to be adjusted by bettering the condition of the workers and strengthening the middle-classes. The contradiction between the class state and society was to be eased through increasing state control and the progress of democracy. This was not a new programme, no off-spring of the brow of Minerva, but continuation and consolidation of what, in fact, was happening. The changes were inscribed in the very life and actions of the Labour Movement itself.

Bernstein pointed out that the objectives of the Party and the trade unions had led to a basic divergence. The dominant theory of the party was politically pessimistic; that is, it reckoned with a sharpening of class antagonism, and regarded the deterioration of the conditions as the normal, their improvements as the abnormal development. Bernstein argued that this pessimistic view of political reality was incompatible with trade union movement. The trade unions must justify their existence through the improvements which they achieve. To impose on the trade unions a tactic based on the pessimistic and revolutionary view would reduce them “to a political mass movement in trade union dress.” Where the party necessarily viewed struggle as the normal condition, the trade union would always “regard a struggle as an exception and peace—or a truce extended to peace—as the rule, since otherwise it would undermine the conditions of its existence and the foundations of its successes.” The conflict between these views, Bernstein thought, was unavoidable.

Parliament As A Swamp

The Party was originally anti-Parliament: the Parliament appeared to it as a swamp. Next, the party entered the elections and its spokesmen got into the Reichstag, but “purely for the purpose of agitation.” Then they had to get into Parliamentary Committees, to vote for ameliorative measures, and in 1894, the Social Democrats had to approve the Bavarian budget.

In the trade unions, the adaptation was greater: one state institution after another was recognised by them; the state labour exchanges and social insurance system had forged new nexus between the organised worker and the state. The worker no longer looked upon the state official as his enemy, because in the meanwhile the state official had “become quite another person.” The trade unions, from the fund of their experience, had propounded the thesis of “neutrality.” In the words of Car Legien (1861-1920), “Trade unions must seriously engage in social politics, but I am of the opinion that they should not engage in partisan politics.”

Bernstein undertook to supply a philosophy and a coherent policy to this instinctive adaptation. Not in his work alone, but in the spread of his influence too, the example of “English Socialism” and the inspiration of Lassalle played a considerable part. His twelve years’ sojourn in England had led Bernstein to doubt not only the wisdom but the need of a theory of social cataclysm. “No one has questioned the necessity for the working class to gain control of the government.” But in a complex industrial society with organised working class, the road to power lay not through barricades but ballots.

Here Lassalle, his Caesarian aberrations apart, had been on solid
The dress of the people...

Costumes, whether they are for occasions or for daily wear, vary all over the world. Climatic conditions, natural materials available, religious demands and individual ingenuity are some of the factors that determine the dress of a people.

Many varied costumes are worn in India but different costumes need different qualities of cloth. The Mafatlal Group of Mills manufactures a wide range of cloth for everyday use in all parts of the country.

The fisherwoman of Bombay, a familiar figure in the market, wears a nine-yard saree. The style is indicative of the freedom and strength these women draw from the ocean.


MAFATLAL FINE, Navsari. GAGALBHAI JUTE, Calcutta.

MAFATLAL GROUP OF MILLS

CLOTH FOR THE NATION

Mafatlal's other interests include Sugar and Dyestuffs

MAFATLAL HOUSE, BACKBAY RECLAMATION, BOMBAY
ground. Bernstein found Lassalle's economics antiquated, but his political philosophy had greater relevance to realities than Marx who thought in terms of power alone, while Lassalle intertwined power with law. If lyrical adulation of the state was wrong, so was revolutionary antagonism. Political democracy with its evolution through law, was the only civilised way to social change. Likewise he welcomed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of Socialism. Marx's historism needed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of the only civilised way to social change. Likewise he welcomed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of Socialism. Marx's historism needed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of the only civilised way to social change. Likewise he welcomed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of Socialism. Marx's historism needed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of the only civilised way to social change. Likewise he welcomed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of Socialism. Marx's historism needed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of the only civilised way to social change. Likewise he welcomed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of Socialism. Marx's historism needed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of the only civilised way to social change. Likewise he welcomed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of Socialism. Marx's historism needed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of the only civilised way to social change. Likewise he welcomed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of Socialism. Marx's historism needed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of the only civilised way to social change. Likewise he welcomed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of Socialism. Marx's historism needed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of the only civilised way to social change. Likewise he welcomed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of Socialism. Marx's historism needed Lassalle's insistence on the justness of the only civilised way to social change.

A Raging Controversy

Bernstein voiced his criticisms first in a series of articles he wrote for the Neue Zeit from 1896 to 1898. At Kautsky's suggestion, he comprehensively developed them in a book in 1899—and therewith touched off a raging controversy.

The growth of capitalism, Marx held, is fueled by ever increasing sums of capital. These accumulations find their way into fewer and fewer hands: the size of corporations grows, the number of owners shrinks. The twin forces of credit and competition develop concentrations. Development and concentration undoubtedly occurred, but not of the kind envisaged by Marx. The controlling lever of credit was bringing order in the chaos of capitalist production. Banks had assumed the commanding role in finance and industry. As Rudolf Hilferding (1877-1940) was to show in his Finanzkapital (1910) "to take possession of six great banks would mean today to take possession of the most important sectors of the big industry." Here was process of enforced socialisation, a stroke of pen could make the banks "state apparatus" and thus organs of Socialism.

This phenomenon, Bernstein described as "Socialism-in-Capitalism": socialist institutions begin to permeate capitalism even as it grows to its zenith. The area of communal action steadily increases in size and significance. Cartels and monopolies had brought about an increase in public control and would lead to their eventual métamorphosis into public corporations. It was, however, necessary to give up the concept of "emancipation through political expropriation," in favour of "emancipation through economic organisation." The former becomes destructive, the latter is concerned with construction. After the Russian Revolution, Bukharin evolved a theory that the first phase of socialisation is always destructive, only later does it turn to construction. It was such distortions that Bernstein had feared and warned against.

While the centralising trends foreseen by Marx had asserted markedly, side by side strongly centrifugal forces had also emerged to counteract and balance. Through the spread of share-holding, industrial property was getting diffused. The middle classes far from disappearing were growing in number, wealth and influence. Large-scale economy was creating not merely a new class, of salariat, but providing fresh scope for small undertakings and individual enterprise on its periphery and under its patronage. The economic developments had been influenced by the growth of trade unions. Capitalism was being modified by the organisation of workers and by the growing social control. Bernstein and Conrad Schmidt saw labour legislation as a part of the "social control" that was modifying the crude contours of capitalism.

Classical Concept

The classical concept of capitalism usually refers to three distinctive areas: forms of production, modes of distribution, legal relations. Only the first was yet to be fundamentally modified; the other two had already been altered under the pressure of the labour movement. The employer could no longer dictate terms of employment; conditions of work as also wages had become social matters, subject to legislation. By strengthening the role of the trade unions, by developing co-operatives—woefully ignored by Marx—the proletariat could condition in its favour the substance of industrial economy.

These changes in economic life had brought about and demanded further changes in the political outlook of the proletariat. Marxian class analysis was too simplistic in real life relations were complex. Marx himself had said, in Volume III of Capital, of "infinite splits of interests and positions which subdivided all classes." It would be criminal to exploit these splits, to announce as it were, "We want you to swallow the enemy and right afterwards we shall swallow you." Such tactics can only disrupt society. The complex class configuration should be used to foster solidarity inside the classes and extending collaboration between the classes. Class war is a social weapon only within the folds of class peace.

The Party must strive to win greater support among non-workers, particularly the farmers, shop-keepers and the salariat. Already a fourth of the social democratic vote came from these classes, though the Party was 90 per cent. working class in membership.

For industrial society, as also for Socialism, democracy was the best political vessel. "The democratic suffrage makes its possessor virtually a partner in the community, and such virtual partnership must eventually lead to actual partnership." Democracy abridges, even annuls, class rule without abolishing classes all at once. It is the "university of compromise" where classes learn to co-operate. Social democracy is federalist and decentralising: more and more power in the hands of regions and local communities, thereby dispersing the centres of power.

Conditions

The proletariat would gather support and achieve results if it worked for concrete reforms rather than move about a nebulous revolution.

Men work best if they hitch their wagon to stars that are not too distant or moving too fast; if the pull of the ideal is too great the result will be disillusionment and cynicism. Revisionism sought to shift the apocalyptic emphasis to concrete and connected reforms, to bring the star and the wagon close together: "I confess openly I have extraordinarily little interest or taste for what is generally called the final goal of socialism. This aim, whatever it be, is nothing to me, the movement is everything. There is for man, as Fichte had shown, the eternal striving, no abiding arrival anywhere." Adjustment to changed conditions would remain precarious until Marxism was purged of its excesses— the dialectic. The fundamentals of Marxism, according to Bernstein, were evolutionism, economic implications of history and class struggle. These valid social truths, "seduced by Hegelian dialectic," ran to extreme: "Every time...
we see the theory of the economy as the basis of history capitulate before the theory which drives the cult of force to the limit, we will run into a Hegelian sentence. Possibly it will be used only as an analogy, but that makes it even worse.

Bernstein viewed life as governed by "organic evolutionism"—where change and adaptation are interrelated. Dialectic leads to overemphasis on the struggle of opposites and neglect of mutual aid: "I am not of the opinion that the struggle of opposites is the basis of all development. The co-operation of related forces is of great significance as well."

Dialectic breeds an over-valuation of the "creative strength" of violence, and unwarranted stress on cataclysmic acts. Dialectic, in fact, is "unorganic evolutionism." Social evolution is a gradual growth into Socialism, where class antagonisms slacken, where work within the state takes the place of strife against the state.

Marx's ethical relativism and economic determinism had eroded the "ought" in Socialism: The materialist, with his determinism, is verily a "Calvinist without God." There is the same need of being elected to be saved, the same indifference for those "rejected by the Lord." Capitalism had, in its laissez-faire, inbibed the Calvinist core; unless ethics are restored, Socialism would be similarly impregnated. Social advance, in fact, means modification by "ethical factors," of "the iron laws of history." "The legal and political superstructure," not merely interacts with the economic structure, but in widening areas moral elements achieve "creative character."

The ethical emphasis in Kant, as much as his critical approach, were necessary to socialism. Socialism is not inevitable, it is desirable; Socialism is not scientific, it is critical: Science is tendenzlos, "unbiased," it cannot serve as a guide to a social movement. "No ism is a science," ends are ethically posited. With Lassalle and Jaures, Bernstein turned to the sage of Koningsberg as the philosophical fount of Socialism.

Even Kautsky had said, in his book "The Road to Power," that moral integrity must be Social Democracy's response to increasing corruption. The socialists have to become "an indestructible power in the midst of the destruction of all authority."

The Reich

Bernstein was not unaware of the undemocratic aspects of the Reich. In Prussia particularly, franchise based on class privileges, kept the three chambers of legislature a closed preserve of the feudalists and the upper bourgeoisie. He knew that in the Reich, as it existed, his revisionism had not free and full scope. That is why he could never agree to his ideals being dubbed "English Socialism," nor could he go with Jaures in his advocacy of a bloc with the Liberals. In the state of truncated democracy, he supported workers' right to mass strike—to preserve hard-won gains, and to further concrete, urgently felt and widely accepted reforms. It must ever be used "as an economic weapon with ethical objectives." His Socialism was evolutionary, not narrowly constitutional. He fervently hoped that the forces of growth and change, vanguardized by social democracy, would get the time to triumph over restrictions and limitations. The wolves of war, however, overtook the yearnings of his hopes.

Bernstein feared war and was averse to it. Still on August 4, 1914, he, with the entire German Social Democracy, voted for war against Russia. But a war with Britain appeared to him as a war against the future. As the war developed, he felt more and more out of tune with his party till, in 1916, his allegiance to peace and to amity between nations led him out of his beloved party. The highpriest of revisionism found himself with the revolutionary cast-outs of social democracy.

A short war and negotiated peace would have left conditions not congenial to revisionism. But the four long years of attrition destroyed much of the basis of "organic evolutionism." The war furthered socialising tendency in economy, but fatally weakened the moral and democratic urges. History, later Lenin was to say, had played a strange trick: it had given birth at the beginning of 1918 to "two separate halves of Socialism, side by side like two chickens in one shell"—the economic in Germany, and the political in Russia. Bernstein recognised that under the stress of war German economy had become state capitalism, but the democratic forces were so weakened that its peaceful conversion to social democracy was well-nigh impossible. The economy sought a polity in its own image.

Effects Of War

War, with its surcharged organisation and drive, feeds authoritarian tendencies and favours anti-democratic forces. With its requisitioning of national energy, war often hatches despotism. The war of 1914 had been unusually destructive: the war cost came to $37,770,000,000, or half the national wealth of Germany: war dead numbered 2,140,000. And the war was lost! The social fabric lay shattered in the shambles of war and the ashes of defeat. The war ripped what Burke called "the decent draperies of life" from the German body politic. The Carthaginian peace imposed on Germany let loose a run-away inflation that blasted all the moorings of the middle-classes. The young republic hovered between Communist emeutes and reactionary putschs. The stabilising forces were in full retreat. The decapitated whirl of tell economic depression sucked them into the Nazi whirlwind. Even in the trough of depression and despair, as the voting figures testify, stable forces like socialism, nationalism and Catholicism remained unshaken. It was the rootless, not in economic life alone but in thought and spirit, who drifted behind Hitler. Bernstein died just six weeks before the Nazi locusts settled upon the harvest of his hopes and life-work.

(To be continued)
The Udaipur Conference Of The AISF

by Surendra Mohan

The All-India Students' Federation, AISF, held its 15th Annual Conference in Udaipur. The Conference, which was held after three years—three years of declining influence rent with controversy whether the organisation should or should not be dissolved—was a keenly awaited event. The keenness was amply rewarded. It was proved once again that the AISF is a Communist organisation. According to the "New Age" report (18th January, page 6), "Communist leader P. C. Joshi said that the Communist students had always tried to discharge their duty to the nation through the AISF". The speakers at the Conference included Dr. K. M. Ashraf who has been described in the above report as "Dr. K. M. Ashraf of the Delhi University", P. C. Joshi and two well-known Communists, Dr. Clovis Maksoud, a fellow traveller, and Shri Harishan Upadhyay, the Sarvodaya leader.

Treason Is Patriotism

As usual, some false claims were made. It was claimed that the AISF had "rich anti-imperialist heritage". This was claimed even after betraying the 1942 movement and calling an imperialist war a people's war and after keeping quiet on China's rape of Tibet and the Hungarian tragedy and protesting against the Indian military mission in Nepal. Again, speaking of pre-independence period, it was said that "the AISF successfully functioned as the united, national organisation of the Indian students". This is the old habit of misrepresentation of history. Barely after four years of its inception, the AISF was split into two at its Nagpur Session in 1941, and by 1944, it was powerfully challenged by All-India Students' Conference. This "United National Organisation of Students" was then adopting resolutions calling Muslim League as progressive and lauding the partition of the country. It had been reduced in influence to an unenviable position and its workers aroused the scorn of the broad mass of students. But that is how the "Communist students discharged their duties through the AISF" as Com. Joshi has said.

The AISF Conference has set before itself, as one of the tasks, the popularising of the achievements of "Socialist" countries, the Soviet Union and China. It has decided to "educate and organise them (students) to become model workers for mass work among the students and in the service of the people". In short, the Communists will continue to use the S.F. for building party cadre amongst students. This decision has thus concurred with the one year old decision of the CPI (vide "New Age", September 1957) that "Party building is the primary task among students".

Yet, behind the high sounding phrases of the achievements, the real sense of anxiety and the admission of defeat are unmistakable. The Conference took "realistic" note of "political division amongst students" which hindered the mass of students from actively joining any student organisation. That the Student Federation is no more the representative organisation of the broad mass of students has at last been admitted. That the mass of students does not actively join it has also been confessed; and now at least, the SF has come to realise that "advanced" students are sufficiently politically conscious to see through the Communist game and thus reject the Students' Federation. This realisation has only come rather too late. But Com. Joshi has still the cheek to pretend that it is "at present the organisation of Communist, progressive, nationalist and independent Socialist students". Is this not double talk? With every political trend in the country organising its own student wing, we are told there are in the SF such diverse elements as Communists and nationalists clubbed together. This is in fact a great victory of the non-Communist student organisation that the SF has itself been forced to admit its failure as a mass student organisation and has not declared itself as "the only representative organisation of students", as it used to declare.

Capture Mentality

And yet, the most poignant admission of defeat has been made with regards to its activities in the student Union front. Talking of the NUS, the "New Age" report says: "The AISF decided to shed its old sectarian approach and the 'capture' mentality and make serious and earnest efforts... to unify all the students unions into an All-India Federation..." And while it was the SF which adopted a sectarian attitude, the blame of failure of NUS has been laid at the door of Congress and Socialist factions. And, now, after eight long years of disrupting student unity by its sectarian attitude and "capture mentality", and after facing a dismal failure in capturing unions the AISF has accepted ruefully that "student unions were emerging as the united mass organisations of the students". But the "capture mentality" is too strongly and inherently ingrained in the SF for it to give it up completely. It has now decided to play the "vanguard role" amongst the student unions. Those who were familiar with Communist terminology would at once see that these are the old "hegemony", "vanguard", "leadership" tactics employed by the Party to capture Popular United fronts.

Is it that the Communists still think that they can mislead any but themselves by these pious declara- tions? Has the precious experience of the past ten years... years when they greeted any and every independent and non-conforming student with the cries of "traitors", "stooges" and "agents" and enemies of "students", and during which students had to fight hard against the disruptionist and sectarian role of the SF... been wasted on them? Has the grim realisation of "realistic" situation been very dim and passing, after all? One would have hoped that after this realisation of the importance of student unions as mass organisations, the SF will dissolve itself and let the students work though these unions in a united manner. For, till such time as there exists a so-called independent organisation of students trying to arrogate to itself the vanguard role, the prospect of unity will be slender indeed, and the effectiveness of the unions will decrease. The "capture mentality" can only die with the SF; and this would be the only guarantee against sabotage and...
for the success of a united student movement.

But, the Communist leaders know their mind only too well. During the many years, the pressure of student opinion had begun to be reflected in the SF, and there were demands for the independence of the organisation and also for its dissolution. The UPSF Conference at Kanpur and the AISF Conference at Udaipur heard many delegates espousing these views. These small divergences were the small mercies of the “mass character” of the AISF. The Communist Party could and would stand no such nonsense, however. Hence, the constitution of the AISF is sought to be changed.

The Conference, therefore, “decided to set up a high powered committee to draft a new constitution for the AISF”. In fact, the Party has decided to make of the SF a fully centralised and controlled organisation, without mass membership and designed to “recruit its membership from the best talents amongst the students, from every sphere of activity”. (“New Age”. 18th January.)

In Kerala Defeat Is Victory

And, lastly, the sting is in the tail of the sail report. “The Kerala SF had a membership of 15,000...”

Continued on page 12

Making a clean get-away, Mr. Motorist?

Motorist: A get-away? But I’ve got nothing to run away from!
Us: Oh? What about danger from dirt?
Motorist: What are you driving at?
Us: Dirt carries disease-causing germs, you know!
Motorist: But mine is the cleanest of cars!
Us: Yes, but even here there’s ordinary, everyday dirt. You can’t see it perhaps... but you can’t get away from it anywhere!
Motorist: Hmm! I’d never have thought of that! What can I do about it?
Us: Easy! Bathe the healthy way! Make it a habit to...

wash away the germs in dirt with

LIFEBOUy SOAP
—and enjoy that healthy feeling of freshness!
DEMOCRACY & DEFENCE

"Alright, I will tell you the whole story. And it is this. The B.D.O. was interested in a particular man, To get him elected he managed the show very cleverly. Now the convention is that the annual meetings begin with statement of accounts and discussion. That usually takes more than an hour. Election of office-bearers always follows accounts. But this time the B.D.O. reversed the whole process. Without discussing the accounts at all, he began with elections. And even when all of us were not there, he hurried through and got his man or dummy as the chairman. When we came an hour later the show was over!"

After a pause, this worker added, "Babu Saheb! I challenge you to deny this."

The Block subordinates were speechless.

This is how democracy is functioning in our country. It is bureaucracy playing about with the people. Of course, the latter are at the mercy of the former. And that is exactly why all democracies today count upon arms and go on piling them up. From America in the West to Russia and China in the East (India not excluded), all countries spend more and more on armaments and have their ultimate reliance on the power of the brute. Violence is their common goddess of worship.

Further, the heavy cost of modern weapons has necessitated ever-increasing centralised control, be it under state ownership or private. Whence effective power is being concentrated in few and fewer hands in all governments. And the vast masses in whose name those few at the top play the horrible drama go to the wall. In brief, defence of democracy is leading to its denial. With a decreasing association of the people with their government, democracy is bound to get weaker every moment.

This is the riddle. Democracy is building up her defence and defence is sapping the roots of democracy. This vicious circle has overtaken our India too. Besides, we suffer from two other grave disadvantages. Firstly, we are a very poor people suffering from chronic starvation and disease and disparities stalk the land. Secondly, we command neither the resources nor the know-how of these instruments of defence which means we would have to toe the line of either of the two power blocs. For, the question is not of the quantity of arms with us but of their quality.

Marshal Petain had promised France to fight Germany to the last drop of the last Frenchman. But he surrendered and not a drop was shed. Why? Simply because the quality of the then French arms was inferior to that of the German ones. Likewise, Japan lay prostrate before America because the former had no Atom bomb. Surely in no foreseeable future shall India be also to afford to build up arms as those with the U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. With inferior arms, we shall have to play second fiddle to either of them. That means subservience.

Turn a New Leaf

Hence if we have to save our democracy we must gather courage to turn a new leaf. Instead of following the beaten track let us make a right about turn and adopt the novel course, that is, non-violence should

(Continued on page 12)
A Letter to the Editor

GREATER CALCUTTA

In West Bengal gross density of population is 1.21 persons per acre, (Census 1951); of these about 17 per cent. live in urban areas and about 83 per cent. live in villages. Calcutta is the only city in West Bengal worth mentioning and about 1/5th of the total population of the State lives there. The population growth of this State during recent time shows a slow but steady shift towards urbanisation.

Gross density of Calcutta was 135 persons per acre (as per 1951 Census), the present figure may be 140 persons per acre. In Calcutta proper the density of population is far in excess of the accepted standard of healthy and hygienic living and this overcrowding is concentrated mostly in one-storied slums. Control is immediately necessary in this respect. In certain areas, in the core of the city, net density of population exceeds 350 to an acre. But if we look at the outlying areas of Calcutta, we will find a different picture altogether. Here about 40 per cent. area is either undeveloped or underdeveloped. The outlying undeveloped areas of Cossipore (part), Manicktola (part), Tollygunge, Tangra and the areas lying on the west of the Tolly's Nullah are the only portions where land is still available at the present moment for the purpose of "Town Planning and Improvement". Most of the above outlying areas remain submerged during monsoon not so much due to its low level but as much due to the absence of proper drainage facilities. The density condition of these areas is still very low. One could not dream of the insanitary and unhygienic environments created during monsoon within these areas even under the "Corporation of Calcutta".

Suburban Density

The condition of the Suburban Municipalities which form a major part of "Greater Calcutta" are still worse. The population density of the suburban Municipalities is only 21 to the acre (gross).

It is surprising that there has been no attempt until now from any quarter to formulate a "Master Plan of Greater Calcutta" consisting areas under Corporation of Calcutta and Suburban Municipalities. This plan not only (1) would have helped to accommodate another 9 to 10 lakhs of people in a planned environment but also (2) would have provided the people already residing there with a modern sanitary environment, and (3) would have solved to disperse the population of Calcutta proper from the core of the city thus leading to an overall and balanced distribution of population. (4) It would have created a very good healthy peripheral belt for Calcutta. (5) And lastly the scheme could have been implemented within a short time.

But instead of the above facts, there has always been schemes for "Satellite Towns" of Calcutta like "Kalyani", "North Salt Lake Area Scheme", etc. The first scheme is now becoming failure and the latter will not be otherwise. Satellite Town cannot exist on a barren land, that is on lands where there is no population at present. Future development should be done on areas where already a nucleus for a town has started. It is now useless to say anything on Kalyani. It is too late.

Reclamation Costs

But let us analysis "North Salt Lake Area". Area under development consists of 2,400 acres. It will accommodate about 1,50,000 lakhs of people. The cost for reclamation of land will be about Rs. 6.5 crores. The cost for construction of roads, water-supply drainage, sewer, street-lighting, etc., would be about Rs. 7.5 crores that is the development will cost only Rs. 13.5 crores. Housing, other recreational and civic facilities will cost another Rs. 44.5 crores. In other words, the cost per head is Rs. 900 and the cost per acre is Rs. 56,250 for development only and the overall cost per head is Rs. 3,866. The cost per acre is Rs. 2,41,660.

On the other hand, if we analyse a scheme for greater Calcutta, that is low lying areas of Calcutta and its Suburban Municipalities, we will find the following picture.

It will be seen that the population density within 27,021 acres will be 7,31,327, that is about 27 persons per acre (as per 1951 Census). Even if we take into consideration the increase of population after the Census by 50 per cent. the present density comes to 40 persons per acre. If the ultimate gross density of these areas be limited to 75 persons per acre, another 9,45,735 persons could still be accommodated at an additional rate of 35 persons per acre [27,021 × (75 — 40) = 9,45,735].

The comparative analysis of the two schemes, viz. North Salt Lake area and Suburban Municipalities (including low lying areas of Calcutta) is never made, neither any co-ordinat-ed regional planning is thought of. It is still a wonder why town planning schemes are not done by proper experts when other states are doing, viz. New Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Orissa, etc. In the Western countries Ministry of "Town Planning & Housing" is existing from the earliest part of 20th Century, but in our country it is still to come up. Our towns are becoming complicated day by day and it is high time we take this matter in right earnest, otherwise some of the easy tasks of to-day will become a very difficult job in the future.

—Dhiren Bhowmik
interpreted Adolf Berle and has not read into the lines of the book. Mr. Alexander writes: "Adolf Berle has pointed out in his book 'The Twentieth Century Capitalist Revolution', that between 1946 and 1953 over 60 per cent, of all new investment capital came from ploughed back earning of the big corporations themselves, and only about six per cent. came from new stock issues.

"Here, the Corporations have depended increasingly less on the investment bankers for sources of new capital". Even here Mr. Alexander is not precise. Adolf A. Berle on page 37 of his book, "The Twentieth Century Capitalist Revolution" (1954 publication), refers to the economists of the National City Bank who had made an estimate that between 1946 and 1953 (both inclusive) "an aggregate of 150 billions of dollars had been spent in the United States for capital expenditures, namely modernizing and enlarging the plant and equipment." And according to that estimate Berle writes on page 38 of his book that 64 per cent of the 150 billions came from "internal sources" and 36 per cent by bank credit. So between 1946 and 1953 it is not 6 per cent as Mr. Alexander distorts but 36 (thirty-six) per cent in Berle's book. Now, even 64 per cent of the Corporations which came from "internal sources" Mr. Alexander did not care to analyse how these "internal sources" were made. The "internal sources", according to Berle's book, is out of accumulations, i.e., the accumulation of the dividends which have not been distributed. But even this reservoir of "internal sources" became possible because of the bank capital advanced before. The role of the bank is not minimised by this as Mr. Alexander wants to depict.

Furthermore, Berle in his book writes that this estimate of the economists of the "National City Bank" and the estimate of Professor M. A. Adelman of MIT (Berle's book p. 25) do not take into consideration the financial corporations who work on the expansion of credit (a salient feature of finance, capitalism, according to Lenin), and not on the expansion of plants and other equipments. So even bourgeois economist Adolf Berle concludes that by these estimates the controlling source of the banks is not lessened. Berle writes about the banks on pp. 44-45: "These buy securities in corporations; thus far they have ordinarily leaned over backward in not entering the management of the companies whose securities they buy. But it does not follow at all that as their assets continue to grow (they do) and their holdings of securities of operating corporations continue to increase (as they inevitably must), they can indefinitely remain spectators of the corporations whose stock and bonds furnish the vehicle for their investments. If they wished the could even today exercise a powerful choice in managements in many of the corporations and their ability to do this seems likely to increase. Not often in history does the holder of potential power declines to use it." What bourgeois economist Adolf Berle failed to white-wash, "an American Socialist" Mr. Robert Alexander has done.

Then Mr. Alexander wants to emphasize that in the corporations in America at present the stocks are widely distributed. For this he mentions the case of the Standard Oil of New Jersey (and he should have mentioned Bell Telephone too). The management is separated from the stockholders and Mr. Alexander writes that "no single stockholder has control of as much as one per cent of the total". Mr. Alexander is wrong when he says that "no single stockholder has control of as much as one per cent of the total". For this I will refer Mr. Alexander to check any standard book on the Standard Oil or of American Corporations instead of making lengthy quotation again. (Victor Perlo's latest book "The Empire of High Finance" has graphically presented this).

Now, Mr. Alexander should recall that in every state of the United States generally the statute is that the board of directors should be made of the shareholders so that it can feel one with the Corporation. The system of "proxy" and indifference from the side of the minor shareholders has enabled the holders of the majority of the shares to have the board of directors according to their likes. The directors are themselves the stockholders Mr. Alexander should not forget this. The managers have all their shares in
the corporations and they are the
tools of the directors.

Mr. Alexander makes one laugh
when he writes: "The principal
purpose of the firms is no longer to
make the most possible profit for
the stockholders. . . . It is to increase
the power and the prestige of the
managers themselves." This is just
another polishing of capitalism by
Mr. Alexander. Mr. Robert Alex-
ander should be aware that this
feudal sentiment of "prestige" was
given a death blow the day capi-
talism was born in the history of the
world. In capitalism, as in Ameri-
can capitalism, money matters most.

I will refer Mr. Alexander to
the pages of the "Communist Mani-
manifesto" by Marx-Engels where they
point out how "cash nexus" came
into being. All feudal relationships,
 sentiments, etc., where shattered
with the rise of Capitalism. When
Ida Tarbell exposèd John D. Rocke-
feller by her book "The History of
the Standard Oil Company", Mr.
Rockefeller bought back his
"prestige" by founding the Inter-
national Houses at Columbia,
Chicago and Berkeley, and by other
foundations. A Carnegie who used
foul means in making money, got
back his prestige by founding institutes, other dona-
tions and in giving Sermon of the "gospel of
wealth". A. Morgan who started his
career with swindling got his
"prestige" by money. Stanford got
enshrined in the hearts of the peo-
ple by founding a university despite
his past black record. William
Randolph Hearst who had a great
hand in prostituting the American
press, and precipitating the Americo-

Spanish War also got prestige by
dint of money.

The managers of a corporation
don't care for prestige but for
money. They have cold monetary
interest in firms where they are
entrenched. Undoubtedly then this
managerial class has presented a
bureaucratization process, but this is
no discovery of Mr. Robert Alexan-
der and others. It was pointed
out by Marx-Engels long before
during the Paris Commune (See
Marx-Engels and Lenin's writings
about the Paris Commune). So this
'managerial capitalism' is another
paint used to polish American
parasitic finance capitalism. This
so-called "managerial capitalism"
is a by-product of finance capital-
ism whose great analysis was made
by Lenin.

(To Be Concluded)

(Continued from page 9)
be the sheet-anchor of our demo-
cracy. Gandhiji gave a clear warn-
ing not only to India but to the
whole world:

"There is no escape, from the
impending doom save through a
bold and unconditional acceptance
of the non-violent method with all
its implications. Democracy and
violence can ill go together. The
states that are today nominally
democratic have either to become
frankly totalitarian, or if they are
to become truly democratic, they
must become courageously non-
violent." (Bold mine.)

May I humbly ask, are we not
nominally democratic today? Let
us turn the searchlight inwards and
the answer is there. But we do
want to be truly democratic. For
that, the non-violent method is the
surest and the speediest.

Curiously and happily enough, this
view is fast gaining ground. In his
valuable book, "Defence in the
Nuclear Age", Sir Stephen Hall, the
seasoned British Commander and
War Expert, has firmly expressed his
stirring opinion. Says he:

"I have come round to the view
that on the facts known to me and
after endeavouring to assess the
relative dangers of the risks in-
separable from our present defence
policy and those which seem to
arise from the adoption of the
alternative policy, I support the
idea of changing the basis of our
defence strategy from one of vio-
lence to one of non-violence."

Nay, Sir Stephen calls upon his
countrymen:

"I, therefore, advocate the im-
plementation of this policy by a
declaration (unilateral if need be,
if other powers will not join with
us) that the U.K. Government, as
from a date to be announced, will
abandon the use of nuclear energy
for military purposes."

Blaze Her Own Trail

This should be enough to open
our eyes. Resort to militarisation
and its corollaries like centralisation
and industrialisation is no solution
to our ills, nor a reliable defender
of our democracy. If India is to
live, she must not imitate the U.S.A.,
U.S.S.R., U.K. or China or any other
power and must blaze her own trail.
She will have to reconstruct her
soo-economic edifice on truly de-
ocratic values when power would
flow from the village within to the
town and from the panchayat to the
Central Parliament. And collective
non-violence would be the invincible
weapon of Indian armoury. Let us
bravely adopt this course today and
the world will follow it tomorrow.
The dream of universal peace and
brotherhood of man would then be
actually realised on this earth.

(Continued from page 8)
before the State-wide strike organised by the opposi-
tion parties . . . " And . . . "The membership of the
SF now stood at 45,000 . . . " In between the two
statements, one might recall that in all elections to
school and college unions, excepting of course
Kottayam, where the others had boycotted the elec-
tions, the SF was defeated and routed. But, just as in
U.P., where the Youth Congress membership registers
increase with every defeat its candidates face in the
union election, so in Kerala, the SF can comfort itself
and the believers with inflated membership figures.
The only casualty is truth, and that never worries our
Hectors.

* All quotations in this article have been taken
from the "New Age" of 18th January, 1959.
RICE DEAL REPORT

The findings of the Andhra Rice Inquiry Commission, appointed by the Government of Kerala, have gone against the Kerala Government. The report of Mr. Justice P. T. Raman Nair laid on the table of the Kerala Assembly says that the purchase of five thousand tons of rice was not made because the food situation in the State demanded it. It further concludes that the Rice Deal has resulted in an avoidable loss of more than Rs. 1 lakh to the State. These conclusions of the Judicial Commission appointed by the Kerala Government itself on the specific terms of reference, again framed by the same Government, cannot be brushed aside lightly. It is not proper to argue as the Kerala Finance Minister, Shri C. Achuta Menon did in the Kerala Assembly that there were several instances where Congress Governments even in Kerala had not been prepared even to order an inquiry. It is pertinent to ask Shri Achuta Menon “what is the good of appointing a Commission if its findings even on the points referred to it are not accepted by the Government?”

Shri Menon was on firmer ground when he argued that the problem before the Kerala Government then was to get rice from whatever source and at whatever price it was available; and that if they had insisted on tenders they might not have been able to keep up supplies to fair price shops. But from the terms of reference to the Commission it is clear that this was the very contention which was the subject matter of the enquiry and that the findings of the Commission go against the Kerala Government.

In the past the opposition parties in Kerala have alleged more than once that political considerations determine the policy of the Communist Government in Kerala and that political nepotism is discernible in many of their deals. Their allegations were brushed aside by the Communist spokesmen as interested political propaganda not based on facts. But the findings of the Commission would at least prove that considerations other than keeping up the supply to the fair price shops were at work. What these considerations were is, of course, known best to the Kerala Government itself.


NOTES AND COMMENT

Struggle in Africa

The debate in the House of Commons over happenings in the Rhodesian Federation and the proceedings at Party meetings of the Conservative and Labour M.P.s to discuss this issue show that a considerable section even in the U.K. is perturbed over the happenings in Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia. The charge that leaders of African National Congress were plotting to massacre Whites in Nyasaland is still to be proved. At present we have only Sir Robert Armitage, Governor of Nyasaland, to support the charge. He refuses to give any details of the alleged plot which he says are still top secret.

It is, however, alleged that the Accra meet of the Africans in December last encouraged violent methods for gaining independence by the Africans, a charge which is denied by the responsible leaders of the African National Congress. There is no doubt that people all over Africa are fired with a keen desire to end the colonial rule in every part of Africa and want to take the reins of administration in their own hands. Unless the contrary is proved by any reliable evidence the world is entitled to believe that the White settlers have become panicky as a result of this nationalist upsurge and smell all sorts of plots against their lives and property. The fear so generated makes them take extreme measures which may succeed for a temporary period but are bound to prove futile in the long run.

It is in this background that the demand for a Parliamentary Fact Finding Commission to go to Nyasaland made in the U.K. Parliament has to be viewed. Such a Commission can serve a useful purpose only if the leaders now in detention in Southern Rhodesia are to be allowed full freedom to refute the charge, if they choose, made against them. They cannot do so effectively while in detention. The first condition, therefore, is to release them and allow them to move freely in any part of the Rhodesian Federation to collect necessary proof for their case. The ill-conceived measure to outlaw the Nyasaland African Congress should also be withdrawn. Even the Governor of Nyasaland claims that the alleged plot has failed. If this be so, there cannot be any harm in restoring normal conditions. If the charge against the Congress leaders is proved, the ordinary law of the land can take its own course.

The recent happenings in Nyasaland should convince the White settlers there that their future lies with the people of Nyasaland and earlier they recognise this fact the speedier it will be to create conditions where racialism is soon forgotten and the people begin to live amicably irrespective of race, colour or creed.

If the Africans today are very conscious of their race and colour, the White settlers have to blame themselves for it. The notions of White supremacy and White man's burden would generate the spirit of nationalism and even race consciousness in the Africans and this would slowly disappear only when the Whites change their attitude.

A constitutional conference to decide the future of the Rhodesian Federation is due in 1960 and Lord Perth is shortly due in Nyasaland in that connection. If the British Government shows the same sense of realism in the case of the Rhodesian Federation as it did in the case of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon a situation would develop whereby the British will be able to extricate themselves from the impossible position in which they find themselves and would gain the friendship and understanding of all the people in this Continent which is determined to throw off the yoke of the colonial rule. If on the other hand, the British Government and the Rhodesian Federal Governments choose the path of violence in preference to the one of the Constitutional discussions they will have to thank themselves for the ugly turn which the situation might take.

Co-operative Farming

In an official note, released by Shri Sadiq Ali, General Secretary of the Congress, embodying some effective steps to implement the Nagpur Resolution, the two immediate tasks have been formulated before the country in the agrarian sector. These tasks are, according to the note, to increase agricultural production and to establish service co-operatives on a top priority basis. This is a sound approach to our agrarian problems. But two points need to be emphasised in this connection. One is the possibility of conflict between the goal of increased production and that of imposing ceilings on land. Shri Nehru addressing a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party in New Delhi is reported to have said that he was convinced that the ceilings on land was desirable at least from the point of view of an integrated approach to the problem of agrarian reform. But then he hurriedly added that production must not suffer. This shows that even the Prime Minister envisages a situation in which land reforms might threaten production targets. The question is what the Congress policy would be in case of such an eventuality. Will the Congress retreat from the goal of imposing ceilings on land or will it try to find out means to resolve the conflict and proceed with
THE CRISIS OF FAITH

[Text of the Budget speech of Acharya J. B. Kripalani in the Lok Sabha on March 10, 1959.]

SOME members have showered compliments on the Finance Minister for his moderation. Others have severely criticised him. But I have neither to find fault with him nor to praise him; I can only sympathise with him. He has to find the necessary funds. He must, not of his doing: neither the rising cost of the administration, civil and military, and the Plan. All this is not of his doing: neither the rising cost of the administration nor the costly plan. These things were there before he left the moist and muggy atmosphere of Bombay and was transplanted to the dry and dusty region of Delhi. He has to find the necessary funds. He must, as the saying goes, beg, borrow, or steal.

Inflation

He has been doing the first two as he told us in his speech. He will continue to raise the various loans inside the country. The number of foreign countries from which the flow of loans will be continued is legion. We also continue to get free gifts from America and other countries. But it would appear that all this begging and borrowing is not enough for the expanding expenditure of the Government. What remains? One cannot call it by the vulgar name of the stealing. When a rich man indulges in this, it is called kleptomania. When the Finance Minister does it, it is indirect taxation and printing of notes.

Deficit financing becomes inflationary when it impoverishes the mass of the people, that is when they have to pay for their primary needs of life disproportionately more than the increase in their real incomes. Also, if higher prices are not set off against increased social amenities, the economy suffers from inflation. Further, deficit financing becomes a positive course if there is increasing unemployment. Our economy today suffers from all these handicaps. But we are told that the country is building heavy and capital industry and this cannot be done without deficit financing. It is hard to say, when the beneficent effects of this industrialisation will reach the common man! We are having Plan after Plan is costlier than the other. There Plan is costlier than the other. There seems to be no end in sight. However, the fact is that the baneful effects of inflation can be removed only with increased production of consumer goods and their equitable distribution. We have the example of the economies of Eastern countries in Europe where the emphasis was on heavy and capital industry to the neglect of consumer goods. This has resulted in heavy inflation not enough for the expanding economy. Our economy today suffers from inflation. Further, deficit financing becomes a positive course if there is increasing unemployment. Our economy today suffers from all these handicaps. But we are told that the country is building heavy and capital industry and this cannot be done without deficit financing. It is hard to say, when the beneficent effects of this industrialisation will reach the common man! We are having Plan after Plan is costlier than the other. There Plan is costlier than the other. There seems to be no end in sight. However, the fact is that the baneful effects of inflation can be removed only with increased production of consumer goods and their equitable distribution. We have the example of the economies of Eastern countries in Europe where the emphasis was on heavy and capital industry to the neglect of consumer goods. This has resulted in heavy inflation.

by

Acharya J. B. Kripalani

The adverse effects of inflation were apparent as early as the beginning of 1957. The former Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari while presenting his budget that year declared Rs. 900 crores of deficit finance as the safe limit. He gave the reason for his heavy taxation programme. The Planning Commission in its reappraisal put the limit for the last two years of the Plan at Rs. 283 crores. Both these limits have been exceeded. The aggregate deficit financing will greatly exceed the limit of Rs. 1,200 crores contemplated in the whole Plan period, and that too under very favourable conditions. The conditions, as I have stated and as are admitted by the authorities, are the reverse of favourable. This must entail added hardship on the masses and the salaried lower and the middle classes, whose sufferings are already great. When our experts glibly talk of deficit financing they forget that after the war we are already in the grip of heavy inflation.

Apart from the over-ambitious nature of the Plan—over-ambitious not in terms of our needs but our resources, human and material—the expenditure on it has been greatly inflated by the mistakes made in execution. On the last occasion, I gave the example of the three steel plants, in the public sector. This is the largest single item on which Plan resources have been spent. On that occasion, I said that avoidable losses were in the neighbourhood of Rs. 100 crores. Since then, the House has the advantage of the Estimates Committee's Report on these plants. It says that there was 'lack of forethought and adequate planning'. It finds it strange that the administration of the Rs. 560 crores-steel projects should have been vested largely with two to four officials or erstwhile officials, who had no previous experience of steel industry, or of any industry for that matter.

A Thorough Probe Wanted

Contracts for civil engineering works and building of blast furnaces, which could have been handled by local contractors, employing local skills, were given to foreigners who did the work at much heavier cost. We had engaged the services of costly foreign consultants. But they gave plans and data that were afterwards found worthless. In Rourkela, the site for the location of the Plan had to be changed. This cost Rs. 2.5 crores more. It is not known why or at whose instance this was done. Even the Estimates Committee has not been able to get information from official sources to enable it to fix responsibility. The sources for iron-ore, lime-stone and water supply have been found inadequate and unsatisfactory. The time schedule has also proved illusory. Finally, the estimates are nowhere near the originals. The difference cannot be explained on the basis of the rise in prices. It is much more. Yet Rs. 10 crores were paid...
to the foreign expert consultants!

The conclusion of the Committee is that a thorough probe must be made into the various aspects of the working of the erection of these three plants. For the future, the committee opines that Parliament should be given full information every year regarding any new project involving huge cost. With the Committee's report before us, it is necessary that a Committee of the House be appointed to go into the whole matter of the steel plants. This is necessary if like mistakes in the future are to be avoided.

Further, it is disconcerting that from time to time the country is shocked by various reports about mismanagement of public funds. Recently, we had the Dulat Committee Report on Bhakra Nangal Project. This Project is a show piece for all dignitaries favouring us with their kind visits. It was about this project that the Prime Minister once said that it must be considered by us as a new temple and a new place of pilgrimage. The Dulat Committee examined only a section of the Project, one canal wing, costing Rs. 9 crores. It has found that out of this, Rs. 50 lakhs were wasted through injudicious planning and inadequate supervision, which provided opportunities for dishonesty. If this is what happened at Bhakra Nangal, a project which is periodically visited by many Ministers, including the Prime Minister, one wonders what happens elsewhere!

**Disregard of Moral Dictates**

Here is again something from Shri P. C. Chowdhury's report on the allotment of evacuee lands in the Punjab. The report says: "In the traditional Moghul style many officials conferred Jagirs on their friends and relatives in utter disregard of legal and moral dictates."

To add to all this, periodically, the country is shocked to learn of corruption at levels higher than the permanent services. Curiously enough, it is not the members of the opposition parties who are responsible for the ugly exposures but the members of the different factions in the Congress or even in the Cabinets. In most cases, whenever a Minister in the Centre or the State resigns, for whatever reason, sooner or later he exposes the skeleton in the Government's cupboard.

As I have said before, taxes are justified only if they are utilised for the service of the people and in India for the service of starving masses, who even after independence, live at starvation level. Yet our expenditure on the administration is increasing. It is increasing out of all proportion to the output of work and efficiency. In 1948-49, it stood at Rs. 35.5 crores. It stands today at the very modest figure of more than Rs. 222 crores, an increase of Rs. 187 crores. This works out to more than 600 per cent over a period of one decade. This is not to be wondered at when we look at the increased staff of officers only at the top. While before independence, a department was managed by one Secretary and a Joint Secretary, today we have Principal Secretaries, Secretaries, Special Secretaries, Additional Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, etc. In some departments, we have over them all a Secretary-General. What is missing is a Secretary Extraordinary. But perhaps all the additional Secretaries are extraordinary. They have been unearthed after independence.

**The Superfluous Luxury**

The number of administrative Boards and Committees have similarly been increasing. Their membership has been increasing as well. The Railway Board that was previously managed by three members has today 10 members. The Revenue Board has five members instead of three. In spite of this increase, we are told that as few as 83,000 income-tax appeals are pending.

The number of Ministerial posts at the Centre and in the provinces is on the increase. Almost all States enjoy the superfluous luxury of a Second Chamber. Governmental expenditure, civil and military is progressively increasing and becoming more lavish. Huge sums of money are spent on prestige buildings and establishing new capitals on the model of New Delhi. But all this in no way increases efficiency. Rather, many cooks spoil the nation's broth.

The result is that additional resources collected from the people through ever increasing taxation, in the name of the Plan, have been wasted on things other than the Plan. Even the Planning Commission is constrained to say "all this tax effort has, however, not provided resources for the Plan; a large part of it has been absorbed by other demands, defence, non-development expenditure and development expenditure outside the Plan."

Further, the Commission says: "Despite the improvement in the tax receipts by Rs. 500 crores over the original Plan targets, the revenue receipts available for financing the Centre's Plan outlay are expected to show an improvement of only Rs. 45 crores, as confirmed by the Plan estimates".

Let us, however, see, if, with all the money we have received from ever increasing taxes we have been able to achieve the physical targets of our Plans. In the First Plan, our targets of Irrigation and Cultivation was eight million acres. But the actual area that could be brought under the plough was only four million acres—50 per cent of the Plan target. But so far as spending is concerned the monetary target was fully achieved. In the Second Plan our food production target was 15.5 million tons. At the end of the third year, we will be achieving only 6.6 million tons, though we have already spent nearly Rs. 95 crores out of Rs. 170 crores. In Irrigation, we have achieved only 3.81 million acres in place of 12 million acres while we have spent Rs. 236 crores out of Rs. 376 crores. Similarly, by the end of the third year, our power potential will increase by .77 million out of 3.5 million kWs.; but we would have spent Rs. 243 crores out of Rs. 427 crores. Our planners had calculated that by the end of
the Plan period, we will produce through the new steel plants two million tons of iron and steel; it still remains to be seen how much we shall produce at the end of the Plan period. We know that the public sector contributed 0.2 million tons of coal production in the first year through State Collieries. What is our target? I have not been able to get the exact figures but I believe it is not less than 10 million tons during the Plan period. As for shipping, Rs. 45 crores has already been committed, but as against 390,000 GRT, the achievement has been only 180,000 GRT—less than half. About ports, road development, etc., the same thing can be said.

Physical Achievement

The point is that we spend money according to the Plan but when it comes to physical achievement, expectations made by our planning experts are absolutely belied by the targets reached.

I have little to say about the specific tax proposals in the present budget. They have been adversely commented upon by previous speakers. But I am surprised that a Government which claims to foster, protect and encourage cottage industries should tax Khandsari Sugar. Light as the present tax burdens may appear to Congressmen we must view them against the background of heavy impositions from year to year for the last eleven years. Let us beware of the last straw that breaks the camel’s back.

It is useless for me to say anything about the Defence expenditure, which but for a small cut this year has been on the increase year after year. It would be superfluous to suggest any cut in this direction, when the country is in the grip of fear of a small country like Pakistan. One wonders today, how our unarmed people fearlessly met the challenge of the British Empire before independence! In the last few days, this fear has increased, because of the new treaty between America and Pakistan and the knowledge that American arms are being used by Pakistan in the border raids. If this is a fact, then it means that what America gives to India with one hand is more than taken away with the other. This is what makes American “foreign policy suspect in many underdeveloped countries. I, however, hope that the assurances given by the American authorities are genuine and they will take measures to see that American arms are not used in any excursion against India.

An Appeal

While I am on this subject of military, let me make an earnest appeal to the Government. Let us not associate our daughters, sisters and mothers with this cruel business of war. It is the pride and privilege of woman to give and preserve life. Let her not be the instrument of taking away what she has given in pain and travail and in abounding love. This little should not be too much to expect from the land of Gandhi. Inspired by alien ideas we accorded to a singly soul, a man of God, a man of peace, truth and love, military honours after his death! Let us not pay homage again to foreign ideas by training our womenfolk for the destructive professions of arms, specially in this age of senseless and cruel carnage of the atomic age. Gandhiji always said that non-violence was most natural to women. It was in accord with their traditions and with their special function as mothers. I would appeal, through this House, to all women organisations to agitate against women joining the military forces of the country, even though they may be for defensive purposes. Are we men so devoid of bravery and so poor in spirit and so few in numbers that we want the help of our womenfolk in the defence of our motherland and in the process subject them to this cruel, brutal and brutalising business of war? After all, we know something of the soldier’s life. Need our women lead that life?

I know that some day the Prime Minister, who is not present here today, will give us arguments from history and talk of Ranil of Jhanai and Chandibibi. These cases were exceptional in times that were exceptional and when war was not what it is today, a sheer butchery and an indiscriminate annihilation. But even if these examples have any validity in this Sputnik Age, we in this House are not bound to follow history. We are here as trustees not only of the present generation but generations to come. We have to make history even as we did before independence in our freedom fight.

We know and we have often been reminded by the Prime Minister that the tasks before us are stupendous and they require for their fulfilment the utmost unity and the honest and co-operative effort of all sections of the population and all the parties. But this unity and cooperation can only be based upon confidence in the leadership and the administration. People must believe that those in authority have no other objective but their good. After all not only individuals but communities live by faith. Faith is the man. Faith is also the community. When Gandhiji appeared on the political scene in India the first thing that he gave the people was faith; faith in the leadership and, therefore, in themselves.

This faith was generated through deeds and not through words. We think in terms of economic and political crises. But the real crisis in the country is the crisis of faith. For example, why are our young people restive and why are they getting out of hand? It is because they have lost all confidence and have become cynical. Unless this widespread cynicism is replaced by trust, confidence and faith all our efforts will go in vain. Faith can move mountains. And this faith can be induced in the people, as before independence, not by words but by dedicated deeds.

Perfecto’s Popular Cosmetics

PIMOVA SNOW
(Pimple Cure)
PIMOVA COLD CREAM
PIMOVA DE LUXE
FACE POWDER
PERFECTO PRODUCTS
(Cosmetic Division)

Therapeutic Pharmaceuticals

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BOMBAY 2

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SOCIALISM IN ITALY

The Italian Socialist Party was formed in 1892. Its weakness from the start was that its roots were never thrust in the rich part of the nation. British socialism not only shared the nation's "entailment inheritance" of freedom, but was proud heir to liberalism, developed from Locke to Mill. German socialism drew deeply from the cultural soil of the nation, that was why Bernstein could charm the seething Hegelian, Maelstrom into a placid Kantian lake. Italian socialism never sought to discover its lineage with the glorious past.

The revolutionary impulse in Italian socialism had come from a Russian, Mikhail Bakunin (1814-76) its reformism from a Frenchman, Benoit Malon. The Marxian influence, however, appealed to something deep in the Italian soul: as Benedetto Croce put it, "The will never feels itself as free as when it industry; and transformismo (Italian version of "the spoils system") had fundamentally weakened parliamentary democracy. Democracy was anaemic, economic conditions far from healthy: Italy was closer to Eastern Europe than to the West. If social democracy was to triumph, the socialist party should have fostered conditions of well being and prosperity. To create a democratic state and develop towards it a positive approach should have been its policy.

Indian Summer

Between 1903-11, under Premier Giolitti, Italian democracy experienced its brief Indian Summer. Economic development and social legislation progressed hand in hand. The socialists were justified in rejecting Giolitti's offer of participation in the Government, but towards social legislation and democratic traditions positive, not hostile, attitude was needed.

The Italian socialists were disabled by their divisions and anxious from developing a positive policy. In 1900, the party adopted simultaneously a minimum programme of reforms, and a maximum programme of revolution. Filippo Turati related them as means to the end. And there was the heart of the confusion: if reforms succeed revolution becomes a disruption: reforms and social struggles can be combined, but not reforms and overthrow of the state. This unstable mixture of programme left the position explosive. Italian socialism lacked courage for revisionism as well as for revolution. Because it was not nourished on sustenance

by Asoka Mehta

from the nation's past and her great traditions, no Jaures ever emerged.

In fact, the socialist movement showed much of the volatility of the people in that period of indecision. The mood was perhaps best symbolised in the poet Gabriel d'Annunzio. His superb self-dramatisation runs like a red thread through the entire tapestry of Italian life. In 1900, he crossed the Chamber of Deputies, and declared from his seat on the extreme left, "I go towards Life!" And life in his lexicon meant turbulence, irresponsibility, voluntarismo.

During the War and after the poet behaved with reckless irresponsibility; his colourful actions stirred the passions of the people and made responsible decisions impossible. Inside the socialist party, there were many who in their mental make-up were the constituents of the "Deputy for Beauty." His march on Flums and the mock regime, his violent nationalism and his flirtations with Moscow had only one inner consistency—revolution of the lawful and the responsible. With her plunge into the War, Italy was filled with self-assertion, noise, violence, irresponsible impulse for domination and action unbridled by thought, debate or procedure.

After the War, a great opportunity came to the socialists to conserve and construct: The party polled two-fifths of the votes, and was the largest bloc—156—in the Chamber; it controlled 28 out of 69 provincial Governments, and 2,162 communal administrations out of nearly 4,000. A strong trade union movement flanked the party. Across the frontier, in war-torn Austria, the Social Democrats were bringing peace and stability to their shattered country through a coalition with the Christian Social Party.

In Italy the situation was ripe for such an alliance. Don Luigi Sturzo's Popular Party was 'a confessional' Christian Social Party with a mass basis: it had a hundred Deputies, and social idealism still ran high in its ranks. Italians should have learnt from Austrian experience—Catholic countries with peasant masses would always throw up Karl Luegers (1844-1910). Better to have them on one's side than be deadlocked with them.

Catholicism

Italian socialism has ever shied away from the stubborn fact of Catholicism in the country. A negative attitude of not hurting the religious susceptibilities of the people, of working-men too, was meaningless. The Church could have been left alone, but with Catholicism an emotional and intellectual understanding was necessary.

On the eve of the birth of the Italian socialist party, Pope Leo XIII had issued the encyclical Neriurn Novarum (1891). Though it was critical of socialism, it was critical of capitalism too. Its grave man really against statism and concentrationism. Its positive suggestions were in the accents of distributionism. Here was a bridge: in a country of many peasants, this could have become a wholesome starting point. Distributivism could have been pressed home in the Latifondi.

In the Popular Party, there was enough leaven of primitive Christianity to offer points of contact to an imaginative socialist movement. Don Sturzo's main plank was regionalism. It was obtuse to have developed a conflict between political decentralisation and economic devolution close to socialist heart. The Soviet, in theory, inhered both the qualities. In Italy, with the colour-
ful annals of her city-states regionalism was a vital need, its satisfaction would have exerted a healing influence. A great Italian, St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) in his commentary on Aristotle's Politics had uttered a truth that was shaped by the saga of his own land: "The diversity of cities come from a diversity of ends or of different manners of reaching the same end, men create varying forms of common life and in consequence different cities". Within a common framework, such diversity alone gives substance to freedom.

But such a path, though it would have Romanised socialism was unthinkable for men wrapped up in Marxist orthodoxy, as it was for the Roman orthodoxy.

In September 1920, Italian socialism reached its revolutionary watershed; 35,000 workers of metal industries and 300,000 workers of engineering establishments occupied and took over the country's most highly developed group of industries. The revolution knocked at the door of the socialists. But they were busy weaving People's web; what the reformist wove in the Chamber was undone by the revolutionaries in the street and vice versa. Dazzled by the Russian Revolution, all that the Italian socialists did was to demoralise the nation and the workers, undermine their power against adventures, dissipate the strength of the party, and splinter its solidarity. On the shambles of the revolution and on the shattered party Mussolini rode to power.

Twenty years of Fascism of suppression and exile have not fundamentally changed Italian socialism. It once again refuses to be a truly stabilising force or to be frankly, insurrectionist. It splits and Pietro Nenni slakes his thirst from the waters of the Volga and Giuseppe Saragat turns to the Thames, and vainly the Tiber flows to the sea.

(To Be Continued)

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**ON THE PSP-FRONT**

**Rice Shortage in Jalpaiguri**

The Jalpaiguri District Praja Socialist Party organised a huge rally of more than 4,000 peasants from different constituencies of the district. The procession marched to the Deputy Commissioner's Office, where a deputation on its behalf presented the official with a memorandum.

The memorandum said that artificial scarcity of rice had been created by dishonest businessmen in spite of a good harvest this year. The scarcity of supplies had created panic. It demanded that rice must be made available immediately at controlled price.

The memorandum said that no effective steps had been taken to redistribute the land acquired by the Government under the Land Acquisition Act. For the last two years, the Adhiks were being compelled to pay compensation, whereas the Jotdars were realising their share of crops from the peasants as usual.

The Deputy Commissioner promised to set right some of their grievances immediately and refer the rest to the State Government.

**Homage to Acharya Narendra Deva**

The third memorial day of Acharya Narendra Deva was observed at a public meeting held at 33, Tarachand Dutta Street, Calcutta, under the auspices of Burra Bazar District Praja Socialist Party.

Shri Sisir Das, M.L.A., who presided, said that the life of Acharya Narendra Deva was a synthesis of Marxism, Gandhism and Buddhism. To bring about such a synthesis in one's life was a hard task, but the Acharya was able to strike a balanced view of life. Referring to the departed leader as a fountainhead of Socialism, Shri Sisir Das said that unless persons with unflinching faith in the ideal of a socialistic society came forward, the creations of such a society would remain unrealised. Shri Sisir Das opposed the proposal for the formation of a National Government at the Centre and said that it was not possible to extend co-operation to a corrupt party like the Congress.

**Assam**

A largely attended public meeting, held under the auspices of the Nalbari Praja Socialist Party, was held to observe the death anniversary of Acharya Narendra Deva. Shri Biswa Goswami, Secretary of the Assam Praja Socialist Party presided.

**Andhra Pradesh**

Tributes to the memory of Acharya Narendra Deva were paid at a meeting at the P.S.P. office at Anaparti in East Godavari district by Shri Uddandappa, Shri Suryanarayana, Shri Ramamohanarao, Shri M. Satyanarayana Sarma, Shri V. V. Nammalwar and Venkatacharyulu.

**UTTAR PRADESH**

**Standard of Education**

The sixth annual conference of the Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha, Uttar Pradesh, which met recently at Jhansi appealed to the Government to drop its contemplated policy of restricting admissions to academic institutions. While conceding the need for raising the standard of education, the conference felt that this could best be achieved by increasing this number of institutions, allotting larger funds for education and reforming the educational system radically in order to make it universal, efficient and democratic.
The conference discussed the proceedings of the All-India Students’ Federation meeting held at Udaipur last month. Warning students against the disruptionist tactics of the AISF, the Conference deplored the decision of the Federation to popularise the achievements of the “Socialist” countries. This meant propaganda for the Soviet Union and China. It urged the dissolution of the AISF and its replacement by a Communist Student League or a “Sino-Soviet agency for work amongst students”.

The Conference condemned the repressive policy of the Kerala students to agitate on only basic issues like educational reforms and never allow the sympathy of the public to be alienated from their cause.

Shri Rajwant and Shri Raghuraj Singh were unanimously elected chairman and secretary of the State S.Y.S.; Vice-Presidents: Shri Chandra Pal Singh, Shri Rajendra Prasad Shukla; Joint Secretaries: Shri Ravindra Tiwari and Shri Udai-bir Singh.

A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing
-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

LITTLE BOY: LARGE SHIRT! Little Vijay has got into mischief again—and into Daddy’s shirt this time. What a clean shirt it is...sparkling, like all Mummy’s SUNLIGHT washing!

Look again at that pile of clothes, sheets and towels! A lot of washing? Yes, but it’s done with such a little SUNLIGHT. That creamy, extra lather washes so much, and draws out every scrap of dirt without any beating! Make SUNLIGHT your soap for the washing!

SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT
American Finance Capitalism
Further X’Rayed

This is the second instalment of Mr. Shiv Chandra Jha’s rebuttal to Mr. Robert Alexander’s rebuttal of Mr. Jha’s original article entitled “American Finance Capitalism” The first instalment was published in the “Janata” of March 15, 1959. In publishing Mr. Jha’s articles, the Editor must make it clear that the views contained in them are entirely Mr. Jha’s, and the Editor does not necessarily subscribe to them.

Mr. Robert Alexander further betrays his ignorance of how capitalism works when he says that “the development of electronics, plastics, atomic energy, aviation and a host of other new industries has provided an outlet for virtually all of the United States’s available investment capital.” He forgets that capitalism runs after surplus value, when there is no possibility of an absolute surplus available investment capital.

He omits that capitalism runs after surplus value, when there is no possibility of an absolute surplus value after the unionization of the workers. Capitalism has, because of its very inherent laws of development, always strived for developing the means of production, by which the relative surplus value is increased. So, if American finance capitalism pays at present little attention to the electronics, plastics, etc., it reflects its basic need of pumping surplus value, i.e., by exploiting the American workers.

And here there is one more contradictory phenomenon of capitalism at its monopoly stage. When, at the monopoly stage of capitalism there is surplus of production, as at present in America, capitalism starts retarding the further development of the means of production. And that is why American finance capitalism, instead of applying atomic energy for peaceful uses, is applying it for the increase of armaments through its experiments in Nevada and other places in the Pacific. (See Robert Brady’s book “Planning and Technology”, Gordon Childe’s book “History”, Dobb’s book “Studies in the Development of Capitalism” etc., for how finance capitalism retards the further development of means of production). Through the increase of armaments, war and its devastation, American finance capitalism will get a ready-made outlet for getting rid of surplus production, which is imperative, if capitalism is to be kept alive. And this is what capitalism at its moribund stage, i.e., imperialist stage does because of its basic law of development. And this is what Lenin presented in his analysis of imperialism.

Mr. Robert Alexander says that American firms are now reluctant to invest abroad because of “political, economic and social instability in a large percentage of the countries into which U.S. capital might go”. This is not because the rate of profit from abroad is not higher than the internal rate of profit, but because American imperialism by its very past role has produced the grave-diggers which are getting stronger and are sounding the death-knell every day for American imperialism.

by
Shiv Chandra Jha

American capital suspects its very appropriation wherever abroad it hesitates to go. “The appropriators would be appropriated,” this is the echo throughout the whole capitalist firmament. But wherever American capital is invested abroad, it extracts a higher rate of profit than in the mother country. And I did not try to prove that “all” American firms, as Mr. Alexander misinterprets me, have more investments abroad than at home. What I said was that all these firms, of which the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is the ringleader, which have investments abroad, have higher rate of profit abroad than at home.

Role of State

IMPERIALISM means higher rate of profit, threat, aggression, and then outright domination, and not just “the general extension of influence”. If there is a situation where there is no question of profit; no threat, no domination, then I think India’s influence has extended more in world affairs after World War II than the United States, as it is the dollar, by dint of which America has increased its influence. Mr. Robert Alexander overlooks a situation wherein, when the debts are not paid and other financial commitments are not complied with, the sending of the marines is meant for suppressing the uprising as in Guatemala in 1954 and other parts of Asia. Then it takes the shape of “agonizing reappraisal” as with France during the E.D.C. ratification; it takes the shape of stopping exports as with Israel when she once did not follow the dictates of America in, I think, 1954.

Mr. Alexander has misunderstood my point when he says that I have overlooked the “tremendous power of the State and the role of the trade unions”. How can one, applying Lenin’s analysis of imperialism to the United States, ignore the amalgamation of the State and the monopolies? Is it not in the very analysis of imperialism by Lenin that at the monopoly stage of capitalism the State and the big business become one? I quote what I had written in my previous article: “The third glaring characteristic of American finance capitalism is the wedding of the State and the big business. There has been complete assimilation of the State machinery and the big monopoly. The Government has become the hand-maid of the ‘peak associations’ of big manufacturers.” Have I minimized the increase of the power of the State which is inevitable in the capitalist make-up with the growth of big business? The increase in the power of the State in terms of the so-called welfare activities, is the increase of the crumbs which have fallen to the proletariat. This I have pointed out by the rise of “labour aristocracy”. Again, how can one applying the Marxist analysis of imperialism minimise the role of the trade unions? It has been proclaimed time and again by the Marxists that capitalism produces its own grave-digger, the proletariat. This proletariat, passing through the phase of ‘job-consciousness’ prepares the ground for the eventual seizure of power by it. In this situation, it is just the distortion of my article when Mr. Alexander says that I picture America as the land of pure
“free enterprise” (in the early 19th century sense) and not of monoplastic “free enterprise”.

Mr. Alexander thinks that the present Eisenhower Cabinet may be accused of being controlled by big business, but after the 1960 election, in case there is Democratic victory, the situation would be different. What miracles would be accomplished if a Democrat becomes the President of the United States in 1960? The Republicans and the Democrats are after all the two aspects of the same coin—Wall Street. I would like Mr. Alexander to cite any Cabinet in American history from President Washington’s down to President Eisenhower’s, which had not been a tool of American ‘kept interests’, in the words of Veblen. If Presidents like Jefferson and Franklin D. Roosevelt displayed their boldness, they were dubbed as agents of the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution respectively. Franklin D. Roosevelt is still called a traitor because he fraternized with Russia, pardoned Earl Browder and emphasized the intervention of the State in the economy.

It was a Democrat, Harry S. Truman who was in the White House, when the Taft-Hartley law was used against John L. Lewis and his union in 1950; it was the Democrat, Truman, in the White House when the Army was used for breaking the workers’ strike in the South in the 1950’s; it was again the same Democrat, Truman, when the conspiracy was started for putting Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in the gas chamber; it was the same Truman who would have used the atom bomb in the Korean War if Attlee did not rush to Washington, D.C., and stop him. Again, it was under the Democratic administration that loyalty oaths were introduced in American universities and Harry Bridges was hunted by the Court for deportation to Australia. It is the misfortune of the American working class that it is still being indoctrinated to wait for the crumbs to fall from these two parties—Republican and Democratic—of Wall Street instead of forming their own separate party.

Class Consciousness

Mr. Alexander says that a few American “workers will admit, if asked, that they belong to the ‘working class’. Most will claim membership in the ‘middle class’”. This is not the reality. I can say from my own experience that they are not only class conscious, i.e., they say that they belong to the working class, but are rather very, very militant. If their militancy does not take political shape, it is because of the betrayal of the so-called leaders of the American workers. (But undoubtedly there are a few exceptions). The American workers not only bargain across the table, but also think that they produce while some one else appropriates the produce. Not only that, in the course of conversation, they would very boldly and frankly say that eventually they have to go the Russian way.

Unemployment

Mr. Alexander has called the figure of “totally unemployed” (9,000,000) in the United States in 1956 as “fantastic” and “absurd”. But why did not he bother to present any other figure of “totally unemployed” which would not have been “fantastic” and “absurd”? He has not cared to present figures even for those “with a job but not at work” and for those who are “working from 1 to 14 hours per week”. But as he has failed to present other figures I would accept the figure of ‘totally unemployed’ (9,000,000) without dispute. Now he talks about the kinds of workers who are “with a job but not at work” and those who are “working from 1 to 14 hours per week”. Here again his presentation of the kinds of workers is far from the truth.

The picture is like this.

Capitalism has a “reserve army” of the proletariat at its disposal and so has American capitalism. (Now I am talking from my personal experience. I belonged to the Oakland, California, local 750 of the Teamsters’ Union affiliated to the AFL). The unemployed workers keep on looking for jobs from plant to plant. If any regular worker of any plant does not show up in time or is absent, that work gets done by the new hand present in the personnel office. Next day, when the regular worker comes, the newly hired worker is sometimes adjusted and then at the end of the week he is told that he would be informed later. But the day he is hired he has to be registered with the Union. From next week though, he is formally holding the union card, button, etc., is on the workers’ list in the personnel office, but actually he is not working. So, 3,657,000 workers who are listed as “with a job but not at work” are not sick or on vacation or for some other reason, not at work, as Mr. Alexander puts it, but fit and capable workers looking for jobs. They are regular workers in search of a job. Then there are 2,473,000 workers “working from 1 to 14 hours per week”. I do admit that the students do part time work, as I did, but the majority are not just the students but regular people from the “reserve army” of the proletariat.

Coal Strike

Mr. Alexander should have checked the record before saying about the Coal Strike of 1949-50: “This just did not occur.” About the butinous coal strike, he says that “perhaps 150,000 not 400,000” workers were involved this is not the fact.

We see from the above facts, “US coal production halted Sept. 19, (1949) as the 480,000 members of John L. Lewis’ United Mine Workers began a nationwide strike . . . . . . . . . . . 370,000 of 400,000 bituminous miners went on strike . . . . Nine months of strikes and shortened work weeks in the soft-coal industry ended March 5 (1950)” (mine). And I had written in my previous article which Mr. Alexander quotes: “the 1949-50 Coal strike involving 400,000 workers, continued for over eight months”.

I leave it to the readers to pronounce their own verdict as to who made “mis-statements of fact”.

About the Miami, Florida, hotel strike which continued from April 1955 to Jan. 1957 I would again like Mr. Alexander to check the records for the details. Anyhow, as he has not contradicted the total period, I would like to say that when some strike has been declared under one Union, the strike is formally supposed to be going on until the last employer signs with the union, no matter how earlier other employers have signed with the Union. This is the ABC of trade unionism. And this was with the hotel strike of Miami, Florida. when the last hotel signed with the Union 22 months after the strike started, as Mr. Alexander rightly concedes. I still stand with my previous
version that in the American context, the condition of the American proletariat is pitiable.

In fine, just to carry the tag, "an American Socialist," does not make a socialist and just to pounce upon Marx and Lenin and their writings does not make one objective and scientific.  

(Concluded)

A Budget Of Stagnation

It is doubtful if the picture of the national economy presented by the Finance Minister in his budget speech, warranted the optimistic tone with which he ended it. For, it is a grave enough matter that the national income, instead of showing any rise, has actually been falling for the last two years. In 1957-58, it fell by two per cent. against an annual increase in population by the same percentage.

Only the other day, the Prime Minister suggested six per cent. as the minimum rate of increase in the national income per annum. The gap between the minimum requirement and the actual performance is too wide to need any comment.

The behaviour of the rain gods provides only a partial explanation. The stagnation in the national economy is mainly a testimony to the impact of the Plan on it. The fall in production of cotton cloth and yarn by 7½ and 5½ per cent. in 1958 is, for instance, due to the slackening of demand caused by rising prices, which have shrunk the real incomes of the people. The inflationary pressure responsible for the price rise is clearly the result of the way the Plan is financed and of its investment pattern.

Declining Real Incomes

This very cause is responsible for slackness in demand for a member of other industries and consequent fall in their production, while some have been affected by import restrictions. The fall in railway earnings can also be partly attributed to the declining real incomes of the passengers.

The damage to the national economy done by the deficit financing would have been far more serious but for the cushion of an unprecedented drain on foreign exchange resources. Now, when this is no longer available, further resort to this source of financing the Plan is not without hazards.

In reality, the adverse effects of deficit finance had become apparent as early as in the beginning of 1957. While presenting the budget for that year, the then Finance Minister, Shri T. K. Krishnamachari, had suggested Rs. 800 crores as the safe limit of it. The Planning Commission, in its reappraisal last year, placed a limit of Rs. 283 crores for deficit financing in the last two years of the Plan.

Both the limits have been crossed. The total deficit finance for the first three years of the Plan has already reached a figure of Rs. 950 crores while for the budget year alone it is placed at Rs. 222 crores.

by

Balraj Puri

It seems obvious that the aggregate deficit financing for the Plan period will also far exceed Rs. 1200 crores, safest limit envisaged under the best of conditions.

Another basic assumption of the Planning Commission regarding the financing of the Plan is being violated for the second year in succession. The Commission has laid down that part of the development expenditure (Rs. 950 crores in five years to be exact) should be met by the surplus from current revenues. Not to speak of a surplus, the uncovered deficit on revenue account is about Rs. 60 crores for the current year and Rs. 58.32 crores for the next one.

A Purely Temporary Arrangement

The stagnation in the national economy is reflected in the budget also. While revenue estimates of Rs. 757.51 crores for 1959-60 is less than that budgeted for the current year by Rs. 10 crores, the excess over the actual Rs. 30 crores, too, is due to certain procedural devices. The credit of Rs. 15 crores under P.L. 480 grants in the revenue account and its inclusion in the expenditure account is merely a formality. For, though initially credited to revenue, they have to be transferred to the Special Development Fund and used through it and in no case can be counted as an addition to the internal revenues.

The credit of Rs. 10 crores on account of profits from the Reserve Bank, as admitted by the Finance Minister, is a purely temporary arrangement. The third main source of additional revenue is due to the fact that the profits of the Mints, instead of being kept in suspense account as a deficit neutralisation reserve, have taken credit of to the extent of Rs. 10 crores.

If an allowance is made of these three items, the revenue for the budget year would seem to have fallen from the level of the current year. This fall is accounted for by the lower contribution likely to be made by the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs Department and State Trading Corporation. Thus another assumption of the Plan about making nationalised undertakings pay for part of the rational development, too, is not being adequately fulfilled.

At a time of such a difficult budgetary position, there was a case for the restoration of the original limit of defence expenditure. For, the increases made, therein, in recent years, were meant for the purchase of stores and were not of a recurrent nature. As this is less a question of economics and more of sentiments and political considerations, this source of saving the budget has not been availed of.

As for as the capital outlay is concerned, though the budget figure of Rs. 420 crores, is an improvement on the current year's figure of Rs. 395 crores, this is more apparent than real. For the former figure includes a sum of Rs. 95.24 crores for the payment of the additional contribution to the International Monetary Fund. The reduction in defence expenditure in revenue account in the budget year over that of the current year, too, is more than made good by increased outlay on it on capital account which is placed at Rs. 32.74 crores as against Rs. 5 crores in the current year.

Debt Repayment

The inadequate level of capital outlay would be obvious from the fact that (excluding subscription
Besides compulsory saving through deficit financing, the additional savings of the people for the budget year have mainly come from borrowings, savings and new taxes. It is significant to note that while the contribution from the richer sections of the people mostly comes through loans, the poorer sections have to pay it through taxes. The target of borrowing at Rs. 240 crores for the budget year exceeds the annual target assumed in the Plan by Rs. 100 crores while that for small scale savings falls short of the Plan figure by Rs. 15 crores. Again, the bulk of the additional taxation is indirect. For while the extra revenue from increased rate of Wealth Tax is placed at Rs. 2.5 crores only, changes in the Union excise duties are expected to yield a revenue of Rs. 20.35 crores and additional yield from custom duties is expected to be Rs. 2.77 crores.

**The Distinction**

From the development point of view, the distinction between market borrowings, small savings, direct and indirect taxation is of minor importance. But from distributional point of view the amount and the way of contribution by each section of the community are of vital significance. The contribution of rich people in the form of loans makes them richer while indirect taxes make poor sections still poorer. The impact of deficit financing, too, it may be noted, is highly regressive.

The budget of 1959-60 thus presents a spectacle of stagnating revenues, falling investment, declining economic activity and increasing inequalities.

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**Co-operative Farming (from page 2)**

land reforms at the same time taking steps to reach the production targets?

If the Congress is serious about land reforms and believes that ceilings on land are necessary in the interest of reorganisation over our agrarian economy, when these ceilings threaten production because of the partitioning of land, the only solution would be the acceptance of the principle of co-operation in some form or other.

The Note referred to above emphasises the need for establishing service co-operatives in the next three years and goes on to say that joint farming is envisaged in the Nagpur resolution only as the ultimate pattern. If the service co-operatives are able to solve the dilemma of social justice versus the need for increased production it is difficult to understand why there should be such an emphasis on the joint farming at all even as an ultimate pattern? The very fact that the Nagpur resolution speaks of the future agrarian pattern as that of co-operative joint farming shows that according to the Congress the problem of the hungry millions, cannot be solved without joint farming. And if this be so why emphasise the point that joint farming is envisaged only as an ultimate pattern? The Nagpur resolution distinctly says that even in the next three years 'wherever possible and generally agreed to by the farmers, joint cultivation may be started'. In other words, the only considerations for making a beginning with service co-operatives are to prepare the proper atmosphere in the countryside for the voluntary acceptance of the idea of co-operatives, and to prepare trained personnel to undertake the huge reorganisation task involved. If this be so, all possible steps to popularise the idea of co-operation should be taken even during the next three years so as to make it easy for the ultimate pattern being accepted by the farmers in their own interest. For example, co-operatives of farmers raising money crops may be tried even during this period at least on an experimental basis. It would be dangerous to emphasise the service co-operatives as an immediate aim as that might give the critics of co-operatives a chance to debunk the idea of joint planning even as an ultimate pattern.
MAO AND THE DALAI LAMA

There is still continuing anxiety about the whereabouts and fate of the Dalai Lama. He was last heard of in Lhasa but after the outbreak of the revolt of the Tibetans against the Chinese authorities no further news about him is available. Perhaps there is some truth in the rumour that he has not yet fallen into the hands of the Chinese authorities and that he has left Lhasa and gone towards the south. If these rumours are correct it would mean a great set back to the plans of the Peking regime. There is now no doubt that angered by the continuous resistance by the Khampas living in the Eastern Tibet to the attempts of the Communist regime to assimilate Tibet completely into the Chinese mainland, the Communist Government in China had decided to arrest the Dalai Lama who was a symbol of fight for these Tibetan nationalists.

For the last three years guerilla warfare by the Khampas is going on and though the Dalai Lama has never publicly supported the Khampa cause he has given his indirect support to them through his speeches on religious subjects using parables with nationalistic and patriotic themes. When the Chinese Military Commander, therefore, invited the Dalai Lama to dinner on March 10 specifying that he should not bring his bodyguards the Tibetans were rightly apprehensive about the freedom of their religious leader whom they consider their God.

India is vitally interested in these developments. It is true that the 1951 agreement between the Chinese Government and the Tibetan leaders does expressly recognise the suzerainty of the Chinese State, but it is also true that the seventeen point agreement is, as Shri Nehru pointed out in the Lok Sabha, basically an agreement for preserving the autonomy of Tibet and for maintenance of its institutions under the umbrella of the Chinese State. It is equally certain that during the last eight years the Chinese State has been preparing for making Tibet ultimately a region of the Chinese empire itself with a few traces if any of the autonomy left to the Tibetans.

With equal persistance the Tibetans and especially the Khampas have resented these attempts by the Communist China and the present difficulties are the direct outcome of the maturing situation. The Dalai Lama has thus become the symbol of the Tibetan determination to preserve their autonomy. And if he demands a political asylum in India the Government of India will have to take a major political decision. The Congress President, Smt. Indira Gandhi is reported to have told the press at New Delhi that she was anxious about the safety of the Dalai Lama and that in her opinion it would be a pity if what was good in the Tibetan way of life was destroyed.

The Dalai Lama can remain safe only if he is out of Tibet and the only place where he can find a refuge is either Nepal or India. If either of these countries give him shelter it would mean antagonising the Peking regime. Similarly, whatever be the fate of the Dalai Lama it seems now fairly clear that the leaders of the Chinese State are determined to end the autonomy of Tibet and with that would go all that the Congress President considers good in the Tibetan way of life.
NOTES AND COMMENT

TRADING IN FOODGRAINS

SHRI M. R. MASANI's presidential address at the first Conference of All-India Foodgrain Dealers in Delhi deserves some consideration. He advised the Foodgrain Dealers' Federation to accept the obligations to itself to help its members and the country by creating conditions whereby the grain merchants and dealers would enjoy the confidence of the cultivators, on the one hand, and consumers, on the other hand. He further exhorted them to put their case strongly and fearlessly before the Government, to withhold support from those political parties who might do injustice to them and to play a role of combatant and fight for their rights.

The question is what exactly are the rights of the foodgrain merchants and dealers and whether these rights are affected by the decision of the Government to nationalise the wholesale trade in foodgrains. In the vast area of the country the prices of foodgrains shot up suddenly last year. In some cases as Shri Masani points out, the rise in prices was due to short falls in supply in those areas but there were other areas where the supply was adequate and yet the prices have shot up there also. The rise in price even in these areas was substantial and widespread and it would be difficult to argue that the rise was due to the activities of the black sheep among the merchants alone. There is not a shadow of doubt that the grain merchants generally did succumb to the temptation of making considerable profits not only because of the actual shortages but also because of the prevailing atmosphere of uncertainty in large parts of the country. Under the circumstances the Government has no choice but to eliminate these middle-men and to assume the responsibility of undertaking the wholesale supply of foodgrains in their own hands.

At the same time the dangers in such socialisation as pointed out by Shri Masani are real and should engage the attention of the Government. Unless competent officers are put in charge of the socialised trade the difficulties of the people would certainly increase as a result of the Government interference. If the Government tries to make profit which are monopolistic in character and that involve an element of indirect taxes again suffering of people and inflation potential of the community would increase instead of diminishing but if these pitfalls are avoided the Government's entry into the food trade would certainly prove to be beneficial to the consumers, producers and even to the foodgrain merchants themselves.

POLICY OF APPOINTING JUDGES

THE debate in the Lok Sabha on the observations of the Law Commission regarding the appointment to the Supreme Court and High Courts raised some important issues which need to be properly considered. During the debate on the demands of the Law Ministry, Shri Nath Pai had said that it was sad to note from the Law Commission Report that communal and regional considerations had prevailed in certain cases in the appointment of Supreme Court and High Court Judges. He had observed that some High Courts had been burdened with Judges whose only qualification was that they had succeeded in gaining the goodwill of the Chief Minister of that State.

Replying to these observations Shri Sen told the Lok Sabha, "I consider it my duty to say that never during the last eight or nine years the Government imposed any of its nominees on any High Court or the Supreme Court." Shri Pant, while speaking on the Home Ministry's demand, dealt at length with the same question. He said that since 1950, 176 appointments had been made and excepting for one the rest were made on the recommendations of the Chief Justice of India.

These assurances are reassuring. At the same time it is necessary to remember that the Law Commission must have before it all the data presented by the Law Minister and the Home Minister to the Lok Sabha, and yet the Law Commission has chosen to make that particular remark. They must have heard, at least certain rumours, regarding these appointments and they must have thought it fit to bring them to the notice of the Government and the public. If this be the real explanation of the remark of the Law Commission it needs to be stressed that the Government should go into the question as to how these rumours originate and what is the reason for their circulation. In this connection it is necessary to make the observation, made so many times before that it almost sounds trite, viz., that those in charge of justice should not only be capable of inspiring confidence and respect among the public but they should, in fact, inspire such confidence. Anything that is even remotely capable of affecting this confidence should be promptly dealt with. In democracy and especially under a written constitution the judges occupy key position and the stability of a democratic society depends on their enjoying unqualified respect and confidence. The Government must therefore go into the matter more deeply and remove any doubts that might have risen as a result of the observations of the Law Commission.
The Story of Belgian Congo
by Nripendranath Ghosh

Congo is a country which has rarely stirred the imagination of our readers. From now on she will. January 4 of this year was a very peaceful day in Leopoldville, the capital of Belgian Congo. In the evening, the fabulous city looked like a battlefield. Belgian soldiers and African policemen were all over the town dispersing crowds, beating up and arresting those who could not run fast enough and shooting down those who dared to make a stand singing the national hymn, "Congo, Land of our forefathers". When peace was restored, the Belgian Government told the world that as a result of Sunday's riot, 42 Africans had been killed, 123 persons taken to hospital, and about 300 Africans arrested.

On the evening of January 4, the nationalist organisation, called Association du Bas-Kongo (or Association of Lower Congo), in short Abako, called a meeting in the enormous compound of the Y.M.C.A. The man who heads Abako is Joseph Kasabubu who aims at uniting the Africans of the ancient Congonese empire which used to include Portuguese Angola and the French Congo. The meeting was illegal. One has to have permission of the Belgian authorities to call any public meeting. The police intervened. The organisers suggested that the meeting was private and it was being held on the private premises. The police charged with batons.

The Leaders In Prison
The crowd dispersed and spilled all over the city. More demonstrations, baton charges, shooting and death. Americans put the number of dead at 200 and South African Whites at 500. The world will perhaps never know the correct number.

In Brussels, the Chamber of Deputies (their Lok Sabha) decided to send a delegation to Congo, while the leaders of "4th January" remained in prison. That includes Joseph Kasabubu who also happens to be the Mayor (in our version the spymaster) of the Bandela district of Leopoldville. Belgian paratroopers have been flown in. A shipload of Belgian troops halfway towards Ostend was ordered back to Congo. Peace has been restored.

On 13th January, King Baudouin made a royal proclamation for the people of Congo: "Our firm resolution is to lead the people of Congo onwards to independence in peace and prosperity". Prime Minister M. Eyskens announced that universal suffrage was to be created and elections of town councillors held at the end of this year. In March 1960, the new electors will vote again for "the large majority" of councillors for the territorial districts. The councillors thus elected will elect the majority of the provincial councils. Election of the General Council and the Legislative Council will follow. The King has signed an order giving Congolese people access to all grades of government service.

Effect of the Royal Proclamation
The immediate effect of the Royal proclamation has been curious. Belgians in Congo have rushed to the department concerned to obtain fire arms. Housewives have started stockpiling food. Some have already left for Belgium. Approximately 100,000 Belgians live among 14 million Africans. The pattern is familiar.

I am not trying to say that the people of Congo are happy about the Royal offer. On the contrary, their leaders have rejected it as inadequate. There are at present three important nationalist leaders on the scene—or in prison. They are Joseph Kasabubu of Abako, M. Pinzi, a member of the Governor-General's Council and Patrick Lumumba, the president of the Mouvement National Congolais (National Movement of Congo), a federation of several African political groups.

Abako was formed in 1950. It was originally a cultural organisation. As in every colonial country politics public political discussion was forbidden in the Belgian Congo. It still is. Congo was being ruled by paternalism. But the 'father' has all along benefited by it.
Kasabubu was elected as the councillor of Dendale district of Leopodiville on April 25, 1958. During that time, he said publicly that his election did not mean that democracy had come to Congo. He asserted that the Congolese were able to run their own administration. He warned that the Congolese will never have democracy as long as elections were not general. His demands included freedom of speech, press and political organisation which are part of Abako's programme.

African representatives in the Governor-General's council are nominated. One of them is M. Pinzi who was hitherto considered by the Belgians to be a moderate. But on June 21 last, he surprised the counsell by demanding in the name of his people, 'one man one vote', Africanisation of the administration and election (instead of nomination) of provincial councils. The Governor-General Leo Petillon ruled Pinzi out of order. The third important politician of Congo is Patrick Lumumba. He went to the all African People's Conference held in Accra in December, 1958. There he delivered a speech which astonished the administrators of Congo. He concluded his speech by shouting, "Long live the Congolese freedom", "Long live the freedom of Africa".

The Bloodbath not Sudden
All these events put together go to show that the bloodbath of January 4 did not take place suddenly. The desire for independence was gathering strength. But there is a tendency among the great powers to ignore this cardinal desire of the subject nations. They are always inclined to attribute any national uprising to the Communist countries just as the Communist rulers blame capitalist countries.

When rioting started in Leopodiville, one of the first things the Belgian authorities did was to block the bridge which connects the city with Brazzaville, the capital of French Congo (officially, Moyen Congo). For many a Congolese youth have crossed that bridge and made straight for the European capitals to find out more about the things they have read in the books. Some of them have gone back the same way, unnoticed by the colonial security policemen. In 1958 August, Gen. de Gaulle visited Brazzaville and promised complete independence to the French Congolese if they voted "no" in the Referendum. French Congo decided to stay in the French commonwealth just as India decided to stay in the British commonwealth. But French Guinea preferred complete independence and De Gaulle honoured his commitment. By 1960, we will know whether Congo would continue her political association with Belgium or choose the path of French Guinea.

Whatever happens, the French Congolese Premier M. Opangault who stands for complete independene of Moyen Congo is bound to take interest in his cousins on the Belgian side of River Congo. Besides, it cannot avoid contact with the Sudan, Kenya, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia. These countries—one free and the rest in different states of transition—flank Belgian Congo like an arc. Whatever the situation in Congo is, world opinion will be focussed on her at the slightest political stirring among the people. But unless we hear more of Kasabubu, Pinzi and Lumumba we will not be able to judge whether the Belgian administrators of Congo are prepared to translate King Bauduin's promise into practice.

A Story of Political Brigandage
How Belgian came to Congo, 80 times the size of their own country is the age-old story of political brigandage. They came to Congo durbar the same way as Christopher Columbus went to West Indies: sword in one hand, Bible in another. In short, just as everywhere else in Africa, they slaughtered their way into Congo.

From 1680 to 1786 the number of Africans transported as slaves from British possessions in Africa reached 2,130,000. At the end of the century, 70,000 slaves were exported every year to America, half of them by the English merchants and the rest by other European countries. (Read Dr. Brown, "The Story of Africa," Cassel & Co.) The Germans, master of South-West Africa until 1918, went about it differently. German General von Troha issued the following proclamation: "The Herreros—Africans of South-West Africa—must leave the country. If they do not I shall compel them at the point of a gun. Every Herrero, armed or unarmed, found within the German frontiers, with or without cattle, will be shot. I shall take no prisoners, neither women nor children." Von Troha was as good as his words. In Tanganyika—then a German colony—the revolt of Maji-Maji took place in 1905; 125,000 Africans paid with their lives for the audacity. The Belgians operated in a different sort of way. They hired the famous explorer, Stanley, to accompany his Belgian counterparts to show the way in Congo which Stanley already knew. With the help, the Belgians established 40 trading posts by signing treaties with the then kings of the region (coloured kings are called tribal chiefs). In 1908, Congo was annexed as a Belgian colony.

Belgium's Only Colony
Surprisingly enough, Belgium has only one colony—Congo. It is the world's largest producer of radium and cobalt (essential for jet engines): 67 per cent of world's diamond, 8 per cent of fine quality copper, 10 per cent of tin and 12 per cent of gold is produced by Congo. Its agricultural produces are cotton, nuts, palm oil, coffee, sugar cane, cocoa, sisal, peanuts, wood and rubber. Five large companies control 90 per cent of the capital investment and resources. Union Miniere has land concession of 13,000 sq. miles—pay the government £25 million a year in taxes and £12 million to the stockholders. Huilever has a palm oil concession of five million acres. Congo do not own a single share. A 1942 publication shows 141,279 cattle belong to the European residents (25,000) and 242,980 cattle belonging to the Congolese (14,000,000). Education is completely in the hands of the missionaries. That may be one of the reasons the wrath of rioting crowd was directed towards the mission houses. Congolese, whether they want education or medicine, will have to go to the priests. They control medical centres, primary, secondary and technical schools. Catholic institutions receive the state subsidy by a law stipulating that to be subsidised two-thirds of the staff of the school must be Belgian: 43 different protestant orders also run schools in Congo. They are mostly non-Belgian and as such are not entitled to state subsidy. That explains the fact that 4,700,000 Congolese are baptised Roman Catholics. Such Baptism invariably includes one feature: giving an European Christian name to
Youth And Social Change

A n important phenomenon of our changing society is the emergence of young people as a separate and a distinct group. This phenomenon has been contemporaneous with the expansion of higher education, and during the last ten years, the number of students in colleges and universities has increased three-fold. While these two phenomena have contributed to the process of change, they have in themselves become extremely pregnant with possibilities and have acquired new meanings. On the one hand, this increase in the number of students and the greater attention given to them, have contributed to greater laxity in social behaviour. On the other hand, modern changes in the family have provided much greater freedom to the youth and thus prepared them to take liberties. Again, since due to the impact of diverse cultures on each other, values and norms are in a melting pot, these young men and women, who are the children of transition, have taken and are taking increasing interest in the crystallization of new values. And just as rapid industrialization is in some measure contributing to the disappearance of old communities, and thus loosening traditional bonds, in a similar manner, these youths, whose long years in education are in some manner influenced by industrialization, are coming forward to handle this process and are providing hands to push it onwards.

Link in the Chain

This emergence of the youth is thus at one and the same time an effect and a cause of social change; it is an important link in the chain. How the chain is wrought affects the youth who are in part responsible for further hammering of the chain. Now, those of us in this country who have set certain goals before us through the process of social change will naturally feel anxious about the youth. They will try to understand this development, and they will try to utilise it towards the end they have set in view.

In the great society that is India, with different sections of it at different levels of achievement, and in a process of social change impregnated with myriad currents and undercurrents, any broad generalisation about the affects of change in society can only prove partially true, and they can hardly hope to encompass all the sections of the society. And yet, we may, for the purpose of this study, select only those sections of the youth which have been distinctly affected by and are potentially affecting the process of social change.

Non-Conformity

The middle and the lower middle classes have, during the last 20 years, swelled in number. The process of urbanisation, of greater opportunities of employment, of democratisation and spread of education, have affected them in three vital ways. They, in their own behaviour patterns, left off many old practices; even if they continued to follow them they never believed in them. Hence, their children could hardly learn, from their families, respect for tradition. Then, their participation in the open society made them tolerant towards non-conformities of their young. These developments were reinforced by two other situations. At times, the cut-throat competition, strains of living in a big society, dispersal of attention and energy in various channels, and hard work hardly left them any time to mind the business of the youth. Also, the formal relationship and the impersonal character of social groups—all consequences of urbanisation—made the young free from strict and overwhelming social control. Conformity to the traditional norms could hardly have grown under such circumstances.

The Need to Assert

Again, the young people spent much time out of home just as their fathers, and, to some extent, their mothers did. The young people formed their own groups and they formed or began to form a small sub-culture of their own. They learnt to form their own societies and in their own ways. They had tasted freedom, they began to assert themselves. This freedom was guaranteed by the greater indulgence of the elders—of those elders who had wanted to break old customs but could not, and of those who had fought hard and suffered because of their oppressive society.

The rapidly increasing means of communication—cinema, radio, newspapers and fiction, gave them recreation, stimulation and devious patterns. Their freedom and need for assertion began to be conditioned.

The urban youth were widely affected by these developments. The youth, living in the villages and coming from villages to towns for their education, could not be swayed, as they had been cushioned against these stimuli by their greater patterns for them in their village society—a comparatively closed, caste-ridden and custom-bound system.

Freedom and not Frustration

A little point needs to be disposed of here. It has been suggested that the devious behaviour of the young is the result of their frustrations, mainly economic, sexual and emotional. It may be partly true. And yet, to over-emphasise this factor—and it has, of course, been laboured too much—seems rather the reflex of a vain belief that our normal ways of behaviour are natural to and ingrained in man. And, the argument would appear to be that since the youth are not satisfied, there is something wrong with them and that makes for their devious behaviour. This, to us, seems to be a very erroneous and false logic. The youth are not frustrated; in fact, they have been treated with greater affection and indulgence. They get when compared to the previous generation, far too great opportunities of hetero-sexual meetings. Economically, also, but to a lesser extent, they have been well-
treated. If anyone is frustrated, it is the parent of the young. The youth, if anything, are much too free and much too less conditioned by the previous generation.

It has also been suggested that the youth suffer from a sort of a loss of values. Maybe, it is true. In fact, it would be better to suggest that they do not cherish many of the values we have cherished. But they have some values, and they act accordingly. No human group can grope without a value system. In a complex society such as ours, values are even more inevitable for living. If they do not cherish the values we cherish, we have ourselves made this development much too certain. Not only are some of these values not fully reflected in our social institutions, but our democracy—the democracy of cynicism—has given rise to bitter criticism, charges of dishonesty and corruption. Old idols have been desecrated; the new not yet installed. The youth are stumbling at new values which have emerged from out of their own experiences. What these values are is not easy to tell, for they are still emerging, and there is no uniformity in the emergent patterns.

For, time may prove us and our values wrong. And it might become too late to mend. We need not cajole the young, but to coerce them would be foolish and stupid.

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DEMOCRACY HAS A RAW DEAL

IN 1897, France was rocked by the Affaire Dreyfus. The Republic was challenged and menaced. Jaures rallied to the cause of the Drefusards. He wrote of Dreyfus:

"He is no longer an officer of the bourgeoisie: he is despoiled by the very excess of his misfortune of all class characteristics, he is nothing but humanity itself in the deepest misery and despair that one can imagine. In defence of Dreyfus, Jaures joined hands with all forces of Drefusards, socialists and non-socialists." As Master of the 'Bloc' in the Chamber, Jaures became the first real head of the first French democracy. Two great reforms were undertaken: the disestablishment of the Church, carrying with it the secularization of education and the reorganisation of the army.

It was during a historic debate on Socialism with Clemenceau in the chambers that Jaures was told about his programme "What a terribly bourgeois programme! M. Jaures, after expounding his programme, challenged me to produce my own. I had very great difficulty in restraining the temptation to reply, 'You know my programme very well. You have it in your pocket. You stole it from me.'" The programme of all Socialists was essentially evolutionary but the attitudes often remained revolutionary.

Different Path

Jaures differed from the possibilists. Criticising Serrante he said, that Serrante was wrong "when he thinks it enough to lay down the principle of democracy in order to resolve, in a sort of automatic fashion, the antagonisms of society... The enthronement of political democracy and universal suffrage by no means suppresses the profound antagonism of classes... Serrante errs in positing democracy without noting that it is modified, adulterated, thwarted by the antagonism of classes and the economic preponderance of one class. Just as Guesde errs in positing the class war apart from democracy." To Jaures the problem was to "penetrate" this democracy with the ideas of socialism until "the proletarian and socialist State has replaced the oligarchic and bourgeois State". This can be brought about, he said, by "a policy which consists in at once collaborating with all democrats, yet vigorously distinguishing one's self from them."

Millerand pursued a different path. In 1898 Rene Waldeck-Rousseau, who on earlier occasion had given trade union rights to French workers formed the Government and invited Alexandre Millerand to join it. His appointment at once became the

source of renewed conflict inside the French socialist movement and through its international repercussions influenced socialist tactics, internationally, for a generation. If the Dreyfus affair aroused controversy over co-operation with other parties for specific and immediate aims, the Millerand case caused even more violent debates.

Paris Meeting

Between 1898 and 1900 constitutional Government in Italy was in danger. General Pelloux's Government sought to enact (Feb. 1899) anti-socialist legislation. However, in contrast to Germany in 1879, the Liberals and Radicals saw the danger and by 1900 their opposition brought a new Liberal Government to power. Filippo Turati raised the issue of co-operation and electoral alliance with Liberals and Radicals which was stoutly resisted by Marxists led by Ferri. The controversy kept on till 1912 when Bissolati and Bonomi broke away to form unsuccessful Reformist Party.

The International Socialist Congress assembled in Paris in September 1900 to discuss the issue of Revisionism. The Germans and Marxists from countries where there was a strong reformist wing—Guesde in France, Ferri in Italy—wanted an unequivocal veto on any participation in bourgeois Government or co-operation with non-socialist parties.

There were however many who wanted an elastic policy: Vander-velde of Belgium, for instance, said, "A coalition is legitimate in the case where liberty is threatened as in Italy; it is legitimate again where it is a question of defending the rights of human personality, as recently in France. It is legitimate finally when it is a question of winning universal suffrage in Belgium." He criticised Millerand, less for what he had done than for the way he did it, without prior consultation with his party.

The Congress adopted a resolution that said that acceptance of office by a socialist in a bourgeois government "could not be deemed the normal commencement of the conquest of political power, but only an expedience called forth by transitory and exceptional conditions."

War of Ideas

The Congress resumed the debate in 1904. After four days' discussion, a wonderful struggle of minds and ideas, a resolution favourable to revisionism was rejected by 21 votes to 19, and then a resolution affirming the German party's stand was passed by 22 votes to four with 12 abstentions. "It is significant that the people who opposed the Dresden motion, or who abstained, were representatives of those countries where liberal parliamentary institutions were the strongest—England, France, Scandinavia, Belgium, Switzerland—while, with the exception of Italians, those who supported it (including the solitary delegate from Japan) came from countries where political power was unlikely to be offered to them. It was a great victory for Babel and a great personal defeat for Jaures.

Democratic articulation of socialism was smothered by those who had neither the experience nor the opportunity for democratic rule. In it they were abetted by determined Marxists like Guesde and Ferri. Revisionism was not rejected by the weight of facts or the strength of logic but by the surred support of those who had fostered socialist forces in authoritarian conditions as in Germany and Austro-Hungary.
The Third International has carried forward with characteristic ruthless efficiency the consummation of the Second International.

Prof. Arnold Toynbee in his Study of History has discussed aggressive and recessive forces: revisionism has even been the recessive (hence irrespressible) form of socialism.

As John Plamenatz in his stimulating study, German Marxism and Russian Communism, has put it, "Marxism is a philosophy born in the West before the democratic age." The Marxists therefore have never been happy with democracy. To deny it and where necessary to disrupt it becomes their instinctive approach. In Asian countries where democracy is struggling for strength, it is easy to adopt the traditional Marxist stance, but it is far more necessary to explore revisionist reinstatement where socialism becomes integral to democracy.

(To be Continued)

Struggle For Independence

A RESOLUTION hailing the "historic decisions" of the Accra Conference and pledging support to the African people in their struggle for independence was adopted at a meeting of the Delhi State Praja Socialist Party at 18, Windsor Place under the chairmanship of Mir Mushaq Ahmed. Shri N. G. Goray, M.P., addressed the meeting.

The resolution viewed with "grave concern" the recent killing in the Central African Federation and the Belgian Congo, the suppression of the nationalist movements in the African continent and the imposition of "martial law."

"The P.S.P. re-affirms its view that the creation of the Central African Federation against the wishes of the African people was an attempt to perpetuate colonial rule. This augurated by Shri Subodh Roy.

Shri Goray said that Africa was no longer a dark continent. It was wide awake and "we in India who have always stood for democracy are glad to know our African brothers are on the march. Day before yesterday it was Ghana, yesterday it was Belgian Congo, today it is Nyasaland". Shri Goray added that he was certain the whole continent of Africa would soon rise in revolt against White domination.

ASSAM

Manipur PSP Conference

The fifth annual session of the Manipur Praja Socialist Party was held at Ningthoukhong, 22 miles from Imphal, and was attended by more than 60 delegates and 100 visitors. A 14-member committee was elected for the year. Shri N. Nabhokishore Singh was elected secretary and Shri K. Ibotombi Singh, Shri K. Ibohal Sharma and Shri Manihar Goswami joint secretaries.

One of the resolutions passed by the session disapproved the agitation of the Naga hostiles of Kohima and neighbouring places for an independent Naga land. It appealed to all "hill brethren" to redress their grievances through peaceful ways, shedding arms. It also appealed to the Manipur Administration to be watchful of Naga infiltration at Tamelong sub-division in Manipur area. It felt that the administration should take more welfare and ameliorative measures for the Nagas rather than suppress the undesirable elements through force.

It demanded:
(a) the abolition of the two separate constituencies in Manipur, (b) the creation of one constituency with two seats, one for the plain and the other for the hills, reserving one seat for the tribal population, and (c) the introduction of joint electorates.

The third resolution condemned the inefficient working of the Territorial Council of Manipur in the matter of recruitment of staff and running of schools and executing P.W.D. works. The fourth resolution urged on the Administration to set up technical institutes with a view to developing the dying arts and crafts of Manipur and encouraging small-scale industries.

Dhubri Conference

Resolutions relating to the grievances of the Assam Match Factory employees, I.G.N. and R.S.N. employees, rickshaw-pullers, shop assistants and midi mazdoors of Dhubri, and the Assam Adhikar Protection (Amendment) Act were passed at the two-day conference of the Dhubri District Praja Socialist Party. Shri Jahanuddin Ahmed, M.L.A., presided. The session was addressed by Shri Biswa Goswami, secretary of the Assam PSP. Among those who participated in the session were: Sarvashri Subodh Roy, Abul Fazal, Bejoy Das, Bhabhutti Sarkar, Kali Ghatak, Sukhen Sengupta, Abdur Rahman, Dhiren Mitra and Ajad Ali. The open session was inaugurated by Shri Subodh Roy.


Hojai Demonstration

More than 1,000 landless peasants from Hojai and Jugijan Mouzas staged a demonstration on March 9 in Hojai town. Led by Shri Subodh Roy, joint secretary of the Assam PSP, and Shri N. N. Dey, secretary of the Lumding constituency unit of the party, a procession was taken through the streets. The processions shouted slogans like "Land to the Tillers", "Give Us Land", "PSP Zindabad", and "Stop Eviction". The participating peasants came from Manipur, Bilashpur, Bihar, Assam and East Bengal.

Shri Subodh Roy demanded immediate distribution of agricultural land among the landless. A resolution was passed demanding the immediate settlement of the surplus land of the Kumarakata Forest Reserve on the landless of Hojai and Jugijan mouzas.

Workers Leave INTUC, Join HMS

A meeting of the workers affiliated to the New Savan Sugar Labour Union, hitherto an INTUC organisation, unanimously decided on March 9 to disaffiliate the Union from the INTUC and affiliate it with the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

(Continued on page 12)
Food Crisis Is Not God-Made

The State Executive of the Punjab Praja Socialist Party met recently at Ambala Cantonment under the chairmanship of Shri Harbhajan Singh, State Chairman. Shri Prem Bhasin, Joint Secretary, All-India PSP, Shri Somprakash Shaida, State Secretary and other members of the committee were present.

The State executive passed a resolution stating that the food crisis was not God-made, but was the creation of an inefficient Government.

The resolution said that India's granary was in the grip of an acute food crisis—prices of food grains having risen both in urban and rural areas. The Punjab Government had been repeatedly warned in past that the situation was deepening into a crisis. Concrete suggestions to meet the crisis, like seizure of stocks with zamindars and traders and the opening of fair price shops, were put forward long ago. Yet the Kairon Government dismissed all these suggestions with its characteristic callousness. It encouraged anti-social elements to hoard stocks.

The State Executive demanded the resignation of the Central and State Ministers responsible for the muddle and called upon party units all over the State to mobilise public opinion on their own avoiding the pitfalls of joining with phoney united or all-party fronts against the Government in order to bring pressure on it to change its food policy.

Law and Order Situation

In another resolution, the Executive expressed its grave concern over the deteriorating law and order situation in the Punjab. The growing intervention of the ruling party in the day-to-day administration and even in judicial processes, had further shaken the confidence of the people in democracy. In the context of the recent happenings in Pakistan, the Punjab needed political stability, which cannot be ensured without reviving the faith of the people in democratic values.

Shri Shaida reviewed the progress of the party work in the State. Study circles at local and district levels had been held to awaken the workers to the task of revitalising the party. Demonstrations against rising food prices were staged in selected constituencies. The Punjab branch had not only succeeded in fulfilling the targets fixed for fund collections but had exceeded it. The membership campaign had not gathered momentum, but party units seemed to have realised the importance of strong membership. It was hoped that the State unit would be able to succeed in enrolling 10,000 members, the target fixed for the jubilee year.

The Ambala district unit of the party was granted permission by the State Executive to stage a demonstration against the abnormal rise in food prices and the misrule of the Kairon regime on January 16 when Prime Minister visited the place. The police arrested L. Amar Nath, who was to lead the demonstration, Shri Rajeshwar Nath, President of Punjab H.M.S., Shri Kundan Lall Sood, Ambala PSP secretary, and Dr. Devi Krishnan, a prominent trade union leader of the party early on the morning of January 16 to foil the demonstration. But the demonstration was staged with vigour and enthusiasm. A batch of PSP workers, followed by about 500 citizens marched towards the venue of the public meeting to be addressed by the Prime Minister, but a big police force encircled them near the venue. They were lathi-charged. Three persons were injured. Three persons in other centres of the city were arrested. It was for the first time that a demonstration was staged in the
Punjab in the Prime Minister's presence.

Piqued by the success of the demonstration, a week later, when the PSP had organised a Netaji Day meeting at Malout in Ferozepur district, “the private force of the ruling clique” made an unsuccessful attempt to disrupt the meeting. The restraint shown by the PSP workers prevented a clash. At another place near Machiwara village in Ludhiana district, party workers holding a meeting were attacked with lathis and fired upon.

Two comrades sustained severe injuries. The Deputy Commissioner at Machiwara refused to take any action against this organised goonism and the police also refused to register a case against the offenders. The Deputy Commissioner, without bothering to ascertain the facts of the case, issued a press statement contradicting the party’s version.

The two incidents, on a single day at two different places, show that they are not isolated. They demonstrate the ruling party’s repressive attitude against the PSP.

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**Invisible guests in my home?**

Yes, indeed! Invisible ‘guests’ that arrive uninvited—to cause disease.

Look here... my friends are neither invisible nor the cause... It’s not friends we mean. It’s enemies: the germs in dirt!

*But my home is as clean as a new pin!*

Ah! Even here there’s ordinary everyday dirt. Perhaps you can’t see it—but you can’t avoid picking it up!

*Heavens! Never saw it that way! What can I do about it?*

Simple! Just bathe the healthy way! Make it a habit to...

wash away the germs in dirt with

**LIFEBUOY SOAP**

—and enjoy that healthy feeling of freshness!
Co-Operative Movement
by A Co-operator

There is a change in Shri Nehru. From international problems his attention is now diverted and concentrated on genuine national problems. Shri Asoka Mehta, in his recent speech in the Lok Sabha, said that India's foreign policy has lost its glamour and vigour. Formerly, even in remote villages, Nehru spoke about international affairs and the poor villagers clapped and shouted "Pandit Jawaharlalji ki Jai", though they little understood what he spoke. Might be Shri Nehru must have realised that unless India is economically strong, it cannot pull its weight on whatever it feels is right in international politics. He has now started saying that the Co-operative Farming is an article of faith with the Congress, that it will operative Farming is an article of faith with us since our inception. Responsibility is ours.

There is a growing realisation in the country that co-operatives are not only developing nor fulfilling the larger social, economic and democratic aspirations expected of them. The co-operatives are to embrace practically all fields of economic and social endeavour: agriculture, cottage and small industries, consumers' stores, housing, thrift and credit, labour contract, transport, etc., involving several million members. This can be achieved if the Co-operative Law is tightened and the loopholes in the law plugged. The Committee on Co-operative Law, in its recent report, has emphasised the strengthening the hands of the Registrar by giving him more powers. It has said that co-operatives be "administered", "controlled", "supervised" and "audited", "inspected", "superseded", "adjudged", and "dissolved" by the Registrar.

Nobody minds the hands of the Registrar being strengthened. But there is another aspect. There are, at present, the Registrars, Asst. Registrars, Deputy Registrars and we may even appoint the Extraordinary Registrars with extraordinary powers, as Acharya Kripalani would say. Fact is, though the present law gives powers to the Registrar, the Co-operative Department has failed to utilise them effectively. The answer is not so much to reduce all these powers as to create conditions in which the department can function efficiently with a greater consciousness of its role and responsibilities.

Understanding the Movement

There is an ideological discussion on the Co-operative Farming. Instead of indulging in this type of discussion we may very well devote our attention on the implementing side.

The Co-operative Law

When we think of promoting the co-operative movement, our attention is caught by the Co-operative Law. It is rightly pointed out that as the law cannot be strict with those who do not abide by the principles, who take advantage of the loopholes, the movement cannot progress and these are too many failures which besmirch the fair name of the movement. There are instances where unscrupulous persons as well as businessmen take advantage of the co-operative system. They promote co-operatives because the Co-operative Law protects them and gives them chance to evade other acts—paying income-tax, stamp duty, registration fees.

There is a controversy over what an ideal Co-operative Law should be in, therefore, irrelevant. Main question is: who man the Ministry of Co-opera-
tion and the Co-operative Department. They must be men who have zeal for social work, who believe that it is an article of faith and is bound to give a glimpse of socialism. They must understand who are the members of a co-operative society. Generally, these are not rich men, but belong to lower income group. They hope that a co-operative will relieve them of their social and economic problems.

But what is their experience? When they submit their proposal for registration, it takes days and sometimes months and an year to get the society registered. Unfortunatly for them, their money is locked up. The Registrar does not even reply that the society cannot be registered. There are scores of such instances where the promoters have to face the music and their members economic hardship because the money is locked up. Arbitration system was started so the co-operators and their members can save on spending for litigation. But the experience is otherwise. All this is happening and harming the co-operative movement not because the Law does not help the officials, but those who man the department are ignorant of social and economic reforms. They do not understand the “man” who is a member of the society.

Besides, education in co-operation must be given to the members. Success of the society depends on the enlightened membership. Members must know how to manage the society, what are the duties and functions of the members, of the managing committee. The department must teach them how to make the society financially stabilised, how the society can be prevented from liquidation and other difficulties. Law cannot make these men, but the men who man the department can do it.

Ultimately, the success of the movement depends upon the social workers and the department and not on the law—the law should create the conditions necessary for for national ideals to be achieved. The law should not distrust our people, should not have 'a tendency to think that they are not competent enough, that they cannot do the job by themselves. This is a wrong turn to our co-operative movement. Democratic values and precepts—the essence of co-operation—should be made part of the day-to-day life.

(Continued from page 8)

The employees of the factory had lost confidence in the leadership of the INTUC. At the elections, held on March 9, they themselves proposed a list of persons in whom they had confidence, and the list of names was voted unanimously. Shri Ramdeo Singh, M.L.A., was elected president, Shri Kamal Deo Sharma and Shri Bhikhi Chaudhry, vice-presidents, Shri Phulena Prasad Shrivastava, general secretary, Shri Rajendra Singh and Shri Prem Chandra Kaushik, joint secretaries and Shri Dharkikshan Choudhry, treasurer.

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Editorial

Socialisation of Foodgrains Trade

The National Development Council is scheduled to consider the scheme for State trading in foodgrains during its present series of meetings. From press reports, it appears that the Union Cabinet is not unanimous on some of the crucial questions connected with the scheme. One such question concerns the status of the existing wholesalers under the new set-up. It has already been decided that in the absence of adequate number of co-operatives capable of handling the trade, the services of the existing wholesalers should be availed of even under the socialised trade scheme. But the question is what role should be assigned to them. They can be made either the licensees with sole powers to engage in the wholesale trade under certain conditions attached to the licenses or they may be made the agents of the Government.

If they are made licensees, they will be free either to buy or not to buy foodgrains from the agriculturists. Only if they do buy will they have to observe certain conditions regarding prices, etc. Similarly, they will be free to sell the foodgrains to any retail dealer they like provided again that they observe certain conditions. The Government control over the wholesale trade under such a scheme will, therefore, be only of a general nature—confined to the regulation of prices. This would hardly be called socialisation of the foodgrains trade.

If on the other hand, they are made the agents of the Government, they will be completely under the direction, supervision and control of the Government regarding every aspect of the wholesale trade. Under such a scheme, the trade will be socialised in the real sense of the term. But the Government will have to find money for trading as the agents are not supposed to finance the trade of their principals. This difficulty will not arise in case the existing wholesalers are made the licensees. The Union Food Minister, who is lukewarm towards socialisation is naturally in favour of licensing the wholesalers, while the Planning Commission, which is mainly responsible for the policy decision, favours the plan of appointing existing wholesalers as agents of the Government. The Planning Commission must have applied its mind to the problems of financing the trade and if a satisfactory solution for these problems is available, the National Development Council will find it very difficult to reject the Planning Commission Scheme without exposing itself to the charge of sabotaging the Nagpur decisions.
Role of the Dalai Lama

LOOKING to the observations made by the various opposition members in the Lok Sabha, excepting, of course, the Communists, it is clear that public opinion in India is very much exercised over what is happening in Tibet. The Chinese Government, as was to be expected, has succeeded in quelling the riots in Lhasa and has pushed the Tibetan Nationalist forces further south. The Dalai Lama is rumoured to be with the fleeing rebels—though it is not clear whether he is their prisoner or is in league with them. The correspondence which he is supposed to have had with General Tan Kuan-san, Chinese Political Commissar of Tibet Military Area Command, as released by the Chinese Government, would suggest that the Dalai Lama was opposed to the activities of the Tibetan nationalists. If this be so, he must be “under duress” of the fleeing Nationalists. But the text of the letters makes it difficult to believe that they disclose the full story. Until the Dalai Lama himself is able to establish contact with the outside world, his role in the recent happenings in Tibet would continue to remain obscure. The line adopted by the Chinese Government regarding the Dalai Lama may be cited as a genuine reflection of the Peking’s belief in his innocence or may have been dictated by subtle considerations like enticing him into the Chinese clutches or persuading the Tibetan people to dissociate themselves from the popular uprising.

This makes the position of the Government of India all the more difficult. It is true that no Government can give guarantee or should give a guarantee that it would admit every person who wanted to cross its frontier as Shri Nehru pointed out in the Lok Sabha. But such a generalisation has only an academic value. The actual policy decision will be very complicated if and when the Dalai Lama asks for political asylum. But if we do admit the Dalai Lama within the Indian borders and give him necessary protection the Chinese Government will raise certain inconvenient questions and claim that the Dalai Lama’s rightful place is in Tibet. At that stage, the Government will have to adopt a clear-cut position. In case he is refused admission in India, it will antagonise a large number of the Buddhists living in India and in her neighbouring countries—an eventuality which the Government of India will certainly like to avoid.

The situation is no doubt delicate. Nothing should be done in excitement to make it more so. But it will not be a wise policy to postpone a decision till the very last hour hoping, in the meantime, for something to turn up that will make a decision unnecessary. Any decision taken under the stress of a last-minute pressure is equally likely to complicate matters.

Targets of the Third Plan

THE discussions on the Third Five-Year Plan are so far confined to the magnitude of the targets to be aimed at and the possibility of the resources, external and internal, likely to be available for the Plan. Resources are, of course, very necessary for the implementation of any Plan and the Plan targets can be fixed only in terms of the realistic appraisal of the availability of resources alone. In any economy and especially in a backward economy the rate of economic development is a joint function of resources and organisation. The resources are likely to be wastefully employed if an adequate organisation does not exist to make the best use of the saving effected in the economy. We have still not achieved the requisite organisational level to launch safely on Third Five-Year Plan in a big way. The progress of the Second Plan shows that the resources have not been employed in a manner where by waste can be minimised and a maximum use of the resources in terms of policy decision, etc., can be made. The Government spokesmen have repeatedly told the country that it has been decided that by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan the Indian economy should have a continuous and even growth out of the resources, physical and financial, available within the country. If the use of resources in terms of this policy decision is examined the weakness of the organisation would become quite clear.

Before arriving at any decision regarding the targets for the Third Plan it is necessary to examine this aspect of the question and to lay down various criteria which should be fulfilled before the targets are fixed. In fact, it would be advisable to think of targets in terms of various organisational level that might be reached. The next two years of the Second Plan should be used as experiment in laying down the targets of organisational levels and to find out what is or is not possible in this field. The results of these experiments should guide us in determining the targets for the Third Plan.
Awakening The Sleeping Giant

SRI Jayaprakash Narayan, in an article which has been widely printed, offers some interesting reflections on the state of the people and the defects of the system. He lays great emphasis on the need for voluntary workers and concludes with an appeal to all patriotic people to rally for national reconstruction. There are few in our country today who have the moral stature of Shri Jayaprakash or even his national appeal—either in or out of the Congress. I have often felt that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who has time and again betrayed how bad a judge of persons he is, deserves the fullest credit for maintaining the closest links with Shri Jayaprakash. Possibly it is a point in favour of both men. And it has seemed to me that, while international preoccupations have in recent years diluted the Indianess of Shri Nehru's thinking, Shri Jayaprakash's association with Vinoba Bhave has stressed the Indianness of his thoughts. For India in the modern setting both are important. It is unfortunate that the respective positions of the two men result in the opposition of the two lines of thought.

J.P.'s Propositions

The propositions pronounced by Shri Jayaprakash are, briefly summarised, as follows:

1. The apathy and inertia of the teeming millions is generally accepted.
2. The energies of the people must be mobilised fully in to put through a programme of national reconstruction.
3. There is widespread obsession with politics and power.
4. The general feeling that only the government can accomplish things for the people is enervating and destructive of initiative.
5. Only voluntary service with no taint of the mercenary motive or the political and partisan spirit can energise the people.
6. Such service must be informed and equipped with the necessary training.

Shri Jayaprakash appealed to "the top leaders of the country to come out of the Government" with the idea of that such action would strike a blow at "the universal obsession with power and politics". Explaining this, in the light of criticism of his appeal, he maintains that far from denying the utility of Government, he meant to help and strengthen the Government by building up outside support. This is an understandable position.

Distrust of Politics

It is unfortunate that in the process of expounding his thesis, Shri Jayaprakash should have been drawn into a discussion of democratic and totalitarian methods. His proposals, if acted upon by the leaders in the Government, would have produced conditions closer to the totalitarian set-up than to those in democratic states. For the foundations of totalitarianism are a strong political party with a subordinate government.

by S. Natarajan

J.P.'s Practice Better than Theory

That apathy still persists will be supported by Shri Jayaprakash's old colleagues in the Praja Socialist Party. Opposition to Congress policies, where it is to be found, amounts to no more than further proof of inertia, since it leads its spokesmen to do nothing active in protest and justifies their doing nothing active in support of the Congress. Thus, in politics as in every other sphere of national activity, the inertia of the people is the one fact of the situation. There is, therefore, little to warrant Shri Jayaprakash's faith that the cure for our malaise lies in ignoring politics. I need not mention here that his practice is so much better than his theory: On the issue of linguistic states in the domestic field and of Tibet in the international, Shri Jayaprakash has given a lead which is forthright and impressive. This has encouraged the hope that some day, not too far off, he will re-enter the political field for more sustained work.

Sacrifice and Missionary Spirit

Shri Jayaprakash deprecates the mercenary motive. That there are limitations to what workers merely interested in their pay can do is obvious. But it need not follow that any one who is paid for his work, must be ineffective. The distinction is one that cannot be strongly emphasised because failure to do so brings about a great deal of confused thinking. Personally, I believe that our professed distrust of
anything which relates to money, has been greatly responsible for the general atmosphere of corruption. People generally get what they expect, and to expect little from paid workers may be a cynical protection against disillusionment but it is very often the cause of getting little out of them; and oftener still, the reason for putting up with poor and shoddy work springs from our gratification at persons working honorary or for small remuneration.

Frankly, I am no enthusiast for leadership which calls for service, sacrifice and the missionary spirit. I am rather pained that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan should make them the central features of his programme. These qualities—no one denies their virtue—may be expected after the mobilisation of the people, not before. Moreover, there can be no escaping the pay-off in any national field. Every great moral effort, it has been well said, suffers its reaction. That we are no exception to this rule has been demonstrated on a mass scale by Congressmen in the years after independence. And as their effort before Independence inspired many outside the Congress, so their deterioration in the past twelve years has contaminated the nation. The ac-

(Continued on page 12)
The Tibetan Revolution And Indian Policy

While holding such view might save the Government from embarrassing situations, it is by no means objective. Even our Prime Minister wrote in his book "Glimpses of World History" as far back as 1935: "... So China has, for the present at least, lost Manchuria. Mongolia is a Soviet country allied to the Russian Soviet Union. TIBET IS INDEPENDENT NOW."

In 1946, at the Asian Conference convened by Prime Minister, Tibet was invited as an independent country and its delegates were accredited accordingly. Moreover, at this conference was displayed a huge map of Asia showing Tibet as being outside the frontiers of China. The Chinese delegates, then representatives of the ruling Kuomintang, walked out in protest. Two years later the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting released a documentary entitled "Kashmir" in which a map showed Tibet as a territory outside the Chinese borders. This again drew protests from Kuomintang Chinese Ambassador Prof. Lo Chia-lun. That map in the film, it is reported, still remains uncorrected. It appears, therefore, that so long as the Kuomintang Chinese were in power, the Government never took Chinese claims of suzerainty seriously. Only after the Communists overran mainland China did the Government of India discover the validity of Chinese claims of their being the suzerian masters of Tibet.

Britain and China

An argument favourite in the arsenal of Communist Chinese apologists is the specious plea that Britain had by a treaty recognised Chinese suzerainty, albeit nominal, over Tibet. These very same gentlemen would no doubt be shocked if it were to be suggested that since the British had recognised Portu
guese claims over Goa, India had no right to Goa whatsoever. But one fact that seems to be conveniently forgotten by these gentlemen is that China never signed that agreement. It was between Tibet and Britain. On November 7, 1950, the Tibetan Government (Kashag) sent a communication to the United Nations protesting against the Chinese invasion of Tibet. Adverting to the argument of British acceptance of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, the Kashag stated:

"In 1914, British persuasion led Tibet to a sign a treaty which superimposed on her the nominal suzerainty of China, and by which the Chinese were accorded the right to maintain a mission in Lhasa, though they were strictly forbidden to interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet. Apart from the fact, even the nominal suzerainty which Tibet conceded to China is not enforceable because of the NON-SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY OF 1914 BY THE CHINESE. Tibet maintained independent relations with other neighbouring countries such as India and Nepal. Furthermore, she did not compromise her position by throwing in her forces in World War II on the side of China. Thus she asserted and maintained her complete independence.

"... Tibet's independence thereby re-assumed de jure status. . . . The slender tie that Tibet maintained with China after 1911 Revolution became less justifiable when China underwent a further revolution and turned into a full-fledged communist state. . . . Foreseeing future complications, the Tibetan Government broke off diplomatic relations with China and made the Chinese representative in Lhasa depart from Tibet in July 1949. Since then Tibet has not even maintained formal relations with the Chinese Government."

Communists Invaded Tibet

In 1950, the Communist Chinese invaded Tibet. The Government of India, after considerable hesitation, addressed a protest note to Peking over Chinese violation of Tibetan autonomy. To this protest the Red Chinese curty replied:

"The Chinese People's Liberation Army must enter Tibet, liberate the Tibetan people and defend the frontiers of China. With regard to the view point of the Government of
India on what its regards as deplorable, the Central People's Government cannot but consider it as having been affected by foreign influences hostile to China in Tibet." This reply provoked even Mr. Nehru into commenting that it was not clear from whom the Chinese were going to "liberate" Tibet.

That was the last time the Government of India tried to put up some form of protest. Since then "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" sentiments have been overflowing to the brim and "small" issues like the loss of freedom to the Tibetan people could not be allowed to ruffle the Panchshila temper.

The Tibetan rebellion has spread to large areas of Eastern Tibet and it is reported that considerable unrest has been prevalent in Western Tibet as well. The rebellion of the Khampas is reported to have been sparked by the Communist Chinese action in defiling Tibetan Monasteries. For instance, the Ranyak Monastery was sacked, its sacred books and images burned and about 700 monks killed. This happened five months ago. The Abbot of Ranyak Monastery is now a refugee in India. The revolt is now well over two years old. More than 50,000 Chinese and 15,000 Tibetans have been reported killed. It is reported that Tibetans are streaming in their thousands from cities, towns, villages and nomad encampments to join in the guerilla fighting. They have blown up roads, bridges and airfields so that the Chinese are restricted in their movements in the mountains and desperately short of supplies of all kinds. The Tibetans themselves are starving and have only sufficient food to last them for another two months.

Will the Revolt Succeed?

Will the revolt succeed? It would be mere wishful thinking to maintain that it will succeed in driving out the Chinese. Winter has so far helped the Khampas to indulge in guerilla warfare. But with the advent of summer, with superior weapons of warfare, the Chinese are ultimately bound to starve and bomb the Khampas into submission. Side by side, the Chinese have been carrying out a programme of large-scale colonisation of Tibet and its bordering regions. According to the Sining Tsinchai Jilpao, in the past three years, 35,000 Chinese youths had permanently settled in Tsinchhai province. Earlier reports from Lhasa had indicated the presence in large numbers of the Han people in Tibet.

Several months ago, a memorandum was drawn up by Tibetan officials and presented to the Indian Government by Lukhang, a former Prime Minister and most respected Tibetan leader. This was followed by appeals by the Dalai Lama's brother Gyalu Thondup. "The only response the appeals have evoked," wrote George Patterson of the Daily Telegraph, "is that Indian officials have advised the Tibetans to emulate India in her struggle for independence by resorting to civil disobedience campaigns and other forms of non-violent demonstrations against the Chinese. Tibetan officials who have tried to publicise what is happening have been reminded that they are only being allowed to remain in India on condition that they take no part in any political activities, China having brought strong pressure to bear on the Indian Government to have them returned."

Meeting with Nehru

At the time of writing, a Tibetan delegation has had a meeting with Shri Nehru. It is not known what he told them although the leader of the delegation described his talks with the Prime Minister as "successful".

The Government of India has been very sensitive to reports about the Tibetan revolt being publicised in India. Mr. George Patterson of the Daily Telegraph was the recipient of a warning from the Government of India that his stay in the Darjeeling-Jalpaiguri-Cooch-Behar districts would be interdicted "unless he discontinued sending misleading and exaggerated reports about Tibet". This display of excessive nervousness by the Government of India has naturally found expression in the more serious problem of political asylum for refugees from Tibet. Even while maintaining that according to International Law, India had the right to admit anyone seeking political asylum, Shri Nehru has gone out of his way to prove what steps he has taken to prevent the entry of such refugees as may make a bid for freedom. Speaking in Parliament on March 30, Shri Nehru stated: "Instructions were issued sometime ago that any person desavouring to cross the (Indian) frontier should be stopped at the checkpoint and should not be allowed to cross over unless they had the necessary travel papers." "If necessity arises," Shri Nehru added, "the strength of our checkpoint will be increased". Perhaps, Shri Nehru expects every refugee who flees Tibet to be in possession of "valid travel papers".

The Dalai Lama

The whereabouts of the Dalai Lama are not known. It is rumoured that the rebels have carried him away to safety—probably to smuggle him into Nepal or India. The presence of the Dalai Lama in India as a political refugee from Communist China will pose embarrassing problems for the Government of India. It is hardly conceivable that the Government will hand over the Dalai Lama to China. But the logic of the situation would inevitably lead to a strain in the relations between India and China, which Shri Nehru is so anxious to avoid. The Dalai Lama's presence in India as a political refugee would be a standing reminder of the hollowness of Panchshila and the political dishonesty of the Communists.

As far as the position of Tibet vis-a-vis the "Tibet region of China" is concerned, it seems most likely that the Government will not depart from its present policy: that the Tibetan revolt is an internal affair and India will respect the "territorial integrity" of Communist China and its "Tibetan Region" in the spirit of Panchshila."
"India Must Protest", says J. P.

SHRI Jayaprakash Narayan, said India should put on record her clear verdict that aggression has been committed against Tibet and the freedom of a weak nation had been "snuffed out by a powerful neighbour."

In a statement Shri Narayan said: "The situation in Tibet must cause serious anxiety to all the peoples of Asia, particularly to us in India. The recent statement of the Prime Minister in Parliament is not likely to allay this anxiety."

"From the time Red China decided to gobble up Tibet, our policy in regard to it has been marked by prevarication. We began by describing the Chinese advance on Tibet as aggression but immediately after recognised Chinese suzerainty over that unfortunate land. Tibet has never been a part of China, except by conquest when Lhasa paid tribute to Peking. But there was also a period when Peking paid tribute to Lhasa. The Tibetans are not Chinese and there is no evidence in history that they ever wanted to be a part of China."

Mao and Chiang Alike

"The Chinese on their part have been an imperial power and in their expansionist drives they have always led campaigns against the Tibetans, who being numerically weak, have sometimes been forced to accept nominal Chinese overlordship. In this respect one Chinese regime has not differed from another and here Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung stand on the same ground. But that does not alter the fact that the Tibetans are entitled to their own freedom and at the least, to the moral support of world opinion," he added.

"When the Chinese Communists took over Tibet they promised to respect the unique position of the Dalai Lama and the autonomy of his Government. Those who were acquainted with the nature of Communist rule understood even then that national autonomy under Communism was an utter sham and that it would only be a matter of time for the Chinese to drive the nails deeper into the coffin of Tibetan independence. Present events are proving how right was this understanding."

"The question is what can we do to help the Tibetans? It is true, as the Prime Minister said in Parliament in 1950, that we cannot, like Don Quixote, go about fighting everything. No one expects India to go to war with China for the sake of Tibet. But every upright person, every freedom-loving individual should be ready to call a spade a spade. We are not serving the cause of peace by slurring over acts of aggression. We cannot physically prevent the Chinese from annexing Tibet. . . But we at least can put on record our clear verdict that aggression has been committed and the freedom of a weak nation has been snuffed out by a powerful neighbour."

Shri Narayan said: "In Tibet we see at this moment of workings of a new imperialism which is far more dangerous than the old because it marches under the banner of a so-called revolutionary ideology. Tibet may be a theocratic rather than a secular State and backward economically and socially. But no nation has the right to impose progress whatever that may mean upon another nation. Every nation, small or big, has the right to choose its own of life and the least we can do is to stand unwaveringly by this right.

Abetment of Crime

"We are rightly linked with China", Shri Narayan said, "by bonds of friendship and I for one am keen that these bonds be kept firm and secure. But friendship cannot mean abetment of crime. True friendship indeed, as I am sure some Chinese proverb will have it, requires that when friends go wrong they should be firmly told about it. India does not believe in power politics and she should have the courage to stand by the truth in every circumstance. We have nothing to lose. The Chinese need our friendship as much as we need theirs. But if the price of friendship is duplicity and condonation of wrong, we must have the courage to refuse to pay the price. The tragedy of Tibet then will not have happened in vain."
The Struggle of the Tibetans

S HRI Asoka Mehta declared in Bombay on Sunday, March 29, that it was high time that the Government of India expressed its views in clear terms on the recent happenings in Tibet.

Shri Mehta was addressing a public meeting under the auspices of the Praja Socialist Party. The Party observed the day as "Tibet Day". Prior to the meeting a procession was organised by the Party. A large number of people participated in the procession.

Shri Mehta said that India had always raised her voice whenever the liberty of any nation had been in danger. Today Tibet was engaged in a frantic struggle to preserve her nationhood and distinctive culture. Tibet had ended. The fight would continue as long as the people there cherished their freedom. It was surprising that the Colombo Powers had not yet found occasion to express their views over the happenings in Tibet. Whereas the issue involved in Hungary was one of "principle", the one in Tibet was of "life and death".

"Internal Affairs"

Shri Mehta said that it would be wrong to suppose that Tibet was entirely a matter of "internal affairs" of China. That way, he said, Algeria was part and parcel of metropolitan France and Goa of metropolitan Portugal. But the Government of India had openly denounced the Apartheid policy carried against the Africans and had always upheld the cause of freedom wherever it was in danger. It would be cowardly and insincere if India did not express its opinion against the doings of the Chinese Government and it would also be a betrayal of the ideals and values for which she had stood all along. The Chinese Government had left a big question mark in the minds of Asians and the silence of the Colombo Powers would cause a great misunderstanding among the Asian people.

The procession, consisting of men and women bearing placards with the inscription "Nationalist Asia Resists Communist Tyranny" passed through various localities from Thakurwar and converged at the Blavatsky Lodge, where the public meeting was held. The procession, consisting of men and women bearing placards with the inscription "Nationalist Asia Resists Communist Tyranny" passed through various localities from Thakurwar and converged at the Blavatsky Lodge, where the public meeting was held.

Shri M. Harris, Leader of the Samiti in Bombay Municipal Corporation, presided over the meeting and Shri Madhu Dandavate welcomed the gathering.

WEST BENGAL

Strengthening the Party

W ITH a view to strengthening the organisational base of the Praja-Socialist Party in Jamshedpur, active members of the party met recently and exchanged views on the tasks before them. Shri L. N. Sahay presided and enumerated the various ways in which party members could make themselves more useful.

Three committees were formed on the occasion: Organisational and Programme Sub-Committee, with Shri R. N. Jha as convenor, Labour Sub-Committee, with Shri L. N. Sahay as convenor and Literature Sub-Committee with Shri R. N. Jha as convenor. The Organisational and Programme Sub-Committee took stock of the work done in the party units and formulated targets for the Jubilee Year. It was felt that the party possessed young workers of a high calibre and that their talent could be exploited only by proper guidance from the top leadership of the party. The meeting decided to hold such exchange-of-views sessions more often.

Shri Ganga Saran Sinha, Chairman of the PSP, reminded party workers at a provincial camp of the West Bengal Party, held at Sainthia, near Bolpur, recently, that the time had come when the utmost effort would be required of them to strengthen the organisation. The camp was presided over by Shri Dasarathi Tah, M.L.A. Shri K. K. Menon, Joint Secretary of the party, also addressed the camp. The camp decided to enrol at least 50,000 party members in West Bengal within June and 60,000 members for the Kisan Panchayat. Each of the 80 PSP constituencies in West Bengal were asked to collect at least Rs. 100 each within June. In the districts of north Calcutta, south Calcutta, Murshidabad, Nadia, Howrah City, Howrah district and Baranagar constituencies, party workers met to discuss ways and means of implementing the Sainthia programme.

Shri Panchanon Bhattacharjee, M.L.A. in his presidential address to the regional conference of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, Howrah, said that in spite of the promises given by the Government to guarantee fair wages to the workers, even the minimum wages agreed to by the 15th Indian Labour Conference were not being paid. The real wages of the workers had fallen on account of the rise in prices. The workers, however, had fulfilled their pledge of preserving industrial peace and had increased production. But it was regrettable that they were not
Problem Of National Reconstruction

By Jayaprakash Narayan

My statement of November 8 last had created a short-lived sensation which soon received its quietus by the Prime Minister's sarcasm at my cost. But all that has happened since has only strengthened the view that I had expressed then and I feel it to be my duty to place it once again before my countrymen. I feel like this because I am convinced that there is no other way to awaken the sleeping giant—the teeming millions of this country. I remain further convinced that unless that giant awakens no number of grandiose plans is going to lead this country out of its present misery and degradation.

The biggest asset that India has is her 38 crores of people. In February 1957 Mao Tse-tung had described with pride the 600 millions of his countrymen as 'our asset' and the Chinese Communist daily the Jen Min Jih Pao wrote last August: "Men are the most active element in the productive forces and where there are many of them their strength is titanic." India too, possesses this titanic strength. But Titan alas is asleep and the asset is a heavy liability at present.

A stubborn inertia grips our teeming millions. The Indian people are no different from the Chinese or the German or the Japanese. But over a century of foreign rule has robbed them of all powers of initiative and made them inert and dependent. I have likened this state to the condition of atrophy from which a limb suffers when it is put into plaster by the surgeon. The mere cutting of the plaster when the injury has healed does not bring life and strength to the limb. It requires months of tender care and rehabilitative exercise. India's plaster of slavery was cut on August 15, 1947. But that did not mean that the people automatically came to life and sprang into action. It will need long and loving care to develop their latent capacities and draw out their buried strength.

On two points there was complete agreement at the talks that I had had last November in Delhi. It was agreed (a) that there were wide-spread apathy and inertia in the country and (b) that unless these were removed and the energies of the people fully mobilised no significant programme of national reconstruction could succeed.

The question, however, is how to awaken and activise the masses, how to develop their hidden powers. I could get only partial agreement on this question in Delhi and nothing whatever as concerned action.

Let me examine the various methods in which this can be done and has been sought to be done.

Before proceeding to do this let me point out that the methods of mobilising the people that are available to totalitarian regimes, whether fascist or communist, cannot be used in a democracy. The psychological climate of hysteria that is created, the overt and covert methods of coercion that are used, the lying and deceit that are shamelessly practised, would be impossible in a democratic regime. Incidentally, let me warn that the temptation to use these well-tested and facile methods in order to drive the masses into action is a standing menace to the future of democracy in all the backward countries.

The task is far more difficult in a democratic system particularly when special historical circumstances such as a long period of foreign servitude have sapped the native strength of the masses and thwarted their powers of initiative. Let us see how this task can be, or is being, tackled in our country.

Place of Government

First, let us take the Government. Many people in this country feel that the only effective instrument of national reconstruction is the Government. The Prime Minister himself, I suspect, belongs to this group. Even granting for the sake of argument, that this view is correct, it does not take us a single step forward towards the solution of our problem, which is, how to activise the people. The fact is undisputed that the Government has failed so far to inspire the people to action. I do not wish to be misunderstood. The Government of its own initiative has no doubt done many things: built scientific laboratories, their latent capacities and draw out great dams, steel works and other factories, laid the foundations of a promising oil industry and so on. But I am not speaking of the centralised initiative of the Government. I am speaking of the dispersed initiative of the people which when aroused would convert the great liability into a greater asset. I am speaking of the awakening of Titan, before whom any Government is a pigmy. It is here that the Government has almost totally failed.

In the circumstances it could not have been otherwise. From the British days a gulf has divided the people from the Government. That gulf has not appreciably narrowed. The officers of the Government, high or low, have no rapport with the people, generally no idealism to drive them forward, little moral authority (created by sacrifice and honesty) to inspire. It has been repeatedly found that even a good idea when dropped into the official works gets either completely lost or completely changed into something useless.

As for the elected members of the Government, Ministers and others, they could conceivably have been able to make some impression on mass inertia if they had not so far removed themselves from the common people. As things are to-day, even Mr. Nehru's finely worded appeals do not reach the people, or if they do, they pass over their heads.

Role of Political Parties

Next we may consider the role of the political parties in this connection. They could have played a big role in enthusing and moving the people to constructive action. But the parties are entirely and exclusively concerned with power. They all believe, without exception, that it is only the Government that can do anything for the people. The people themselves can do nothing. Therefore, they busy themselves either with exercising or enjoyment of power or with winning of power. Some of them, no doubt, talk of constructive programmes, but, in the first place nothing much is done, with an eye to the elections. The result of all this is that the people are made more inert and
dependent. Every party goes to the people, to tell them that if they only voted for them, they, that is, the parties, would do the rest for them. The people have nothing to do but to choose the right persons and to put the right party in power. The rest will be done for them.

Nothing could be calculated to make the people more helpless than this sort of approach. In this sense the parties do more harm than good. No doubt the voters must be told about the right policies the Government should follow, but that does not help to conquer the general passivity and lethargy. What really needs to be done is to help the people to stand upon their own legs and to do for themselves all that they possibly can with their available resources. Only then, help from the Government could bring about that massive development which every one looks for to-day but meets with only frustration all around.

Some of the opposition parties do attempt to mobilise mass action in the form of demonstrations and the like. But such things also teach the same lesson to the people that Government alone can improve their lot and therefore they must act in order to compel it to give them what they want. Some of these demonstrations and mass actions might very well be justified, but the point I am trying to make is that they too fail to solve the central problem we are dealing with here. Mass action is necessary, but of a different kind. Mass constructive action is what the country needs. The masses have to be mobilised not so much for agitation but for collective action to achieve positive ends.

Now, it is easy to stir up the masses for agitation, but rather difficult to persuade them to learn anything new, to give up their prejudices, to work cooperatively together. In order to do this, it is necessary to go where the people are, live with them and patiently teach and help them to do what needs to be done. It is obvious that whoever thus goes to the people must first receive himself the necessary knowledge and training. But mere training and knowledge would not do. The right spirit must be there—the spirit of service and sacrifice. Those who go with a mercenary spirit, as that of doing a job for money, will not succeed, nor those who go with a political or partisan motive. This means that they must be voluntary workers, with the zeal and fire of a mission.

Need for Voluntary Workers

India is a vast country and the task of national reconstruction cannot be delayed. For this what is needed is a vast army of voluntary workers of the type described above. Gandhiji wanted such a worker for every village—six hundred thousand of lok sevakas. Out of a population of nearly 40 crores, it is not impossible to get six lakhs of patriotic voluntary workers to perform such a vital national service. The universal obsession with politics and power, however thwart this channel of patriotic expression. My idea in appealing to the top leaders of the country to come out of Government was precisely that such action would strike a blow at this obsession and create the necessary psychological revolution for a nation-wide movement of voluntary service to be launched. That, however, was not to be. But should that mean that nothing further can or should be done? Are there not enough patriotic men and women in the country to recognise the need of the hour and come forward to offer their services to the country? I refuse to believe that it is not so. To such patriots are these words particularly addressed.

Let me remove one misunderstanding that my last statement had produced. It was thought in many quarters that I wanted to weaken the Government and did not appreciate its role and importance at this moment of our history. Some went so far as to think that I denied entirely the utility of Government for the purposes of national reconstruction. Nothing could be further from my mind. It is true that I consider that democracy to be ideal in which the least government. But my proposal was made not in order to reduce the functions and areas of government, because it could not be done in that negative manner, but indeed in order to help and strengthen the government. As I have said repeatedly, and as it is accepted on all sides, no government can build or has built a nation solely by its own efforts. The people, whether driven by force or self-volition, must join in a massive way before anything substantial can be achieved. Thus my appeal was aimed at making our national effort a reality.

I may be asked what will the hundreds of thousands of volunteers do. Have I a programme of action? Let us look at this question a little carefully. If millions of backward people have to be moved, the programme must be very simple and tools and skills equally so. A small number of persons might be trained to work in a steel mill or operate a machine, but not millions of people, at least not for many, many years to come. Also a programme for the millions cannot be such that it requires much capital investment per individual, because capital is scarce in our country. Therefore, in the context of a mass constructive programme we cannot think in terms of any ambitious plans—not because of any ideological predilection but compelled by the given factors of the objective situation. The Chinese mass constructive programme is a very fine illustration. Neither Mao nor Chou is a Gandhian; yet the slogan in China is: every hand to work; all local materials and even the most primitive tools and skills be put to use.

In this light the Gandhian constructive programme, as developed and enlarged by Vinobaji, assumes a particular importance. It is in the villages of India that eighty per cent of her people live and it is there that local initiative has almost completely been killed. The fact that the more enterprising elements in the villages tend constantly to gravitate to the urban areas, aggravates still further the disease. In the urban areas, too, the rate of development is no doubt, tardy and the levels of voluntary activity low. But the problem there is not so urgent as in the villages. In fact, if the problem of the villages were solved, that automatically would solve a major part of the urban problem. Therefore, it is first and foremost to the villages that the voluntary workers must go. Plans for village development are not difficult to prepare. There are many experiments being made and each has something to contribute. The problem is about the village workers, the activist. Unless he is driven by idealism and a sense of mission the plans are not likely to yield the expected results. Even voluntary
workers, if they do not possess these qualities, are likely to be ineffective. But the voluntary worker is more likely to have the requisite spirit and attitude than the paid employee of the State of any other organisation.

I have tried above to point out and emphasise the central problem of our national reconstruction as I see it, and have also attempted to advance a solution. I plead for a dispassionate consideration of the views expressed and for appropriate action. It is possible that would-be volunteers might wish to get in touch with me. They may write to me at Kadam Kuan, Patna.

AFRICA—II

Language Of Freedom
by Nripendranath Ghosh

ODLY enough, this instalment of my account of Africa is being typed in a little German town called Mannheim. But a German weekly called "Der Spiegel" has come to my rescue. It has published the picture of Sekou Toure, the formidable young Prime Minister of the newly-independent French Guinea on the cover; inside they have a two-page interview with Toure by its own correspondent, specially flown over to Conarky, the capital of Guinea.

France is withdrawing her capital and personnel from this dissenting colony as Germans are moving in; and so are Norwegians. We will, however, go into details of the West African affairs latter.

By the time the first instalment had been posted, more riots had occurred in Belgian Congo, this time in Matadi, near the border of Portuguese Angola. Before passing on to the subject of Africa in general, I would like to point out the significance of these two places in Belgian Congo—Leopoldville, the scene of the first riot, and Matadi. The former is close to French Congo and the latter near the Portuguese colony, Angola.

About Angola nothing has been heard until now. But we will "before many moons". Because the important thing about Africa today is that the traditional fear of the masters has vanished. Africans used to believe that their rulers were gods. Now they don't. Previously they could not count on any moral or material support from outside. Now, they certainly can. Then there is the UNO. The sum total of these factors is a question mark that frightens the rulers and stirs the ruled. What are we waiting for? They ask themselves.

We got a preview of the up-and-coming leaders of Africa when they first gathered in the African Bandung in May, 1958. In December, 1958, we had another opportunity of studying them when they gathered for the second time in the same city, Accra. They told the rest of the world that the only darkness about their continent existed in the latter's ignorance—not in the continent itself.

During the British rule our school texts contained uncomplimentary terms about the Africans. For our sake, I hope they do not now. The people of Africa are on the move. The imperial powers are worried. For the imperialists generally do not give up a colony without resorting to some sort scorched-earth policy.

In Africa this job should be easier. They will play off one nation (tribe to the rest of the world) against the other, and the Africans as a whole against the Indians, Arabs and other Asian races. In South Africa they have already tried it on a experimental scale. Unless the Indians throw entire lot with the Africans, they will be wiped out. Africans, are a military race.

There are eight free nations in the continent: Egypt, Sudan, Abyssinia, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Ghana, Liberia and Guinea. We do not feel the change. The Africans do. We will hear more and more of their nations taking their rightful places in the assembly of the nations.

Behind Christianity

Ghana is not a new country. It is perhaps older than Europe. Her sovereignty is not new either. It was only interrupted. England called it Gold Coast, because it used to yield fabulous amount of gold just as the Ivory Coast used to yield ivory. The names are functional, but not without history—a history of man torturing, maiming, slaughtering and trading in man in the name of Christianity.

The conquistadores were not satisfied by “converting” the indigeneous population. They played off the protestants against the Roman Catholics. There were full-scale wars. When the young King of Buganda visits India, His Majesty will tell us more about it, and in Oxford accent too.

The leaders of Africa who gathered in the last Pan African Peoples' Conference in Accra covered a wide range of faiths, culture, language and geographical conditions. There were Muslims, Catholics, Protestants and just Pagans like us. They spoke Arabic, Arhamaic, English, French, Portuguese, Swahili, Zulu, Bantu and also languages which even Dr. Suniti Chatterji has never heard of. Yet they all had one faith and spoke in one language—Freedom.

Once “Africa” was synonymous with “colony”. Now there are patches of freedom in the north and west with fresh ones due to appear soon in Somaliland, Uganda, Tanganyika and Nigeria. In years to come there will be only patches of colonies left or may be none at all.

Historic Change

The emergence of Africa, not the freedom of India, will go down in history as the greatest event after the Second World War.

The difference in geo-political conditions in Africa has brought about variation in the political developments if the different regions. Freedom has returned to Ghana without bloodshed. In Morocco it took years of bloody battle fought by the mountainous people, non-violent struggle by Istiglal in the cities and plains and patient negotiation by the King of Morocco. Tunisia trod almost the same road as Morocco. As these countries had none or very few English or French settlers there was no body to throw a spanner in the process of evolution to freedom.

But Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia have large number of English settlers just as Algeria has the colons. Mozambique, Angola and Belgian Congo have similar problems. These settlers will call themselves African. They will not consent to live as a minority under the Black people nor would they
share power with them on equitable basis. The result is violent conflict.

**Volcanic Eruption**

From Algeria right down to Cape-Town the imperialists are trying to find a way to stop the volcano from erupting in the form of African nationalism.

The word “black” was a stigma. Now it is considered to be a menace in Africa and certain countries outside. Except for pimples like Macao and Goa, the whole of Asia is free. Except for Algeria, entire North Africa is free.

**Insincere Talk of Co-operation**

A Press conference held recently in the Yugoslav State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Drago Kunc said that Yugoslavia favoured a general disarmament in the world. "We consider that establishment of such a zone (of disarmament) in the areas of the Far East and the Pacific (to begin with) would represent an important positive step towards general disarmament", he said.

Commenting on those parts of Soviet Premier Khrushchev's speech at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which related to co-operation with Yugoslavia in the foreign policy, Mr. Kunc said, "Of course, we consider as positive Mr. Khrushchev's declaration itself that the USSR will tend towards co-operation with Yugoslavia in connection with all questions of the struggle for peace and against imperialism, on which our positions coincide. But, it appears to us to be illogical to talk about co-operation in such a broad and important field, and at the same time make frontal attacks on both the internal and foreign policies of the country with which it desires to co-operate".

Mr. Drago Kunc was asked whether he would comment on the statement by Mr. Khrushchev where the latter had said that the essence of their disagreement lay in the fact that the Yugoslav Communists were trying to "convince one and all that two blocs, two military camps exist in the world." The Yugoslav official spokesman replied: "It is true that we speak of the existence of two blocs and of the negative effect of any bloc policy. However, we also assert that socialism cannot be equated with the camp. On the contrary, those who do that in fact reduce the camp—theoretically and practically—to a military camp".

**China and Bandung**

The spokesman's attention was drawn to a comment in the Chinese "Handbook on Current Events", in which it is stated that Yugoslav's policy of active co-existence "in essence is nothing but an anti-Soviet and anti-Communist policy, the main aim of which is the sabotaging of peace and solidarity of the progressive forces in the world." That paper had also written that Yugoslav's policy of active co-existence "opposes and sabotages the national liberation movements" and wished to "induce the Governments and political parties of some of the Asian and African countries to follow, together with her, the pro-Imperialistic, pro-American and anti-Communist road."

Mr. Drago Kunc said: "It appears that the Chinese People's Republic, which also took part in the Bandung Conference, is today bothered by the policy of co-existence in the true spirit of the conclusions of that meeting. The writing by this paper obviously cannot be interpreted in any other way, because we know of no one in Asia who interprets the policy of co-existence and the Bandung principles in the way this paper does. Therefore, we cannot all take the above-mentioned attack as being an attack on the policy of Yugoslavia only but also as an attack on the Bandung principles."

(Continued from page 8)
Editorial

EXTRA-TERRITORIAL LOYALTY

SHRI Nehru's statement at his monthly press conference, clarifying the Government of India's attitude towards the recent Tibetan events is more satisfactory than his announcements on the same subject in the Lok Sabha. He has now categorically stated that India not only had the right of giving asylum to the Dalai Lama but had decided to exercise that right. He also assured the people of India that it was not the intention of his Government to put any "undesirable curbs" on him. Of still greater importance is his categorical assurance that his Government accepted a "hundred per cent responsibility" for the security of the Dalai Lama. In defining the Government of India's attitude on these vital matters, that exercised the mind of every right-thinking Indian during those anxious days, the Prime Minister has given expression to the deep-seated sentiments of the people of India as a whole.

His definition of the role of the Communists in these developments is equally heartening. The members of the Lok Sabha were greatly agitated over the statement issued by the Communist Party on the happenings in Tibet. The statement scrupulously told the line adopted by the Chinese Government. The Communist Party organ also endorsed the view of the Chinese Government that Kalimpong is the centre of intrigues against the Communist Government in China. Speaking in the Lok Sabha on this subject, the Prime Minister had adopted a very formal attitude. He had assured the House that after going through the statement very carefully, he was convinced that the Communist Party had not overstepped the rights which it enjoyed under a democratic form of Government. He may be right there. Perhaps, the Communists have also the right of challenging the statement of the Prime Minister that Kalimpong was not the "commanding centre" of the Tibetan rebellion. Under a democracy, the people have a right to differ from the Government even on matters of fact if they are convinced that the fact as given out by the Government, in their opinion and according to their information, were not correct.

The real issue is the amazing casualness with which the Communist Party of India accepted the Chinese version of the situation in Kalimpong and rejected the Indian version thereof. This credulity on the part of the Indian Communists clearly shows on which side their sympathies lie. In thus deliberately hitching their wagon to the Chinese star, the Communists have cut themselves off from the sentiments of the overwhelmingly vast section of the people of this country. The Prime Minister was entirely justified when he said at the press conference: "The Party (CPI) shows more than we suspected a certain lack of balance in mind and total absence of feeling of democracy and nationalism. What they (Communists) are, I don't know. They cease to be Indians if they talk in this way". The Communists have richly deserved this admonition from the Prime Minister, who was only echoing the feelings of shocked Indians who were witness to the debasing performance of the Indian Communists. By this one act of theirs alone, they have manifestly shown where their roots lie, to whom they owe allegiance and of what ersatz stuff their nationalism is made.
VILLAGE CO-OPERATIVES

It is now clear from the Union Food Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha, and the endorsement of the policy contained therein by the National Development Council, that the so-called socialisation of the wholesale trade in foodgrains would in effect only mean the control of the price at which the wholesalers will buy foodgrains from the agriculturists and the price at which they will sell them to the retailers. It seems that considerations of financial difficulty and the lack of administrative machinery to supervise the activities of the wholesale dealers as agents of the Government, weighed with the Council in endorsing the Food Minister's policy as opposed to the one recommended by the Planning Commission.

It all depends now upon the speed with which the Government pushes the programme of setting up co-operatives which are expected to replace the wholesalers ultimately. Here the progress is not likely to be very rapid in view of some of the important hurdles regarding policy which are are still to be crossed. The main difficulty seems to relate to the size of the co-operatives and the role which the Government should play in managing the finances of the co-operatives.

The Nagpur resolution seems to favour one multi-purpose co-operative for one village. Many members of the National Development Council are reported to have argued that a single village society would not prove viable. On the other hand, the concept of the small co-operative was defended on the ground that the scheme of large societies would defeat the purpose of the programme.

This purpose was defined as promoting close contact, social cohesion and mutual obligation within the village community. The matter has now been referred to a high-power committee, which will also examine certain proposals regarding Government help and participation in the village co-operatives. The Planning Commission seems to favour the policy of providing credit facilities to co-operatives by the Government, rather than the Government's participation in their share capital. The Planning Commission has also recommended that credit-facilities should be provided only if they are likely to result in increased production.

While the setting up of the co-operative is thus beset with initial difficulties, and while the fate of the programme for socialisation of the wholesale trade is still uncertain, the Food Ministry does not seem to have fully realised the importance of increasing the production of foodgrains without which all the programmes if distribution are bound to prove futile. As Shri Asoka Mehta pointed out during the debate in Lok Sabha on the Food Ministry's grant the country's population has already passed the 40-crore mark. This necessitates the continuous upgrading of the targets of production in respect of food. As far as the intensive cultivation is concerned, according to Asoka Mehta, in the last ten years, the area under cultivation had increased by about 22 million acres, but it was distressing that as far as intensive cultivation was concerned, there had been no marked improvement. Unless, therefore, the programme of increasing the yield per acre is energetically pursued, the status quo will continue on the food front, and bring Indian economy to a state of stagnation.

National Executive Meeting

The General Secretary of the PSP says in a statement:

The fourth meeting of the National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party will be held at New Delhi for three days from April 17 to 19.

The following is the tentative agenda for the meeting:

(a) Steps to fulfil organisational targets; (b) Tibetan situation; (c) Silver Jubilee sessions—arrangements, invitations, etc.; (d) Nagpur Congress resolutions and other developments.

It is necessary that members and invitees should make it a point to attend this meeting in time. Please intimate the Secretary, Praja Socialist Party, Barahindurao, B. G. Road, Delhi, the exact train and time of their arrival here on the April 16, 1959 with a copy to this office. Please also mention if you want arrangements for your stay to be made.

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**Truth About The Tibetan Revolt**

EVEN though we are happy that the Dalai Lama is safe in our midst, we cannot but feel that we are meeting today under the shadow of a tragedy, the loss of independence of a friendly small neighbouring nation, with whom we have ancient and continuing cultural and religious ties. The Tibetans consider their land as sacred. Some of our important places of pilgrimage lie in their territory. Their spiritual and temporal head, the Dalai Lama, is held in the utmost reverence by millions of our countrymen, Buddhist and Hindus.

What do these poor, defenceless, particularly unarmed and religious people want? They want to be left in peace to pursue their ancient way of life. If there are any defects in that way of life, it is for them to cure these. Reform cannot be achieved through coercion or be imposed from outside. Today, it is difficult to assert that the Communist way or the Western way is superior to the way of the nations that are called backward or medieval, because they have not at their command the terrible and humanly debasing weapons of mass destruction. Anyway, India is pledged to allow all people to follow the way of life of their own choice. In our social philosophy, there is no place either for the self-imposed White man's burden or the equally self-imposed Communist burden of blood world revolution.

A National Revolt

The people of India, excepting a handful of Communists, believe that the uprising-in Tibet is a national revolt. Even though the Indian Government, bound by its treaty obligations, has rightly decided not to interfere, the people of India who feel intimately and emotionally near to their Himalayan neighbours, cannot remain indifferent to their fate. It was, therefore, no wonder that the people of India heaved a sigh of relief when they were informed of the safe arrival of the Dalai Lama.

Even as we are friendly to the Tibetans we have always been friendly to the Chinese. With them too, though in a lesser degree, we had ancient cultural and religious ties. We sympathised and fraternised with them in their struggle against Western imperialism. We supported their national struggle against Japanese aggression. Though ourselves under foreign yoke, as a token of our solidarity with them, we sent a medical mission there. This friendship has continued even when the ancient cultural and religious ties suddenly snapped. It continued unimpaired in spite of the Chinese excursion in Tibet, which appeared to us a kind of aggression, under the guise of theoretical rights of a moth-eaten suzerainty. We know that this suzerainty was not always on one side. In spite of our misgivings, we have been advocating the case of Communist China for its international recognition and its admission to the U.N.O. membership year after year.

Our Government and our people put full faith in the assurances given by the Chinese Government that all that they wanted was the recognition of their ancient right of suzerainty, without interference in the internal affairs of Tibet. We acquiesced because we knew that this right never meant in history any interference by the suzerain power in the internal affairs and the administration of a nation or interference with its way of life. This fact was recognised by China in its treaty with Tibet and with us. China guaranteed the internal autonomy of Tibet. Also it guaranteed that there would be no interference with the way of life of Tibetans. Further it recognised the traditional temporal and spiritual authority of the Dalai Lama in Tibet. It was also said that any reform considered necessary will be effected with the consent and approval of the people. These promises were reiterated by the Prime Minister of China in his talks with our Prime Minister when the two met here a couple of years back.

It is clear from what has been happening in Tibet for several years and has come to a tragic head at present that the sacred promise given to the Tibetans and to us of internal autonomy and non-interference have not been honoured by the Chinese Government. The flight to India of the Dalai Lama with his family and entourage prove the utter falseness of propaganda put out from Peking. The assertion that the Dalai Lama was the unwilling captive of the Tibetan rebel forces has also been falsified. The doubt about the authenticity of the correspondence recently published by the Chinese military commander at Lhasa has become a greater doubt.

Our Duty and Red "Patriots"

Under these circumstances what is our duty in India? Does our friendly relations with Communist China preclude us from telling our friends the truth as we see and feel it? That surely will not be an act of friendship. We must therefore freely state our points of view with-

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out any inhibition. Our position in this matter should be and indeed is that, though we have no intention to intervene in anyway in this quarrel and whatever the outcome of the struggle going on at present, we consider it as a national rising for the assertion of the autonomy of Tibet. It is a struggle like that of ours and of the Chinese to live a free life in their own land, guided by their genius and national requirements as they conceive them. This is our idea of peaceful coexistence between different nations of the world with differing ideologies.

Principles of Panch Sheela

When I say this I am sure I am voicing the opinion of the entire population of India, with the exception perhaps of the small Communist minority. They in their utterances have already made their position clear. Their leader in Parliament compared the Tibetan resistance to that of Master Tara Singh with whose temporary imprisonment whatever parliament there is in Communist China did not bother. Further they have made their position clear by the resolution they passed a few days back and which was the subject matter of an adjournment motion in the Lok Sabha. In whatever words camouflaged, this resolution was the reiteration of the Chinese and Russian charge that the centre of Tibetan revolt was in Indian territory. The resolution also showed its apprehension that India may violate the principles of Panch Sheela! Evidently, our Communist patriots are more solicitous about the sanctity of Panch Sheela than its author, the Prime Minister himself. The Hindu saying is that the complainant is indifferent but his witness is aggressive—Mudal sust, Gavah chust. Therefore, I repeat what I said in Parliament the other day that I don't bother about what the Chinese authorities say about our attitude or our activities in this matter. I am more concerned with what some of our people say. Today they merely pass verbal resolutions confirming the assertions and doubt of those who want to malign us for our own ends. Tomorrow these same people may act in accordance with their resolutions. We must not forget our history. India was never defeated by an external enemy. It was always self-defeated by the action of a section of our people. If we are not careful the same thing may happen again. If our Government is indifferent to this internal threat let our people at least take note and beware.

Moral, Not Material

If we fail to recognise the true nature of the Tibetan revolt we shall stand condemned before the impartial opinion of the world. I do not care what the West says about us. But in Asia, Europe and Africa there are uncommitted nations. They count on our moral support. Let them not misunderstand our attitude in the present crisis in Asia. When the independent existence of a small, peaceful and unoffending nation is threatened by a big and power-intoxicated nation, without raising our voice in protest, people cannot give credit to our pious assertions of impartiality, justice and fair play. Let us not forget that our position in the international world is moral and not material. It is based upon the fact that between the capitalist and the Communist blocs we are neutral and impartial and stand for international peace and justice and fair play as between the big and powerful nations and the small and weak ones.

We have before and after independence advocated the cause of oppressed and suppressed nations. We refused to associate ourselves with America crossing the 48th parallel in the Korean War. We wanted the trouble in Indo-China to stop on the basis of status quo. We condemned the excursion of England, France and Israel in Egypt. We opposed the landing of American marines in Lebanon and the landing of British troops in Jordan. We have been free in condemning the aggression of the Western democracies. I am afraid it is commonly believed that while we are ever ready to condemn the aggression of the old trans-oceanic imperial aggression we are rather shy of condemning the new aggression practised by the countries in the Communist bloc who nibble at their neighbours and swallow them completely.

Silken Thread of Friendship

Our recognition that the rising in Hungary was a national rising was so tardy and delayed that it lost much of its virtue. If we fail to recognise the national character of the Tibetan revolt and do not unhesitatingly declare it so because of our friendship with China, we will not only be failing in our duty but also appear to the impartial world as partisans. We will thus lose the moral position in the international world. Our friendship with China must stand the strain of our speaking out our minds freely. If we cannot do that sooner or later—sooner rather than later—this silken thread of friendship will snap. If it does, it will be real disaster for both Asia and the world.

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Polluted Politics in Andhra

by M. Ramchandra Rao

ANDHRA, formed as a problem State in 1953, is today once again in troubled waters.

The unexpected victory of the Congress by its unprincipled alliance with the former K.L.F. and the now defunct Praja Party and the eclipse of the Communists in the mid-term elections held in Andhra in 1955 made the Congressmen over-jubilant. The Reds also suffered heavily in the Parliamentary and Assembly elections held after the formation of Andhra Pradesh, and the secure majority corrupted the Congressmen absolutely. They began the race for power among themselves.

As a party the Congress here is noted for internal groups, cliques and casteism as elsewhere now. The Ministry has miserably failed to arrest the soaring prices of food commodities though Andhra Pradesh is surplus State in food. The State Government has no industrial policy for solving the unemployment and under-employment problems. With all the rich potentialities for industrialisation, the Ministry has not succeeded in its efforts in establishing new industries either in the private or in the public sector.

Struggle For Power

The rift in the Congress started as soon as the present Chief Minister, Shri Sanjeeva Reddy, was installed in power. The High Command, instead of studying the causes and trying to cure them effectively, began to rubber-stamp all the actions of the Chief Minister and his group. To facilitate the continuation of his rule, his potential rival, Shri B. Gopala Reddi, was kicked to the Centre under the disguise of a mission, has been attacking openly the Congress Party and the State Government for pushing through the Land Reforms.

The stalemate is likely to continue as the Congress High Command has reached a stage of utter helplessness in the matter and many of the rebels are not prepared to quit the Congress despite the disciplinary action taken against Shri G. Lachanna and Dr. Chenna Reddy (ex-Ministers). Thus the Congress in this State is a house divided against itself and its morale in the eyes of the public has reached the lowest ebb.

Reds also Affected

The curses of casteism, groupism etc. are not confined to the Congress alone but have also spread into the Communist Party ranks. Shri P. Sundarayya, the founder-member of the party in Andhra, (called a good Communist), no longer commands any influence in the party but remains as nominal leader in the Assembly. The die-hards, like Shri M. Basavapunnayya and Shri C. Rejeswara Rao, are at the helm of the affairs of the party.

The Communists gathered much strength in the Kamma-dominated Circar Districts, to fight the Kapu-dominated Congress in Andhra. (Kapus and Kammas are two powerful communities in Andhra Pradesh). If the Rayalaesea Communists are silent admirers of Shri Sanjeeva Reddy's Congress administration, the capitalists and landlords of Circar Districts are open supporters of local "Communists", who are their equal in wealth.

The Reds who fared badly in the successive elections had lost all their hopes of a future. But after the Communists' coming into power in Kerala and the prediction of Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the Kerala Chief Minister, that they would win the 1962 elections not only in Kerala but also in Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, their hopes of capturing power have revived. Though the party has no programme or policy, it is looking up proudly on account of the Russian "S p u t n i k s" and the "achievements" of the "E. M. S." Ministry in Kerala.

Socialist Forces

Politically enlightened people of this State have begun to realise that ideologically the differences between the Congress and the Communists are thinking down. But, in between these two parties, the Socialist forces are unfortunately divided. The PSP, which commands abundant goodwill of the middle class and intelligentsia, is suffering from a weak organisation. The party had fine cadres to its credit and had strongholds in many districts. But it suffered much when Shri P. V. G. Raju and others formed the Socialist Party in the State.

Shri Raju is popular in Andhra Pradesh in general and in his own districts of Vizag and Srikakulam in particular for his progressive views and his many sacrifices. Still, organisationally his new party too did not make much headway. Fortunately, today, this youthful leader is taking a leading part in getting the socialist forces united. If he succeeds in his effort, it will be a red-letter day in the history of the socialist movement in Andhra Pradesh.

The Congress in Andhra Pradesh today is undergoing a steady process of disintegration. Many Con-
gannen themselves feel that the Congress here might meet a natural death any time.

The Communist Party, which maintained an artificial unity at Amritsar, is facing here the ideological crisis acutely and soon it will develop into an organisational crisis. Thanks to the thesis of Mr. Yudin about political and economic situation in this country in particular and in the Cominform in general, The C. P. I. has lost its appeal.

The silence of the leadership over the three police firings on innocent Kerala workers and the unholy Birla pact entered into by this "working class" Ministry demonstrated the political opportunism of the Reds.

In this contact, there is a splendid opportunity for the genuine socialist forces in Andhra Pradesh to come to the fore. If they succeed in uniting and rising to the occasion it will prevent the problem State from heading towards catastrophe after the 1962 elections if not even earlier.

ON THE PSP FRONT

Chinese Action Condemned

U NITS of the Praja Socialist Party held public meetings to protest against Communist China's action in Tibet.

At a public meeting held under the presidency of Acharya Kripalani in Delhi by the Nagrik Sangh, the following resolution was passed:

"This meeting of the citizens of Delhi extends its heartfelt sympathy to the people of Tibet who are fighting for the preservation of their political autonomy and cultural and spiritual personality. While this meeting is happy that His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, is safe and is now on Indian soil, it notes with deep concern that the coming away of the temporal and spiritual head of Tibet shows the desperate situation that has arisen in that country. Because of the immemorial ties that have existed between India and Tibet, people of India cannot but share the anxiety and anguish of the people of Tibet.

"This meeting hopes that the Government of the People's Republic of China will recognise even at this late hour the strength and justice of the demands of the people of Tibet and will not permit this simple yet vital issue of Tibetan autonomy to be confused in any manner. In the course of the assertion of their inalienable right the people of Tibet can count on India's sympathy and goodwill. This meeting is confident that those Tibetans who are being forced to leave the country of their birth and who need an asylum will find it in this country."

ASSAM

The Bold Stand

The Assam Praja Socialist Party has urged Prime Minister Nehru to take a "bold stand" on Tibet and protest against the "aggression" by China "which has definitely gone against the principle of Panch Sheel".

Such a stand would be in line with India's policy of fighting against imperialism and for world peace and freedom, a statement issued by the Secretary of the Provincial Unit of the PSP said.

The statement said that Assam knew how a "big portion of Indian territory in the Tuensang area and the Sivasagar district of Assam had been shown as Chinese territory in a map published by China. "Therefore, the people of Assam particularly should be very much vigilant and the Government of India should take adequate measures to protest the frontiers of the country", the statement said.

Referring to the Chinese allegation of Kalimpong being the "commanding centre" of the Tibetan rebellion the statement said that this was "the price" India had got for advocating the cause of China in the international sphere.

In this connection the statement referred to the resolution of the Communist Party of India and said, "the Communist Party of India once again demonstrated their extra-territorial loyalty by supporting this allegation even after the repudiation by Prime Minister Nehru of that allegation."

W E ST BENGAL

Struggle Against Foreign Rule

A meeting, organised by the West Bengal Praja Socialist Party at Raja Subodh Mullick Square, Calcutta, adopted a resolution expressing its solidarity and deep sympathy with the Tibetan people in their struggle for political autonomy and cultural freedom.

The meeting, which was presided over by Shri Naren Das, M.L.C., expressed concern over the widespread clashes taking place in Tibet between the Tibetan people and the Chinese armed forces.

Addressing the gathering, Shri Naren Das said that the people of Tibet had in the past, fought bravely to preserve their autonomy and their own culture and way of life against powerful enemies from outside and had provided inspiration to the people of India as much as the struggle of the brave Chinese people against foreign rule. Today,

(Continued on page 10)
YOUTH ON TRIAL

DEMOCRACY epitomises the need of the age; it is more or less universally accepted as a way of life and a plan of social organisation. India, too, has adopted democratic means to plan the reorganisation of her social, economic and cultural life. A socialist pattern of society has been set as the objective.

With the dawn of Independence, Indias, especially the youth, cherished the hope that the poor standard of living will improve immediately. Independence for them heralded a new progressive era under the banner of the Congress.

Eleven years elapsed, but these aspirations have not materialised and no suspicious signs are visible to indicate that they will materialise soon. Though the Government of the day speaks so loudly and tries its best to eradicate poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, industrial backwardness and economic discontent, etc., it has failed and the failure has created a sense of frustration in the masses.

Sensitive Minds

There has been no improvement in our democratic spirit, our economy is still backward, and corruption and nepotism, and extravagance permeate the Governmental organisation. Bureaucrats are the moving spirit behind the popular representatives even as of old.

The young sensitive mind of the land, expecting increasing employment, sufficient food, economic equality and prosperity—a happy life full of social and economic opportunities—finds no way out to achieve them. Thus, the youth, on whom the burden of re-making India lies, is at the cross-roads.

India's elder statesman, Shri Rajagopalachari voices the same feelings when he says: "A great psychological change has taken place in the public mind. Public feelings have taken a definitely new turn and even the minds of common folk have taken on this new phase which should lead to serious thinking on the part of those who are responsible for national affairs. The change is this, the people have revalued patriotism."

"They see that they cannot sacrifice the desire for a good Government at the altar of the history of Independence. The people now value good Government as they value food, cloth and fuel. . . . It is now replaced by a fairly universal realization that self-government is not a substitute for good Government."

If a real progressive path is not carved out to solve the problems facing the nation, there is every danger that we may also travel the same path which certain Asiatic countries are, at present, traversing. This will put an end to democracy and free life.

To my mind, the young men are the proper instruments to end the present evils and improve our lot. That will be a historic mission for them. For this our youth must be permeated with a new vigour, spirit, outlook and courage. They must cultivate the ideal of selfless service.

This cannot be done, of course, by raising high-sounding slogans. It needs the regeneration of our young men and women and equipment of youth with effective organisational apparatus.

Political Parties

There is no dearth of political parties in India. Every political party talks of its own brand of democracy and socialism. None of them has been able to provide a sound basis to establish democratic socialist traditions amongst our youths and to utilize our young men as a powerful force to achieve the ends it stands for. Our young men have been neglected and no efforts made to train and prepare them for shoultering the onerous national responsibilities.

The youths in India are found in two forms of organizations. Firstly, the youth organizations are affiliated to some political party; secondly, the youth organizations which are more or less non-political in character but stand for cultural activities. The first are governed by their parent political parties and accept their programme and policy substantially. They have no independent existence of their own. Thus they are not able to cultivate that ideal of service, sacrifice and courage which are badly needed to launch a healthy and progressive movement for the rebuilding the country.

The latter, being mainly concerned with cultural, physical or socio-religious activities, have no relation to the aims of national revival and regeneration. Thus, neither are these youth organizations conducive to the cause of the country's re-orientation.

The need, therefore, of an independent youth organization, taking no orders from any political party, but aiming at infusing a new vigour and life among young folks, educating them with the ideas of a new order of society based on justice, equality and freedom, becomes patent.

Such an organization must create consciousness among the people and acquaint them with present problems, work for the betterment of village life, root out caste, sectional and communal feelings, make efforts for the abolition of social evils like early marriages and dowry system, organize cultural activities with a view to promoting national unity and develop democratic traditions.

Organisation Pattern

No movement has ever been a success which lacked efficient personnel and proper organization. If we must have a healthy youth movement, we must have a proper organization with organs scattered all over India with well-defined duties and responsibilities. The membership should be restricted to such young men as are honestly interested and have faith in the objectives of organization. Attention must be paid to the integrity of character, capacity for work, a cheerful temperament, pleasant manner and cooperative attitude of the members to be chosen.

It is better that the organisation should be less bulky, but with a capable cadre of members. The organisation must be free from interference of top-ranking political leaders, because it kills the initiative of the youths, makes them dependent, introduces partisanship and sectional feelings.

At present there is no youth (Continued on page 10)
AFRICA—III

Central African Federation

by Nripendranath Ghosh

ROITS in the Central African Federation,” reports state. Troops are flown in. Young sons of the local white settlers put on their Territorial uniform, load their weapons and fan out in all directions to bring the situation under control, i.e., their control.

Strikers have seized the underground plant of the fabulous Kariba dam on the Zambesi river. In certain places roads have been barricaded by felling trees. The airfields at Fort Hill in the northern tip of Nyasaland have been taken over by the Africans. In Balaka, the railway station has been attacked. The Federal Commissar, Sir Roy Welensky, has declared emergency, banned the Nyasaland African Congress and put the African nationalist leaders in prison. The leader, Dr. Hastings Banda, the Central African version of Nehru and a successful medical practitioner, still appears to be at large.

But not for long. The strikers in Kariba will be brought back. Those who barricaded the roads and stoned Balaka railway station will pay for their sin. The airfield at Fort Hill will be cleared of its present African occupiers. We better not discuss the fate which is about to befall them after they are captured by the Territorials. These stay-in-strikers will be extremely fortunate if they reach the prison. For the Territorials are sons of the settlers and in some cases young settlers themselves. The white settlers know what they are after.

The Greatest Reality

Peace will be restored. But that does not mean the defeat of the Africans. For these riots are as much so as the events of 1931 and 1942 in India. Dr. Hastings Banda is no more subversive than Jawaharlal Nehru was. The Africans have faith in him.

To look for the causes of riots in the wage-conditions or eviction of the Batonga tribe (50,000) from the Kariba dam area would be ignoring the greatest African reality—the reality of the great African awakening.

The Kariba dam which has a combined capacity of Bhakra Nangal, Hoover and the Grand Coulee will in the long run prove to be a blessing to those black hands which have built it. Kariba in the local African language means ‘rat-trap’. The so-called Central African Federation composed of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland for all intents and purposes should be called Kariba Federation. This Federation Plan is the biggest-political and racial swindle that has ever been worked out in Africa since the South African Union was hatched out. I would like to repeat here what I have already said in previous instalments: South Africa did not want sovereignty from the British crown and Parliament. It was rammed down her throat in order to keep the mastery over the untold wealth and nine million Africans in the hands of two million white settlers and safely out of the jurisdiction of the British Parliament. British or any other capital can move into South African market any time at all but not the long hand of the British Parliament.

Sir Roy Welensky and the white settlers of the Rat-trap Federation is working towards that phase. The date of the introduction of a full-fledged Federation has been set as 1960,—only 12 months to go. Once the Rat-trap becomes a dominion it automatically becomes a sovereign state and no power in heaven or earth will have any right to interfere in their ‘domestic’ affairs, let alone the British Parliament. In 1960, a few more African states are going to be born: Cameroon (January 1), Togoland (April 29), Nigeria (October 1) and Somaliland (December 2). In 1960, either the doors of trap will close or it will be blown to smithereens along with the trappers.

Use of the British Troops

The expulsion of Mr. John Stonehouse, the British M.P. does not signify that all is lost in Nyasaland and for that matter in the so-called Central African Federation. Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, has rejected the offer of regular British troops. That was his polite way of saying that when in the near future he and his settlers defy the British Parliament openly the presence of British troops may prevent the settlers from carving out an empire of their own. In any case, he has been promised all-out aid from the South Africans.

Should the British Labour win the next election and side with the African National Congress, the settlers would not hesitate to invoke such aid from across the river. As far as the temper of the settlers go, there is nothing that separates the Federation and the Union of South Africa except a little river called Limpopo. By establishing another Apartheid State in Africa the settlers can heighten their morale and block the political progress of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, which lies between the Federation and the Union. Eventually, they can carve it up and share it. South Africa has already warned the British Government to lay its hands off the Bechuanaaland Protectorate.

In Uganda, (which was not conquered but, which voluntarily joined the British Empire) the British sovereignty is in the process of being wound up. In Tanganyika (which is not a colony but an U.N. Trust territory) British Government helped the constitutional progress by co-operating with the Tanganyika African National Union and its leader Julius Uyerere (pronounced Ni-a-ray-ray). In Kenya, the settlers stiffened progress. In the Central African Federation they would not even hear of it. The answer probably lies in the proportion of English settlers in these parts:

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(Continued on page 10)
Worker Misses Thrill of Creation

A promising development, quiver with a lust for life and beauty, was Guild Socialism. It was the opening of a new seam to recover an antique ore.

Guild Socialism arose as a protest against the prevailing capitalism as also the hoped for nationalisation: In both, the disease as well as the cure, man, remains lost.

In the pursuit of plenty, in the lust for profit, man had been subordinated to thing. Tool had devoured the workman. Longingly, free spirits looked back to the times when, in the moving words of a great woman socialist, “Every man and woman was an artist in his or her own way... A wealth of care and imagination went into the making of the most mundane and insignificant of articles... Art was an essential part of life, more a necessity like bread and love and home.” Not only had the feeling for beauty gone out of work, but the industrial worker shorn of responsibility and initiative felt robbed of the throb and thrill of creation.

Against the death of beauty in utility, of the instinct for workmanliness in profit-seeking, Ruskin, Ludlow, Morris and a host of other near-socialists had protested. They were appalled at the general preoccupation with the rights and needs of the citizen, the consumer, to the universal neglect of man, the producer. Nationalisation was no solution: As Alfred Marshall had said, “The postman is not made free by escaping from the control of an employer, who may be sympathetic; and coming under that of officials, who must obey orders, and have no power to indulge their sympathies.”

‘Functional’ Idea

Guildsmen demanded a reorganisation of the industrial society on a functional basis. Man as a consumer-citizen shares uniformity but as a producer-worker he remains unique. His function assigns him a distinctive place in the society. Only a functional approach could end the industrial society’s divorce between ownership and use: “The greater part of modern property has been attenuated to a pecuniary lien or bond on the product of industry, which is normally valued precisely because it relieves the owner from any obligation to perform a positive or constructive function.”

Such property Prof. Tawney characterises as acquisitive, it breeds exploitation and lust for power. The property, he said, that a man has as a result of his labour “turns sand into gold”; property in the labour of someone else “turns gold into sand.” An acquisitive society is never a free society.

Men have no natural rights, only objective rights based upon the fulfilment of functions. This “functional” idea was pronounced by a Spanish writer, Ramiro de Maeztu, and was developed by a fellow Spaniard, Semprun Y. Gurrea into “a theory of functional proprietorship.” Not only the product of one’s labour, but the process of one’s labour is wealth. Such a form of possession—of skill, of aptitude—rouses in man primordial feelings; the desire to see work well done, dignity of work. A reorganisation of society, a resuscitation of what Tawney has called “the functional vote”, was behind the emergence, or rather the revival, of the Guild idea.

Guild socialism owes much to the inspiration of the medieval Guilds: “If the medieval system has lessons for us, they are not parrot lessons of slavish imitation,” wrote G. D. H. Cole, “but lessons of spirit, by which we may learn to build up, on the basis of large-scale production and the world market, a system of industrial organisation that appeals to the finest human motives and capable of developing the tradition of free communal service.

“I fully believe that, when we have established these conditions, there will come from the producer and consumer alike a widespread demand for goods of finer quality than the shoddy which we turn out in such quantity today, and that this will bring about a new standard of craftsmanship and a return, over a considerable sphere, to small-scale production. But this, if it comes, will come only as the deliberate choice of free men in a free society.”

Social Reorganisation

Such freedom in a free society, presupposes reorganisation on the Guild principle: and a Guild was defined as “a self-governing association of mutually dependent people organised for a responsible discharge of a particular function of society.” (A. R. Orage). Each Guild was to include all those employed in a given industry, trade, or profession, managers as well as workers, and each was to have a monopoly of the particular activity it included.

The Guilds Restoration Movement of 1906 imparted the impulse that grew into the National Guilds League of 1915. In this elaboration, the basic premise that a Guild has to grow round a craft and a community of craftsmen was almost forgotten. What La Tour du Pin has called “property in one’s craft” demands a fairly small-scale production which the worker can comprehend as a whole, personal relationship between men working together, and a balanced tempo. The claims of efficiency and output have to be subordinated to the needs of human dignity and freedom. A Guild, enlivened with its true ethos, has to grow up, it cannot be imposed. It grows round the worker’s title to his work, its -enrichment through co-operative effort, and communion in good living.

The neglect of these facts, made many Guildsmen confuse the form with the spirit. In Soviet Russia, industries were organised as national functional organisations controlling production and prices. These giants, however, were no Guilds, because the worker-producer lacked the freedom to alter his work, to plan the growth of the Guild, and to develop the industry. The Russian trusts, like the Italian Corporations, were State-imposed. No, Guild without freedom, no freedom with

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(Continued from page 7)

organization worth its name, except, possibly, the Samajwadi Yuwak Sabha which is only passing through the preliminary stages of evolution to become a full-fledged youth organization. In any scheme of youth organization students can never be ignored. It has to enlist their support because, they are among the finest of our youths. But the students have to be organized under the movement outside the college and 'varsity campus. It is necessary to safeguard the organization so that the electiooneering evils do not corrupt it.

Programme Sketch

Youth to be effective must have discipline and character. For these the following suggestions can be made:

(A) To provide opportunities for young people to develop clarity of thought and to study and acquire knowledge: Suitable, low-priced literature and pamphlets on various matters should be prepared and distributed. Study circles must be arranged for better understandings of various ideologies, and social political and economic problems. Debates must form a part of programme. Seminars should be arranged on subjects of general interest.

Efforts could also be made to open research centres, libraries and reading rooms.

(B) To launch a campaign against casteism, communalism and social orthodoxies: By means of persuasion a suitable atmosphere should be created so that the entry of Harijans to temples, public buildings, etc., may be facilitated. Cultural functions can be utilized for free mixing and fostering sense of brotherhood. Dramas, folk-dances etc. could be arranged with a view to rooting out caste feelings. The programme of social reform will have to consider the evils of child marriage, widow problem and dowry system etc.

Rural Extensions

(C) A youth organization restricted to urban population only will not fulfill the ultimate aims of building a powerful youth movement in this country, if it ignores our rural youths. Study tours should be arranged to rural areas with a view to promoting better understanding of rural problems. Initiative should be taken to eliminate the rural and urban separatist feelings by organising sports and folk entertainments with the cooperation of rural population. Steps should be taken to combat illiteracy prevalent in the rural areas by organising education centres, night schools, etc. Manual labour and welfare activities of various kinds should be undertaken in rural areas.

(D) With a non-political approach, keen interest should be taken in organising multi-purpose co-operative societies and small-scale cottage industries. Contacts should be established for vocational guidance.

(E) To celebrate youth festivals has become a fashion of the day. The cheap dances and other entertainments which is provided there neither give any mental food nor pave the way for democratic social traditions. We must provide an alternative to these. Youth festivals to promote the socialist cause should be organised during the Revolution Week of August every year. At our festivals we must take stock of our annual work, discuss suggestions for the healthier growth of the youth movement, and fix targets which are to be completed before the next festival.

The above is not an exhaustive analysis of the youth movement. It needs to be elaborated by mutual discussions and suggestions. Yet it contains certain basic approaches to the fundamental problems before the young men. Are the young men ready to face them? Are they eager enough to organise themselves into a mass youth movement to face the challenge of the times? On their answer lies their salvation and the salvation of the country.

CENTRAL AFRICA

(Continued from page 8)

Last week, London dailies screamed with hair-raising headlines like, "Massacre Plot". All the imaginable ballyhoos were there except the Russian and Egyptian complicity. This plot was supposed to have been hatched by the Nyasaland Congress to massacre all the English and the Asians. (You can't blame the settlers for trying to play off the Africans against the Asians.) In the Northern Districts of Nyasaland where the Africans were in virtual control of the whole area for seven days not one person died. Dr. Kumuzu Banda, the Congress leader, who is alleged to have master-minded the plot has been deported to Rhodesia along with 148 others. One broke loose. He is no less a person than W. K. Chiume, the publicity secretary of the Congress and a member of the Legislative Council. He flew into London. If he is not satisfied with his talks with the Colonial Office he will go straight to the United Nations. If the settlers could lay their hands on the slightest shred of evidence they would have already hanged and buried Dr. Banda. However, in the process of foiling the plot their security forces killed 33 Africans.

Shri B. P. Koirala, leader of the Bihari PSP, and Shri Baswan Sinha, Chairman of the Bihar State PSP, will respect the conference. Other PSP leaders who will attend, include Acharya Kripalani, Shri Ganga Saran Sinha and Shri N. G. Gore.

BIHAR

PSP Conference at Dehri

The Bihar State PSP annual conference will be held at Dehri from May 15 to 17.

A tentative decision regarding the date and venue of the conference was taken at a meeting of the Shahabad District PSP executive at Piro on March 29 last.

Shri Asoka Mehta, the PSP leader, and Shri Baswan Sinha, Chairman of the Bihar State PSP, will respectively inaugurate and preside over the conference. Other PSP leaders who will attend, include Acharya Kripalani, Shri Ganga Saran Sinha and Shri N. G. Gore.

Shri B. P. Koirala, leader of the Nepali Congress has also been invited to attend.
(Continued from page 9) out interplay and growing together. By ignoring these criteria many Guildsmen got swept into Communism.

The diversion of the Guild stream into the Communist flood became easier because of the Guildsmen's fatal fascination for syndicalism, and its philosophy of force. Guild, as an idea, fails to bring home the truth, that to grow, it needs general stability, not endless turbulence. Legal and financial minute of a Guild society were neglected, perhaps as a reaction to Fabian aridity and precision-mania. But the concept of growth, inherent in Guild idea, was equally ignored. Visions of power could lead the Guildsmen only on pilgrimages to Moscow.

A part of the Guild movement merged into the smaller eddy of Distributionism: that man has fallen among thieves and has lost his property is a fact. But how to make, in a complex industrial society, every man as owner-worker has never been satisfactorily worked out by the distributionists. Social Catholic thought conceived of a qualified worker's "ownership of his job." Distributionism and Decentralisation evoked a philosophy of a "cluster of sovereignties." La Tour due Pin (1834-1924) and Albert de Mün (1840-1914) sought "the reconstruction of the industrial family". Emile Durkhain (1858-1925), the exponent of Solidarisme, favoured decentralisation through professional organisations and considered territorial decentralisation as of secondary importance.

Leon Duguit introduced into the thought-stream the pluralist current: "Since man is by nature a social being, capable of functioning only within a group, his activity will evidently be greater and more fruitful in proportion as he belongs to a greater number of groups."

A Fecund Idea

Guild socialism has remained a fecund idea: workers' control and functional decentralisation have been impregnated in socialist thought. But it has remained more of an attractive objective than a concrete policy. Nationalisation has taken substantial strides in Britain, industrial corporations public and autonomous, have emerged, but the quest of workers' control remains as elusive as ever. That is perhaps due to the naivety of the Guildsmen: they never came to grips with two main questions of balancing the innovating with the stabilising forces in industry and of harmonising functions with the occupation as a whole, and setting them in the wider social framework.

Reviewing the history of the Second International, James Joll makes the following observation: "It could perhaps be argued that the influence of German Socialism on Social Democratic parties in the Second International was unfortunately retarding, for example, the development of a specifically French Socialism, excluding some of the ablest men in the Third Republic from office for many years, and encouraging a rigid Marxism in the trammels of which an important section of the French Socialist Party has been caught up to the present day. For those who like to see political issues in personal terms, Jaures and Babel can be regarded as the protagonists not only of rival forms of Socialism but of two different ways of looking at politics."

Issue of Co-operation

This divergence emerged at the very birth of the Second International. The Socialist Congress that met at Paris in 1889 had split up into camps, and rival conferences were held, "ostensibly over the question of the credentials of certain delegates, but really over the question that divides Socialists in all countries today: shall Socialists cooperate with other political parties or remain isolated? The Marxist dogmatists believed in isolation; the opportunists or Possibilists believed in co-operating with other parties."

The divergence scarcely affected England. This workshop of the world had pioneered the Industrial Revolution. Economic development and political freedom led to revisionism, the inarticulate major premise of thought of the Labour Party. J. A. Hobson had said that "the way to make Socialism safe is to make democracy real". England showed the way of making Socialism safe, because by the end of the Nineteenth Century democracy had become real. The controversy over "splendid isolation" of the Socialists, which in Germany von Vollmar had scathingly yet ineffectively described as a "policy of sterility and despair" could never become meaningful in England. At a conference of the I.L.P. in 1910 a resolution objecting to members of the party "appearing on platforms alongside Liberal and Tory capitalists and landlords" was defeated by a large majority. That was the natural temper of Englishmen.

In Germany, notwithstanding splendid organisation of workers and marked economic development — e.g. the trade union membership leaped from 269,000 in 1895 to 3,000,000 in 1909 — absence or responsible government made revisionism a fitful activity.

A Prime Passion

In France, the Third Republic offered plenty of opportunities for parliamentary activities. France's industrial advance was halting, by 1911 there were just a million trade union members, liberal legislation was behind that of Germany or England, but democratic system based on universal suffrage gave scope for reformers. The preservation of Democratic Republic easily became a prime passion of many a socialist.

In Germany the lines were clearly drawn from the start. Their dogmatic aloofness was the most tenacious. During the years of their bitter persecution by the Government they found their excuse in an isolation that was forced upon them. Von Vollmar told his colleagues, immediately after the repeal of the anti-Socialist law; that the South Germans were ready to co-operate with everyone who would be ready to give them an inch.

In reply to this Babel introduced a resolution affirming that "the primary necessity of attaining political power" could not be "the work of a moment", but was attained only by gradual growth. During the period of growth the Social Democrats should not work for mere "concessions from the ruling classes", but "have only the ultimate and complete aim of the party in mind". The Babelian theory linked the ultimate goal with ultimate power, both to be attained by waiting and working for the flood tide.

In 1909, the ruling Bulow Bloc broke up. The Conservative landlords refused to shoulder any tax burden and threw other elements in society together; various commercial and allied interests banded together into Hansabund against the agrarian
—conservative Bund der Landwirte and its selfish tax policy. There opened up for a brief while a prospect of Hansabund and the Social Democrats working together; the idea of a bloc "from Babel to Bassermann" emerged. But the absence of democratic government and the rigid class lines on which political life was articulated made any flowering of the idea impossible.

Among German socialists the revisionist crisis therefore primarily took a theoretical form. In France Guesde took the dogmatic position; Millerland and other Independent Socialists the opportunist position, while Jaures blazed a distinctive trail.

(To be continued)
India’s Merchant Navy

WITH the setting up of the National Shipping Board under the Indian Merchant Shipping Act of 1958, with Shri G. L. Mehta as the Chairman, the problems of Indian shipping should receive more urgent attention than they have done so far. Shri S. K. Patil, the Transport and Communications Minister, stated at the inauguration meeting that the Government of India had already taken certain steps to develop Indian shipping like the reservation of the coastal trade to the national shipping, setting up of a shipping corporation in the Public Sector, development of the shipping industry by granting loans on liberal terms to shipping companies, etc. But in spite of these steps, we are far removed yet from the goal of building up an adequate merchant navy for the country. Without such a navy at our disposal it would be difficult for us to defend our shores and to satisfy the needs of our developing economy. India has a long coast-line which can be defended only with a powerful Indian Navy. The Indian Navy under the Defence Ministry, though indispensible, cannot serve all the needs of our defence and it must be supported by a powerful merchant navy. Of still greater importance is the need for diversification and expansion of our foreign trade and here also the merchant navy can play a crucial role.

Shri G. L. Mehta, the Chairman of the National Shipping Board, has pleaded for a co-ordinated transport policy and long-term development of Indian shipping. Shipping, like the planning of several other industries, he pointed out, required a long-term planning as the training of personnel for the operation of ships and the construction of ships took a long time. His suggestion that a specified sum of money should be made available annually to the Shipping Development Fund from the general revenues is worth considering.

While the expansion of Indian shipping is thus very important, it needs to be emphasised that the immediate task is that of adequately utilising the ships already at the disposal of the Indian shipping companies. It is unfortunate that in spite of such a tremendous expansion of our foreign trade and the increasing participation of the Government of India in this trade, Indian ships are still allotted hardly ten per cent of this entire movement of merchandise. The result is that our ships do not carry loads to their capacity. This means an increase in the proportion of the dead-weight carried and the consequent rise in the cost of transport.

A part of the explanation of this unsatisfactory state of affairs lies in the fact that our export trade is largely controlled by foreign concerns, who have business connections with foreign shipping companies. Naturally they prefer foreign shipping to Indian shipping for the transport of their exports. This situation has to be altered. The Government of India has assured the nation time and again that the establishment of foreign concerns in India would not be allowed to act in a manner detrimental to Indian interests. Here is a test case for their professions. If they can succeed in securing for Indian shipping at least fifty per cent of India’s foreign trade and thus ensure that Indian ships carried full load, their capacity to safe-
guard Indian interests in spite of the presence of foreign concerns would be proved. Otherwise the gap between the professions and the performance would be wide enough for any man to see and to judge the Government's inability to implement the policy they so loudly proclaim.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Chinese action in Tibet and shooting down of the I.A.F. Canberra aircraft by the Pakistani Sabre Jets near Rawalpindi have brought the question of the defence of India rather dramatically before the country. The matter was referred to in anxious tones by members of the Lok Sabha during the debate on the grants for the Defence Ministry as well as on occasion when the Tibetan situation and the shooting down incident were referred to on the floor of the House. As the Defence Minister has very rightly pointed out, it is neither practicable nor desirable that we should enter into an arms race with our neighbours. In the modern world one has to rely more on negotiations and settlements for the solutions of the outstanding issues rather than on military force. And yet we cannot ignore the realities of our defence requirements altogether. A minimum defence power is absolutely essential for any country desirous of safeguarding its legitimate interests while wishing to remain on friendly terms with all.

The Chinese action in Tibet and the interpretation put on the recent U.S.-Pakistan Military Pact by the Pakistan Government require a reappraisal of our defence potential. Due to the virtual absorption of Tibet in the Chinese kingdom, the buffer region between India and China has disappeared and the problem of safeguarding the boundaries of Ladakh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and NEFA region has become very urgent. India has a special responsibility towards the Himalayan States in this matter. India's own frontier is also now facing the Chinese frontier on the Himalayas.

The first main problem is to define clearly the boundaries of the Himalayan States and of India and to put a stop to what was described by a Member of Parliament as a Cartographical warfare. If China has really no ill-feeling towards India and if the Communist Government in China is as anxious to maintain friendly relations with India, as the Indian Prime Minister is to do with China, this problem need not prove difficult. The task, however, should be taken in hand as early as possible so as to avoid any future complication.

As far as Pakistan is concerned while some of the outstanding issues like canal waters may be solved peacefully in a spirit of give-and-take, others like that of Kashmir are not likely to be solved in the near future and the two countries will have to agree to disagree on these points. If this results in a sort of cold war between the two neighbouring kingdoms, it will require a great amount of patience and forbearance on the part of both the Governments of India and Pakistan to avoid any possible deterioration. The type of incident that took place near Rawalpindi is not likely to help in maintaining friendly relations so obviously in the interests of both the countries.

While these considerations have to be always kept in mind, India has to prepare herself for any eventuality. Our sources are very limited and we require as much capital as we can lay hand on for the rapid economic development of our country. The people of India, therefore, heaved a sigh of relief when they learnt of a cut in our Defence Budget. The recent developments have damped this joy a bit. But as the Defence Minister pointed out in the Lok Sabha the cut in the Defence Budget was on the initiative of the Defence Ministry. He assured the anxious House that his Ministry was fully alive to the realities of the situation and the cut was not likely to affect in any way the defence potential of India. The cut was made possible, he said, because of the greater efficiency of our defence establishments and a larger spread-over of our defence programme. At the same time he did suggest that the Territorial Army should be expanded so as to release the Army for the essential defence duties. Herein perhaps lies an answer to our immediate problems. It is only by training our citizens to defend themselves in case unfortunately such a need arises that we can hope to keep our defence potential in tact without unduly straining our resources so urgently needed for the well being of our people.

The Communist Party Weekly "New Age" has sought to make out on its editorial page that those who sympathise with Tibet at a great hour of her trial are those who are out of tune with national sentiment while they (Communists) represent the real mood of the people. This is not for the first time in the history of the Communist Party of India that such an absurd claim has been made by that Party. When they burnt the Congress flag on the Kamar Maidan in Bombay in 1930 they had done so in the name of the down-trodden masses of India. When they betrayed the great national movement for independence, again they did so in the name of Indian lovers of democracy. When they saw that they were completely out of tune with the national sentiments on both these occasions they ate an humble pie, made scapegoats of some of their own leaders and tried to go back to the stream of national resentment. There is no doubt that this time also they will have to adopt some such subterfuge in order to ingratiate themselves with the Indian people.

They do not seem to have grasped the fact Soviet Russia so far has not shown any enthusiastic appreciation of what the Chinese Communists are doing in Tibet. The Russian Communists seem to have sufficient sense of nationalism left in them to realise that
the absorption of Tibet in China might spell a danger to Russians as much as it might do to India. If some directive comes from Russia to go slow in their wide-eyed support to the Chinese adventure, the Indian Communists will be faced with a difficult choice. It is possible that one more farce of self-criticism will be staged then and the line will be slowly reversed. Whatever they do, it is clear that it would be at the dictates of either the Russian Party or the Chinese one. Indian interests will hardly find place in the consideration of those who consider nationalism a bourgeois prejudice.

THE NEW ZEALAND SCENE

Role Of Pastoral Wealth In Nation’s Economy

If the first impact that India has on foreigners is in regard to her teeming population, the first impact that New Zealand makes is of lack of people. It is four times the size of Ceylon but has a fourth of Ceylon's population, and 40 per cent of the people are in the four principal cities.

Of the 2.24 billion people in New Zealand, an overwhelming proportion is of British origin. Six per cent. of the population is indigenous—Maori. Relations between the two races are extra-ordinarily harmonious, and the Maoris share in the famed prosperity of the country. The New Zealanders are proud of the Maoris; many places have sonorous Maori names, and their songs, dances and dress provide exotic touches in an otherwise European way of life. Asians make up 0.74% of the population (nearly 2,000 are from my district of Surat alone). The Indian settlers have just one worry; how and where to find husbands for their daughters, as Indians are not now entitled to admission and citizenship.

The present Labour Government has a slim majority of two members in the one-chamber Parliament; even that majority is provided by Maori members, who traditionally vote Labour. There is no unease in either party at the potentially balancing position the Maoris have achieved.

The Prime Minister

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nash, is a man of common sense and courage, a man whose realism is streaked with vision. His Government is pledged to recognition of the People's Republic of China and of course to the maintenance of ANZUS and other pacts of the region. In our discussions he showed great understanding of the problems of the underdeveloped world and lamented the continued annual expenditure on defence of $100 billion in the world of today. A portion of it, diverted to development, could result in a successful assault on poverty and want—neither of which exist in the egalitarian democracy of New Zealand.

As one travels across the country one sees neither mansions nor slums. Small independent dwellings, with minor variations in design, spread out in a riot of colour. The New Zealander likes his dwelling to be "a coat of many colours."

The prosperity of the country is based upon its pastoral products, though today, of the actively engaged labour force of 833,000, only 18% are engaged in primary production, 34% in secondary industries and the rest in other occupations. To set up a shop in a town an investment of £3,000 to £5,000 is needed (part of it as salami—called "key money" in New Zealand), and that can bring an annual income of up to £1,500. In the countryside a larger investment is needed, and the income tends to be lower—around £1,000 to £1,200. The economic unit for a dairy is 50 to 60 cows, but normally a farmer has 100 to 120.

On sheep farms the economic unit varies between 1,000 and 2,000 sheep. Depending upon the nature of the land, between two or three acres are needed per cow, while normally an acre can carry five to six sheep. (In South Africa there are sheep farms where 20 acres are needed for one sheep). The investment per cow in the dairy industry—inclusive of the cost of the animal land and equipment—is £200; in the case of sheep it is £30 to £40.

Chinese Pioneer

The dairy industry is almost wholly on a co-operative basis (except for plant owned by firms like Cadbury and Glaxo). In the Taranaki area, the home of the dairy industry, the pioneer in the last century was a Chinese, Chew Chong. Dairy products enjoyed prices guaranteed by the Government, but the recent precipitous fall in world prices of dairy products has knocked the bottom out of that system, and in future only the minimum floor price is likely to enjoy a guarantee.

The wool trade is equally well organized, though in private hands. Through its competent marketing machinery it has built up, from the recent boom, reserves of £60 million to provide a cushion against possible fluctuations in world prices.

New Zealand, which has the highest consumption of butter per head in the world, exports 80% of its output. The European Common Market area, which is now an exporter of butter, is a serious threat. If Britain is constrained to join it, New Zealand will face a crisis. 97% of exports are pastoral products. New Zealand is now engaged in a determined effort at industrialization: 75%-80% of imports are of capital goods and industrial raw materials. Even then overseas banking assets fell to a figure equivalent to less than two months' imports, necessitating severe import restrictions. The prices of imported consumer goods appear to be the highest in New Zealand now.

Some 22% to 23% of the gross national product is invested in the economy. The figure has been stepped up, in a decade from 16%. In the same period, transfer payments in terms of social security...
benefits, pensions and subsidies on food, which had increased from 4.3% in 1938-39 to 12.7% in 1946-47, fell to 9% in 1957-58. Taxes absorb 27% of the net income.

12,600 Plants

Some 12,600 plants provide diversified industrial occupations and production. The break-up of manufacturing activities is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food drink and tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles, clothing, leather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building materials and furnishings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering and metalworking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the establishments are small—including a fertilizer factory with 124 employees—and are widely distributed in rural areas.

Of the £590 million worth of national production, agricultural, pastoral and dairying activities account for £326 million, and factory production £164 million. Over two-fifths in value of the country’s output is exported, and exports provide a third of the national income.

There is a certain amount of discussion on the method of development. In a luxury hotel near Lake Taupo, I was greeted with the legend, “Another Triumph for Private Enterprise.” But then one evening, discussing this question with an Australian Minister and an ex-Minister from New Zealand—both protagonists of free enterprise—they ruefully admitted that when a shipping line was to be disposed of none would buy it, and the Government had to run it—at a profit!

As against this as Mr. Casey, Australian Foreign Minister, said: “I always tell Nash (Prime Minister of New Zealand) he is no more a Socialist than I am!”

New Zealanders have a genius for sociative life: in a town with a population of below 40,000, I could list 110 associations—from international bodies like the Rotary Club and YMCA to purely local groups such as a “Merry Wives’ Circle”!

Low Salaries

Critics have said that Australian women dress badly. Women in New

(Continued on page 12)
First Year Of Novotny Regime In Czechoslovakia

PRESIDENT Zapotocky died on November 13, 1957 and on November 19, 1957 Antonin Novotny became his successor. Premier Vilian Siroky who was expected by many people in the country and by many foreign observers to advance from the office of Prime Minister to that of the head of the State was compelled to announce to the session of the National Front Central Committee which preceded the formal act of election by the National Assembly that as the CPCS (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) “is the leading force in our State, in the life and work of our people, in the struggle for the building of the Socialist social order in our motherland, it is suitable to combine the function of the First Secretary of the CC (Central Committee) of the CPCS with that of the President of the Republic.”

During his first year of office Novotny has certainly done his best to strengthen the influence of the Party in every sphere of public and private life. In this effort he has been supported by the Soviet leadership, particularly by Mr. Nikita Khrushchev. It is interesting to note that his July trip to the USSR was publicized well before his departure and that he was then accompanied by an array of other Party and Government dignitaries. However, when he made his two brief visits to Slovakia in December 1957 and October 1958, nothing was said beforehand and on his second trip he was not even escorted by any member of the Politburo from Prague.

This indicated that the many private reports about his lack of popularity are probably true and that he is indeed considered as the “Red Heydrich” by large sections of the population.

Major Party Purge

The Party has remained the decisive power in the country. No substantial changes have taken place in its composition, although both the CPCS and the CPS had their congresses in June and May 1958, respectively. There was only one major purge in Slovakia, that of Stefan Sebesta, a Deputy Chairman of the Slovak Board of Commissioners and members of the Bureau of the CC of the CPS. (Communist Party of Slovakia). He was removed from his governmental functions in January 1958 and not re-elected to his high Party office in May 1958, the reason being Slovak bourgeois nationalism allegedly shown in connection with Novotny’s visit in Slovakia.

This static situation does, however, by no means bear evidence of the esteem and recognition enjoyed by the Party and its top echelon within the rank and file of the Party membership or the citizens at large. On the contrary, complete apathy and absolute lack of interest in Party affairs have still grown and this applies above all also to the young people. The number of nominal Party members decreased and the composition of the membership remains unsatisfactory. There are not nearly enough members of “proletarian origin” while too many white-collar workers join the ranks. Neither is the number of young Party members adequate and only about 5 per cent of the Czechoslovak Youth League membership are organized in the Party.

Police State

In brief, it can be said that the regime has maintained its position and power because it is backed by the might of the Soviet Union and there is no alternative to it in the eyes of the citizenry. The assumption that it would not last more than a few days if this support were to be withdrawn still applies, perhaps more so than at a time when Zapotocky was at the helm of the State.

The country is of course still a police state. Since all judges are now elected and according to the law responsible to the National Committees, which means the Party, things have grown worse instead of better. The courts are mere instruments of the regime which uses to enforce its policies in all spheres. They must apply the class viewpoint both in criminal and in civil cases and if they seem laggard in this respect, the Minister of Justice takes them to task and threatens them in Rude Pravo and elsewhere.

In the sphere of international policy Czechoslovakia has developed into the Soviet Union’s most active and reliable assistant.

In the field of culture and the arts a good deal of the post-Stalin and Twentieth Congress of the CPSU (Communist Party Soviet Union) liberalization has disappeared. Writers who seemed to be quite courageous in their demand for creative freedom in the summer of 1956 have either become silent or turncoats. This does not mean that the situation is back to the Stalinist period, or that the regime has been able to resort to the repressive methods which are adopted in that period. It is still on the defensive, fighting for a return to realism and to writings and art devoted to contemporary subjects. In this respect it has achieved certain successes but on the other hand the number of authors and other artists who stick to “modernist” and “abstract” trends and concepts is still considerable and some critics are on their side.

Indoctrination efforts were particularly strong in connection with the 20th anniversary of the Munich dictate and the 40th anniversary of the birth of the Republic. Munich was represented as a gigantic betrayal not only by the Western great powers but mainly also by the “bourgeois government” headed by President Benes.

Economic Sphere

In the economic field it is still too early to evaluate the results of the far reaching structural reorganization of the industrial apparatus which has just taken place. Opinions in the press are not boastful. It seems that most of the administrative employees who were expected to strengthen the ranks of the
manual workers have either managed to get other office job or are out of work and supported by relatives and friends. Hardest hit were those who because of their undesirable background were directly assigned to the mines and cooperatives.

Czechoslovakia has had no economic plan since 1956. Production was based on hazy directives issued by the organs of the Party and the production Ministries. These directives were frequently changed as a result of domestic developments and international events, such as the Polish and Hungarian uprisings of 1956. Finally, in October the Second Five-Year Plan Act was adopted. It is in fact a two year plan covering 1959 and 1960. The Eleventh Party Congress foreshadowed this regulation, which is linked with the Soviet Seven-Year Plan and the coordinated planning of the Eastern Bloc by general directive covering the 1959-65 period which the Congress adopted in June last.

Monthly and quarterly reports by the State Office of Statistics claim that the current plan of industrial production is being over-fulfilled and that planned work productivity is also being exceeded. Nevertheless, the regime considered it necessary to start another autumnal speed-up drive at November meeting of the CPCS CC. This was followed up by the now almost traditional letter to the Party organizations at large.

Collectivization

In agriculture collectivization is being further pressed and the regime claims that 75 per cent of the agricultural lands are now managed by the Socialist sector. The housing shortage and the general rush for a better life had led to a sharp increase in illegal abortions. Under the impact of this development an act legalizing artificial interruption of pregnancy in authorized cases was passed and took effect on January 1, 1958. Statistical data indicate that it is very much being made use of and that the practice of the administrative commissions deciding upon the respective applications has been found too liberal by some components of the regime.

Another interesting feature is the endeavour of many patients to pay their doctors some sort of fee, even if they are entitled to treatment free of charge. A decree has practically abolished private medical

and dental practices from January, 1959. In the sphere of distribution self-service shops are constantly being set up but there are many cases of stealing. The permanent lack of funds experienced by the overwhelming majority of the population has now resulted in the granting of loans by the State savings banks for the purchase of durable consumer goods.

Foreign trade is still concentrating on the Soviet or, rather Socialist, bloc and the under-developed countries. In its relationship with the free world, Czechoslovakia achieved a major success at the Brussels Exhibition. This is a gratifying fact because it shows that despite the ruthless nationalization measures, confiscations, purges of old experts and skilled workers, destruction and curtailment of consumer goods industries and frantic re-orientation towards heavy industry, the regime has not completely destroyed the traditional skills and diligence of the people.

The re-instatement of many eliminated experts in the post-Stalin period and the considerable relief from Party duties, scholing and other public activities in general have no doubt contributed to better results in industrial production. In general it may be said that the picture of Czechoslovakia which was presented at the exhibition had very little to do with Communist achievements and the every-day life in the country. This has been admitted by regime spokesmen.

Television on Propaganda

Television is booming and with about 300,000 sets Czechoslovakia is, per capita, one of the leading countries on the European continent. Programming is very much shaped according to Western models and competition between film and television has developed on similar lines as in the West.

So much with regard to the period under consideration, which is the first year of Novotny's tenure in the Hradcany Castle. As for the outlook, no spectacular changes are in the offings. The regime will try further to clamp down on any form of revisionist. Almost very little is heard now about the fight against dogmatism or any other form of Stalinism.

Taking, however, into consideration the general situation in the Communist camp and in the world, one can still hope that there will be no return to the inhumanities of the Stalin period.
The Peasant And Socialism

The peasant is a neglected subject in socialism. Marx's well-known observation—"Property acquired by one's own labour, by one's own effort, by one's own petty bourgeois, of the small peasant merit,"—"Are you speaking of the property which was before the bourgeois property? We do not need to do away with it. The evolution of industry has done and is daily doing away with it," generally characterised the socialist attitude. The inexorable laws of development were expected to solve the peasant problem.

For fostering revolution, the peasant could, of course, be supported. As early as 1849 Marx had said, "The great agricultural countries between the Baltic and the Black Seas can save themselves from patriarchal feudal barbarism only by way of agrarian revolution which would convert the serf or bonded peasants into free proprietors—a revolution precisely similar to that which occurred in 1789 in the French countryside." But what happens after the revolution? How is the peasant to be integrated into socialist development? We have already seen the wide divergence between Froudon's views and Marx's. Can these differences be brought to a common focus of understanding?

Engels's Answers

Engels gave two answers. As far as small peasants were concerned, he said, "we can win over quickly to our side the mass of small peasants only if we make them promises which we notoriously cannot keep...In the first place...we foresee the inevitable ruin of the small peasant, but are in no case called on to hasten it by our intervention. Secondly, it is equally obvious that when we win State power, we shall not think of forcibly expropriating the small peasant (whether with or without compensation does not matter), as we shall be compelled to do with large landowners. Our task in relation to the small peasants will consist first of all in transforming their private production and private ownership into collective production and ownership—not, however, by forcible means but by the method of example and by offering social aid for this purpose."

In 1875, Engels, in his article, "Social Relations in Russia" wrote "None the less it is incontestable that the possibility exists of transforming this communal form into a higher form if only it is preserved until such time as the conditions are ripe for this transformation, and if it is capable of development in such a way that the peasants begin to work the land not separately but in common; then the Russian peasant will pass over to this higher form, avoiding the intermediate stage of bourgeois small-scale ownership. But this can happen only in the event of the victorious proletarian revolution breaking out in Western Europe before the final collapse of this common property—a revolution which will assure to the Russian peasant the essential condition for such a transfer, and in particular the material means needful to carry out the revolution in his whole system of agriculture which is necessarily bound up with it."

Means, Aid

The aim is collective property in agriculture, the means include "social aid" and "material means" to facilitate collectivisation and modernisation. Revolution in the industrialised countries of the West was expected to release streams of aid to the under-developed agricultural countries. International aid thus becomes a crucial lever of transformation, and it is against such aid that contemporary Marxists have usually rallied. Internally, too, social aid has to flow from industry to agriculture.

The Soviet economist, Preobrazhensky has, however, stated candidly, "The more economically backward and petty bourgeois a country which enters upon the socialist organisation and smaller the amount of accumulated wealth which the proletariat receives from the revolution, the more is such a socialist state obliged to depend upon the exploitation of ore-socialist economic sources."

The Communists have resolved this dilemma by resorting to dictatorship. It is the social democrats who have failed to offer a satisfactory answer.

The socialists remained uncomfortable in the presence of small property. Large property they understood because they could dispense and nationalise it. But small property? "We have no use in the Party," Engels had said, "for the peasant who expects from us the perpetuation of his dwarf property." Kautsky had gone further and said, "Our policy must favour the peasant as little as the Junker."

"A Tool"

The French reformists sought to explain the small-holding as nothing more than a tool, comparable to "the chisel of the engraver, the brush of the painter," only to be faced with the outcry against this attempt "to smuggle it in contraband, hidden among professional tools, into the domain of collectivism." Jaures's effort to show that between large property and small property there was a difference not merely of degrees but of kind—"the one was a form of capital, the other a form of labour—was not successful. 1

The attitudes of Communist spokesmen after Marx—Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and Tito—to the peasant I have sketched in my book "Socialism and Peasantry". I shall not repeat the points here. In communist countries the difficulties experienced in adjusting the peasant to a developing socialist economy, of formation of capital in a process that tends to grow at the cost of rural economy, have never been freely discussed. Like other difficulties they remain shrouded in mystery. To the extent Asian countries seek socio-economic changes democratically these difficulties and the relationship between socialism and the peasant become of seminal significance.

If peasant economy can be modernised, and/or surplus agricultural population gainfully absorbed elsewhere in the economy, there
would be no problem. But these solutions postulate large-scale investments. If they come in terms of external aid, again the problem is resolved. But where the resources have to be obtained internally two sets of situation have to be prepared for: (1) That capital formation does not take place at the cost of the traditional, i.e., peasant, sector in the economy; (2) As the peasant's output and income have to rise and as resources for modernisation will be limited and as every section would have to bear its share in stepped up savings and investments needed for development, it becomes necessary to productivise the traditional modes of production. To that end what institutional and ideational changes have to be worked for?

Dangers of Peasantism

But in Asian countries, where the peasant predominates, the socialists have not worked out satisfactory relationships. Acharya Narendra Deva, by a common consent, was a great nationalist and doyen of Indian Socialists. He was unswerving in his loyalty to Marxian socialism. Yet he warned against “the danger of Peasantism” in the following words: “There is one more danger to which I would like to refer in this place. It is a danger of peasantism. It looks at all the questions from the narrow and sectional view point of the peasant class. Its tenets derived from the ideal that our economic evolution as the whole structure of our State, will necessarily have to retain its specific peasant character. It believes in rural democracy which means a democracy of peasant proprietors. It claims that for the destruction of the war spirit and for the peace of the world such a regime is more suitable. It would, however, give protection to labour, as labour cannot be ignored. It would also accept representative form of government because it has found favour with many classes. Its programme is not based on any theory, nor does it confirm to any particular doctrine but is constituted of elements drawn from all existing doctrines. It has the outlook of the middle peasant who has been influenced by modern ideas, and is based on petty bourgeois economy. In its crude form it would mean a kind of narrow agrarianism and an insatiable desire to boost the peasant in all possible places. Such an outlook is unscientific and betrays a mentality which may give exaggerated importance to the small peasant. The scientific outlook will be determined by the laws of social change which assign every class its proper place in the social economy of the future. It will be guided by democratic conceptions of social justice, but the process of accomplishing the object will be governed by the laws of social change. The true objective, in the words of Stalin, will be to re-educate the main mass of the peasantry in the spirit of socialism and to gradually bring the bulk of peasantry into line with socialists construction through the medium of cooperative society.”

What precisely are “the laws of social change”? How do they operate? What is the proper place of the peasant class? Who assigns the place? Why should a democracy in which peasants predominate not reflect the mood and moves of the small peasant? Is Stalinist re-education consistent with freedom and democracy? Must all peasant property and liberty be gobbled up into collectives?

Control Problem

The central problem of the relationship between the peasant and economic development remained disguised for socialists by the easy identification of the stresses and strains of development with capitalism. It is not necessary to describe the seamy side of capitalism, but is not economic development per se strenuous with serious difficulties? Can such a development attempt under the aegis of Social Democracy escape these stresses and strains? This question has rarely been posed.

Rosa Luxemburg, one of the most brilliant socialists, in her book, “The Accumulation of Capital,” reaches some conclusions of fundamental importance. She writes, “The general result of the struggle between capitalism and simple commodity production is this: after substituting commodity economy. Non-capitalist organisations provide a fertile soil for capitalism; more strictly, capital feeds on the ruins of such organisations, and although the non-capitalist milieu is indispensable for accumulation, the latter proceeds at the cost of this medium nevertheless, by eating it up. Historically, the accumulation of capital is a kind of metabolism between capitalist economy and those pre-capitalist methods of production without which it cannot go on and which in this light it corrodes and assimilates. Thus capital cannot accumulate without the aid of non-capitalist organisations, nor, on the other hand, can it tolerate their continued existence side by side with itself. Only the continuous and progressive disintegration of non-capitalist organisations makes accumulation of capital possible.”

Crucial Question

Is such accumulation the exclusive character of capitalism, or in lesser or larger measure that is the inherent character of accumulation per se, including under Socialism? This question is crucial for Asian countries. Because the lack and lag of economic development have to be overcome by stepped up capital formation and investments.

If socialists are called upon to function, as in Western Europe, after the early problems of developments have been overcome, these questions need not arise. If the socialists receive massive aid from developed countries, as Marx envisaged in the case of Russia, then too perhaps the rigours might be softened. But when socialists find themselves in power, as in many Asian countries, today, with only limited external aid, the question whether the process sketched by Rosa Luxemburg is

(Continued on page 9, col. 3)
Whither Arab Nationalism?

The recent rift between Iraq and the United Arab Republic suggests almost in unmistakable terms the trend of Arab nationalism in retreat. It has chosen the path of disowning or discrediting its erstwhile friends who, until recently continued to be its noisy champions. This development is not a matter of surprise to the students of human nature, who have observed similar developments in other countries and in other times. In fact, this was expected as a logical concomitant of a virulent nationalism bereft of positive social content.

Antagonism against “imperialism” and “Zionism” provided sufficient inflammatory slogans to rouse public indignation. In Damascus, Bagdad, Amman and Cairo it was generally the unruly mob that used to shape the policies of the Governments through their rallies, protests and violent demonstrations. Appeal the mob fury by politicians and militarists at periodic intervals enabled organized mob movements—controlled and directed by international communism—to dictate terms to the Chauvinists on the one hand and influence public opinion on the other. For this, the leaders of Arab nationalism are as much to be blamed as the communists.

Cairo Reaction

The Egyptian reaction to the rise of communism in Iraq should be understood in the background of its ambition to ride on the high tide of Arab nationalism. Earlier, the expansionist aims of Egypt were frustrated by Sudan, Tunisia and to an extent by the former Iraq government. The July Revolution of Iraq inspired optimism in President Nasser. The sensation that accompanied that revolution would have led to better relationship between the two countries provided Nasser had continued the tempo that brought about the revolution. Unfortunately for him, the Iraqis reconciled themselves to an alternative message that promised them liberation not only from the clutches of the imperialists but also from the degrading social and economic conditions.

Any further adventure on the part of Nasser to extend the area of the U.A.R. would only mean the appropriation of the natural resources of a more fertile country like Iraq to the advantages of the Egyptian fellahain. Apart from economic considerations such as oil, fertile lands and less population, Iraq has the advantage of a heterogeneous population, which other Arab countries could not afford or tolerate for several centuries. Iraq cannot keep its minorities discontented only to please the fanciful nature of Arab nationalism.

by

S. Dakshina Moorthy

However much Nasser may deny the Soviet sympathy and support, (at the time of the Suez crisis) the fact remains that the cause of Arab nationalism gained momentum by the Soviet ultimatum to the Western powers. Further, it is the fear of Soviet communism making headway into the Arab and African world that helped the mobilisation of world public opinion in favour of the Egyptians. Again it is Soviet and communist propaganda that enforced the Western Powers to withdraw their troops from the Lebanon and Jordan. It is this reliance of Arab nationalism on the communist world that enabled the Arab cause to be understood and admired in non-committed countries that periodically soft-peddle Soviet and Chinese outbursts, which are often rationalised on grounds other than agreed principles and conventions.

Soviet Estrangement

An estrangement with the Soviet and Chinese communism at this stage is likely to lead Arab nationalists to a school of thought that generally encourages geographical and racial complacency similar to that which gave birth to Nazism in Germany.

Being sandwiched between the Western democracies suspicious of dictatorships, and international communism, Arab nationalism is bound to organise itself in a pattern that arouses racial and religious hysteria characteristic of Fascism. If that unfortunate development is to be avoided it is necessary that Arab nationalism should recognise and respect the indigenous political system in each of the Arab countries and refrain from political pressure being brought to bear on neighbours.

(Continued from page 8)

peculiar to capitalism or is endemic to early development becomes of surpassing importance.

Engels had offered even more penetrating analysis: “For it is one of the necessary corollaries of grand industries that it destroys its own home market by the very process by which it creates it. It creates it by destroying the basis of domestic industry of the peasantry. But without domestic industry peasant cannot live. They are ruined as peasants; their purchasing power is reduced to the minimum; and until they as proletarians have settled into new conditions of existence, they will furnish a very poor market for the newly arisen factories.”

Are the swish and thrust of grand industrie peculiar to it as such, or only in capitalist context? In a democratic society why should the peasants supinely agree to be ruined and destroyed? Experts have shown that economic development, and industrialisation, absorb the increase in population, agricultural population thus goes down relatively, rarely, if at all, absolutely. And whatever be the benefits at the end of economic transformation, for Asia today the principal preoccupation is with the process, and not the end-product of the transformation. And the process is never painless.

(To be continued)
Spotlight On Africa: I.L.O. Blazes New Trail

THE International Labour Office has just published a volume entitled African Labour Survey which brings within its compass of 712 pages much valuable information of topical interest. The African continent has in recent years come into the forefront of world news. The independence of Ghana and Guinea (which have joined the I.L.O. as Member States), the holding of the First African Conference in Accra, and the steady penetration of new ideas, with the extension of education, have contributed to self-consciousness on the part of Africans themselves and the increasing awareness on the part of the outside world of the African continent and its people.

The volume published now marks the beginning for the future work of the I.L.O. in Africa by giving as objective and authoritative a picture as possible of the existing situation.

The term Africa has been used in the text of the Survey to describe the countries and territories south of the Sahara, and does not, therefore, include Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. (A survey on parallel lines is now being prepared dealing with North Africa.) The first three introductory chapters of the book deal, respectively, with Economic and Social Conditions, Land and Labour, and Community Development.

These are followed by thirteen chapters covering successively the following questions: manpower and employment; the productivity of labour; technical and vocational training; freedom of association and industrial relations; wages and wage policy; recruitment, contracts of employment and conditions of work; health and safety; social security; workers' housing; the cooperative movement; labour administration and inspection; the application of international labour standards; and conclusions. The basis of the information collected is documentary, supported by on-the-spot findings of I.L.O. officials who visited 34 countries and territories. The appendices give Standards and Recommendations of the I.L.O. and other organisations, reference list of labour legislation and statistical tables.

It is difficult to give in the course of an article a true appraisal of the contents of this volume. Through some gleanings, however, an attempt will be made to pass on to the reader an idea of the veritable mine of information that this I.L.O. publication has turned out to be. To begin with, a table is given on next page, which has been compiled from two tables in the volume. This gives some basic information about the territories with which the volume deals.

Land and Labour

The economic foundations for social progress in Africa still lie in the field of primary production both agricultural and mineral. The African Society is still predominantly peasant in character but in a stage of transition, presenting an extremely varied pattern of development. This pattern at present embraces tribal groups who continue to practise a purely subsistence economy, largely based on shifting agriculture or pastoralism, intermediary forms in which, though cultivation for subsistence still predominates, cash-crop agriculture is increasing in importance, and areas in which highly commercialised rural economy has taken shape carrying on a wide range of activities other than primary production, such as processing and preparation for the market, trading and small rural industries.

In the first stage are numerous tribal groups—still found in most territories—among which the lack of communications or of plantation or mining development discourage the growth of a market economy and keep cash incomes at a minimum. In the second stage are those areas in which economic development has given rise to demands for locally produced foodstuffs. This is the stage reached in districts near town and other employment centres over wide areas in East, Central and South Africa. In the third stage circumstances favourable to the cultivation on a peasant basis of one or more export crops have developed, and African farmers have been quick to adapt their cultivation patterns and other factors in their social and economic organisation to the needs of commercial farming on this basis.

The huge West African cocoa industry in Gambia, Nigeria and French West Africa and the cotton industry of Uganda are only three examples. The development of plantations and other forms of farming by Europeans and the growth of other economic activities, such as mining, industry and commerce, have at the same time created considerable opportunities for wage-earning outside the peasant agricultural sector. The result has been an exodus of man-power from the rural areas, sometimes for short periods but often on a permanent basis.

Employment

The labour market in Africa is still marked by a certain rigidity, since workers respond only imperfectly to normal economic stimuli and, moreover, are frequently restricted in their freedom of movement, either by inadequate means of communication or by restrictions imposed by law or custom. Besides, there are wide differences between one territory and another as regards availability of labour.

It can also be asserted that the relation between the amount of labour actually employed at the present time and available man-power sources, in given conditions is, in general, virtually unknown. In many territories, installation of up-to-date employment services has hardly begun and, in any case, these services have very little influence on the labour market in Africa.

Productivity

There is no scientific basis for the proposition that any initial incapacity of the African rests on any difference in hereditary biological constitution between him and members of any other racial group. It is, of course, a fact that "by tradition and background the African is singularly ill-adapted for assimilation as an effective element in a wage economy on the modern pattern, ... and that his reactions differ widely from those of the European worker, whose background and aims are so different".

It has also emerged from the Survey that "the African's work performance is at present unsatisfac-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Population 1955</th>
<th>Economically Active Male Population 1955</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>Europeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sq. Kms.*)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Angola**
- Population: 1,246,700
- Economically Active: 4,147,000
- Male: 103,419
- Africans: 30,240
- Non-Africans: 1,036,750

**Basutoland**
- Population: 712,800
- Economically Active: 324,000
- Male: 2,379
- Africans: 1,176
- Non-Africans: 81,000

**Belgian Congo**
- Population: 2,343,930
- Economically Active: 12,562,000
- Male: 97,466
- Africans: 3,140,500
- Non-Africans: 33,368

**British Cameroons**
- Population: 88,270
- Economically Active: 1,500,000
- Male: 771
- Africans: 160,000
- Non-Africans: 375,000

**British Somaliland**
- Population: 176,120
- Economically Active: 640,000
- Male: 7
- Africans: 160,000
- Non-Africans: 81,250

**British Togoland (Now in Ghana)**
- Population: 33,776
- Economically Active: 429,000
- Male: 7
- Africans: 107,250
- Non-Africans: 2,950

**Ethiopia**
- Population: 1,184,320
- Economically Active: 20,000,000
- Male: 5,000,000
- Africans: 1,453,750
- Non-Africans: 29,256

**French Cameroons**
- Population: 432,000
- Economically Active: 3,146,000
- Male: 786,500
- Africans: 7,125
- Non-Africans: 6,148

**French Equatorial Africa**
- Population: 712,800
- Economically Active: 324,000
- Male: 2,379
- Africans: 1,176
- Non-Africans: 500

**French Somaliland**
- Population: 57,000
- Economically Active: 1,080,000
- Male: 1,222
- Africans: 270,000
- Non-Africans: 500

**French Togoland**
- Population: 4,633,985
- Economically Active: 18,640,000
- Male: 91,088
- Africans: 3,666,000
- Non-Africans: 28,250

**Fombia**
- Population: 10,369
- Economically Active: 285,000
- Male: 1
- Africans: 71,250
- Non-Africans: 5,000,000

**Gold Coast**
- Population: 204,097
- Economically Active: 4,620,000
- Male: 11,000
- Africans: 1,270,000
- Non-Africans: 28,250

**Kenya**
- Population: 582,646
- Economically Active: 5,815,000
- Male: 52,400
- Africans: 1,453,750
- Non-Africans: 29,256

**Liberia**
- Population: 111,370
- Economically Active: 1,250,000
- Male: 65,000
- Africans: 312,500
- Non-Africans: 1,270,000

**Madagascar**
- Population: 793,000
- Economically Active: 6,030,000
- Male: 65,000
- Africans: 321,250
- Non-Africans: 109,000

**Mozambique**
- Population: 57,000
- Economically Active: 1,080,000
- Male: 1,222
- Africans: 270,000
- Non-Africans: 500

**Portuguese Guinea**
- Population: 127,368
- Economically Active: 2,500,000
- Male: 65,000
- Africans: 321,250
- Non-Africans: 109,000

**Ruanda-Urundi**
- Population: 461,341
- Economically Active: 4,362,000
- Male: 6,648
- Africans: 1,090,500
- Non-Africans: 1,090,500

**Swaziland**
- Population: 36,125
- Economically Active: 540,000
- Male: 2,238
- Africans: 512,500
- Non-Africans: 512,500

**Tanganyika**
- Population: 72,326
- Economically Active: 2,050,000
- Male: 964
- Africans: 512,500
- Non-Africans: 512,500

**Uganda**
- Population: 243,411
- Economically Active: 5,300,000
- Male: 7,800
- Africans: 1,325,000
- Non-Africans: 512,500

**Union of South Africa**
- Population: 1,223,409
- Economically Active: 9,161,000
- Male: 2,856,000
- Africans: 3,290,250
- Non-Africans: 1,021,829

*One Square Kilometer = .3861 Square Miles*

In many respects by European standards; that in quantity and quality it is often inferior; that the African sometimes lacks pride in his work; that he is often unstable and restless and prone to absent himself apparently without valid reasons. Monetary incentives can succeed with African workers only if they are linked to a basic wage which is itself satisfactory, and that this means a wage which (with any allowances) will be sufficient to support stabilised family life without outside assistance.

**Technical Training**

The large-scale efforts being made to develop the African territories and to make them more self-sufficient have naturally given governments an incentive to speed up the training of the technicians that are needed. Moreover, the investment in tools and equipment made by many of the industries installed in Africa in order to meet the higher demand for commodities in recent years is steadily forcing them to reduce their unskilled labour force and to train the most suitable workers for more technical jobs. Recognition of the importance of this question is increasing and training facilities are becoming available in most parts of Africa at a wide variety of levels.

**Industrial Relations**

There is a great diversity of patterns of industrial relations in Africa. The problems encountered are common to other underdeveloped areas, but owing to the varying stages of social evolution, there is divergence in the policies and legal provisions for various racial groups. At present, collective negotiation and collective bargaining are becoming to a continually increasing extent the means by which wages, bonus and certain aspects of conditions of work are being determined.

In the non-self-governing territories the metropolitan governments concerned have in general accepted the thesis that collective bargaining should be promoted even if in some cases the communities concerned are in their view not sufficiently advanced to utilise collective bargaining machinery. In the independent countries, collective bargaining procedures are recognised as being appropriate for application generally or at least for some racial elements in the community.

*(To be concluded)*
Zealand certainly care more about their clothes, but the men dress as casually as Australians. Outdoor sports, of course, attract tremendous interest, but they are not almost religion, as in Australia. Cultural life suffers from the constant efflux of the gifted. Egalitarian principles result in low salaries (about £1,200 a year for university teachers; many migrate to New South Wales, where at Sydney University they can get £2,000). More gifted people prefer to move to the United Kingdom, and sometimes to North America. There is considerable local pride, and 42 daily newspapers are supported, in different localities. The press gives more news than in Australia. The columns are filled with advertisements—not of jobs wanted but of men wanted, and the notices are full of allurements how the office is centrally situated, how fine the prospects, how companionable the staff, and so on. At the same time it is still possible to read an advertisement about a restaurant (in a middle-sized town) that bravely proclaims “No parking problem.”

We: It’s secure, yes. Nobody is going to sack you!
The Boss: And I sit behind a desk all day—no danger in that.
We: What about danger from dirt? Dirt carries disease-causing germs, you know!
The Boss: Interesting! But since mine is a spotless office...
We: Yes, but even here there’s ordinary, everyday dirt. You may not notice it—but you can’t escape it anywhere.
The Boss: Good Heavens! Never thought of that!
We: Don’t panic! Just make it a habit to bathe the healthy way and...

wash away the germs in dirt with

LIFEBUOY SOAP
—and enjoy that healthy feeling of freshness!

A PRODUCT OF HINDUSTAN LEVER LTD.
Kerala Education—Submission to Authority

EVEN before the ink is dry on the signature of the President giving his consent to the Kerala Education Bill, the Kerala Government has published rules under the Act that have far-reaching significance.

To the theory that there can be no opposition, however, peaceful to the Communist Government once it is established, the Red Government in Kerala is doing all in its power to translate that theory into practice by all the means at its command. It is interfering with the legitimate activities of trade unions, excepting those that owe allegiance to the Communist Party.

Now, it is directing its barrage on the student community. The Communists all over India have tried their best to infiltrate into the student movement, and have organised cells both among the students and the teachers. Communist spokesmen in the legislatures have time and again waxed eloquent over the right of the students to take part in politics and have also demanded similar rights for the teachers. How genuine was their advocacy of the civil liberties of the students and the teachers is now exposed by the rules which the Kerala Government, the first People's Government as claimed by the Communists, has just published.

According to these rules, school students in Kerala are prohibited from taking part in any meeting or agitation directed against the Government. The reasons given for this ban make interesting reading. It is stated that the violation of the rules would be considered as an action calculated to exercise an unwholesome influence on other students and is, therefore, punishable under the rules with suspension or dismissal. By this logic, the students of Banaras Hindu University would have been given exemplary punishment for agitating for changing the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and for the appointment of a particular person as the Principal of the Ayurvedic College, as this amounted to an agitation directed against the discipline of the university.

As regards teachers, the rules say that a person would be disqualified to continue as a teacher if he has taken any part whatsoever in an unlawful agitation directed against the Government or any movement or agitation of any kind which may be accompanied by or result in ill-feeling between sections of the people. This rule is so wide that any action other than docile submission to authority on the part of the teacher is likely to fall within its mischief. And this from the so-called champions of civil liberty in the country!

Nor are the restrictions on the teachers confined to extra-curricular activities, because the rules also deal with the methods of teaching in school. The methods of teaching should aim at, according to the rules, not merely at imparting of knowledge in an efficient manner, but also at inculcating desirable values, proper attitude and habits of work in the students. This rule
is so comprehensive that any teacher who invites wrath of the Government can be victimised. Who will define what are the desirable values or what is the proper attitude? A teacher in all good conscience might consider particular values desirable, but the Government might think otherwise. It would be impossible for the teacher to function as an effective guide and help the students under these circumstances. The teachers will be completely at the mercy of the powers that be. Even if they want to remain on the right side, (which itself is objectionable for a teacher who is supposed to inculcate the spirit of inquiry and thinking among the students) they will have to keep a constant watch on the shifting fortunes of political parties. Today, the Communist Government is in power in Kerala, and this Government considers one set of values as proper. Tomorrow, some other Government may be in power at Trivandrum and it may consider some other set of values as proper. Are the teachers expected to change their teaching methods according to these shifts? The whole approach of the Kerala Government is highly totalitarian and needs to be revised. It seems the worst fear of the critics of the Kerala Education Bill have proved correct. What the Kerala Government seems to forget is that other States also may follow its example and seek to prevent the students and teachers from taking any part in civic affairs other than those that strengthens the party in power.

The Tezpur Statement And Future

The Press Statement issued on behalf of the Dalai Lama from Tezpur confirms the confidence expressed by Shri Nehru that the Dalai Lama can be trusted to act in a responsible manner so as not to create any embarrassment to India. The stamp of his personality on the carefully worded statement is worth noting because of the charge of the official New China Agency that the statement was not by the Dalai Lama himself but was imposed on him by some person or persons. Not only is the authenticity of the statement doubted but an insinuation is contained in the Agency's political commentary when it emphasises that the statement was issued through an Indian diplomatic official in Tezpur.

The anger of the Chinese News Agency is understandable. In the Tezpur statement it is unequivocally stated that the Dalai Lama would like to state categorically that he left Lhasa and Tibet and came to India of his own free will and not under duress. This gives a lie direct to the Chinese assertion that after March 10, the Dalai Lama was encircled by the rebel armed forces and was abducted on March 17. Naturally the News Agency takes great pains to brand as "patently deceitful the statement that the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa was of his own free will and not under duress."

It is quite clear that this argument cannot go on for long. The Dalai Lama is now in India. If he is abducted by the Tibetan reactionaries as alleged by the Chinese he will be soon set free. The Indian Prime Minister Shri Nehru is scheduled to meet him on April 24, at Mussorie and this point will be cleared beyond any shadow of doubt at the meeting. The more important question, therefore, is, what about the future course of action. The very fact that the Chinese are so anxious to absolve the Dalai Lama of any responsibility of the uprising in Tibet may serve as a basis for negotiations to end the tragedy in Tibet. Any settlement that might be arrived at, if such a thing is possible, will have to take into consideration the intense desire of the Tibetans to lead their own life and to proceed according to their own light on the path towards being transformed into a modern country. The communists have always claimed that they believed in regional autonomy irrespective of the past history. It does not lie in their mouths to quote historical precedents. Whatever rights the Imperialist China might have claimed on Tibet the Red China is expected, if their professions are to be relied on, to grant autonomy to Tibet. Historical precedents are, therefore, of significance in this argument.

If a speedy settlement is possible in Tibet, all the Indians irrespective of their political affiliations will have a sigh of relief. There cannot be a greater lie than to insinuate that there are "expansionist" elements in India who are instigating and abetting the Tibetans to rise against the Chinese. If, however, a settlement does not materialise the Government of India will have to decide on a future course of action. India is interested in the Tibetan issue for a number of reasons. The Dalai Lama, the supreme political and religious head of Tibet, has asked for the asylum in India. Indian security is involved in the happenings across its border. As the Tezpur statement points out "India and Tibet have had religious, cultural and trade links for over a thousand years" and naturally India is interested in the prosperity and well being of the Tibetan people. India also wants to maintain friendly relations with China. But this friendship cannot be maintained by sacrificing the security of the Indian border or by snapping all ties with the Tibetans.

The Tezpur statement has expressed the concern of the Dalai Lama for "the well being of his people and in ensuring perpetual flourishing of his sacred religion and freedom of his country". Naturally, he would like to carry on legitimate activities in conformity with this concern and is entitled to all reasonable facilities necessary for it. He has confirmed the impression that he is fully conscious of his responsibilities. There can be, therefore, no reason why he should not have all the freedom and facilities to discharge his responsibilities towards the Tibetans.
THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE RESOLUTIONS

Land Reforms And Co-operatives

THE General Council of the Party having passed a resolution on "Distribution of Land and Co-operatives" at Allahabad in January, 1959, the National Executive is happy that the Congress session at Nagpur has also passed a resolution on similar lines.

The Congress Party seems to rely on the initiative and enthusiasm of local Congress leaders to assume the responsibility for implementation, and, at least in some areas, this reliance is likely to prove disappointing. Even if service co-operatives are immediately organised and ceilings on land are imposed it would mean a beginning of the end of vested interests in the rural areas; and it is difficult to imagine that local Congress leaders would be enthusiastic for such a development. The same can be said about a sole reliance on administrative machinery. It is therefore necessary to entrust the work of organising these co-operatives to agencies wherein all the people interested in co-operatives could work on equal terms.

There seems to be no plan for setting up such agencies and this is a great weakness that is likely to turn the resolution into a mere pious wish if not an eye-wash.

The Executive is confident that if such a machinery is brought into being and if ceiling on land holdings is immediately imposed with a view to create significant surpluses of land for distribution a suitable climate for these reforms will be created. Service co-operatives can be organised on a large-scale in the immediate future. Some experimentation on joint co-operative farming can also be tried where circumstances are favourable for it. Where land ceilings are imposed some land is bound to be declared surplus. The landless agriculturists and farmers with uneconomic holdings can be offered the surplus lands, provided they agree to work cooperatively. The response will be considerable if the Government provides assistance in developing cultivation. Likewise, for the extensive culturable wastelands which would require considerable investment, co-operative cultivation holds good prospects. A third sector in which the experiment may be tried with advantage is the areas where cash crops are raised. Experience shows that co-operative farming has a greater chance of success in cash crops areas than in the area where food crops are raised. If these experiments are carried on by people with vision and competence and the principle of voluntary co-operation is strictly adhered to, a new step forward in the organisation of our rural economy will have been taken and conditions created where peasant proprietors might agree to joint cultivation with or without pooling lands.

The Executive would like to sound a note of warning. If land reforms and co-operatives remain just slogans, or are sought to be implemented by those without faith or competence, these grand ideas will get discredited and a pall of frustration would settle on the country. The Executive recognises the urgency of quickened change and fostering the co-operative spirit in the country and would welcome an opportunity to put its shoulder to the task. But that demands a similar urgency in the administration and in other political parties.

II. TIBET

THE National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party feels gravely concerned over the recent developments in Tibet. What was for the last four years simmering under the surface has suddenly erupted into a people's revolution against efforts to liquidate Tibet's distinctive personality—gentle, self-contained and non-aggressive. Between us and the people of Tibet, close ties have existed over centuries and it was but natural that tears should well up in our hearts when we saw Tibet wounded and bleeding.

Apart from this sorrow over a friend, the Executive looks upon the recent events in Tibet as a warning to all who cherish the right of people to shape their own destiny. No people should be forced to choose between liberty and good relations with mighty neighbours.

The Executive extends respectful welcome to the Dalai Lama and assures through him the people of Tibet of our profound sympathy with the Tibetans struggling to safeguard their ancient heritage and their distinctive way of life. The Executive recognises the Tibetans' right to self-determination and extends to them its support.

The Executive is anxious to maintain and strengthen friendly relations between China and India. The Executive further realises that reconciliation between Tibet and China is essential for the growth of trust and peaceful reconstruction in the South, South-East and East Asia.

The Executive is confident that Tibetans needing asylum will be welcome in India, our traditional hospitality and friendliness being assured to them. The Executive hopes that the heroic determination of Tibetans and the deep sympathy evoked by them in Asia and the world will help to end their travail and restore to them the opportunity to shape their destiny.

III. Vilification of PSP by the Communists

THE National Executive has noted with interest the campaign of vilification launched against it by the CPI. The PSP has incurred the CFI's wrath by giving expression to the anxiety of our people at the recent developments in Tibet. The entire nation, with the exception of the Communists and their supporters, have realised the true significance and the deep-seated causes of the conflict in Tibet. Our people have been moved to deep sympathy by the agony of Tibet. They know that the true cause of the conflict lies in Tibet's determination to assert her personality and preserve her individuality. The PSP and other political parties felt that a bold and clear expression of our people's concern at the events in Tibet was a moral obligation but
the CPI refused to respect the national sentiment and to face the reality in Tibet. While the nation values friendship with China the CPI has chosen to echo Peking. It has decried the national rebellion as an imperialist plot. It has reiterated the Chinese charge that Kalimpong is the commanding centre of the rebellion. It has dared to compare Tibet to Kashmir.

The statement by the Prime Minister as to the true nature of the revolution and Kalimpong, and the Dalai Lama’s voluntary arrival in India, have been ignored by it. But in all this the CPI has lived up to its tradition. Whenever international communism has been guilty of aggression the CPI has come out to uphold it as the liberation of the victim of aggression, be it Finland, Hungary, Yugoslavia or Tibet.

The Praja Socialist Party wants to recall that the CPI had denounced the ‘Quit India’ revolution as a fascist game, had condemned Gandhiji as an imperialist stooge and Netaji as a Japanese Quisling.

The Executive wants to warn the country of the danger that is in their midst. As regards the charges against the Party the Executive is
content to leave it to the judgment of the people.

IV. NEPAL

With the declaration of the results of the first general elections in Nepal our neighbour country has completed the anti-feudal revolution that its people had started nine years back. Though in 1950 the people of Nepal put an end to the rule of the Ranas, it is only now that a government having a clear mandate of the people of Nepal has become a reality.

The Praja Socialist Party takes this opportunity to congratulate the people of Nepal on the disciplined and discerning manner they have exercised their newly acquired franchise.

The Praja Socialist Party congratulates the Nepali Congress, our sister Socialist Party, on the most convincing victory they have achieved against heavy odds. The people of Nepal by casting their votes for the Nepali Congress have put a tremendous responsibility on their shoulders at a time when on its northern frontiers Chinese Communism is looming like a colossus.

Internally, Nepal is hungry for social justice, economic development and educational progress. Therefore the next decade will be decisive in the long history of Nepal and during this period it will fall to the Nepali Congress to provide the correct orientation. The Praja Socialist Party feels gratified that the Nepali Congress which led Nepal in its struggle for political emancipation has been once again called to lead her in her economic and social reconstruction.

V. ALGERIA

The National Executive feels happy that the visit of Ferhat Abbas, the Prime Minister of the provisional Government of Algeria, has provided our people with an opportunity to have first-hand knowledge of the heroic struggle of Algeria and also to convey to the people of that country the deep sympathy and abiding support of our people to the cause of Algerian independence.

The National Executive once again urges upon the French Government to immediately recognise Algerian independence. The epic struggle of the Algerian people and their great sacrifices have earned for them the admiration of lovers of freedom everywhere. The National Executive feels that efforts of successive French Governments to thwart the will of the Algerian people by waging a war, whose brutality and savagery has shocked the civilized world, are doomed to failure. The National Executive appeals to the Government of India and all governments dedicated to the cause of freedom to do all they can to persuade France to seek negotiation with the leaders of Algeria.

The Praja Socialist Party urges upon the Socialist Party of France to reorient its policy to champion the cause of Algerian Independence. Such a re-orientation will also win it the confidence of the World Socialist fraternity.

VI. AFRICA

The vast continent of Africa is astir with a new consciousness of its destiny. A century and a half of ruthless exploitation, naked aggression, and colonial expansion by various European powers is inevitably coming to an end, and the peoples of Africa are making a determined bid to throw off their shackles. In the North, Sudan, Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco have won complete independence, and Algeria will join the ranks of free nations ere long. In the West, Ghana has not only attained freedom, but has become a source of inspiration to other colonies struggling to be free.

While the grip of old imperialism is thus loosening in areas where the European came not as an administrator only but also as a settler, the struggle for freedom is assuming a grimmer aspect. The ambition and policy of the European settlers is to perpetuate their domination as well as African slavery. Their effort is to extend the political pattern that obtains today in South Africa, based on the hated doctrine of apartheid.

It is against these enslaving iniquities and oppressive policies that the continent of Africa has risen in revolt as evidenced by the popular uprisings in Belgian Congo, Kenya and Central Africa. While a reactionary country like Portugal is unabashedly proclaiming to the world its determination not to part with power, Britain is trying, as for instance in Central Africa, to circumvent the issue by resorting to Constitutional subterfuges like the Central African Federation.

The National Executive condemns the policy and tactics of the European settlers in Africa and calls upon the colonial powers to respect the Africans' urge to freedom. The liberal policies adopted in recent years by certain European powers in West and North Africa should be extended to other regions, and no opportunity should be given to the European settlers to maintain their overlordship. Though the Africans are economically retarded, that should be no justification for keeping them in bondage. The resources, material and technical, of the advanced countries should be pooled to raise the standards of living in the underdeveloped areas of Africa.

The PSP would like to call upon their Indian brethren settled in the various parts of Africa to appreciate the African sentiment, and identify themselves with the Africans in their struggle for national emancipation.

VII. US-Pakistan MILITARY PACT

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party views with grave concern the military pact entered into by the United States with Pakistan. While India would welcome any increase in economic aid to Pakistan, she cannot acquiesce in military assistance to Pakistan, particularly when the military regime there threatens India all the time. The constant forays against India's borders, forcible occupation of Indian territory, shooting down of Indian Air Force plane in contravention of international law and usage suggest that the threatening gestures are not for internal consumption in Pakistan. To buttress such a regime with military aid would only help to sow dissension in Asia and endanger peace in the region.

The US-Pakistan Pact, in the opinion of the Executive, serves neither the cause of peace nor the vital interests of Pakistan or the United States.

The National Executive is pained to note that Pakistan that has sacrificed democracy for military regime is being strengthened with arms by a nation that prides itself on being a great democracy.

(Continued on page 10)
The dress of the people...

Costumes, whether they are for occasions or for daily wear vary all over the world. Climatic conditions, natural materials available, religious demands and individual ingenuity are some of the factors that determine the dress of a people.

Many varied costumes are worn in India but different costumes need different qualities of cloth. The Mafatlal Group of Mills manufactures a wide range of cloth for everyday use in all parts of the country.

Over her salwar and kameez the beautiful Punjabi women very often wear a heavy Pulkari chaddar, a colourful, richly embroidered home-made garment.
THE tendency that international communism is crushing nationalism is too obvious to be denied. In the Middle East, Moscow and neo-Bourgeoisie. For example, the performance of international communism seems to be consistent with the Western Bourgeoisie. Since this policy has been carried out by Moscow, international communism got the opportunity to increase its influence in the Arab world and Asia as well.

**Foreign Conclusion**

Yet it had to be foreseen, from the start, that at last it would lead to a "clash" between communism and nationalism, because of the very nature of communism, being all the time aggressive and expansive—aiming the conquest of the world as the final end. Communism is to challenge the national forces arising in the countries where it is trying to infiltrate. In the Arab world it was Nasser, who is persistently fighting the advancing communist influence.

Public opinion in Indonesia is not much concerned with happenings in Tibet, but this does not mean that it is not clear to people here that international communism is actually crushing Tibetan nationalists and that the People's Democratic Republic of China with its Han race does not permit the Tibetan people to exercise their right of self-determination.

The same applied to Moscow in 1956, when it did not permit Hungary to exercise its right to self-determination through its own leaders and instead it sent divisions of tanks to destroy Hungarian nationalists.

It would be left only to the "Harian Rakjat" or "People's Daily" of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) to justify any action of Chou En-lai and whatever the Chinese army did in Tibet.

**The Right of Asylum**

Mr. Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Post-War World Council, recently sent the following cable from New York to Prime Minister Nehru, asking that India grant sanctuary to all Tibetan refugees:

"Friends of India in this country share the concern which you and the Indian press have so eloquently expressed over the fate of the Tibetan people. We greet your action in granting sanctuary to the Dalai Lama. However, the countrymen of Gandhi must surely agree that the simplest Tibetan refugee is entitled to the same right of sanctuary. I have been disturbed, however, by a report of several days ago that orders had been issued to border authorities to admit only those Tibetans who carry proper papers. Press reports are sometimes inaccurate and it is my earnest hope that the foreign
correspondents in India were guilty of a misunderstanding on this specific point.

"However, as an old socialist and old friend of the Indian people, I consider it my duty to express concern over the possibility that Tibetan refugees attempting to enter India will be denied asylum and turned back into the arms of the Chinese Communist Army.

"The right of asylum is a cardinal tenet of faith in all those countries where the sanctity of the individual is the basis of Government. For that matter, right of asylum has frequently been respected by Governments that are somewhat less than democratic in their internal regimes. Although little Austria had every reason to be fearful of the military colossus on her frontiers, she nevertheless gave asylum to 175,000 Hungarians who took to flight when the Red Army invaded their country. Even more to the point, the Yugoslav Government, despite the fact that it sided with the Kremlin in the suppression of the Hungarian revolution, gave asylum and behaved properly to the 25,000 Hungarians who entered their country as refugees.

"It would be a moral disaster of the magnitude if the Indian Government, despite its own democratic faith, and in face of the teachings of the immortal Gandhi, were to refuse asylum to the peaceful friendly Tibetan people who may tomorrow be clamouring for sanctuary at your frontiers. From considerable personal experience, I want to assure you that if India opens her doors and is generous to the Tibetan refugees, she will not be left to bear the burden alone. On the contrary, I am confident that the generosity you show will be more than matched by an outpouring of generosity in all those countries that cherish freedom.

"I beseech you to give this matter your personal consideration. What is needed to put at rest the fears that now exist is an immediate statement clarifying India's position and establishing the fact that she would grant asylum to Tibetan refugees.

"I am taking the liberty of conveying this message to the Press because I believe that this is a matter that should be discussed frankly and openly."

(Sd.) Norman Thomas

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Sino-Indian Friendship and the Fate of Tibetans

SHRI Ganga Saran Sinha, M.P., Chairman and Shri N. G. Goray, M.P., General Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party in a press statement say:

"We have been greatly surprised at some of the statements made by the Peking People's Daily, organ of the Communist Party of China.

"The Praja Socialist Party's attitude on Tibet has been grossly misunderstood and an expression of concern at the developments in Tibet characterised as 'outrageous'. We have been described as functioning in a manner incompatible with Sino-Indian friendly relations.

"To put the record straight we would like to point out that our Party had warmly welcomed the revolution in China in 1948 and we were the first to demand the seating of the People's Republic in the United Nations. We have since then consistently striven for friendly relations between the two great countries of Asia.

"That cannot mean that we should be indifferent to the fate of Tibetans. It is surprising to find the People's Daily asserting, 'Since Tibet is part of China, the political system of Tibet is naturally the Chinese peoples own affair.' We had thought as Mr. Chou-En-lai himself had admitted during his visit to Delhi that the Chinese Government recognised the autonomy of Tibet, and the political system inside Tibet would be the affair of the Tibetan people.

"The People's Daily reiterates the baseless allegation that the Dalai Lama has been abducted to India and is under duress, once again describes Kalmipong as the base of rebellion engineered by imperialist elements. The categorical denial by Prime Minister Nehru is dismissed with saying, "Our Indian friends may not be aware of it, but this does not warrant the conclusion that we too are surely not aware of it." If this is the way China places reliability on our most authoritative source of information, we are not surprised at the assessment given of our Party.

"The Praja Socialist Party always heeds the advice of friends but it is not in the habit of kowtowing before the wrath even of the mightiest."

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Convention of The
P. S. P. Legislators

Shri Prem Bhasin, PSP Joint Secretary, in a circular to PSP Provincial Secretaries and PSP leaders of State Legislature parties, says:

The National Executive at its meeting held at New Delhi on April 17-20, 1959, considered and accepted a proposal, sent by Shri Tamaskar, Leader of the PSP Legislature Group in Madhya Pradesh, that a convention of all PSP legislators in the country should be held at Bhopal on convenient dates.

The Madhya Pradesh Provincial Branch has offered to take responsibility for making necessary arrangements for free board and lodging of all invitees to the Convention if it is held at Bhopal.

The Central Parliamentary Board will draw up the agenda in consultation with Leaders of State Legislature Parties and Provincial Secretaries.

The National Executive decided that the views of Provincial Secretaries of the Party and leaders of State Legislature Parties should be ascertained in his regard. I will, therefore, request you to discuss it among your colleagues and let me have your collective reactions to this proposal. If you agree with the proposal, will you also be kind enough to indicate the dates suitable to you and members of the State Legislature Parties?

The National Executive decided that the Central Parliamentary Board should take the initiative in fixing dates and other details in this connection if the response from Provincial Branches and Legislature Parties was found to be encouraging.
SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA-II
(Contributed)

The I.L.O. Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories which held its fourth Session during December 1955 laid down certain principles for the adoption of new laws or regulations on Social Security. Since then improvements have taken place in the coverage for the following contingencies: workmen’s compensation for accidents and occupational diseases, invalidity, old age and child maintenance. An account of these improvements may be given here.

Social Security

The new legislation in the territories under French administration has, on the Committee’s recommendations, abolished discrimination on account of race or national origin in relation to workmen’s compensation in general and eliminated other limitations and restrictions. In Angola, in the Union of South Africa and in numerous territories under British administration, recent legislation has broadened the scope of the workmen’s compensation system. Some progress has been made with regard to the provisions for the medical treatment of the victims of industrial accidents in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Angola.

The benefit rate of compensation for temporary incapacity has been raised in Somalia, Union of South Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda; in the last three territories, the waiting period has been reduced, and the compensation is to be paid as from the first day if the period of incapacity lasts three days or more.

The new legislation applying to the territories under French administration as a whole confirms the principle of a pension, as against lump-sum payment, in the case of permanent incapacity or death. Legislation on similar lines has been adopted in other territories. In the territories under French administration the new legislation also provides that workmen’s compensation, including the collection of premiums and the payment of benefits, should be administered by the family allowance funds as a separate part of their duties; a general workmen’s compensation fund has also been set up under public supervision to act as a guarantee fund.

Invalidity Benefits

As regards Invalidity, in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi a contributory invalidity insurance system, similar to that which already existed in 1955 for European employees, has now been set up for African workers. Invalidity benefits are only paid provided the potential beneficiaries are not already receiving an old-age pension equal to or higher than the amount of the invalidity benefit or are not receiving workmen’s compensation.

Since 1957 marked progress has been made in connection with old-age pensions in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, where a system of old-age pensions has been set up for the benefit of African workers; the scheme is financed by equal contributions from workers and employers and by government grants. It is administered by a Workers’ Pension Fund, which has for the purpose been merged with the Colonial Pensions and Family Allowances Fund for Employees.

Similarly the establishment in 1958 of the French West African Provident and Retirement Institution, which operates a compulsory retirement scheme for all workers in private employment, marks a considerable step forward. As the number of permanent wage earners cut off from their traditional or tribal life increases, the authorities in some territories are showing greater interest in the possibilities of introducing systems of contributory old-age pensions.

Great progress has also been made as regards child maintenance and family social welfare in all the territories under French administration.

Workers’ Housing

Housing problems are among the most critical facing governments in Africa at the present time, being a reflection of the process of social and economic transformation now taking place. The extension of wage-earning employment, the expansion of urban centres and the development of centres of employment have created problems in this field which are aggravated by the economic problems related to low national income, low levels of living, and the high cost of imported materials.

The over-all housing problem in most parts of Africa at the present time is that while the demand for improved standards in expanding, the economies of most countries and territories are unable to support the cost of housing of an acceptable standard on the scale necessary, at the same time as meeting other social demands.

Co-operatives

The extent to which the co-operative movement has developed in the various countries and territories in Africa has been, according to the Survey, extremely uneven and has depended largely on the extent to which individual governments have promoted it in various ways. Rural producers’ co-operatives predominate in Africa and in fact their possibilities are yet far from fully explored. Societies with such classic activities as supplying farmers with commodities and services required in their work and in processing and marketing their products are of course well established in many parts.

On the other hand, the possibilities of land improvement through irrigation co-operatives are virtually untouched, and co-operative farming societies are still rare. Credit co-operatives adapted to the needs of the agricultural and other producers concerned are being extensively used, though again far short of their possibilities. While emphasis has so far been on rural co-operatives, the great value of urban consumer co-operatives in offering...
alternative channels for the supply of consumer goods, and the opportunity to the consumer of protecting himself against abuses of modern trading systems, should also be recognised.

The difficulties of organising such co-operatives are considerable, and new forms may have to be considered, such as that now being tried in Western Nigeria, namely a single national society with local branch retail shops, distributing some of its commodities through petty traders and pedlars organised in co-operative distributive societies.

I.L.O. and Africa

The work of the I.L.O. in relation to Africa falls conveniently into three periods. The first, from the 1920s until just before the Second World War, was largely occupied with the adoption of international labour instruments — Conventions and Recommendations — on such matters as forced labour, recruiting, contract labour and penal sanctions. Partly as a result of this work and of the support received by the I.L.O. from both metropolitan and African governments, these problems, so typical of a generation ago, are now largely solved.

Indeed, during and immediately following the war — the second period of the I.L.O.'s activity in relation to Africa — abusive practices connected with the procurement of man-power and its retention on the job ceased to constitute a major preoccupation of the I.L.O., which undertook to set down, in a group of Conventions adopted in 1947, the social purposes of economic development and a series of basic principles to which all policies designed to apply to non-metropolitan territories (of which many of the most important were in Africa) should conform, and to prescribe standards of living, remuneration of workers and related questions, problems of migrant workers, non-discrimination, education and training of workers.

It further went on to deal with such matters of basic importance to the effective improvement of workers' standards as the right of association and the settlement of disputes between employers and workers, and labour inspection services.

In the third period, that is, after 1947, the work of the I.L.O. in relation to Africa — apart from technical assistance work, which has grown steadily in importance — was largely channelled through its Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories.

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In the third period, that is, after 1947, the work of the I.L.O. in relation to Africa — apart from technical assistance work, which has grown steadily in importance — was largely channelled through its Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories. Its aim was to secure the formulation by the Committee of a number of broad general considerations of policy for the guidance of the governments responsible for non-metropolitan territories in Africa and elsewhere, and to suggest to them practical means of applying existing international standards, or of adapting practices widely in use elsewhere to the conditions of non-metropolitan territories, and, more generally, of stimulating action on these problems in the territories.

In 1956, on the suggestion of the Committee of Experts, the Governing Body decided that the International Labour Office should undertake a comprehensive survey of labour and social policy in Africa. The Survey now published has been amended in the light of criticisms and suggestions made by the Committee of Experts at its fifth and final session in December 1957. The I.L.O. has set up an African unit at its Headquarters in Geneva, and an African Field Office was opened recently by Mr. Jef Rens, Deputy Director-General of the I.L.O. at Legos, Nigeria.

The I.L.O. has also created a Special African Advisory Committee, on the model of the Asian Advisory Committee. The first meeting of the Committee will be held this year at Luanda, Angola.

The Future

It would be most appropriate to end this article with what the Committee of Experts wrote about the future in its conclusions on the draft of the Survey. The Committee observed: "The range of social problems confronting Africa in the present stage of her economic and social development is wide; many of these problems have become of pressing urgency for political, economic and social reasons. In respect of social policy, as in other fields, Africa must evolve her own destiny by the co-operation of the governments responsible for her affairs with their peoples of all races and with each other.

"It has been said that it should be the aim of policy to raise the standard of living and in particular of such aspects as nutrition and housing. The possibility of doing so depends on financial resources which in turn depend on productivity. Several ways have been indicated in which greater productivity can be stimulated, aided and indeed made possible. But when all is said and done the issue depends fundamentally on the African. It depends on his wishes, his resolution and his decision whether he prefers to retain his own way of life and culture, with all its achievements and attractions, including its emphasis on leisure, or whether he considers that the fruits of modern civilization make worth accepting some of the standards which have alone made them possible.

"With the rapid extension of sovereign rights to African territories this will increasingly become a matter for decision by the African peoples themselves and by their own governments. But Africa's destiny has been decisively influenced, and will continue to be so influenced, by the political, economic and social impact of the outside world, and will increasingly affect profoundly the course of world affairs.

"It is, therefore, a matter of urgency that the International Labour Organisation should, by placing its experience and resources more fully at the disposal of governments, employers and workers alike, progressively equip itself to render to the peoples of Africa, in a manner comparable to its activities in other parts of the world, whatever services the special needs and problems of Africa, as interpreted by the governments, employers and workers concerned, may require." (Concluded)

(Continued from page 5)

VIII. COMMUNAL RIOTS

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party has been grieved at the outbreak of communal riots at Bhopal, Mubarapur and Sitamarhi on one pretext or the other. While the Executive is aware that such exhibition of communal feelings had almost become non-existent and the riots that have recently occurred are isolated cases, yet it feels that even those are likely to harm the interests of the country. The Executive therefore appeals to people to avoid such incidents and make all possible efforts such as formation of peace committees, etc., to establish communal harmony in the affected areas.
Cocoon Of The Peasant
And Its Development

IN 1891, one of the leaders of the Farmers' Alliance in America, Senator Peffer, wrote as follows:

"The American farmer of to-day is altogether a different sort of man from his ancestor of fifty or hundred years ago. A great many men and women now living remember when farmers were largely manufacturers; that is to say, they made great many implements for their own use.

"Every farmer had an assortment of tools with which he made wooden implements, as forks and rakes, handles for his hoes and ploughs, spokes for his wagon, and various other implements made wholly out of wood. Then the farmer produces flax and hemp and wool and cotton. These fibres were prepared upon the farm; they were spun into yarn, woven into cloth, made into garments, and worn at home. Every farm had upon it a little shop for wood and iron work, and in the dwelling were cards and looms; carpets were woven, bed-clothing of different sort was prepared; upon every farm geese was kept, their feathers used for supplying the needs of family during the winter. All these things were done among the farmers, and a large part of the expense was paid with products of the

farm. When winter approaches, the butchering season was at hand; meat for family use during the next year was prepared and preserved in the smoke house.

"Wheat was threshed, a little at a time, just enough to supply the needs of the family for ready money, and not enough to make it necessary to waste one stalk of straw. Everything was saved and put to use. One of the results of that sort of economy was that comparatively a very small amount of money was required to conduct the business of farming. A hundred dollars average probably was as much as the largest farmers Of that day needed in the way of cash to meet the demands of their farm work, paying for hired help, repair of tools, and all other incidental expenses."*

by
Asoka Mehta

* W. A. Peffer: The Farmer's side

During winter time the neighbourhood carpenter prepared ashes and blinds and doors and moulding and cornices for the next season's building. When the frosts of autumn came the shoe-maker repaired to the dwelling of the farmer and there, in a corner set apart for him, he made up shoes for the family during the winter. All these things were done among the farmers, and a large part of the expense was paid with products of the

the family is engaged in multiple productive activities but the village community provides a whole complex of services needed by peasant households. Family is engaged in a multitude of activities and such families are enmeshed in almost self-sufficient village communities.

Economic development, monetisation of activities, specialisation all disrupt the old closely knit relationships. The process of unsheathing and shearing is inescapable. The havoc wrought in Indian villages by the flood of British manufactures, vividly chronicled by R. C. Dutt and others, would occur whenever machine-made goods compete with village crafts. Higher technology tends to disrupt production on lower levels of technique, that is an immutable process.

The crime of imperialism is that under it the benefits of industrialisation and the debris caused by industries tend to get located in two different countries, one in the metropolitan, the other in the colony. But inside the same country regionally and class-wise such polarisation does occur. Over a period of time, say, a century of development, the position ultimately even out.

Hence Socialists are against the evils of capitalism. But even under socialist reconstruction these dangers are inherent, they can be guarded against by special protective measures for the villages and necessitating a change not only in the degree but the form of industrial innovation. Social democracy needs to pioneer thinking in these directions.

The peasant for his own good as well as for social progress has to be freed from the thick-web of multiple activities. It might have provided Arcadian life to a few in the past, today the old relationships are breaking down and for the majority they are burdensome. The peasant cannot be allowed to face the rigours of economic development naked and alone. His production is of a type where he easily becomes the victim of a double squeeze.

The following description given by C. Wright Mills is not wide the mark: "A price squeeze was put on the farmer: as he entered the slump (of the thirties), the wholesale price of farm equipment dropped only 15 per cent, while production was cut 80 per cent but the price of the farm produce dropped
Price Relationship

Price relationship between agricultural and industrial goods has therefore to be worked out, and it is significant to find that by and large such relationships have been worked out only in developed countries, where the peasant problem ceases to be acute! Unless the peasants are to be subjected to compulsory levies, and the whole economy operated on a nationalised basis, as in Communist countries, it will become necessary to work out the implications of stabilising price policy.

One often hears of modernisation of the productive processes of the rural people. Such an effort demands tremendous investment of capital, and even if that was possible the tiny fragments of peasant holdings and the rapid increase in population make the process largely unsuited to countries of Asia. Here, in the measurable future, the emphasis has to be on productivisation of traditional elements. And it is there that the teachings of the Utopian Socialists become relevant to Asia.

Large-scale agriculture with modern equipment often works hard on the soil. Of the United States, competent observers have said, "One-fifth of our original area of tillable land has been ruined for further cultivation, a third of what remains has been badly damaged. Another third is highly damaged". Both the U.S. and the USSR can use their land resources in a prodigal manner, but in most Asian countries land is ravaged and is so scarce that its restructuring, restoration of its health, demands devoted care and labour from the peasant. This is a task that no extensive agriculture can attempt.

The Utopian Socialists have worked our various socio-political institutions and a set of societal values suited to needs of rural people. The Utopian Socialists have been as guilty as others (perhaps more) of extravagant claims and arguments, but when their ideas are shorn of these aberrations, what emerges is of vital relevance to rural reconstruction.

More important than the institutional approaches they offer, it is the ethos they desire that is of real value. In 1915 Sidney Webb, in the course of the preface he wrote to Dr. John Mathai's book observed, "We make much, in Western Europe and America, of Decision by Majority Vote. The Indian village offers us, the Quakers' meeting, a possibly higher alternative, a belief in Government of Consent, in the Decision by the General Sense of the Community.

In England, our lawyers and statesmen are still encumbered with the Austenian pedantry of a century ago which taught them obligations are just the reverse of rights, and that nothing is a right which is not enforceable by judicial proceedings; the inference being that there can be no binding obligation to the public at large, to the village as a whole, to the craft to which one belongs, to all the members of one's family, or to future generations.

'The Indian village, like the early English Manor, emphasises obligations rather than rights; and far from confining itself to rights on which some particular person could take action for his own benefit, devotes himself largely to the enforcement of obligations to the public."

This assessment of the Indian village was perhaps not correct even when it was made, but in the forty years or more that have since elapsed little truth survives in the picture. Today every villager is encumbered with the Austenian pedantry! The old attitudes cannot be evoked again. They were the products of certain social institutions and certain social climate, both have changed and therefore the old attitudes are lost.

A new spirit has to reach and revivify the rural society because only through community building can the peasant face in a fruitful manner than difficulties and possibilities that economic development, even when socialistically oriented, opens out.

Before we seek the lineaments of the new spirit a basic decision needs to be reached. Should the Socialists, as the Communists are wont to do wherever they are in power, foment class conflict in villages even after landlordism is removed and use the wide array of tactics developed from Lenin to Mao Tse-tung to use one section against the other? Should the sole cohesive force in the village be provided by the Party cadre? If that is the line chosen, democratic rights and socialist values cannot survive.

Then must come the whole complex of Communist paraphernalia: people's courts, liquidation of kulaks, forced levies and the attendant violence. The other alternative is to help the village to recover its community solidarity and foster autonomy of village community, where direct face to face democracy becomes possible.

(To be continued)

**TWEEDLEDUM & TWEEDLEDEE**

What is the difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee? The same as that between the Peking communique on Tibet and the statement on the same subject of the Communist Party of India. An interesting quiz in the April issue of The New Socialist (just out) highlights this fact.

Sabyasachi Mukherji traces Indo-Tibetan links through the ages in a special article.

Other contributions include an exhaustive review of U. A. R.—Iraq relations, an assessment of Air Transport in Public Sector, an appraisal of Rail-Road Co-ordination and a description of the working of Co-operatives in Kerala. Also included is a critical article on the Law Commission Report by S. C. Sarker.

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MAY DAY MANIFESTO–1959

MAY Day comes again this year, bringing with it, hope, anxiety and challenge. The past year has seen the Cyprus people achieve their national freedom after long struggle and great sacrifices. The African people's struggle for freedom had widened, deepened and intensified. The Arab people continued to defend valiantly their nationalism against cold war pressures. The Hind Mazdoor Sabha congratulates the people of Cyprus, extends its fraternal greetings to and expresses solidarity with the peoples of Africa and the Arab countries in their struggle.

The past months have also seen a great Communist power, China, brutally crush the freedom and autonomy of a weak and peaceful people, Tibet. The Hind Mazdoor Sabha expresses its solidarity with and deep sympathy for the people of Tibet and condemns the brutal action of China which has once again revealed to the world the true character of communists everywhere.

The Hind Mazdoor Sabha notes with gratification the recent lessening of tensions in the international field and hopes that as a result of the Conferences that are scheduled to take place in the next few weeks a mutually satisfactory solution will be found to the problems that have threatened the peace of the world.

The Cause of Democracy

The past months have also seen the decline of democracy in many countries of Asia and Africa. The Hind Mazdoor Sabha is particularly alarmed by the rise of military dictatorship in the neighbouring country of Pakistan. The Hind Mazdoor Sabha notes these trends and resolves to re-dedicate itself to the cause of democracy and redouble its efforts for the preservation and consolidation of the country's democratic constitutions.

The Hind Mazdoor Sabha expresses its gratification at the successful commissioning of the new steel plant at Rourkela and Bhilai and extends congratulations and greetings to all workers, both Indian and from abroad, who have contributed to this important achievement.

During the past year, workers have co-operated in maintaining industrial peace and progress by accepting and observing the Code of Discipline in Industry. The HMS congratulates working people on their constructive attitude to the Code, but expresses regret that there has been little corresponding change in the attitude of employers in matters like collective bargaining, recognition of unions or approaches to the High Courts and the Supreme Court. Large sections of the public sector are openly reluctant to commit themselves to the Code and several State Governments are indifferent to their own obligations in implementing the Code.

Hardships

The hardships of working people have been seriously aggravated by the steeply rising prices during the past year, which have not only further reduced the meagre real wages of workers but also caused serious crisis in several consumer goods industries and thereby worsened the employment situation in the coun-
try. The Government does not still appear to be really concerned about the situation, judging from the tardy and half-hearted steps it has been proposing from time to time.

The problem of unemployment is growing more and more acute. Far from increasing employment opportunities are decreasing. Old established concerns are closing down and thousands of workers are being thrown out of employment. The volume of discontent that is developing may assume an explosive character unless the Government takes some resolute steps to check the growth of unemployment and to provide employment opportunities to the millions of new workers who are joining the labour field.

While most of the pledges given to Labour in the Second Plan regarding Wage Policy, Housing, Increasing Employment, etc., have remained unfulfilled, discussion has already started on the shape, size and outlines of the Third Plan. During the year ahead, the Third Plan is likely to take a definite shape and Labour’s role and place in it will also be defined. It is ominous that at this stage, eminent persons in the Government and public life are urging a policy of wage-freeze and tightening of belts on one ground or another.

Promises to Labour

In the meanwhile, mechanisation and rationalisation are coming in on the plea of strengthening the competitive position of our exporting industries in view of the foreign exchange difficulties. Workers are being exhorted to accept such rationalisation. On the other hand, employers refuse to agree to the enhancement of their contributions to the Provident Fund and the Employees’ State Insurance Scheme and the Government is reluctant to enforce such enhancement in spite of its promises to Labour.

These conditions underline the need for immediate and full mobilisation by working people in India to press forward their legitimate claims so long denied to them. The coming year is going to be of decisive significance.

The Hind Mazdoor Sabha, calls upon all working people in the country to rally together and stage a relentless struggle for

1. Effective controls on the prices of foodgrains;
2. Opening of adequate number of Fair Price Shops to serve all urban and industrial centres;
3. Reducing taxes and duties levied on commodities consumed by the lower middle class and the working class.
And demanding that:
1. Interim awards be given by the Wage Boards providing for an interim wage rise which shall not be less than what would immediately restore fallen standards of living for all categories plus an adequate reward for increased productivity;
2. Dearness allowance rates providing for full neutralisation of the increased cost of living for all categories;
3. Immediate implementation of the resolution of Minimum Wages adopted by the 15th Indian Labour Conference cutting short all the delaying procedures which have been suggested by the Government;
4. Fixation of wages for employees in the public sector on the basis of the principles laid down by the 15th Indian Labour Conference;
5. Implementation of the need-based Wage Policy enunciated by the 15th Indian Labour Conference;
6. Raising the rate of contribution to 8-1/3 per cent under the Employees’ Provident Fund Act and extending it to all industrial units and commercial establishments; and
7. Extension of medical care and hospitalisation facilities to the families of workers covered by the Employees’ State Insurance Scheme through raising the rate of the Employers’ contribution to the maximum prescribed level.

The Hind Mazdoor Sabha warns the Government that it will have no right to expect the willing cooperation of workers in its Plans if it continues to delay and deny a fair deal to Labour.

The Hind Mazdoor Sabha pledges itself to fight for:
1. Strengthening H.M.S.
2. Independence and democracy of trade union movement.
3. Freedom, Peace and Democracy in the world.

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Seventieth Anniversary of "MAY DAY"

THIS year's May Day has a particular significance, because it marks the seventieth anniversary of its establishment by the Founding Congress of the Second International in 1889. The Congress decided to appeal to the workers of all lands to set apart the First of May and to consecrate that day to an international manifestation of their solidarity in the struggle for the eight-hour day and indeed for a socialist order of society.

A Bold Decision

It was a bold decision, because it challenged the old order of things. For before 1889, it had been the privilege of the Churches and of the ruling classes to establish holidays. Now, for the first time in history, it was the ruled and oppressed class of society which has set up a holiday of its own. Before 1889, the conventional holidays were devoted to the celebration of events in the history of a particular religion or of a particular nation. Now, again for the first time in history, a holiday was established for the manifestation of a social idea valid for all nations whatever their religions—a holiday, symbolising the aspirations after the unity of mankind in a fraternal world society.

It was a bold decision, for in 1889 the socialist movement was yet in its early formative stage of development. In Germany and the Habsburg Monarchy as well as in Czarist Russia it was oppressed, in France it was split, in Great Britain the old trade union movement had not yet adopted Socialism as its aim, in the United States it has had hardly any roots in the American working class, and in Asia and Africa Socialism as idea and a movement was entirely unknown.

And how remote from the then existing conditions of labour was even the immediate aim for which the workers were called upon by the Congress of the Socialist International to demonstrate—the eight-hour day. In Great Britain and America at least the nine-hour day was then fairly generally established in the large-scale industries while, for example in the needle industry, the twelve-hour day was still prevailing. On the European continent the normal rule was the ten-hour day and in some countries like France the workers had to work even eleven and twelve hours a day. When I started work as an apprentice in a book-binding factory in Vienna in 1905, sixteen years after the international struggle for the eight-hour day had commenced, we had a nine-and-half-hour day throughout the week; the eight-hour day, let alone paid holiday and unemployment and age-old assurance were then utopian dreams.

A Dream Come True

It is a measure for the irresistible advance of Socialism that less than three decades after the Congress decision, May Day, the symbol of socialist aspirations, had become a national holiday in many countries by legislation and that it is now celebrated all over Asia and Latin America as well as in Europe. And what appeared in my youth as an Utopian dream—the eight-hour day and social welfare legislation—that dream has come true not only in

by

Julius Braunthal

the industrial countries of Europe and North America, but even in the industrially underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa; in India, Burma, Indonesia, even in South Vietnam, for example, the eight-hour working day in industrial enterprises is secured by law.

Many Socialists will, however, derive little comfort from the fact that eight-hour day and the social welfare state has become a reality in the industrial countries of the world and a self-evident aim of the economically underdeveloped countries, nor even from the fact that the capitalist societies of Europe and America have been penetrated in varying degrees with socialist elements. For, they contend, in spite of seventy years of struggle Socialism has yet nowhere been realised. That is certainly true. There is as yet no genuine socialist society anywhere in the world.

A Brief Span

But from the past we should have learned that seventy years or even a hundred are a brief span in the history of economic and social transformation of societies. We should remember that it took three centuries for the transformation of the feudal societies of Europe into capitalist societies and two centuries for the rise of the middle class to power. Of course, all of us of the generation of socialists which grew up before the First World War expected to live to see Socialism to be realised in the purity of the ideals which we cherished. That belief was not confined to an enthusiastic youth. It was also the earnest belief of the great leaders of the socialist movement in those days, of Bebel and Victor Adler, of Kair Hardie and Eugen Debs, of Jaures and Vandervelde. Yet, all of them greatly underestimated, as we now know, the strength and adaptability of the capitalist order of society, the power of irrational and conservative ideas engrained in the minds of men and, above all, the complexity of the problems which the realisation of Socialism poses. And then, inspired by Marx's philosophy of history, they assumed the evolution of capitalism towards Socialism on straight lines.

Yet in the meantime we have learned that historical processes are taking their course often on rather twisted lines. The most momentous revolutions in our age and perhaps in history—the revolution in Russia and China—although they were inspired by socialist ideas, they produced in fact a society based on the very anti-thesis of the socialist idea of the autonomy of men. And yet our detestation of all that Communism implies in terms of human suffering and degradation should not blind ourselves about the socialist potentialities which the tremendous transformation of the Russian and Chinese societies carry. If we believe that Socialism is the ultimate goal of the good society towards which men will never cease to strive in their struggle for a full life, we have no reason to doubt that also the Communist societies will in the long run develop some forms of genuine Socialism.

Socialist Emotions and Aspirations

There is another aspect of the advance of Socialism, an aspect, most astonishing and in utter contradiction to the assumptions of the con-
dition for the spread of the socialist idea. We assumed hitherto that only people of industrialized capitalist countries are receptive of the socialist idea and that, according to the "Law of History", as Marx had defined it, Socialism can only evolve from a highly developed capitalist economy. I was, however, not a little amazed to find in South Asia, where I spent five months for a study of the prospects of Socialism, the social climate which surrounds the Asian societies deeply penetrated with socialist emotions and aspirations. Wherever I went, in India and Burma, in Ceylon, Java, Sumatra or Singapore, the people I met, including the leaders of parties which we would regard as middle-class parties, were speaking in a socialist language and their governments were proclaiming the achievement of a socialist pattern of society as their aim. My experiences were reaffirmed by a book by Asoka Mehta, a leader of the Praja Socialist Party of India, which just came out in Bombay under the title "Studies in Asian Socialism". Asoka Mehta opens his Foreword saying: "In India today almost everyone claims to be a socialist. Such is the position in most parts of Asia and Africa also," he adds, "where (Continued on page 10)

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SOLVING UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

(CONTRIBUTED)

One of the most difficult problems, which faces the country in general and which the trade union movement in particular at the present moment, is that of employment. In spite of the large expenditure on development both in the public and the private sectors, this problem becomes more and more acute as the years pass by.

The Second Plan gives the following data on the number of job opportunities which may have to be created if unemployment is to be eradicated during the Second Plan period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Figures in millions)</th>
<th>In urban areas</th>
<th>In urban areas</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For new entrants to labour force</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For backlog of unemployed</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>9.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>15.3</strong></td>
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The Report further adds the following caution:

"The creation of employment opportunities of this order, even if it were possible to bring this about, does not solve the equally pressing problem of under-employment."

The Reappraisal

With this picture of the problem before them, the Planning Commission worked out "the effects on employment, direct and indirect arising from the scheme" included in the Second Plan. The results of the study showed that the extra employment likely to be created if unemployment is to be eradicated during the Second Plan period was of the order of eight millions.

This figure was later revised in the reappraisal of the Second Five-Year Plan, by the Planning Commission, published in September 1958. In para 31 of the reappraisal, they say: "If the outlay in the public sector were maintained at Rs. 4,800 crores and the private sector outlays were more or less according to the Plan, having regard to the increase in cost estimates, the employment potential outside agriculture would be about seven millions. With the outlay in the public sector at Rs. 4,500 crores the additional employment opportunities were estimated at 6.5 millions. It appears from such calculations as can be made at present that about 25 million persons may have received employment so far in the non-agricultural sections of the economy. This suggests that since the commencement of the Plan, agriculture has had to absorb a larger proportion of the growth in the labour force than had been envisaged three years ago. The problem has been recently further accentuated by the difficulty of receiving raw materials and imported components."

Situation Is Disquieting

In the "Economic Survey 1958-59" published on February 28, 1959, the employment trends during the year 1958-59 have been summarised thus: "While it is not possible for lack of adequate data to assess in any precise terms the trends of employment and unemployment in the economy as a whole the various pointers . . . would appear to indicate some worsening, during the year, of the employment situation in some sections of the economy!"

Even according to the caution and objective estimates of the official publications regarding the employment trends in our country, the situation is disquieting. The social and cultural implications of this sorry state of affairs need to be emphasised.

In this connection, some of the important points made by Dr. Gunnar Myrdal in his excellent study "Indian Economic Planning" are worth recapitulating. The learned economist says: "The two main development problems in India are . . . (1) How to get the population into fuller employment and to liquidate not only unemployment but the much more serious under-employment, (2) How to raise labour efficiency?"

Working out the cultural and economic aspects of the first problem he says: "Unemployment and under-employment signify a lack of scarcity of labour which is deeply demoralising. It creates a mental climate in society where labour is wasted by the employers. Around every piece of work to be done, there are too many workers hanging about." The result of this is that "in spite of low wages the actual labour costs to the industry . . . often come up towards or above, the levels in the richer countries with their higher wages . . . ."

Such a situation conditions the attitude of the workers and their organisations also. As Dr. Myrdal points out: "In this social and psychological climate of lack of scarcity of labour, the workers are in the same way often brought to show resistance to rationalisation because it is labour saving". He thus connects directly the low labour efficiency in the country with the lack of adequate employment opportunities and concludes: "There is, of course, only one solution to this: people must be set to work. Labour must become scarce and expensive. Only then can we permanently and over the whole field increase labour efficiency. Only then will the employer be made to avoid wasting labour. . . Only when labour has become scarce and expensive, will the worker whole-heartedly welcome rationalisation as a means by which his labour can become still more scarce and expensive."

The Recalcitrant Attitude

Here is an expert opinion on the factors that have led to the increase in cost of production of our manufacturers. It has nothing to do with the recalcitrant attitude of the workers who are quite justified in demanding at least substantial wages for the work they put in. Nor is the low productivity due to any lethargy or lack of enthusiasm on the part of the workers. As Dr. Myrdal points out, "because the labour is so plentiful and so cheap, the employers do not bother to take measures to increase the productivity of workers without putting . . ."
Trade Unions & Productivity

[This is a text of the Note submitted by the Hind Mazdoor Sabha to the Government of India]

THERE is a tendency to think of productivity only as attainable through increasing mechanisation. In the conditions in our country today, such a course would be doubtful merit. Here the National Productivity Council has clearly accepted the principle that its efforts should be directed towards promoting better utilisation of existing resources of plant, equipment, technical know-how, etc., and not at further mechanisation. We have a feeling that the note circulated by the Ministry has as its background the situations that may be created in individual plants through programmes of mechanisation, rationalisation, etc. We feel that the trade union movement in the country today will not be justified in encouraging mechanisation and rationalisation as a general trend in industry.

Study of I.L.O. and N.P.C.

It has been recognised by almost all persons and agencies that have studied the subject of productivity in India that substantially increased productivity by improved management: better utilisation of available equipment, better planning and flow of materials, improved conditions of work and greater attention to the workers' convenience at the work place. This was the conclusion to which both the ILO Productivity Missions arrived. This factor, again, had been duly recognised by the NPC and has been incorporated in their official documents.

Role of Employers and TUs

It will be noticed that all the above improvements are primarily functions of the management and what is worse, experts have found that managements in India today are, as a rule, not particularly alive to their responsibilities in these respects. In view of the prevailing general attitude of the managements towards these matters, it is difficult to see how trade unions can take any initiative or play any significant part of their own in any productivity movement.

In the industrially advanced countries, the trade unions are sufficiently strong to compel respect from the employers and to fully safeguard the interest of the workers against the managements to increase workloads under the guise of increasing productivity. There are also sufficient opportunities for employment and also sufficient social security arrangements to dispel the fear of unemployment and consequent hardships which loom so large before the Indian workers. It is, therefore, natural that the attitude and role of trade unions in the advanced countries in the matter of productivity should be materially different from that in an under-developed country like India.

Foreign Experts

It is difficult to anticipate how far an "expert" from an industrially advanced country, even though he may be drawn from the trade union movement itself, would be able to fully appreciate the problem of productivity in India in all its ramifications and the workers' interests involved in it. He will naturally work according to his own experience in his home country and might therefore, be unable to understand the attitudes and reactions of the workers in India and may not be able to be of very great help to the Unions concerned.

Important I.L.O. Study Reports

We, therefore, feel that it would be premature to seek the services of productivity experts from abroad to assist Indian trade unions in the problems of productivity. We would suggest, on the contrary, that the conclusions arrived at by the ILO Productivity Missions and others may be more vigorously brought home to managements as a whole and their attitude to the question properly oriented so that trade unions will feel less suspicious about anything undertaken in the name of productivity.

Limited Scope

While the HMS appreciates that trading unions can and should play a significant role in the productivity movement, it cannot wholly agree that the Productivity Movement is 'one of the essential bases of prosperity and high standard of living' or that the movement 'cannot develop fast enough unless the trade unions take a leading role.'

Unused Man-power

In the conditions in our country today, there is a vast volume of unemployment and under-employment. Properly utilised, this vast labour power can become a decisive factor in the efforts towards prosperity and high standard of living. It is not necessary that the utilisation of this labour power must necessarily be at a high level of productivity. In the recent past, however, there has been no serious effort on the part of the Government to give sufficient attention to the proper utilisation of the vast labour power which is our most abundant productive resource today. We feel that unless determined efforts are made for the proper use of labour power through policies aimed at fuller employment, mere striving for higher productivity in sectors which are already at a high level compared to that of the society as a whole, will be self-defeating and may actually create serious problems for the economy and for the society.

Application to Lower Level Sectors

Another aspect of the same question is that the productivity movement needs to apply itself more vigorously to the relatively less productive sectors of our economy. In actual practice, however, there is a tendency to concentrate efforts mainly in the field of organised industry which already operates at a fair level of productivity. We seriously doubt whether increased productivity in this sector alone is going to be of great consequence to the prosperity of the country as a whole. The National Productivity Council itself has recognised the need for concentrating the campaign for increase of productivity in the sectors which are relatively at lower level of productivity today.

Industrial Relations

The role that a trade union can play in any industrial matter and more so in a matter like productivity must depend upon the general climate of industrial relations in the country and in individual plants to a great degree. The general level of contentment as a whole among the people is also a significant factor in determining what the working people will be willing to do in the field of productivity. We regret to say (Continued on page 10)
TIBET AND THE C.P.I.

There is mutual friendship between India and China. This friendship was emotionalized by the popular slogan: "Hindi Chini Bhai-Bhai".

Why then did China publicly accuse India of allowing Kalimpong to be used as the "Commanding Centre" of the revolt in Tibet? It is not customary for a country to denounced or accuse a friendly neighbour in public. The least that is expected of it is to communicate its complaint through diplomatic channels and ask for inquiry and, if the charge is correct, for redress. We are told that this was done six months back. A complaint was made by the Chinese Government about the anti-Chinese activities carried on in Kalimpong. The Indian Government ordered a thorough enquiry. It revealed that there was no substance in the complaint. The result of this enquiry was forwarded to the Chinese authorities, who did not then pursue the matter further.

The Only Possible Reason

Why was not this method of complaint followed in Peking's recent accusations? Was it for the reason that there could be no possible substances in the charge against India? The Indian border with Tibet is so vigilantly guarded by the Chinese troops and contact between India and Tibet is so difficult on account of the nature of the terrain and undeveloped character of communications, that a conspiracy hatched in India could render no effective help to Tibetan rebels. There can, therefore, be no reason for the Chinese complaint publicly made against India.

The only possible reason appears to be this that the Chinese authorities, conscious of the fact that their Tibetan policy had excited the revolt, were anxious to show that it was inspired from outside. They therefore searched for an alibi. It was found, as is usual with Communist imperialism, in the reactionary elements of the local population, supported by Western imperialist powers and, in the present case, also by the Chinese agents of Chiang Kai-shek. However, for the intrigues and mechanisations of these enemies of Communist China there must be some possible base for operations. This, on account of geographical reasons, can only be in India and in Kalimpong near the border, where there is some Tibetan population old and new. Therefore, it became necessary to involve a friendly country in this so-called world-wide conspiracy against Communist China. This is the only explanation possible for the publicity that was given to the charge against India, without approaching the Government of India, as was done on the former occasion.

Role of CPI

But why did the Communist Party in India pass a resolution which in effect and substance confirmed the charge made by the Chinese Government? Did they not know the stand of their Government and their countrymen in the matter of Tibetan autonomy and the reverence in which the Dalai Lama was generally held in India? The Communist Party here is not so naive as to be unaware of the attitude of their Government or the feelings and sentiments of their countrymen. They also know the scrupulous correctness of the conduct of our Government, almost to the point of timidity, so far as Indian-Chinese friendship is concerned. Yet the resolution they passed was so manifestly perverse that even our Prime Minister was constrained to call it unpatriotic. Why did the party take the odium of being unpopular and suspect? It can only be to oblige a foreign Communist Government, unwilling to let the world know that the uprising in Tibet was caused by the measures that they had adopted, to impose the Communist pattern of life upon the Tibetan people and deny them the internal autonomy that they had promised to them—a promise which their Prime Minister had reiterated to Shri Nehru. Throughout their careers the Communist parties in non-Communist countries have kept their solidarity with Communist governments in other lands even at the expense of national interests as conceived by their own countrymen. They believe in the international character of communism.

Like fanatical religious sects, they believe, that they have an historical, if not a God-given, mission to perform. They have therefore the right to coerce people to live in an earthly paradise of their conception! However, as soon as Communists achieve power in any country, they shed their internationalism and become not only intensely national but expansionist. In that case aggression by a Communist government against its neighbour is justified by Communists the world over, except Yugoslavia. Every national revolt against Communist imperialism is denounced as engineered by internal reactionary vested interests, helped by Western imperialism. Sometime back we had the example of the national revolt in Hungary. The Communist parties everywhere justified its suppression by Russia. The reason given was that it was not popular and national but engineered by reactionary forces in Hungary and their imperialist Western allies.

A Witness

In the present case even before Communist China had publicly levelled its charge against India, the Communist leader in Parliament, Com. Dange, likened the action against Tibet to that taken against Master Tara Singh when he was put behind the bars for a week or so by the Punjab Government for reasons of law and order. However, such stray remarks in Parliament, received with a smile by the House, did not serve the purpose the Chinese authorities had in view. They wanted a witness to their...
alibi. And what witness could be more damaging for India than a section of the Indian population! The C.P.I. was ready to oblige. In their accusations of their own government they went one better than the Chinese authorities. They not only endorsed the original Chinese charge but added that India was violating the Panch Sheel principles and endangering the friendship between India and China. Evidently the C.P.I. is more concerned with saving the Panch Sheel than its author! It further likened the action taken by China against Tibet to that taken by India against a section of Nagas. They talked also about Kashmir. I would not go into the obvious differences, which were pointed out by our Prime Minister at a Press Conference. But it will be worth while for the nation to know what the Communist attitude is in the matter of Kashmir and the Naga trouble. In the present context their attitude towards the latter is of great importance.

**Discovery via Peking**

It is natural to ask why did the C.P.I. suddenly discover all the sins of commission and omission of their own Government against a Communist China? The Tibetan revolt was not of recent origin. It only came to a head recently. Did they ever depute some member or members of their party to go to Kalimpong to make inquiries about the activities of the imperialist conspirators, who had gathered and whose presence was being tolerated by our Government? It would appear that they did nothing of the sort. They discovered the subversive activities at Kalimpong after Peking, after Peking had made them public. Even if they sent nobody to make independent enquiries it was the duty of a patriotic party believing in democracy to approach their national Government for information before rushing to Peking. In their defence the Communists say that they were anxious to save India-China friendship. But the Chinese must have already discounted the beneficial effects of this friendship before they publicly accused India of allowing a portion of its territory to be used for anti-Chinese activities. The Indian Communists cannot save this friendship. It can be saved by the Chinese authorities themselves. Real friendship has to be between the two peoples and not a formal one between the two Governments. For this, the people of India must to be convinced that Tibetan autonomy is not interfered with and the Tibetan people are allowed to live the life that they fancy. The C.P.I.'s endorsement of Chinese accusations against India instead of cementing this friendship excites the people of India and raises doubts against the party. The Communists in India therefore need not hold us their their hands in horror if our people are angry with them and suspect their bona fides.

India, as our Prime Minister as often repeated during these last few days, is anxious for the friendship of China, in spite of what has happened in Tibet. Let our Communist friends do nothing that would injure the sentiment and susceptibilities of their own people.

I am sure the attitude taken by the C.P.I.'s Secretariat cannot be shared by all the members of the party. Some at least must be feeling that to placate the Chinese authorities they have needlessly their own people and excited their suspicions. By their present attitude they are doing no good either to their party or their people or their Government, whose foreign policy they have always endorsed. They are doing no good even to China.

Note: The recent Chinese comments on the Dalai Lama's statement bear out the point made in the article, which was written several days ago, that Communist China was indifferent to the friendship of the Indian people or the Government of India.

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(Continued from page 5)

Ting extra work load on them. And it is this which raises the cost of production in spite of the low wages prevailing in the country.

The crux of the problem is thus to increase employment opportunities in our economy. The layman is often impressed at the fact that in spite of so much work to be done and so many people willing to do it our planners are not able to provide their greater employment facilities. Dr. Myrdal also gives expression to the same sentiments. He says: "There is no lack of work to be done: industrial plants to be constructed and equipped, lands to be made to yield more than they do, houses to be built and repaired, latrines, drains and sanitary wells to be dug, trees to be planted, books to be printed and books to be read, floors and streets to be swept and cleaned, children to be washed and educated, sick and old people to be cared for, etc., etc. All this work of whatever type flows into and raises the national income, increases savings and investments, lifts the level of living on the basis of which still more intensive work can then be done". Then he adds: "The result is economic development".

This aspect of the problem is not quite unknown to the Planning Commission. But their argument seems to be based on the lack of capital resources in man-power with the unemployed physical resources. The Report on the Second Plan rightly argues that in the case of heavy industries it would be wrong to set aside considerations of size technology to emphasize employment. The process would be extremely wasteful and the quality of the products would be very poor.

**The Will and Ambition**

It is not, however, clear whether in other sectors greater emphasis on the employment aspect would be impracticable. Dr. Myrdal is of the opinion that in a large number of projects which can be included in the Plan in these sectors, "the requirement is will and ambition. The requirement is also improved nutrition and health, which can give strength to work, and education that can lift the ambition of people living in apathy."

Here, then, we have the considered opinion of an expert who has specially studied the problems of an under-developed economy which clearly point not only the desirability but also to the practicability of increasing the employment potential of planned economic development. What is required is will and organisation. We have a large number of educated employed who can man such organisations and to provide the link between human power and physical resources. Instead of addressing homilies to the people and painting optimistic pictures of the shape of things to come, if our Government and planners settle down to a realistic approach, the unemployment problem can be tackled successfully.
FAIR WAGES & LABOUR

THE Second Pay Commission's Report is due to be submitted in a few months' time. Once this report is out, the country is likely to be agitated over issues concerning wages for a considerable time. Though the recommendations of the Pay Commission will directly apply only to Government employees, the examination of the problems which the Report will contain will affect the general situation in wages all over the country. Semi-Government bodies and local bodies, etc., will be affected more directly than the rest, as there is a tendency to relate salaries and wages in those bodies to those in the Central Government services.

The Theoretical Issues

Apart from the Pay Commission Report, the reports of the Wage Boards for the textile, sugar and cement industries are also expected. These will have a further impact on the discussion on wages. In these days of expertise, the trade unions will have to equip themselves with the relevant technical data and arguments to substantiate their case when the discussions assume immediate practical importance.

The only authoritative document so far available, which considers the theoretical issues involved in the wage discussion is the report of the Fair Wages Board. This report contains broad principles of wage fixation on which unanimity or near unanimity existed between the labour and management at the time when this report was written. After that, successive Indian Labour Conferences have considered the wage problems in specific cases and from specific angles, but their resolutions do not contain principles having the same generality as those of the Fair Wage Committee Report.

But the recommendations of this Committee suffer from one serious defect. A large number of concepts used in these recommendations have been kept very vague. In their desire to produce a unanimous report, they have not gone into the intricacies involved in studies regarding the definition of wages, the status of bonus in the wage disputes, the concept of minimum wages, studies regarding work load, job evaluation, rationalisation, etc. Then there is the question of concrete determination of the shares of the respective factors of production in the income of an industrial unit or of the industry in general. The formula evolved by the Fair Wages Committee, though quite good so far as it goes, does not go deep enough to give a guidance in the solution of concrete cases. Lastly, there is the question of trends in productivity and lines and their relation to the determination of wages.

Till this whole complex of problems is tackled and solved to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, wage determination will continue to be on an ad hoc basis and this will neither be in the interests of the workers or of the industrialists. The planned development of economy also will not be possible till these issues are determined in advance. Any planning has to take into consideration the trends in the distribution of the national income to determine the quantities of the wage goods to be made available in a given period and also of resources that are likely to be released for further development. All these problems are, therefore, of great urgency and the trade union movement will have to determine its detailed policies regarding them.

Two Questions

Take, for instance, the case of work loads. It is now agreed that the concept of productivity should be so formulated that it aims at increased production without imposing increased work loads on the workers. Two questions arise in this connection. What should be the measure of the work load and how can one increase productivity without increasing the work load? The problem of the measurement of the work load is important from another angle also. There is persistent propaganda in our country that the Indian worker is lazy, that he is not putting in enough work, and that the absence of scarcity of labour in India has resulted in the inefficient use of labour, leading to higher labour costs, in spite of low levels of wages. All these accusations cannot be met unless we agree on a satisfactory formula for measuring the work loads. Should the work loads be measured in terms of the muscular movements involved in the working hours? This seems to be the criterion which every one applies in determining the work load. But it is now fairly well established that the muscular movements alone will be a very unreliable guide in determining the work load. The more relevant considerations would be the nervous strain involved in the jobs required to be performed. And this would involve the considerations of temperature, humidity, the surroundings, the space for movements, etc. It will be absurd to measure work loads without taking all these factors into consideration. There is very little thought given in our trade union movement, however, to this issue and the calumny against the Indian worker continues to circulate unchallenged.

Of equal importance is the problem of deciding how to ensure that increase in productivity is not brought about either by increasing the work load or by throwing workers out of employment. The management normally equates productivity with automatisation and modernisation. There is a case for automatisation and modernising our industries which may be separately considered and conditions may be laid down to safeguard the workers' interests. But the problems of productivity should not be confused with these problems. If modernisation is kept out of account, productivity can be increased only through rationalisation. This necessitates a strict and rigorous definition of rationalisation. It should include only improvement in surroundings like, better lighting, pleasanter surroundings, better lay out and so on. There is a tremendous scope for these improvements in all our industries. It should be emphasised by the trade unions that these improvements can be made only by the management. The main responsibility for the present low productivity in India, therefore, rests with the management and this cannot be made an excuse for keeping the wage levels low.

In this connection another important aspect also needs to be emphasised. This deals with the sharing of the benefits accruing out of increased productivity. It was generally agreed that the workers as well as management, the commu-
Out of the programme for increased productivity. This is explained in the Report of a First Indian Productivity Team in which it is conceded even in the recommendations of the management, labour and consumers. And yet the Prime Minister, inaugurating the First Annual General Meeting of the National Productivity Council is reported to have said that increase in wages consequent on increase in productivity would dry up the impulses that might accrue as a result of productivity measures. This contention needs to be vigorously contested; otherwise in the name of economic progress the workers would be deprived of their legitimate share in the surplus arising out of greater productivity.

Concept of Replacement

Another problem of a technical nature that needs to be tackled is that of the concept of replacement costs. This concept comes up in discussions both regarding the legitimate share of the workers in the income of the concern as well as in computing the quantum of bonus to which the workers are entitled out of the net profits of the concern. It is generally admitted that at least as long as the wages have not reached the living wage level, workers are entitled to a share in profits. But a lot of confusion arises when the quantum of distributable profits is to be determined. The major cause of conflict is the ambiguity attested to the concept of replacement costs. Would they include the element of the cost involved in modernisation and automation or replacement costs would be determined solely in terms of keeping in tact the productivity of a concern. Only the INTUC has done some work on this, and that only in the textile industry. A lot of work still remains to be done. This will have to be taken up if a legitimate case for the proper levels of wages is to be presented at the time when this question becomes acute.

Many such examples can be given. The point that is sought to be made here is only this: because of the fragmented nature of our trade union movement wage discussions and negotiations have so far been carried on at the unit or industry basis in terms of the market practices of bargaining and give-and-take. These practices are important and do offer solutions that are workable in a short period. But because of the greater organisational utilities of the management, the workers are often deprived of their legitimate share because their case is not presented against the larger setting. To construct such a large framework, it will be necessary to adopt both the deductive and inductive methods of reasoning. On the deductive side, the whole theoretical structure has to be fashioned out of the general principles of a socialist society and a planned economy which the community has accepted as the desirable goal of our social and economic policy. To what extent pure market forces will be allowed to have a survey in the consideration of wages? How far should the concept of wages be need based? What difficulties are confronted in actual practice when the need based concepts of minimum wage and living wage are worked out? How these difficulties can be met without impairing the general framework? These and similar questions will have to be tackled. On the inductive side we have to devise methods for abstracting from realities in a manner whereby essentials are discovered which can then be woven into a general concept of wages. These are tremendous tasks and the trade unions will have to take them up for a proper presentation of the case for proper levels of wages.

These problems are important also from the point of view of ensuring better relations between the leaders and the led in the trade union movement. A large part of the difficulties arise because the leaders are prone to think in terms of general principles which the workers are more concerned with the realities they are facing in their restricted fields. Unless these micro and macro points of view are brought to a consistent framework of an adequate wage policy, wrangling will continue in the trade union field. It is high time that the trade union leaders become alive to this reality!

—R. D.

(Continued from page 4)

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coloured peoples have regained their freedom.” Indeed the processes of economic development in most of the Asian countries are determined by socialist tendencies.

A True World Festival

With the founding of the First International nearly a century ago, Socialism as an idea, with the founding of the Second International seventy years ago, Socialism as a mass movement entered the stage of history. But still a decade or two ago, the stage of history on which the socialist movement operated was actually a tiny part of the world; it encompassed merely the industrial countries of the white men. Now it had spread into the vast continents of Asia and Africa and had seized also the imagination of the coloured men—of more than two-thirds of the human race. Now Socialism has become a real world movement and the May Day as the symbol of socialist aspirations a true world festival.

that the industrial relations in the country as a whole cannot be considered to be so sound or the labour morale so high as to enable trade unions to undertake major tasks in productivity improvements. A great deal of legitimate hopes and aspirations of the working people have remained unfulfilled during the past ten years and, therefore, there has come into being a feeling of frustration especially in view of the fact that real wages have actually been declining and unemployment increasing sharply.

The HMS is of the opinion that the role of trade unions in the productivity movement will have to be viewed in the context of the factors stated above and not as an academic problem or as something to be copied from the experiences of industrially more advanced countries.
A LETTER FROM EUROPE

OUR POSITION AND TIBET

This morning (April 20) India's position in the eye of the Europeans is not very high. By one o'clock in the afternoon all the Continental papers have been flown in. They are available on the stalls in most of the important junctions of the town. Their front pages have one big headline—Tibet. They have one subtitle—India's helplessness.

Most people realise that our position in relation to Tibet is identical with what was their position as regards Hungary. Allied leaders handed over Hungary, the whole of E. Europe and half of Germany to Russia. We by our agreement with China have done the same thing in respect of Tibet. Morally, both the Western leaders and we stand condemned. The tragedy of both situations is that nothing whatsoever can be done to remedy the situation, except of course, appeal to the good sense of Communist rulers.

In spite of all the anti-Indian feeling in certain quarters, this diplomacy by appeal and informal talks which marks our international politics is often discussed. But even if Russia 'lets Hungary go', it is doubted here if China will ever 'let Tibet go'.

In recent times, it is not only the traditional imperialists who have shown imperialistic tendencies but also the Communists. Existence of old imperialist strongholds on the periphery of the newly-born Communist States have also contributed towards the hardening of the situation. The result is we cannot have foreign powers interfering with the Chinese rights on her eastern waters and expect her to be kind to the small neighbours on her western border. I personally know it from my discussion with our own 'ex-Peking' men that the Chinese feel as much strongly about Formosa, Hong Kong, and Macao as we do about Kashmir. Then there is humiliating matter of not recognising them on international platforms.

Russia's presence in the United Nations did not help in Hungary, Poland or East Germany. China's presence in the same body of nations may not help in case of Tibet either. But still it is one move that can help. It is a move that the world owes to China. If the world pays China, then and then only it can expect China to pay up.

At present China does not have to care about anybody or anything in the world except her own economy. She does not care for the public opinion in India. (We flatter ourselves that she does.)

This phenomenon called public opinion is a subject on which we

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have to do some ‘re-thinking’. We observed during Hungary the enormous discrepancy between the opinion of the public and that of the government. The latter is unable to talk and act in the same manner as the latter in a democratic country. Most people will agree that there is some wisdom in it.

Disputes over slices of territory can fall in two categories: (1) Trieste (between Yugoslavia and Italy), Corinthia (Austria and Yugoslavia), Tyrol (Italy and Austria), Malmadi (between Belgium and West Germany), Kashmir (Pakistan and India) and Wa (China and Burma). (2) Tibet and Hungary are a class by themselves. The solution is not even in sight. It is the old game, Lion versus Lamb. If we think in terms of old panaceas, we will only perpetuate the game.

Making a clean get-away, Mr. Motorist?

Motorist: A get-away? But I’ve got nothing to run away from!
Us: Oh? What about danger from dirt?
Motorist: What are you driving at?
Us: Dirt carries disease-causing germs, you know!
Motorist: But mine is the cleanest of cars!
Us: Yes, but even here there’s ordinary, everyday dirt. You can’t get away from it perhaps... but you can’t get away from it anywhere!
Motorist: Hmm! I’d never have thought of that! What can I do about it?
Us: Easy! Bathe the healthy way! Make it a habit to...

wash away the germs in dirt with

LIFEBUOY SOAP
—and enjoy that healthy feeling of freshness!
NO COERCIVE METHODS

INTERVENING recently in a seminar held in New Delhi on co-operative farming, Shri Nehru is reported to have said that there was no question of providing the same facilities to the co-operatives and the private sector as it was the declared policy of the Government of India to encourage co-operative farming. This idea needs a little examination. It is true that the Second Five-Year Plan itself lists some of the facilities which can be legitimately given to the co-operatives in order to encourage the farmers to combine themselves in co-operatives.

These facilities relate to items which can be more fruitfully utilised by the co-operatives than by individual farmers whose holdings may be small or medium-sized. There cannot, therefore, be any objection to these facilities being given only to the co-operatives. Those who oppose the idea of co-operative farming vehemently would be the first to agree that some distinction has to be made between the fair-sized and more solvent units, and those whose sizes are very small and who are not in a position to absorb the facilities provided.

At the same time, it must be conceded that this question of discriminatory treatment has to be considered with great care and circumspection. One will have to define in very clear terms what may be considered legitimate inducements and incentives to the farmers to join in a superior form of organisation, which the co-operative organisation really is and what would amount to preventive measures against those who refuse to fall in line and accept the programme of co-operative farming. The Prime Minister, Shri Nehru, has brushed aside more than once the contention of those who feel that co-operative farming would soon degenerate into collective farming in which State compulsion will be used openly or covertly. He has assured the people of India that the Government would only use persuasive methods and democratic procedures in making the programme of co-operation successful. If this promise is to be kept, the line demarcating the inducements and incentives from preventive measures in the matter of providing State facilities to the agricultural sector must be clearly and firmly drawn.

If this is not done, the fear expressed by Shri K. M. Munshi, that legislators, politicians and Government servants would resort to coercive measures in making the farmers accept co-operative farming, might materialise. Apart from the harm that this might do to the principle of voluntary association, which itself is a very serious matter, such a course would induce farmers to create spurious co-operatives without the slightest desire to work them in a spirit of mutual help. It is worth remembering that there is nothing in the co-operative organisation as such which makes it a superior social organisation. Its superiority consists in the spirit of brotherhood and mutual help that these co-operatives enshrine, the sense of social obligations that they generate and the forces of social cohesion that they give rise to. The programme of joint co-operative farming should be launched with all the vigour, enthusiasm and drive at our command. But we should never lose sight of the need for spontaneity, which alone can make co-operative farming a success.
"Darkness at Noon"

The Communist spokesman in Rajya Sabha, Shri Bhupesh Gupta tried in vain to create an impression that the Communist Party enjoyed the support of the vast majority of the people in India for their policy regarding the happenings in Tibet. According to the Communists what happened in Tibet was an armed rebellion of some people, vested interests and reactionary circles with a view to preventing the march of history and social reforms. Of course, it is beyond their comprehension that there may be more ways than one to fight obscurantism and that communist method of doing it is by no means the best. It hardly enters their regimented mind that all opposition to the communist way of thinking and acting is not necessarily considered by some people as counter-revolutionary and that these people have a right to react according to their best light to any clash of wills or arms like the one that has taken place in Tibet.

The Communists in India are in a desperate position. They are thoroughly isolated on the Tibetan issue and they have to make the best of a very bad situation. They are in search of some formula that can help them in directing the attention of the people away from their doings and thinking. They are, therefore, trying to create an impression that it is not the Communist Party but the PSP which is isolated on this issue.

In order to prop up such an absurd proposition Shri Bhupesh Gupta tried to argue that the abuse "expansionist" hurled at India in Chinese statements was meant not for the Government of India but for the PSP. Of course, he hurriedly added "this word may be an exaggeration". What Shri Bhupesh Gupta chose to conveniently forget is that this abuse is being consistently hurled in many of the statements issued from Peking in which there is also the accusation that the Dalai Lama was kept in India "under duress". Surely even Shri Bhupesh Gupta cannot work himself up in believing that the Dalai Lama is kept "under duress", if at all, by the PSP. Both the absurd accusations of "expansionism" and keeping the Dalai Lama "under duress" are, therefore, directed against the Government of India, nay, against India itself excepting, of course, the Communist Party.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta further asserted that the tragedy in Tibet is being used by some to strike at the foundation of Panch Sheel. Here again the insinuation is that the PSP is trying to undermine the foundations of the foreign policy of India while the Communists are the loyal supporters of this policy. According to the Communists, the only interpretation that can be put on the Panch Sheel is a blind support to all that is done in the Soviet world, whether it be Hungary or China, and to attack in the most abusive terms whenever occasion arose any happening they can lay hold of in the non-communist world, including India. If this be the interpretation of Panch Sheel, the PSP certainly rejects that interpretation.

The PSP has all along held that Panch Sheel only means the recognition of the fact that diverse ways of life and schemes of values exist in the world and that this fact should not lead to formation of warring blocs and situations in the cold war. Panch Sheel means that every nation has a right to shape its personality and its destiny in any way it likes and this should not come in the way of friendly relations or should provide an excuse for interfering in the affairs of others. This is far from accepting blindly as correct anything that is going on in the Communist world.

Howsoever desperately they may try, the Communists will not succeed in creating darkness at noon on this issue. Those who claim to be so well informed in what is going on in Kalimpong and Mussoorie should know that the PSP is not ruling India and that it is not in the hands of the PSP to fashion the foreign policy of the Government of India. Forgetting for the time being the PSP, therefore, let the Communists give a straight answer to the following questions:

Do they believe that the policy of the Government of India is expansionist and interventionist? Do they believe that the Government of India is responsible for the stay of Dalai Lama in India against his will? Do they believe that Kalimpong and Mussoorie are the command-centres of the rebellion in Tibet and that the Government of India is conniving at it? Do they believe that the present policy of the Government of India is a departure from the Panch Sheel? Shri Bhupesh Gupta dared not touch any of these issues. No wonder Dr. Kunzru said he had nothing to say in reply to the debate as Shri Bhupesh Gupta had hardly spoken to the point.

The debate in the Rajya Sabha has demonstrated once more how the Communists are isolated on the issue of Tibet. As Dr. Kunzru very rightly pointed out none could deny that the reaction in India to the situation arising out of the events in Tibet was strong and swift. In Parliament, all parties except the Communists had expressed their concern. Similarly, all except the Communists had received with joy Shri Nehru's statement about the entry of the Dalai Lama into India.
Why Are The Reds Silent?

The vituperative campaign carried on from day to day in Billingsgate language, politely referred to by Shri Nehru in Parliament as the “language of cold war regardless of truth and propriety”, clearly shows what value China places on India’s friendship! Though in the virulent Chinese attack Shri Nehru’s name was not brought in, he has rightly taken all that has been said as against his Government and the way that it has dealt with the Tibetan situation.

Though nothing new was said by the Prime Minister in his statement of the 27th April in Parliament, the charges levelled against India by the Chinese Government, its various agencies and its press were clearly and emphatically repudiated. Shri Nehru dealt afresh with the charge that Kalimpong was the centre of Tibetan revolt. He said that to consider it so would be “to make a large draft on imagination and to slur obvious facts”. If Kalimpong is not the basis of revolt, it is not manifestly inspired and helped by Western imperial powers and the Chinese agents of Chiang Kai-shek. Shri Nehru also discountenanced the Chinese contention that the rebellion was solely the work of the upper strata of reactionaries. He said that its basis must have been “a strong feeling of nationalism which affects not only the upper class but others also”. Was there a reason for revolt? It was that “the fears and the apprehensions about their future gripped their hearts and the national upsurge swarded their minds”. The Dalai Lama’s flight from Tibet was voluntary. He was not kidnapped to India.

Charge of “Expansionism”

Shri Nehru has also effectively disposed of the charge of interference in the internal affairs of China and that India had “expansionist” designs. He said India had voluntarily surrendered her extra-territorial rights in Tibet, acquired under British imperial rule. Alas, the Prime Minister did not know then that these rights were being re-nounced not in favour of the children of the soil, the Tibetans, but their overlords, the Chinese ruling party. As for Indian interest in the tragic events in Tibet, Shri Nehru said that it was “spontaneous and widespread. The reaction was not political but largely of sympathy based on certain feelings of kinship derived from long-standing religious and cultural ties”.

Shri Nehru’s statement in Parliament was comprehensive. It was dignified, couched in polite and courteous language, as befits the head of a civilised democratic government. In spite of great provocation he exercised restraint. Throughout the statement there was scrupulous concern shown to the susceptibilities of the Chinese authorities and the people, and a solitude for continued friendship. He made it clear that “we have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet. We have every desire to maintain the friendship between India and China; but at the same time greatly distrusted at their hapless plight. We hope still that the authorities of China in their wisdom will not use

Invitation to Panchen Lama

As for the two statements made in India, Shri Nehru said that they were voluntarily made by the Dalai Lama and no officer of the Foreign Department had any hand in their drafting. The latter merely handed over the copies of the statements to the press. Shri Nehru had personally ascertained these facts from the Dalai Lama, when he met him in Mussoorie on the 24th April. There was no coercion and no duress whatsoever was exercised. The Dalai Lama and the members of his party were free to move in Mussoorie or anywhere else. Shri Nehru reiterated his invitation to the Panchen Lama and the Chinese Ambassador here to pay a visit to the Dalai Lama at Mussoorie and ascertain for themselves whether the Dalai Lama left Tibet voluntarily and whether he was not a free agent in this country. These dignitories, if they accepted the invitation, were promised every facility in their investigation.

Relief To Tibetans

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, Chairman, the Central Relief Committee for Tibetans, has issued the following statement:

In response to the almost universal sympathy that is felt in this country for Tibetans who seek asylum in India, driven from their land by tragic events, a Relief Committee was formed a week back in Delhi. It is a non-political and non-party organisation, though some of its members individually belong to different political parties. It will work in co-operation with any agency that the Government may form for the purpose.

Recent reports indicate that several thousands of Tibetans have crossed the borders and sought asylum in our country. More may be coming. They come in utter destitution bringing nothing with them except the clothes they wear. This is natural because they are fleeing through the most difficult terrain pursued by a modern army. Between the people of India and Tibet there are mutual religious, cultural and commercial ties extending to several centuries. Apart from this there is the appeal of common humanity. Those who have come will, while in India, need accommodation, food, clothing, medical aid, some simple facilities for the education of their children and work. May I, therefore, appeal to all those who can to contribute their mite in money and kind in the cause of suffering humanity?

May I also request any regional relief organisation that may have been spontaneously formed to affiliate itself to the central organisation? Regional organisations may not be able to render at distant places on the Himalayan border in Assam and West Bengal and elsewhere the help and succour which a central organisation can. This will also obviate duplication and overlapping in our effort.
their great strength against the Tibetans but win them to friendly co-operation in accordance with the assurances they have themselves given about the autonomy of Tibet region. Above all, we hope that the present fighting and killing will cease."

Wild and Undignified Attack

What can be the possible objective of this wild and undignified Chinese attack on India which, as the Prime Minister said, was not true to facts? The immediate desire can only be to bully the Government of India to withdraw the asylum that it has accorded to the Dalai Lama, his party and the Tibetans obliged to cross the borders. We may get an idea of the ultimate aim from the maps of China which remain uncorrected, in spite of the protests of the Government of India. These maps include not only the territory of our Himalayan neighbours but parts of Uttar Pradesh and the North-East Frontier Agency.

It is nothing new or strange in the political world of today for nations, whatever their ideology or the form of internal governance—whether autocratic, military, democratic, socialist or communist—to have expansionist and imperialist ambitions. Even democratic, socialist and communist regimes are not free virus, in spite of the fact that all the three ideologies are inconsistent with imperialism. But under the guise of the White man's burden or the establishment of a classless society, or, on the plea of the antiquated right of sphere or influence or under a mandate, etc., they deprive weaker nations and countries of their freedom. What therefore China is doing today is nothing new. It is understandable. It is true to type.

CPI, Please, Reply

Under these circumstances, what should be the attitude of the Government of India towards Communist China may be left to the Government of India. But what the nation, after the clear and emphatic statement of our Prime Minister, would and must like to know is the opinion of a section of our countrymen towards the violent, virulent and not-true-to-facts propaganda that is going on in China against India. In spite of what Shri Nehru said, do the Indian Communists believe that the charges levelled against the Government of India are true? Do they believe that Kalimpong was the centre from where Tibetan revolt was guided or regulated? Do they believe that the Dalai Lama was kidnapped to India? Do they believe that he is under strict surveillance or that he was tutored by the officials of the Foreign Department to make the statements that he made? Were the statements made under duress? Does India want to interfere in the internal affairs of China? Do the Communists believe that India has expansionist designs on Tibet or for the matter of that anywhere else? Do they think that the Government should have denied the right of asylum to the Dalai Lama and his party? Do they want him, his entourage and the thousands of Tibetans, who have taken refuge in India, to be pushed back beyond the borders and be dealt with by the Chinese authorities as rebels, as our own people were dealt with after the so-called mutiny of 1857, which for us, including our Communist friends, was a war of Indian liberation? Why again have they accepted the Chinese maps which extend the Chinese domain to parts of Indian territory?

The Communists have to answer these questions. They are not a very modest and non-vocal lot. They take up cudgels when anything is said against a communist government or its acts of repression or external aggression! Why are they silent now? Is it because they want to save India-China friendship? Do they hope to do so when this virulent propaganda against India, ever which they maintain their ominous silence, is going on in China from day to day? Have they any influence with the communist governments whom they periodically support, in spite of the better judgment of their countrymen, not excluding a few of the Communists themselves who for party reasons remain mum? Or, are they merely camp followers even where the vital interests of their own nation are concerned?

Surely these questions have to be answered by the members of the Communist Party of India, if they want their claim to be democratic and patriotic to be recognised by the bulk of their people? If they do not make their position clear at this difficult time in the nation's history, they will have only to thank themselves if their bona fides are suspect in the eyes of their countrymen.
STUDIES IN SOCIALISM—XXXIII

Need for Revival of Community Spirit

THE Famine Commission (1880) had said “India has a poor law, but is unwritten.”

That means around 1880, in the village, there was a certain spirit of social solidarity and mutual responsibility. The Indian Irrigation Commission (1901-03) had said, “We were repeatedly assured that the maintenance of the tanks was not satisfactory, that khudimaramat was practically dead. Others regarded it as only moribund... We are ourselves reluctant to admit that so valuable an institution is really dead and past restoration.” The public Works Commission of 1869-70 had gone minutely into the question and produced a large mass of evidence to prove its continuance. So, it was between 1870 (or 1880) and 1900 that the old communal habits crumbled.

Today everyone realises the imperative need of the revival of that community spirit. It cannot reappear in the old form, of tradition and age-old habit. It has to be a consciously captured emotion, a deeply felt urge that makes meaningful man’s relations with soil and fellow-men. It is to that end that our utopian socialists from Gandhi to Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash have striven. Can rural problems be solved, can traditional elements be productivized, without the social elan they have sought to impart? will the socialists insist on educating the peasant in, what Sidney Webb has called, “the Austrian Pedantry”? Will binding obligations be only the chosen party?

Essentials

The organic needs of village community cannot be met by sharpening class conflicts or party rivalries. Devotion to community building demands an atmosphere of mutual good-will and not of simmering hostility. Is there any escape to the fusion of understanding with conscience, to the spontaneous acceptance of ethical imperatives? Whether the villager will accept these or not is a different question, what is crucial is whether the Socialist has any alternative, can escape from it.

Village communities have generally broken down: the villages present a picture of economic debris and social decay. Is it possible to attempt socialist transformation without reviving the community spirit? It is true that there are marked inequalities and embedded injustices in the village; to soften them is the responsibility of the reformers and administrators. The ameliorative measures will tend to remain on paper unless in the village an atmosphere responsive to changes prevails. How to evoke that atmosphere?

In Denmark, folk schools played a vital part in activating the villages. Education, not three R’s alone, but of community life has been widely recognised as a valuable social incubator. From China to Peru the need of mutual aid is recognised, but it is not yet clear whether the mutual aid teams function in an atmosphere of social strife between the various strata of peasants, depending on their economic status or political opinions, and under the duress of economic weapons of the State, like discriminatory taxation, obligatory deliveries of grain, distribution of credit meant to “dislodge the capitalist element from the village”, or by fostering in the village a community consensus.

Emphasis on Community Life

The emphasis, in our opinion, has to be on community life. Constructive work, restructuring of the village community alone can generate co-operation and the spirit that would help the traditional elements to get-productivized. Modernisation is necessary but the new spirit is needed to create a cultural milieu wherein it becomes possible to absorb large investments and higher techniques. This is particularly the case in Asia where the land-man ratio is low, where the pressure of agricultural population demand intensive effort for improved production.

Many observers have been deeply impressed with the socialist developments in Israel. The Jewish socialists explain the secret of their success to the widespread acceptance of a common value system, a way of life, that has made it possible for new institutions to emerge and variations in innovations and innovators to take place. A value system that fosters social cohesion can give new meaning to self-help and universalise mutual aid.

The spirit behind Bhoodan and Gramdan even if their entire programme is not endorsed, therefore possesses an enlivening quality. It breathes into the people community consciousness and civic pride. It fosters the attitude of growing through the community and not at the expense of it. To give to the community, as one tends the soil, is to gather golden harvest; to drain the community, as eroding soil, spreads aridity.

Economic Incentives

It is essential to provide economic incentives to the peasant as also to increase the range of his wants. Their significance to economic development will be brought out in the next article. It is equally necessary to widen his horizon; he is apt, as Lao Tse pointed out, to sit on the bank of a river and never have the desire to cross it! If development proceeds at the expense of the village community, it adds to the social tensions and hardships of the villages. In so far as the changes involve community building, a new development potential emerges.

Erosion of soil and society has to be countered by fostering conservatism: not disruption, but organise growth becomes the vital need of the peasant.

It might be asked if a philosophy like that of Sarvodaya, a species of the genus of Utopian Socialism, would not prove a brake on modernisation? It is true that some of its ideas, like self-sufficiency of the village, are unreal and socially atavistic. But taken as a whole, without such a philosophy—of ethical awareness and community orien-

by

Asoka Mehta
The pulverisation of village will be arrested to the extent the village is helped to rediscover its unity and autonomy.

Dr. John Mathai wrote, "The principal officers of the village—the Headman, the Accountant and the Watchman—though still in charge of administrative duties have become more the servants of Government than of the village community." This situation needs to be redressed and reversed.

As Proudhon tirelessly repeated a village must be given the opportunity to work with other villages—the federal impulse must be at work in constantly enlarging circles. The village as the basic social cell would grow into larger social organisms.

Village meetings—or even town meetings—of all adults have to be basic organs of democracy. The principle of community, characteristic of the panchayats in the past as Sidney Webb pointed out, is a desirable principle because it trains people in the art of fusing as against replacing wills.

In economy, insistence cannot be on collectives or co-operatives. The village must be helped to pool its resources and plan development in community spirit. Inevitably out of that various efforts will emerge but they would be enlivened with the needed spirit.

It is unwise to conceive co-operatives as a lush pastures to which an unwilling herd is to be driven. Small ownership can be a source of satisfaction and pride. Through appropriate incentives joint work, or mutual aid, can be fostered. But to disrupt the umbilical cord that unites a peasant with his plot is to invite social erosion. Through moral sanction and the attraction of example people might enter even full co-operatives, but coercive measures in that direction must prove fatal to production. Extension services democratically organised have within them considerable co-operative potential of the legitimate kind.

New Entrepreneur

In developing Socialist societies a new entrepreneurial type can emerge. A keen student of Israel has said, "Perhaps the most important single type of new entrepreneur is what may be called the "institutional" entrepreneur colonizer. He is a man who has some key in a settlement, in a co-operative enter-

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BOMBAY 23.
THE Afro-Asian Youth Conference which was held on 20th February in Cairo has received publicity in Asia and Africa, mainly because of its appeal as an organisation of the underdeveloped and backward peoples who have suffered or are suffering under the heels of the Western imperialism and white racialism. It has, however, escaped the attention of the gullible and unsearching mind as to who were the forces behind the Conference. If one recalls the similar organisation of the Afro-Asian Student Conference in Bandung three years ago, or the setting up of Afro-Asian People’s Solidarity Conference as also a writers’ conference, one would hardly be left in doubt as to the sponsorship of this spurt of Afro-Asian organisations. In the wake of these abovementioned cases, efforts are being made to organise the Afro-Asian Economists’ Conference and Afro-Asian Women’s Conference.

Play Upon the Emotions

This systematic and sustained attempt to play upon the emotions of the Afro-Asian peoples should put these peoples on guard and they should have a closer look as to the characters of the sponsors, financiers and participants of these conferences. Their experiences, bitter as they are, of colonial exploitation should have a closer look at the could be harnessed to the service of either of the two power blocs and thus their neutrality and freedom could be compromised. Hence, the need for vigilance.

The Cairo Conference was attended by 400 delegates from fifty countries and was presided over by Mr. Kamal El Hussain, Chairman of Higher Welfare Youth Council of UAR. Observers from Yugoslavia, Arab League, WFTU, WFDY, WAY, Africa League and International Women Organisations attended the Conference. The Conference divided itself into six committees—on sports, arts, political affairs, youth affairs, cultural affairs and social affairs. The Conference adopted a declaration read out by its chairman, declaring support to the principles of Cairo and Bandung; solidarity of Asia and Africa; desire to co-operate with the youth of the world; determination to secure evacuation of foreign troops from “our territories” and to overcome the problems of imperialism; denunciation of racial segregation; resistance to cold war and aggressive military alliances and demands for freedom, independence, peace, security and happiness.

The Conference supported positive neutralism, denounced Israel and decided to call the Israel-occupied territory of Israel as usurped Palestine. It decided to observe 15th May as the Palestine Day. Liberation of Palestine was considered to be the only solution of the problem of this part of the Arab nations. The Conference also condemned the French repression in Algeria.

The ‘Afro-Asian’ Big Brother

The above outline of the decisions of the Conference appears at first sight to be heart warming and imbued with the spirit of anti-colonialism. And yet, facts below the surface tell a different story. By what geographical manipulation has the USSR become an Afro-Asian country? Yet, the USSR delegation was rather too conspicuous a participant of the Conference. The delegation from S. Vietnam objected to its inclusion, but the objection was not entertained.

We may point out that this great Afro-Asian big brother, the Soviet Union, has not a few skeletons in her cupboard. Yet, no reference was made about her colonial aspirations. The Japanese delegation brought the question of Northern Islands occupied by Soviet Union and asked that together with the demand of USA’s withdrawal from Taiwan, the Soviet Union should also be asked to quit these Islands. And, yet the Afro-Asian Youth Conference not only did not accept the Japanese amendment, it did not as much care to take a vote on it.

Again, the loudly professed “positive neutralism” of the conference did not prevent it from condemning Israel and the USA.

It is interesting to note that Israeli delegates were not invited; instead, a delegation from Palestine was admitted and the authenticity of this delegation can easily be surmised. One may have little quarrel with the denunciation of the USA and may not very much concur with the demand of the South Vietnamese delegate that no country should be “named” while discussing Taiwan’s case; yet, positive neutralism makes little sense when all condemnation of one power bloc with the active participation and association (and leadership?) by the other power bloc is made the objective of the Conference.

The IPC

No list of delegates, their names and addresses was ever supplied to the participants. Many of the delegates representing far-off countries were those permanently residing in the UAR. Representatives from Ghana had no credentials at all; and yet, this delegation was one of the Vice-Chairman of the International Preparatory Committee, IPC.

The IPC was appointed by the secretariat of the Afro-Asian Peoples’ Solidarity Conference out of the list supplied by the WFDY—the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the well-known international communist youth front. How did it come about that the two other powerful world youth organisations—the International Union of Socialist Youth and the World Assembly of Youth—were not asked for help at any step of the preparatory stage? It is rather too well-known that these two and not the WFDY, enjoy consultative status with the UN and represent a large majority of the youth. But they were ignored. Again, no information seems to have been sought from the UNO or any limb thereof. How this came about would not prove difficult for Indians to understand. The youth secretary of the Asian-African Peoples’ Solidarity Conference, that is, the person who actually decided things about on its behalf and nominated an IPC—is no other than the “honest Congressman”, Shri H. D. Malaviya of the “Report to the Nation” fame, still basking in the past glory of ex-editorship of the Economic Review of the AICC.
This unrepresentative, communist-nominated IPC was responsible for inviting delegations. In this task, it solely depended on the WFDY list. In the case of fixation of agenda and procedure also, the IPC had the last word and delegations were not given the choice of framing their own rules for their guidance. The IPC was dissolved with the commencement of the Conference. Hence, since it had finalised everything in advance, no change could be suggested. Thus, the normal way of democratic functioning was circumvented here.

**Cooked Up Resolutions**

Six committees had been formed to discuss various issues. But, only one, that is, the political committee held discussions. Even in this committee, only one of the several points in the draft resolution could be taken up. And, strange as it may sound, reports and resolutions were placed in the open sessions on behalf of all the committees, while heads of delegations had the opportunity to discuss the report of only one committee. Translations of the texts of resolutions were not provided; speeches were also not translated except in Arabic, and there were complaints from amongst delegates that even the texts of resolutions supplied to the chair differed from those distributed to the delegates. Again, certain delegates pointed out that the political committee resolution’s text had been given to Chinese and the USSR delegations much earlier than that committee had even met.

An interesting incident in the Conference related to the resolution supporting the World Youth Festival. Although in the fellow travelling monthly “Contemporary”, the FIY delegate to the Conference has pretended to ignore the voting on the resolution, the vote was 23 in favour, 5 against and 20 abstentions. But, the abstentions were not recorded. That as many as 20 delegations abstained was also inconvenient to the organisers.

This account makes clear the hidden directing hand of the communist WFDY. It was the WFDY which gave travel grants to delegates. Where would have the money come from? If, then, the Conference served the purpose of the communist power bloc, it was natural that one who pays the piper commands the tune. The anti-Israel atmosphere of the Conference, although primarily related to the UAR’s immediate interests, was good for the USSR ultimately.

**The Net of Conspiracy**

How widely cast is the net of this conspiracy becomes obvious when it is seen that in the African Youth Festival which was organised at the end of the Conference, more than 350 African youths were those who had earlier visited the World Youth Festivals. The communists are frantically trying to capture the African anti-colonial movements in order to use them in the interests of the Sino-Soviet bloc. Col. Nasser is only providing grist to the communist mill. Although the entire atmosphere of the Conference was pro-Nasser and it was apparently Nasser whose shadow got lengthened, yet in fact, the whole scheme had been hatched by the communists.

The FIY delegate has in his report stated that the SYS (PSP) had joined the Indian Preparatory Committee. This is false. One hopes FIY friends would henceforward exercise scruples for truth.

**CHECK RISING PRICES**

May Day Rally under the auspices of Hind Mazdoor Sabha (Delhi) was held on Dangal ground. Mr Mushtaq Ahmad presided. Shri N. G. Goray, M.P., Shri D. D. Vashisht, Shri Jamna Das Akhtar and Bakhshi Faqir Chand impressed upon the workers the need of strengthening the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

The total collection made by the various unions was Rs. 300/- by selling one-anna badges. The following resolution was adopted:

This May Day rally of toiling people and working class held under the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, Delhi, is of the opinion that the increase in prices of daily requirements of workers is not only decreasing real wages but is also adversely affecting all schemes of Social Security. It brings down the real value of the benefits to be received in future, such as pension and gratuity. The real value of the rupee has gone down five times during the past two decades and mounting deficit financing and other measures will exert further pressures.

The high prices of primary necessities has lowered the workers standard of living, leaving them no scope to purchase other commodities. This has led to a serious crisis in many consumer industries, resulting in the growth of unemployment and fall in the money income of workers.

While welcoming adoption by the Government of the policy of State Trading in foodgrains is of the opinion, that on the whole the Government has miserably failed to arrest the malady of rising prices.

The rally, in this resolution, called upon the Government to arrest this trend and bring down prices to a reasonable level, and suggested measures to be adopted immediately.

**THE YOUTH AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION**

By Surendra Mohan

**INDIAN STUDENTS AND COMMUNIST DISRUPTION**

By Chandrabhaj Tripathi

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Thoughts on P.S.P. in West Bengal

Now that politically the Communists have been exposed as a nationally dangerous force drawing inspiration from foreign fountain-springs of politics, it devolves on the PSP to develop as the opposition party in this State at least. Let it be understood that W. Bengal as a border State is more difficult and complex than the Punjab. Here Pakistan, Burma, Bhutan, Sikkim, China are proximate. And if Calcutta is considered as the most strategically important nerve centre in East India, the security of the more difficult Indian regions of Assam, NEFA are also to be kept in mind. The question is: Does the PSP realise its task? Has its leadership the vision and the political stature to undertake this major responsibility.

The Trend of Gravitation

It is no use talking big in terms of the larger responsibilities unless the PSP can make its distinctive mark, politically as well as organisationally within this State itself. The rest may follow as a consequence. Even in this State the CPI may be exposed today among some politically-minded people but not before the general mass. It is still a great force, the only effective opposition party round which only lately the united front used to revolve. Its exposure among the lower middle class, the workers and the peasantry is still to be accomplished. Even the PSP was working with the CPI for some time, almost as a satellite. At present there have been signs of some independence and self-reliance. But the trend of gravitation towards the CPI is not yet completely reversed.

It is in this setting that the PSP and its friends have to consider its new responsibilities. It is time to think constructively, in terms of broad political terms and perspectives, not in terms of narrow groups, interests and personalities. No great task is ever accomplished by small minds.

Let us try to have a broad look at the West Bengal PSP. Its hard core of leadership which runs the party machinery is honest, hard-working, systematic, persevering and possesses a sense of discipline. This has kept the party going as an organisational. But in addition to this there are quite a number of personalities, each more colourful than the other, scattered throughout the party and having their own field activities, whether among workers, the towns people, the refugees or the peasants. There are intellectuals, students and youth leaders. But all these are not "drawn in", so to say, not integrated into the Party, nor consulted often enough. They do not even know each other closely. Thus, to sum up the situation, while the Party is expanding, correspondingly the leadership is not getting integrated and broad-based as new circles and groups are joining the Party. The organisational leadership is limited to the disciplined hard core, while the political leadership is scattered and dispersed.

Wider Base of Leadership

Is such a situation conducive to further growth? A political party obtains its strength both from its politics as well as from its numerical strength and coordinated activity. It appears to me that the present leadership is rather rigid and disciplinarian in a puritanical sense and as a result gives less stress, in the political aspect, on the formation of a wider base of leadership. I can understand its apprehensions. It may feel that once the bridle is let loose you do not know in how many directions the members will go. Yes, this would be true today. But in a democratic party, the "bridle" the "discipline" should be political, through the influence of political policies and ideas. That party which is held together by the consensus of the political ideas among its leading members and by the close and informal relationship between them is the strongest, not the one which is bound by the constant threat of disciplinary action.

As I see it, there are great potentialities for the PSP in West Bengal. Quite a larger number of intelligent people who see no hope in the Congress or who would feel lost in it, and who have been disillusioned about the Communists as a democratic hope for the country, are known to join the PSP as the best alternative. But they can be attracted only when they find that those who have already joined are being properly absorbed. But this process has still to be accelerated.

The Group Mentality

What comes in the way of such a process of absorption and integration? Possibly the old historical background of the PSP having come into being as a result of several groups joining to form it. This group mentality must now be shed. The PSP has to be built as the party of the people and every member should be judged on his own merit and ability as a leader of the people, and not in terms of his group loyalty and past background.

The most important thing that the PSP needs is self-confidence. Does it feel it can lead the people of the State in the future? Or, does it think that it still needs the crutches of a united front with the Communists? This is not a question of number at all; it is a question of will-power and political guts. Now that the integrity of the Communists has been publicly questioned, the PSP has come to a historic point when it has to decide once and for all if it has the courage to lead the people as an alternative to the Congress, all on its own and even against the Communists if need be. This is the political decision and moral well-making that is the crucial issue facing the West Bengal PSP leadership. Let each of them, whether they belong to the core or to the scattered sector, think over seriously and decide. I may only say this much that only those who will boldly answer this issue will come to be the leaders of the Party in due course of time. The rest will be washed away by the historical forces. May be, these latter will then be absorbed in the Communist movement.

Be Frank

The Communists have been frank on this issue. The recent Party
Conference, as well as the article by J. M. Kaul, in the monthly New Age have thrown a straight challenge to the leftists: either behave (round the queen bee) or be damned as a reactionary as in Kerala. Kaul's article should be the beginning of a free and thoughtful discussion inside the PSP, so that the crystallisation of ideas takes place frankly. The CPI will have a hard time in Kerala in the next elections. In West Bengal and Andhra they hope to win. In Andhra they can go it alone. In West Bengal, without the United Front, they will not have the previous mass appeal. If the PSP, instead of waiting to reap the benefits of the Communists' work, thus becoming their satellites, work confidently in the next three years, it is not impossible for them to come out as a ray of hope in West Bengal. Let us hope the leadership and the rank and file of the PSP will give serious thoughts to these questions.

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SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT
Determination To Build P.S.P. In Maharashtra

The Fifth Annual Conference of the Praja Socialist Party, Maharashtra, was held at Ahmednagar on 26th and 27th April under the Chairmanship of Shri N. G. Goray. The Conference was inaugurated by Shri Prem Bhasin. In terms of the business of the Conference, the attendance of the delegates and member-visiters, the lead given to the Conference by Shri N. G. Goray and Prem Bhasin and the mass enthusiasm witnessed during the huge procession and the mammoth public meetings held in the city, the Conference was a great success and served as an event to inspire and enthuse the Party workers to work with renewed enthusiasm and vigour in the Silver Jubilee year of the Party.

Shri Prem Bhasin made a spirited and reasoned speech while inaugurating the conference. He emphasised the fact that refusal of the Government to concede the demand of Samyukta Maharashtra and settle the border disputes unilaterally had done disservice not only to the people of Maharashtra but to the nation as a whole since the unsettled problem of States Reorganisation had diverted the attention of the people from pressing nation-building activities.

Tribute to S. M. Joshi

Shri Prem Bhasin paid a glowing tribute to Shri S. M. Joshi who had emerged in the Samyukta Maharashtra movement as a towering personality with an undaunted will to achieve the demand of Samyukta Maharashtra. He, however, expressed his regret that the All-India Party had failed to derive the benefit of his powerful personality to build the Socialist movement in different parts of the country. He made an impassioned plea to Shri S. M. Joshi to move in different parts of India so as to lend lustre and life to the Socialist movement in different States.

Shri Prem Bhasin exhorted the delegates to give an unwavering support to the national uprising in Tibet and expose the anti-national efforts of the Communists to defend the Chinese allegations against Tibet and India.

Emphasising the special responsibility on the party members to make the Silver Jubilee Session of the Praja Socialist Party a great success, Shri Prem Bhasin stressed that if U.P., Bihar and Maharashtra branches of the Party give maximum stress on enrolment of Party Membership in the coming two months the membership target of the All-India Praja Socialist Party would be reached. He hoped that Maharashtra PSP would succeed in completing its target of one lakh members.

Shri N. G. Goray, the Chairman of the Maharashtra PSP set the tone for the Conference by his balanced speech.

Give Up the Chairs, not the PSP

He made a frontal attack on those in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti who are demanding the dissolution of all parties in Maharashtra and conversion of the Samiti into a new party. He bluntly warned the protagonists of the dissolution of parties that if Samiti feels that we should either resign our seats won through the sponsorship of the Samiti or dissolve the parties, the PSP members would prefer to give up the chairs in legislatures but not the PSP. He exhorted the constituents of the Samiti to restrict the scope of the Samiti to its specific objectives so that the instrument of the Samiti would be more effective.

Reviewing the position of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement Shri Goray suggested that the Samiti should plan the various phases of its struggle in such a way that maximum sanctions would be forged by the budget session in 1960. He suggested resignations from local bodies and legislatures and demonstrations by successive stages.

Speaking on the situation in Tibet, Shri Goray emphasised that the aggression in Tibet under the banner of "Liberation" has posed a new challenge to the under-developed countries. Can we not expect the development of small backward countries except through a meek submission either to Western or to Communist Imperialism? He stressed the need to strengthen the defences of Himalayan border in the interest of India's security.

Shri Goray stressed the need to offer responsive co-operation to the Government in spheres like co-operative farming, development of small industries, strengthening of Gram Panchayats at the same time resisting vigilantly every act of injustice by the Government.

League of Socialist Workers Join PSP

He wholeheartedly welcomed the workers of the League of Socialist Workers from Maharashtra, who have recently joined the PSP and have made valuable contribution towards broadening and strengthening the base of the Party in Marathwada region.

Shri M. R. Dandavate submitted the Secretary's report to the Provincial Conference. He has reviewed in the report the development of the Party since the last Provincial Congress.

The Party branch has received the account for 11,000 members. The Party is determined to enrol a lakh of members by the end of June, 1959. The PSP has 38 members in the Bombay Assembly and 8 in the Council and is thus the largest group in the Assembly and the Council. The Party has held provincial camp in March to discuss the organisational and policy issues. In recent months the sale of "Jana-vani", the official organ of the Party in Maharashtra, has gone up due to special efforts by Party workers from Bombay city.

The Party has set up a preparatory committee for the Silver Jubilee Session of the Party in November 1959.

Resolutions

The resolution on Education demanded the extension of the period of teaching English in secondary schools and welcomed the decision of the Government to give facilities to backward classes irrespective of their religion and caste. The resolution on the closure of mills demanded that Government should take over the mills closed by the mill-owners owing to their own mismanagement. The resolution on Tibet reiterated its faith in the policy of the Party enunciated by the National Executive's resolution on Tibet. The resolution on "India's
border" strongly protested the action of the Chinese Government in incorporating certain areas of Indian territory in China's map and so also the attack on certain areas on the Indian border by the Pakistani forces.

The resolution on Samyukta Maharashtra exhorted the Party workers to work steadfastly and vigorously for the realisation of the objective of Samyukta Maharashtra and categorically rejected the plea for creating the separate State of Vidarbha.

New Office-Bearers

For the ensuing year Shri N. G. Goray was re-elected as the Chairman and Shri Shivaji Patil was elected as the Provincial Secretary. Shri Madhav Limaye and Shamrao Kakirwar were elected as the Joint Secretaries.

The Conference of the PSP had generated great enthusiasm in the historic city of Ahmednagar. The enthusiasm reached its highest pitch when a huge procession was taken out in the city on 26th April. The procession culminated in a mammoth rally at Gandhi Maidan which was addressed by Shri Prem Bhasin and Shri S. M. Joshi and presided over by Shri N. G. Goray.

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Planning and Private Sector

Speaking at the A.I.C.C. Session at New Delhi Shri Nehru rather firmly struck a new note on the question of merits of Private Sector and the Public Sector. There was a time when he had taken up the stand that there was nothing like a public sector and a private sector and that the philosophy of mixed economy demanded that such artificial compartments should be ignored. He used to assert at that time that the largest field was left open to the private sector in the country because the peasant proprietor belonged to that sector and agriculture and agriculturists still comprised the overwhelmingly large sector of our economy and population respectively.

For some time now this line was being slowly given up. The peasant proprietor himself was under fire. It was contended that the farming cooperatives were better forms of social and economic organisations and deserved all encouragement at the hands of the State even if that amounted to discriminating against peasant proprietor.

In his speech at the A.I.C.C. Shri Nehru went a step further and said that the public sector was superior to the private sector in any field of our economic activity. He informed the A.I.C.C. members that the great captains of industry in India had not terribly impressed him. They wanted every thing from the Government for their enterprise, wanted subsidy in case their affairs went wrong, wanted the Government to protect them in case there was a competition from more efficient concerns abroad and so on. After all this support from the Government, said Shri Nehru, enabled them to make money and called themselves captains of industry. They agitated for all the lucrative spheres of our economy to be preserved for the private sector, the Government bearing all the burdens of their failures. Shri Nehru firmly resisted this plea. He said “leaving all these things to private enterprise is not possible. They have no conception of planning, no conception of looking at things in an integrated way.”

These are harsh words but not quite unjustified. The private sector has tended to grow at the expense of the larger interests of the country and have succeeded in compelling the Government to go to their aid whenever they were in difficulties. The textile industry is a very illustrative example of the way in which the private sector goes about its work.

Of course, this is not to suggest that there are no men of enterprise, initiative and competence in the private sector. There are any number of them, some having pull with the Government and, therefore, becoming a roaring success; others out of favour with the Government and, therefore, compelled to struggle against heavy odds. The latter are the real cream of our industry. They do not strut about calling themselves the captains of industry and do not claim to speak on behalf of the entrepreneurs of the
community and any economic planning that ignores them would be exposed to the charge of wasting the most precious asset.

These entrepreneurs, in their turn, should realise that they can be most effective only in a planned and regulated economy where they would have ample opportunities to utilise their faculties in the best possible way. No entrepreneur worth his name should have any fear of rapid industrialisation of the country. He should be confident that he would be able to deliver goods—whatever be the tempo of development. It is only those who have gone to the top of the industry because of accidental causes who should be afraid of the gathering momentum of development. They would be pushed out in any such large-scale economic activity that would release forces which they would not be able to understand or control. Their fears are fully justified but the country is entitled to ignore them.

A Fruitful Adventure

In a joint statement issued from Jullunder by Master Tara Singh and Sardar Gopal Singh of the Akali Dal and Shri Ganga Saran Sinha and Shri N. G. Goray of the PSP, the leaders of the two organisations, have declared their desire to work together through the medium of the Kisan panchayats in order to alleviate the grievances of the peasantry and to clear the administration of the evils of nepotism and corruption. For the time being the co-operation is restricted to only these two questions that are agitating the minds of the kisans in the Punjab as elsewhere. The PSP has evolved a definite policy on these issues and the Akali Dal leaders are in agreement with this policy. This agreement on policy between the two organisations has made the joint working possible. There are certain other issues such as language and management of Shriners on which the Akali Dal will be free to follow its line on these matters and so will be the PSP free to follow its own line.

As Shri Ganga Saran Sinha, the Chairman of the PSP, pointed out in reply to a question the strengthening of any of the two parties as a result of this agreement was not its chief aim. This would be quite clear from the realities of the politics of the Punjab. The Akali Dal has a considerable mass following in the area. It is not likely to derive any additional strength in the form of mass support as a result of the joint working with the PSP. The PSP does not believe in creating factions in other organisations and has strictly followed the policy of discouraging factions in the Students and Kisan workers and other organisations. It will follow the same policy in the case of the Akali Dal also. There are Communist members and the Congress members in other organisations. There will not be PSP members in this S. G. P. C. The question of strengthening one or the other organisation is not, therefore, the chief aim of this agreement. Of course, it is possible and is desired that by joint working the common cause in which both the PSP and the Akali Dal believe will be strengthened.

As Shri Goray, the General Secretary, pointed out in reply to another question the agreement can be stretched even to political problems. The main condition for enlarging the area of joint working will be the identity of policy in the matter of that particular area in which the joint working is agreed to.

The joint statement thus contains seeds of a fruitful adventure in which the two political parties participate not with a view to strengthen their position but with a sole purpose of serving a common cause. In the present day situation in India co-operation between the two political parties wishing to maintain its identity can have meaning only in some such arrangement.

Text of the Joint Statement

"Master Tara Singh and Sardar Gopal Singh of the Akali Dal met here Shri Ganga Saran Sinha, the Chairman, and Shri N. G. Goray, the General Secretary of the PSP, and had a free and frank exchange of views on the problems facing Punjab. "The peasantry of Punjab has many economic problems to face and the administration of the State suffers from the evils of nepotism and corruption. It was agreed that, in order to alleviate the grievances of the peasantry and to cleanse the administration both the parties could work together through the medium of the Kisan organisation. The details of this agreement will be worked out by the executive committees of both the organisations which are scheduled to meet shortly."

Tolstoy's 50th Death Anniversary

A Committee to celebrate the 50th Death Anniversary of the great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy, which falls on the 8th November 1960, has been constituted with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan as Chairman and the following as members: Shri Tarashankar Banerjee, well-known Bengali novelist, Shri D. R. Bendre, well-known Kannada poet, Shri Ramchandra Sinha 'Dinkar', well-known Hindi poet, Shri R. R. Diwakar, President, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Shri Jainendra Kumar, well-known Hindi novelist, Shri Umashankar Joshi, well-known Gujarati poet, Shri Anant Kanekar, well-known Marathi writer, Shri G. Ramachandran, Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, and Madame Sophia Wadia, Founder of the Indian PEN.

Shri Prabhakar Padhye is the Secretary of the Committee. Office of the Committee is located at 5 Hailey Road, New Delhi.

The Committee proposes to:
1. Conduct an Essay Competition for graduate and postgraduate students of the Indian Universities;
2. Prepare a Bibliography of the works on and of Tolstoy;
3. Hold a Camp-cum-Seminar on the Life and Thought of Tolstoy.

JANATA, May 17, 1959
Acharya Kripalani On Tibet And China

(We publish below extracts from Acharya J. B. Kripalani’s speeches in Provisional Parliament and the Lok Sabha since 1950. These extracts show that Acharya J had consistently shown the motive of Red China in overrunning Tibet.)

(1) Speech delivered in Provisional Parliament on Motion regarding International Situation on 6th December, 1950:

In his enunciation of the country’s foreign policy, the Prime Minister in 1950 said India would judge every act of a country on its merits. Acharya Kripalani in reply to him said that actions often arise from the character of individuals and nations. It may also happen that one action may override all other actions. For instance, if a man commits a murder, that one action overrides all his other actions.

Acharya Kripalani continued: It (China) had a people’s government and that government was in charge of the country. We (the Government of India) therefore thought that it was right that it should not be denied the membership of the U.N.O., and we advocated the cause of China. Why? Because we were thinking in terms of isolated events. Our attitude from this point appeared right. We said that this government represents the people of China and is in possession of power and so it should be allowed to be a member of the U.N.O. But, if we had waited a little, we would have been more cautious in our advocacy. Soon, this nation that had been struggling for its own freedom strangled the freedom of a neighbouring nation, with whose freedom we are intimately concerned.

I am not talking about the theoretical right of China on Tibet. In spite of this theoretical claim of China over Tibet, many of us here feel that our advocacy of China for the membership of the U.N.O. was premature. Our Government’s attitude is understandable only on the assumption that Tibet is a far-off country and is none of our concern! But supposing what has happened in Tibet happens in Nepal, suppose the Chinese “liberation” forces come to Nepal, then I am sure we will, whether we are well prepared or ill prepared, go to war against China, cost what it may. If that is so, at that time what would become of our advocacy of China to the membership of the United Nations? We cannot be at war with a nation and also advocate its entry into the U.N.O. That would be absurd.

When we advocated its (China’s) membership of the United Nations, China did not think that we were inspired by some other nation. But when it came to the question of Tibet, they tell us that in our opposition we are inspired by some other nation.

(2) Speech in the Lok Sabha on debate on motion regarding International Situation, 17th September, 1953:

From China we expected something better, but its very first act was to smother the freedom of the small kingdom of Tibet which had been virtually independent for centuries.

(3) Speech delivered in Lok Sabha on the debate on the motion regarding International Situation on 15th May, 1954:

Recently we have entered into a treaty with China. This treaty concerns the whole of India. It does not concern a party or a person, it affects us all. We feel that China, after it had gone communist, committed an act of aggression in Tibet. The plea is that China had the ancient right of suzerainty. This right was out of date, old and antiquated. It was theoretical; it was never exercised or very rarely exercised and even then in theory. It had lapsed by the flux of time. Even if it had not lapsed it is not right in these days of democracy, by which our Communist friends swear, by which the Chinese swear, to talk of this ancient suzerainty and exercise it in a new form in a country which had and has nothing to do with China.

Tibet is culturally more akin to India than it is to China, at least Communist China, which has repudiated all its old culture. I consider this as such a colonial aggression on the part of China as any colonial aggression indulged in by Western nations.

The definition of colonialism is, that one nation by force of arms or fraud occupies the territory of another nation. In this age of democracy, when we hold that all people should be free and equal, China’s occupation of Tibet is a deliberate act of aggression. Whether certain nations commit aggression against other peaceful nations does not always concern us. But in this case we are intimately concerned, because China has destroyed that which is called a buffer state. In international politics, when a buffer state is destroyed by a powerful nation, that nation is considered to have committed aggression against its neighbours.

It is also well-known that in the new map of China other border territories like Nepal, Sikkim, etc., figure. This gives us an idea of the aggressive designs of China. Let us see what the Chinese themselves did in the Korean war. As soon as the U.N. troops, or more correctly the American troops, reached the borders of China, it felt insecure and it immediately joined the Korean war. Even the mere approach of a foreign army to its borders made China to participate in the Korean war. I refuse to believe that the Chinese had sympathy with North Korea. If their borders had not been endangered, they would not have bothered themselves about the Korean war.

I do not say that because China conquered Tibet we should have gone to war with it. It was possible. But we did well in not going to war. But this does not mean that we should recognise the claim of China on Tibet. We must know that it is an act of aggression against a foreign nation. It is as abominable as colonialism of any Western power.

(4) Speech delivered in Lok Sabha on the motion regarding International Situation on 20th September, 1954:

We have failed in arresting the march of a Communist China to our
THE BALANCE SHEET

COMMUNIST China and its friends in India may be happy that the former has not only put down the revolt in Tibet with a heavy hand but has also exposed to the world, the "Panch Sheel". I hope I will not be misunderstood when I say that this great doctrine was born in sin, because it was enunciated to put the seal of our approval upon the destruction of an ancient nation which was associated with us spiritually and culturally. The "Panch Sheel" was enunciated on the eve of a nation losing its liberty.

As Hon'ble Member : Is that nation suffering?

Acharya Kripalani : Whether it is suffering or not is not the question. It was a nation which wanted to live its own life and it ought to have been allowed to live its own life. A good government is no substitute for self-government.

Chinese action against Tibet has frightened all the countries in Asia, especially in South-East Asia. They feel that ultimately they too might have to suffer the fate of Tibet. Fear makes strange bed-fellows. The unhappy, though the natural result of this will be that more and more the non-Communist Asian nations will look to America for their safety and security, even as the nations of Western Europe behind the Iron Curtain.

A Boomerang

Neither the Chinese in their arrogance nor their friends in India realise the injury they have done to their own cause. Instead of exposing and checking what they call Western Imperialism, they have helped it. They have frightened the whole of Asia to look for their safety to Western Powers, especially America. In the present stage of international affairs aggressive violence of one nation against another often acts as a boomerang. The net result of the suppression of the Tibetan national movement is that more and more uncommitted Asian countries will look to America for the safety of their homes and hearths and their way of life.

Communist China has helped the Western bloc more than it imagines. Even an autonomous Tibet would have been less harmful for the standing and prestige of China than the loss of faith of Asian nations in its peaceful intentions and their consequent reliance on America for their security. The net result is extension of the cold war area, which makes world peace even more distant than today.
The Strange World of Indian Socialism

[This is text of the letter of Shri Prem Bhasin, Joint Secretary, PSP, to the editor of "Link" where he points out inaccuracies committed and wrong statements made by the author of the "Strange World of Indian Socialism" published in the issue of April 26, 1959.]

ALLOW me to point out some of the major inaccuracies and wrong statements of fact in the article captioned "The Strange World of Indian Socialism" published in the "Link" of 26th April, 1959.

1. The recent meeting of the National Executive of the PSP held at Delhi on April 17-20, 1959, did not discuss any proposal, tentative or otherwise, for changing the Constitution of the Party.

"Unity Faction"

2. The National Executive did not spend more than fifteen minutes on the question of the proposed unity with the dissident Socialists who have organised themselves in the so-called "Unity Faction" of the Socialist Party.

3. There was no discussion in this meeting on the three conditions put forward by the Unity Faction and there was no occasion for a heated debate or threats of resignation by any one. This report is absolutely without any foundation. The fifteen minutes or so spent by the National Executive on this question were taken up by a report made by the Chairman of his talk with Shri Bipin Pal Dass, Convenor of the Unity Faction, at an interview on April 18, 1959.

It appeared from the Chairman's report that Shri Dass had no new proposals or concrete suggestions, and the Executive felt that nothing had happened since Allahabad which could justify a reconsideration of the position adopted there.

4. The three conditions put forward by the Unity Faction were considered in detail and at length by the National Executive at its meeting held at Allahabad in the last week of December, 1958. The conditions, as put forward by Shri Bipin Pal Dass, in his letter of 12th December, 1958 to the General Secretary of the PSP were as follows:

1. that the united party should be given a new name;
2. that the original stand in the Socialist movement against alliances with Congress, Communists and the Communalists should be reiterated; and
3. that the principle of civil disobedience should be accepted and put into practice when and where any unit of the Party considers it necessary and so decides.

As a result of these deliberations the National Executive adopted a resolution which received wide publicity at that time. I reproduce below the relevant parts of the resolution for the information of the editorial staff and readers of the "Link":

"The National Executive is of the view that there has never been any basic difference between the PSP and the Socialist Party on the question of political alliances and satyagraha. The Executive is, however, unable to accept the proposal for the change of name of the PSP when only a section of the Socialist Party proposes to unite with it. Acceptance of such a proposal would set up a politically unwise precedent of changing the name of the Party, every time a group joined the PSP, thereby causing confusion in the minds of the public regarding the identity of the Party of Socialism.

"4. The National Executive hopes that the "Open Faction" of the Socialist Party will appreciate the force behind these considerations and respond to the need of the hour by helping in the process of consolidation of the forces of Socialism and Democracy."

No Truth in the Report

5. The Allahabad meeting at which these conditions were discussed, was not attended by Acharya Kripalani, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Shri Paimon Thaun Pillai and Shri H. V. Kamath, for different reasons. It is, therefore, evident that references to them in this context are absolutely without any foundation. Dr. P. C. Ghosh was not present even at the recent Delhi Meeting.

6. There is no truth in the report that the matter was not pressed, "because Acharya Kripalani had threatened to resign and that the question was "passed on to a Three-Man Committee, consisting of the Party Chairman, benign Ganga Saran Sinha, Asoka Mehta and Goray". So far as the National Executive of the PSP is concerned it is of the considered opinion that the position adopted in the resolution passed at Allahabad meeting cannot and need not be changed.

Better Standards of Accuracy

I could have pointed out a few more inaccuracies. For instance, Shri Ganga Saran Sinha was not one of those who had escaped from Hazaribagh Jail in 1942 with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. But I do not want to go into these relatively unimportant details. Nor do I want to question your assessment of the character, role and potentialities of the PSP or some of its senior members. You are welcome to entertain any opinions that you honestly consider to be correct. But I do hope that you will publish this letter in the interests of truth. Your readers, I believe, have a right to expect better standards of accuracy from the "Link".
The dress of the people...

Costumes, whether they are for occasions or for daily wear vary all over the world. Climatic conditions, natural materials available, religious demands and individual ingenuity are some of the factors that determine the dress of a people.

Many varied costumes are worn in India but different costumes need different qualities of cloth. The Mafatlal Group of Mills manufactures a wide range of cloth for everyday use in all parts of the country.
THE INDEPENDENT TIBET

[Text of the speech made by Shri D. P. Singh on the floor of Rajya Sabha on May 4, 1959 in the course of debate on Tibet.]

TIBET never accepted the overlordship of China in any sense except “under duress”. In the distant past Tibet was completely independent. The Mongols and the Manchus, while overrunning China, subjugated Tibet also. After the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, the Dalai Lama, who had earlier fled to India, returned to Lhasa in 1912 and drove out the Chinese from Tibet. The Chinese Republic then sent a punitive expedition which was prevented from recapturing Tibet on a representation made by the British Government.

Suzerainty

On January 11, 1913, the Dalai Lama proclaimed the independence of Tibet by concluding a treaty with Outer Mongolia in which Tibet was declared to be independent. As a result of a subsequent treaty between the British Government and the Chinese Government in October, 1913, Chinese suzerainty on Tibet was recognised by the British, not by the Tibetans. But China was definitely forbidden to interfere in any way with Tibetan internal administration. This treaty referred to as “Simla Convention” was never ratified by the Chinese. And therefore when the Tibetan Government appealed to the U.N. against Chinese invasion in 1951 they mentioned that Tibet was independent de jure also.

It was the British Government which continued to recognise the suzerainty of China over Tibet. Again, in 1949, it was the Prime Minister of India, who recognised this suzerainty, even though Tibet considered itself an independent country and the Government had ordered the China Nationalist Mission in Lhasa and those Chinese nationals in Tibet suspected of Communist sympathies to leave Tibet. As is well known, during the Second World War, Tibet did not join the Chinese and also opened its Foreign Affairs Bureau.

In January, 1950, the Peking Government proclaimed the liberation of Tibet as one of its basic tasks during 1950. Our Prime Minister, in spite of this, thought and said that Peking would not deprive Tibet of its internal autonomy.

In April, 1950, a Tibetan mission left Lhasa for India. Negotiations were held with the new Chinese Ambassador in Delhi. It was decided on account of the non-committal attitude of the Chinese Ambassador that the Mission should proceed to Peking. But the day the Mission was to leave, Chinese forces invaded Tibet (October 25, 1950). The so-called liberation of the Tibetan people was taken in hand by the Chinese. To the note sent by the Government of India a very discourteous and unfriendly reply was sent by Peking. In March, 1951, a Sino-Tibetan agreement was signed in Peking. Internal autonomy was conceded in this agreement. Peking, however, was given full control over external affairs, trade and communications.

On November 7, 1950, the Tibetan Government sent a communication to the U.N. which, because of India principally, was not taken up at the U.N.

In April, 1954, an agreement between India and China was signed.

Violation of Agreement

The Indian Government gave up all its extra-territorial rights and privileges and proclaimed Panch Sheel. Even in regard to Nepal and other territories, such as Sikkim and Bhutan, the privileges enjoyed by India under the British Government were gradually relinquished. While we went on abandoning our rights the Chinese Government tightened its control over Tibet. The agreement concluded between Tibet and China was completely violated as is clear from the Tezpur statement of the Dalai Lama. It is also clear from the same statement that Tibet concluded this agreement as there was no alternative left for it. It should have been clear to our Government that China would not respect Tibet's autonomy on the basis of reports which it must have got and also on the basis of the talks our Prime Minister had with the Dalai Lama when the latter was in India last. In fact, what was done was to assure the Dalai Lama that China intended to preserve Tibet's autonomy and that the Chinese Premier knew that reforms could not be forced down the throat of Tibet. Perhaps assured by us the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet.

Crushed the Revolt

In about 1955 there was a conflict in Tibet over the land belonging to the monasteries which had been earlier distributed by the Chinese authorities in Tibet among the Tibetan and Chinese peasants. The Chinese later told the Tibetan monks that it was a mistake to have given the land to the peasants. Conflict was provoked and when it flared up, the Chinese soldiers shot down the leaders of the peasants not belonging to the Communist group. Something on the lines of what the Communists did in the International Brigade of Spain was enacted. Taking advantage of the exaggerated ill-will between the monasteries and the peasants, caused by the Chinese themselves, the democrats and the socialists who had led the peasants were liquidated by the Chinese soldiers. There was also widespread bombing of the Tibetans by the Chinese planes to crush revolts which broke out against the Chinese.

In view of the resistance offered by the Tibetans, a milder tone was adopted by China. But when the Dalai Lama declined to support the Chinese in crushing the revolt and in the communications of the country, the Chinese decided again to adopt a stiff attitude. We know how it became impossible for the Dalai Lama to stay on in Tibet.

In the wake of the Dalai Lama's escape to India, a large number of refugees have crossed over. It is indeed a matter of great satisfaction that good arrangements are being made for them, although doubt had arisen in our minds earlier in regard to this matter. Reports coming to India show that the Tibetans are being prevented in a most brutal fashion from seeking shelter outside Tibet. There has, therefore, been a reduction in the number of refugees during the last few days.
Reports show that in Nepal as also in Bhutan the refugees have entered and in some places the Chinese have entered the Nepalese territory in pursuit of the fleeing Tibetans. Some houses in Nepal are also reported to have been burnt down by the Chinese as these were believed to be sheltering the fleeing Tibetans.

Strange Logic

Nothing could be more untruthful than to say that in the expression of our sympathy for the Tibetans we are prompted by expansionist desires. It is a palpably absurd charge and is obviously intended to cover up the misdeeds of the Chinese. If China goes back on its plighted word in respect of Tibet and disregards the assurances given by Premier Chou En-lai that Tibet was not a province of China, the world is expected to look upon China as a peace-loving country and when we, having given up all our past privileges and rights not only in Tibet but in Nepal and other neighbouring territories, express our sympathy for the Tibetans and give shelter and asylum to the Dalai Lama and other Tibetans we are branded as expansionists. This is strange logic, indeed.

One thing is crystal clear. It is never right to give up a correct moral position. Whatever we did in the past to appease China has produced consequences which are not very favourable to the fostering of peace in this part of the world. We must never choose between truth and freedom and friendship. In fact, friendship is generally lost if truth is forsaken.

There is no sense now in referring at length to persistence on the part of China in its ridiculous view that Kalimpong is a command centre of the revolt in Tibet.

The Last Straw

The Panchen Lama has talked of our expansionist ambitions. Chinese newspapers are full of criticism and condemnation of the Indian leaders and newspapers for their championing of the Tibetan cause. During the last session of the Chinese People’s Congress, one speaker after another thundered against us. Threatening language was fully employed. All this can be justified only on the ground that we are a weaker nation and we must therefore bow down to the wishes of the Chinese. This is a queer conception of friendship.

The last straw came when the Panchen Lama averred that the Dalai Lama was held under duress even in India and it was proclaimed that the Tezpur statement was imposed by foreigners and our External Affairs Ministry officer was accused of preparing the statement.

All these absurd charges have been refuted very convincingly and in a language of great dignity by our Prime Minister. Our Prime Minister has shown commendable restraint and forbearance in the face of extreme provocation. How one wishes that Communist China with her great and ancient civilisation emulated our Prime Minister’s dignity!

The Panchen Lama’s speech at the Chinese Political Consultative Committee meeting makes strange reading. An invitation was extended to him by our Prime Minister to visit India and ascertain for himself whether the Dalai Lama was free or under duress. The invitation has been bluntly declined by the Panchen Lama. He has even expressed his anger by saying that when he was in India last, discrimination was shown against him at the receptions given to him and his party. What a strange charge!

The resolution adopted at the People’s Congress meet refers again to the communisation of Tibet. Tibetan autonomy is also mentioned. But what is it worth if communisation is to be imposed by China?

Protest Forcefully

Communists are not deterred by public opinion. Hungary is an example. Possibly in the case of Tibet also not much can be done to assure autonomy for Tibet. But if world opinion is created against the aggression committed in Tibet, at least the Asian countries not already overrun by international communism can be made more alert and saved. It is also possible that China also may be somewhat influenced. In any case, there is no gain either for us or for the cause of freedom in the world if we don’t voice our protest forcefully. The correct thing to do would be to get the U.N. to do what they can. It is a pity that China’s entry into U.N. has been resisted. With China in the U.N. a solution through the good offices of the U.N. could be thought of. But

the Tibetan Government went to the U.N. in 1950. It can go to it again.

I think the Dalai Lama should not be advised by the Government of India to return to Tibet. It should be left entirely to the Dalai Lama to decide whether he finds conditions in Tibet suitable for him to return. Our efforts should merely be directed to the creation of propitious conditions in Tibet for his return. The House would like to have an assurance from the Prime Minister that the Dalai Lama would not be induced to go back to Tibet against his better judgment.

China has broken her word so often in respect of Tibet that it is not possible for any one to believe that she will maintain her suzerainty only over Tibet and not interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet in future, even if such an assurance is forthcoming. Tibet must have the right of self-determination. I submit that even if suzerainty of China over Tibet ever existed, it is time it is given up now. The concept of suzerainty over another country is completely outmoded and out of place in the present-day world. To go on basing one’s claim brazen-facedly on such a concept does not do credit to anyone.

The New Imperialism

It is again wrong completely to say that the top reactionary elements in Tibetan society have engineered the uprising. Whenever there is a revolt against communist occupation it is the reactionary, backed by Western imperialists who are at the root of it. A handful of reactionaries succeed so easily in organising a national uprising! Similar statements were made when Hungary rose in revolt against its communist masters.

This new imperialism is far more dangerous than the old one which is fading out now and is completely discredited. It spreads its tentacles in the name of progress and a revolutionary ideology. But has one nation a right to occupy another even to impose progress on it? The Dalai Lama and his Government have been admittedly in favour of introducing reforms. But they do not fancy the kind of reforms which Communist China wishes to introduce in Tibet. Must they be punish-

(Continued on page 12)
LITTLE GUIDANCE FROM EUROPE

ECONOMIC ideas thrown up by the socialist movement during its chequered history have nowhere been systematically brought together. Such a study would make fascinating reading.

Socialists, particularly the Marxists, refused to discuss details of socialist society. Karl Kautsky's caustic comment was typical of their attitude, "they (opponents) look upon the socialist commonwealth just as they would upon a capitalist enterprise, a stock company, for example, which is to be 'started', and they refuse to take stock before it is shown in a prospectus that the concern will be practical and profitable. Such a conception may have had its justification at the beginning of the nineteenth century; today, however, the socialist commonwealth no longer needs the endorsement of these gentlemen".

"Useless and Harmful"

Capitalism was doomed; to expose its contradictions and further its decomposition were the main tasks of socialists. Historical forces were inexorably working for the triumph of socialism. Hence it was wholly unnecessary to waste time in sketching any picture of socialist society. Speculation about the probable nature of the socialist society was deemed to be not just useless but harmful: "The useless and harmful thing is the making of positive propositions for bringing in and organising the socialist society. Propositions for the shaping of social conditions can be made only where the field is fully under control and well understood," commented Kautsky.

The inarticulate major premise of all socialist thinking was that the productive forces would be developed by capitalism, and only at their maturity would the socialists have to come in. The problems of economic growth, particularly working out the stages of transition from an underdeveloped to developed economy, were neglected by the socialists as by others. Where socialists have been in power over a period of time, as in Sweden, they have undoubtedly advanced far to the frontiers of welfare, but in economic life the emphasis has been on stabilisation rather than on socialisation. Furthermore, in developed countries the problems of economic growth have no longer the same relevance as in the underdeveloped countries.

No ready-made blue-prints of socialist transformation exist in the classics of socialism. Marx had said, "Production, distribution and consumption . . . all form parts of a whole, differences within a unity. Production predominates over all other factors. From it the process begins each time anew . . . only 'vulgar socialism' revolves primarily around question of distribution." In spite of the Master, most socialists have paid scant attention to production and have revolved "primarily round questions of distribution". That has been at once the glory and the limitation of most socialist thinking.

Chariot Over Corpses

Engels had warned, "History is the most cruel of all goddesses. She drives her triumphant chariot over heaps of corpses not only in war, but also in times of 'peaceful' economic development." The course of the chariot, the laws of economic growth, was never sketched by the socialists. Stalin hitched the Juggernaut and left a heap of corpses in the wake of development. But those of us who cherish democratic and humanist values have to discover methods that would contain such cruelty.

Where socialists come to power, they have to work out first, a policy for industries, mines, etc. That are already functioning, and secondly, for the development and growth of economy, for augmenting the productive capacity. The first relates to taking over the second to a "take-off". Both are inter-related and demand devoted thought and effort in over-populated, overwhelmingly agrarian countries as in Asia.

The first opportunity to shape the future came to the socialists of Western Europe after the first World War. As Otto Bauer put it, "The victory of democracy in Central Europe is the result of the war, the consequences of the defeat of the Central Powers . . . The war has made the people poor, unspeakably poor . . . The war which has led democracy to victory has also forced us on the road which leads to Socialism."

In Germany two Socialisation Commissions were appointed one after the other. Their deliberations provide a rich mine of information which has not been adequately utilized. The Commissions rejected the idea of "complete socialisation", of "socialism as a gallop", a policy that was carried out, perhaps under the stress of circumstances, by Lenin and which has since then been rigorously pursued by the Communists wherever they have come to power. The Commissions favoured partial socialisation, like that of coal mines, for instance—a policy which the Labour Government pursued in Great Britain after the Second World War.

Vertical Socialisation

During the early discussions on socialisation, as against the Socialisation Commission's proposals for nationalisation of all coal mines—that is horizontal socialisation, proposals for vertical socialisation were made; according to these proposals socialisation ought to be applied only to a section of the mines, and include, at the same time, a corresponding portion of the iron and steel industry, the cement industry, and other coal using industries. The protagonists of such partial yet integrated socialisation argued that their proposals would enable the government to know the net costs of the production of coal, coke, crude iron, steel, and their products and thereby facilitate effective control of the crucial sectors of economy, including those parts that continue to remain in private hands. These proposals were rejected, and they remain consigned to the limbo of the past.
Another suggestion then made in the economic scheme put forward by Wissel and Mollendroff, was of organisation of production by joint efforts—through self-governing organisations on which representatives of workers and of employers, as well as of trade and of consumers would be represented. The workers' and employers' representatives, who were to have equal rights would be chosen by the trade unions and employer's association. Perhaps these and similar schemes provided inspiration for the law of co-determination applied to coal and iron and steel industry in West Germany after the Second World War.

The economic organisation suggested for socialised coal mines was as follows: "The entire German mining industry is to be transformed into a united and practicable corporation. The private undertakings as well as those of the state will be transferred to the possession of this economic body. Thus a great national coal organisation will come into existence, which will be directed by the workers, the management, and the community acting in concert. The Commission majority reject the notion of transferring the coal industry to a bureaucratic State Undertaking."

Public corporation, as against departmental administration, has been the chosen instrument of socialisation since then.

It will be seen that in matters of socialisation of existing industries, etc., decisive thinking has been done in the West and since 1919 little fresh ground has been broken. In Asian countries, we merely tread the beaten path.

In democratic countries in Asia, where socialists have been in power, as in Burma or in Ceylon, complete socialisation has not been accepted. Partial or piecemeal socialisation has been preferred. In Asia of 1948-58 as in Europe of 1918-20, this aversion to complete nationalisation and adherence to partial socialisation continue to mark the dividing line between Socialists and Communists.

Nationalisation Threat

If we look up the early programmes of socialist parties in countries of Asia, we find (as, for instance, in the case of the Congress Socialist Party) "nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange" stated as an objective to be pursued. If such omnibus expressions are now outmoded it is time that they are consciously discarded. Limping socialisation can be as bad, perhaps worse, than galloping nationalisation characteristic of the Communists. The warning given by Prof. Neurath, a German socialist, in 1919 is still valid, "Society would be paralysed if graduated steps in nationalisation were to be contemplated during the next few years, and partial anarchy allowed to exist meanwhile. For those employers who had been left alone by the policy of socialisation would be unable to make far-reaching decisions and dispositions, because they would not know when their turn would come next." A constant threat of nationalisation can paralyse economy.

**Discriminating** socialisation is the distinctive characteristic of democratic socialism, because total or galloping nationalisation and political democracy cannot exist together. The rhythm of nationalisation, pursued by the Communists, must severely restrict liberties and augment hardships.

Socialisation, however, is concerned with what already exists, is established and functioning. The real task that faces underdeveloped countries is of new construction, of transforming traditional economy into a modern, efficient economy. Here, Western socialists, unlike in the sphere of socialisation, have shown the fecundity of thought.

The same Prof. Neurath wrote, "The level of material life of the community can only be raised by means of an adequate economic policy. It is not enough to be acquainted with productive possibilities and the total social requirements. The community must be able to control the movement and destination of all raw materials and resources, men and machinery. . . . If we give serious attention to the task of transforming society, the first thing we need is an economic plan. What is essential is a clear survey of the movement of raw materials and resources."

Prof. Bailor, another member of the Socialisation Commission, worked out in considerable details the production and consumption possibilities in a social State of Germany. These ideas, valuable as they are, sketch the designs of total planning whose fuller picture the Gosplan offered in 1928 in Russia. But for those who cannot accept total planning, as being destructive of democracy, no guidance comes from
Europe. Socialist policies relevant to stages of economic growth have to be worked out by Asian socialists themselves: the changing relationship in growth of different sectors, the choice of growth producing sector in the economy, the varying techniques of production to be employed, the use of surplus manpower as a source of capital, the pattern of development in relation to the rate of growth desired—these are among the problems to which classics of socialism or chronicles of socialist efforts provide little guidance. Here new voyages of thought become necessary.

(To be continued)

Approach To Co-operative Farming

THE debate on co-operative farming had started much earlier than the Nagpur Session of the Congress. The minute of dissent to the report of Patil delegation to China, the Mussoorie Conference of the State ministers of co-operation and "some critical reflections" on the subject by the Indian Co-operative Union were some of the past occasions to highlight this controversy.

Nagpur marked a turning point in the controversy in as much as it brought it to a political level and made the commitment of the ruling party on this issue more categorical. It is also for this reason no more remained a mere academic discussion but is surcharged with passion. While some of the critics of co-operative farming, for instance, found in it dangers of despotism and civil war, its supporters often tend to treat all sceptics with a self-righteous indignation. The Prime Minister is not able to "understand the logic, reasonableness and science of the opposition to co-operative farming" by few "incorrigibles." He considers it to be a "deliberate attempt by the vested interest to frighten the peasants." For him the controversy is no more than a mere "expression of class conflict."

Not a Healthy Sign

If Shri M. R. Masani could, for referring to the possibility of a civil war in his speech on co-operative farming, be accused of indulging in an "unparalleled rhetoric vituperation", some of the protagonists of this method of farming by dubbing all their critics as reactionaries, vested interests and enemies of the land reforms surely do not display a better temper. For, it is really not a healthy sign in a democratic nation for a group, more particularly the ruling group, to assume the monopoly of wisdom or honesty. A discussion of motives is a complex problem and hardly leads anywhere except in distracting the attention from the discussion of more objectively verifiable facts. But why cannot it be conceived that while the suggestion of co-operative farming need not necessarily be impelled by a love for fascism or opportunism, its opponents, too, may have no less interest in the welfare of the peasantry and the nation?

In no sense faith in co-operative farming or back of it can be made a test of progressiveness or reactionaryness of a person. For, whatever these terms may signify, progressives and reactionaries will be found on both sides of the present debate. An attempt to polarise the politics of the country on this subject will only help the so-called reactionaries to monopolies the entire reaction of a possible failure of the experiment which cannot be ruled out.

The Issues, Simple and Irrelevant

The issues are simply: Whether co-operative farms are workable and whether they are more or less efficient than an alternative kind of farm. Secondly, if it is a desirable and practical system of farming, what are its pre-requisites and what is the best way of implementing it. Some of these questions may imply a discussion of values beyond politics while others could be more appropriately dealt with at an expert and technical level. In any case, a probe into the motives of the persons posing these questions or commenting upon them may perhaps help in evading them but surely very little in solving them.

As it is, some more irrelevant issues, too, have been got mixed up with the real controversy causing an avoidable confusion. Thus while Shri C. Rajagopalachari opposed co-operative farming by linking it with the conception of ceiling, Shri M. R. Masani refused to draw a distinction between service co-operatives and co-operative farming as, according to him, the former was a subtle way of introducing the latter. All talk about virtues of co-operative movement is likewise superfluous in this context. For what is disputed is not the principle of co-operation as such but the wisdom of extending it to a particular field. The Prime Minister, too, was somewhat off the mark when while making out a case for co-operative farming in Parliament he cited figures about credit societies and claimed a "solid advance" of co-operative movement. For, it is not mere coincidence that the states with record of solid advance in the co-operative movement in other fields conspicuously lag behind as far as co-operative farming is concerned. In Madras, for instance—"quite in the forefront in co-operative (credit movement)—"co-operative farming in the strict sense of the term has not seriously been tried"—at all.

Its Merits and Demerits

Much confusion would indeed be avoided if the discussion on co-operative farming could be confined to its merits and demerits alone and it is neither mixed with the politics of its antagonists and protagonists nor with other controversies, which though important are not strictly relevant. Ceilings, co-operative farming, collective farming and service co-operatives are very distinct issues and there is absolutely no logical compulsion accepting one and rejecting other. For, each can stand or fall on its own virtues or vices.

7. Speech in Lok Sabha—Hindustan Times, February 17, 1959.
All-Parties Convention on Tibet

An All-Parties Convention on Tibet was held here on the 10th instant. Representatives of Praja Socialist Party, Bhartiya Jan Sangh, Akali Party, Republican Party participated in the Convention.

The Convention was inaugurated by Shri Ganga Saran Sinha, Chairman, PSP. Besides others Shri N. G. Goray, General Secretary, PSP, Master Tara Singh, President, Akali Party also addressed the Convention. Shri Virendra, M.L.C., presided.

Inaugurating the Convention Shri Ganga Saran Sinha asserted that the suzerainty of China over Tibet had always been a vague thing and had all along depended on the respective political power of Tibet and China. "The history provides an irrefutable evidence that Tibet had never recognised China’s overlordship unless forced by the superior forces of China. As a matter of fact, Tibet had been paying Rs. 10,000 to Nepal up till 1951. Will Nepal be justified to claim its suzerainty over Tibet?" he asked.

Addressing the Convention Shri N. G. Goray said that the fact that over 10,000 Tibetans have entered India after facing unprecedented trial and tribulation was a clear refutal of the Chinese propaganda that the national upsurge of Tibetans as engineered by a coterie of upper strata. By all standards it is a people’s revolt against Communist Imperialism. Continuing, Shri Goray said “that China’s policy towards Kashmir has always been dubious and full of apprehensions. In the Chinese maps, Ladakh—part of Kashmir, some other Himalayan regions have been included. It claims to have liquidated every vestige of Chiang Kai-shek regime during the last ten years, but how absurd it appears, that it could not afford time to correct these maps, despite repeated protests by the Government of India.”

Shri Goray vehemently condemned the role of the CPI on the Tibetan issue. “As usual the Communists have proved their mental subservience to the Communist Imperialism. Their ultra territorial loyalty requires no further proof. The time has come that Communists should be exposed. The danger lies within our country—in the form of CPI and the people of India should be made aware of it.”

Master Tara Singh declared that nobody except the Tibetans themselves have any right to shape their destiny. Master Tara Singh accused China of Imperialist madness and warned it to learn lessons from the doom of the erstwhile Imperialist powers. He strongly defended India’s right to give asylum to Dalai Lama and Tibetan refugees. Besides its justification on International Law, it is in accordance with our traditions of which we as Indians are proud.

Shri Virendra, delivering his presidential address, said, “that the events in Tibet constitute a danger to our own freedom and democracy. It was not an internal affair of China as alleged by her, because Tibet had never been its integral part”.

(Continued from page 8)

ed for it? And must the world keep silent when the complete destruction of a nation goes on before its eyes? Nothing can be more shameful than acquiescence in the emasculation of a brave people. However much we may desire friendly relations between India and China, we cannot be silent spectators of the rape of a country for whose people we have always cherished strong and almost sentimental feelings of friendship.

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THE KERALA TROUBLE

POLITICAL situation in Kerala seems to be deteriorating fast. The Congress High Command has permitted the Congress party in Kerala to go ahead with their programme of launching a mass movement in the State against the misdeeds of the Communist Government. As a first step in that direction a Sub-Committee has been appointed to draw up a charge-sheet against the Kerala Government. The movement has the full support of all the opposition parties in the State and a wide support for the agitation is expected.

Shri Nehru was rather vague at his press conference on the scope of co-operation among the opposition parties which alone can create mass energy to make the movement a success. He is reported to have told his press conference that Congress and other opposition parties moved in different lines and yet there were strong feelings among all the opposition parties against the Kerala Government. According to Shri Nehru these feelings derived from certain common events and certain separate happenings. It was his impression that since these feelings were there in the opposition parties to some extent it appeared that they were functioning more or less on the same lines.

Under the circumstances the opposition parties were expected to cooperate on particular matters. Such a co-operation may or may not lead to a joint front against the Kerala Government but it is expected that on specific matters where joint action is possible the opposition parties including the Congress and the PSP will act in unison and will make it possible for the much harassed people of the State to demonstrate their unflinching determination to preserve their civil rights and political liberties.

The specific issues on which all the political parties in the State are agreed relate just to these political and economic matters besides those of the civil liberties. That being the case there should not be any difficulty in forging out a programme of joint action on these specific issues. The charge sheet to be prepared by the Sub-Committee appointed for the purpose will contain just these issues. For example, it is a common ground among the various political parties that the trade union activities of the organisations not belonging to the AITUC have suffered a set back because of the continuous interference of the Government, that the policies of the Communist Government were directed towards strengthening the Communist Party in the State; that the Communists have constituted themselves into a class entitled to special privileges and so on. The Congress President, the leaders of the other parties and disinterested persons like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan all have testified to the fact that the policies of the Kerala Government were developing exactly on the same lines as those of the Communist Government in any part of the world.
One interesting corroboration of this has come just on the eve of the launching of the mass movement. It is the claim of the Kerala Government that they are anxious to have a broad-based Government in the State and with this aim in view they have included even independent members who were prepared to subscribe to their policy in the Government. One such independent member included in the Cabinet was Shri V. R. Krishna Iyer who held till recently the Home Portfolio. He has been relieved of his charge and Shri Chelat Achuta Menon considered to be the iron man behind the Government has been assigned this portfolio so important at the present moment. This gives us some idea of the concept of the United Front as understood by the Communist Party.

Of still greater interest is the statement of Shri Achuta Menon just after his assuming the charge of Home Affairs. He stated in Trivandrum that the Government of Kerala would seek the help of the Army to keep peace if the proposed agitation warranted it. In support of this policy he further stated that it was natural that the Army should come to the aid of the

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The Socialist Nepal

It has been reported from Khatmandu that Shri B. P. Koirala, Prime Minister-designate of Nepal, has presented a list of Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers to King Mahendra and that the list has been accepted by the King. It is, therefore, expected that the first cabinet of Nepal will be sworn in somewhere early in the next week.

Shri Koirala will have a very substantial majority at his back—his Party, the Nepali Congress, having bagged as many as 74 seats out of the total of 109 seats in the Lower House of Parliament. The people of Nepal had taken great interest in the elections. In spite of the great difficulties of terrrain and lack of communications more than 43 per cent of the total electorate exercised their franchise thus testifying to the keenness, to interest they took in this election. The responsibility of the first Prime Minister of Nepal is, therefore, very heavy and all the well wishers of Nepal will wish him success in discharging these responsibilities.

The Nepali Congress is wedded to the policy and programme of democratic socialism. It is a member of the Asian Socialist Conference and takes active interest in the working of this Asian organisation. The Party is conscious of the problems it has to face—the most important being to raise the tempo of economic development that might help in raising the low standard of life in this Himalayan nation.

The Nepali Congress has adopted a programme which lays great stress on projects that would bring quick results. These projects are expected to be such as would secure the welfare needs of the people while at the same time quicken the tempo of development. Emphasis would be, therefore, on the rural development that would put the agricultural sector on a more rational basis. Social services would also be given special importance. It is likely that immediately there may not be concentration on industrial sector with basic industries at the core of the programme. This will, of course, come later on as Nepal is well suited for certain industries which she can develop with advantage to the whole economy. Even in the initial period some attention will have to be paid to the industrial sector and the problem is one of emphasis.

This seems to be a very sound approach looking to the resources at present available to the Nepali economy. India can play a very important part in helping Nepal to launch on a big programme of economic development. It should not be difficult to prepare concrete plans whereby mutually advantageous arrangements can be made.

Indian Socialists have special interest in the success of the Nepali Congress which is our sister Party in the Asian Socialist Conference. Experience in Nepal will be of great help to Indian Socialism, too. On the eve of the first Socialist Government assuming office in Nepal we wish best of success to Shri Koirala and his Party.

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ALL INDIA TIBET CONVENTION

An All-India Tibet Convention will be held in Calcutta on 30th and 31st May to discuss the problems arising out of the National Rebellion in Tibet and give public expression to India's sympathy with her distressed people. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan will preside over the Convention, and Acharya J. B. Kripalani will inaugurate it.

Citizen’s Preparatory Committee was set up with Dr. Rameshchandra Mazumdar, an eminent Historian, as the President to convene this Conference.
THE STEP CHILDREN OF HUMAN SOCIETY

by Prem Bhasin

Who are these step children of Society? According to John G. Stoeszinger, they are the sixty million and odd men, women and children who became refugees since the end of the Second World War. According to his calculations about seventeen million of them have yet to be rehabilitated and reintegrated into the World Community "which rejected them". The Palestine refugees subsisting on the charity of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) are a million strong and form part of this multitude of dispossessed humanity.

A decade has passed since the declaration of the State of Israel and the flow of refugees and immigrants in unhappy West Asia started. Their numbers continue to grow. The refugees numbered 726,000 in 1949, 855,000 in 1951 and 934,000 in 1957. Their condition should have caused anxiety at any moment. The problem is, however, becoming apparently irreconcilable contradiction defying all solution because of the "Apartheid of the State of Israel could not permit its existence."

Undaunted by these inherent difficulties, the Institute of Mediterranean Affairs, New York, however, made a detailed study of the problem and found, to its own surprise perhaps, that the conflict was not so "irreconcilable" after all. The result is an admirable study, recently published by the Institute under the caption of "The Palestine Refugee Problem: A New Approach And a Plan for a Solution."

By avoiding irrelevant questions and issues "that are not immediately important", an agreed solution has been hammered out, which is indeed refreshingly simple.

It is proposed that a special United Nations Commission on the pattern of Mixed Armistice Commissions with equal Arab and Israeli representation, under the Chairmanship of an independent representation of the UN Assembly be formed. Every Arab refugee would be required to show to the satisfaction of this Commission that he had an established residence in Israeli Palestine in 1948. He would then be guaranteed a free and genuine choice among (1) Repatriation to Israel, or (2) Resettlement in Arab Palestine, or (3) Resettlement in one of at least two other Arab countries, with the same minimum conditions of livelihood provided in each case. All Palestine Arab refugees as well as Jews who left Arab States since 1948 should be paid full compensation for properties left behind.

A Shrewd Calculation

The Panel which has put forward this solution believes that Israel has nothing to fear from an implementation of these suggestions. They believe that, given free choice, as indicated above, it is probable that in most cases the refugees would choose to live in an Arab country rather than in a "Zionist" country. This is a shrewd calculation by all standards. Not many Hindu refugees from Pakistan would elect to go back to Pakistan permanently even if they are guaranteed full compensation for their properties and full equality before the law of the land. During these twelve years many things have happened in India as well as Pakistan which have fundamentally altered the objective-subjective pattern as it existed in either part of undivided India at the time of partition. We have reasons to believe that the same factors will be in force in Israel and her neighbouring countries.

The solution, however, provides for another safeguard for Israel. A trial period of two or three years, during which 200,000 refugees may be repatriated and resettled, has been proposed. It is hoped that during this period it would become clear whether the returnees to Israel develop into a peril for Israel's security or not. If there should be serious trouble, Israel would be entitled to take adequate measures for protecting her national security. This may or may not satisfy Israel. But here are certainly suggestions which she cannot simply brush aside as wholly utopian or unrealistic.

How much will it cost and who will foot the bill? The panel has its answers ready. It will cost about 400 million dollars in five or ten years or 40 to 80 million dollars per annum. This amount can be collected from (1) Israel, who should be asked to show the genuineness of her concern for Arab refugees by pledging a part of her...
annual income towards this end; (2) Arab States who should demonstrate their genuine concern for the refugees by pledging a certain percentage of their oil royalties and transit fees as well as a small percentage of their national income; and from (3) the United States of America and other countries who are genuinely concerned about refugees and peace in West Asia.

**Is This Solution Practicable?**

Those who have put this solution forward evidently believe it to be so. They believe, perhaps rightly, that, in the long run "Hatred is not eternal". They also believe, again perhaps rightly, that "a solution conceived in justice can dissolve hostility and create a new climate for eventual co-operation".

Is it too slender a thread on which to hang this ambitious scheme? On first sight—it may appear to be so. But on second thoughts one may not be able to help reflecting that much more ambitious schemes relating to World Peace and salvation of mankind are after all made to hang on threads as slender as this, if not more.

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**Double Pressure for Development**

The urgency for development in Asia is quickened not only by the long period of neglect and arrest but also by pressure of population that threatens to grow at an unprecedented rate. As a recent study by the United Nations shows, in the next thirty years the population of the world is likely to double, and a large part of the increase will be in Asia. This rapid increase can create severe problems unless economic development runs ahead of the increasing population and thereby checks its growth or at least prevents added hardships from emerging. Growth of population leads to increasing urbanisation; for every one per cent increase of rural population, there is roughly 2.5 per cent increase of urban population, not through births alone, but mainly through migrations. In urban areas, the metropolitan centres grow even faster; at the rate of 5 per cent a year or more. These urban agglomerations unaccompanied by rapid economic development would spell grave consequences. These double pressure economic development has to counter.

The “Vital Revolution”

The complications that population growth can create for economic development have been worked out by Coale and Hoover in their recent study, *Population Growth and Economic Development in India, 1956-86.* The theory of the “vital revolution” shows that economic development brings about a striking reduction in death rates, and that the decline in the birth rates typically occurs after a substantial time lag in comparison with the decline in mortality rates. Between 1891 and 1921 the total population growth in India was little more than 5 per cent, between 1921 and 1951 population grew by some 14 per cent. The “vital revolution” has reached India.

Whether the fertility rate is high, medium, or low makes considerable difference. According to the projections offered by Coale and Hoover, in 1986 population under different rates could be 775,634,589 million respectively, or a difference of nearly 20 crores!

The difference that population increasing at a faster rate makes on economic development has been worked out by the two authors and their tentative conclusions read as follows:

“These projections show total national income rising under the low fertility assumption by a little more than 200 per cent in a 30-year period, which implies an average annual increase of 3.8 per cent. The growth itself shows an acceleration, rising from about 3 per cent per annum at the beginning to more than 41 per cent at the end. By contrast, under high fertility the national income increases by 126 per cent in the 30 years, or at the rate of 2.8 per cent per annum; and the rate by the end of the period has fallen to only about 1.7 per cent.”

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By

Asoka Mehta

“*In terms of pre-consumer income the contrast is much more striking. Under low fertility, pre-consumer income increases by 92 per cent during the period, and in the last five years is rising at the rate of nearly 3½ per cent per year. Under high fertility, the initial improvement of per consumer income tapers off by 1976 and is followed by an accelerating trend of actual retrogression. At no time is the consumer as much as 20 per cent better off than in 1956."

In 1986, with high fertility, national income would be 226 per cent of 1956 production (= 100) and per consumer income 114 as against 100 in 1956. With low fertility the figures would be 307 and 192.

It is, therefore, clear that unless development gathers speed early enough, growing population can retard further development. Again, if after 30 years’ development efforts, the per consumer income remains virtually unchanged, can stability be maintained? Stagnation and stability cannot go together. Only rapid tempo of development can maintain an accelerating momentum, check fertility, and raise levels of living. Socialism has to beat the Stork!"

Drift Towards Urbanisation

Urbanisation has its own characteristics in Asia. In India, in 1951, there were 55 million urban people, in 1961, the number is likely to be 80 million. By 1986, it can be 193 millions. As high as 37 per cent of the population can be in towns and cities by 1986, as against 17 per cent in 1961. There is nothing surprising in this. In Mexico, which is not far removed in socio-economic conditions from us, 45 per cent of the population live in urban areas today.

Although the proportion of urban population for Asia, as a whole, is only 13 per cent more than 8 per cent is “metropolitan urban”. The non-agricultural labour force is roughly 30 per cent. At a similar degree of urbanisation in Western countries, the United States (1850's), France (1880's), Germany (1880's), and Canada (1890's) had roughly 55 per cent of their labour force engaged in non-agricultural occupations. Of the world’s 897 cities with populations of more than 100,000 persons, 463 are located in countries with more than half occupied males in agriculture, and 434 in industrialised countries. The total population of the first group of cities is roughly 160 million; that of the second group, approximately 155 million. Asia, for its economic development, is already “over-urbanised”.

In Indonesia, it was found that between 1930 and 1950-51, urban areas that grew because of economic activities increased their population from 5.36 million to 9.77 million; while those towns that grew for other reasons increased their population from 1.39 to 4.33 million. The rate of growth on the first group was 82 per cent, in the second 212 per cent: “This shows that not only the largest cities are growing faster than the smaller ones, but also that cityward movement was considerably more important for non-economic reasons than for economic ones.”

The implications are obvious. The drift towards urbanisation is
stronger in Asia. It must make increasing claims on housing, sanitation, etc., and, to that extent reduce resources available for productive growth. The slower the tempo of development greater will prove the deadweight of urbanisation to be carried.

Another greater problem is that of obtaining increasing food supplies for the expanding urban population. The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee (India) recently reported that the requirements of urban areas would increase between 1956-61 by 33 per cent as against expected increase in food production by about 14.7 per cent. How to coax the fast increasing supplies from the peasant? Increasing population and growing urbanisation give to the peasant a primacy that socialism in Europe had no occasion to accord to him.

**Inducing Growth**

In the socialist movement in Asia is there any agreement on what constitutes the growth inducing sector in the economy? Whatever be that sector—and that is undoubtedly an important question—

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none can gainsay the need of stepping up, in a decisive manner, agricultural production, of foodgrains as well as of commercial crops. In Mexico, real industrial development began in 1939—and since then national output has increased at an average of 7 per cent per year. In this span of less than 20 years, agricultural production has grown more than two-and-a-half times; forty per cent of it now consists of raw materials for industry. There can be no industrial revolution without a simultaneous revolution in agriculture. Even if the growth inducing sector is in industry, or in some segment of it, the momentum of growth cannot be sustained unless agriculture opens up its production potential.

In the conditions of Asia, agricultural production cannot increase without a revival of community spirit. It is not a mere question of input and output but of tending ravaged land, improving irrigation facilities, composting and manuring—in brief, activities that yield results only through community effort. Increased production is important, yet more important is to increase marketed surplus. It is that surplus which meets the needs of industrialisation and urbanisation.

**Russian Experience**

Increase in production does not automatically lead to increased marketed surplus, because the propensity to consume is great among the peasants. The following table illustrating Russian experience need not be reviewed as exceptional:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Producer</th>
<th>Pre-War Produ-</th>
<th>Market-ched</th>
<th>1926-27 Produ-</th>
<th>Market-ched</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Market-ched</td>
<td>ed (in millions of tons)</td>
<td>ed</td>
<td>ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landlords</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulaks</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small and Middle Peasants</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Farms</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marketable surplus fell from 26 to 13 per cent of production. To avoid such an eventuality not only agricultural production must be helped to increase fast, but the peasant induced to have diversified wants for which he would be willing to part with his produce. Community development as distinct from just agricultural improvement helps to generate diversified wants and thereby further production as well as marketable surplus.

It is from the point of view of this surplus that the understanding of the sarvodayists is fundamentally faulty. If a village becomes self-sufficient, if it limits its wants, a grave crisis's can confront the urban people. Agriculture itself must be diversified and intensified in such a way that it provides productive work almost all the year round. If agriculture continues to remain backward, if ancillary work is provided mainly through substitution of urban goods by rural producers, a new crisis would open up.

There is a tendency to think of agriculture and industry, of rural and urban people in isolation while the essence of development is their growing inter-relationships.

There is undoubtedly a certain conflict between agricultural life and industrialisation. The conflict cannot be resolved in a stagnant perspective. Only rapid development can convert the incipient conflict into fruitful collaboration. That has been the teaching of developed countries.

Mr. Alexander Gerschenkron has thus summed up the experience, "In viewing the economic history of Europe in the 19th century, the impression is very strong that only when industrial development could commence on a large scale did the tension between the pre-industrialisation conditions and the benefit that can be expected from industrialisation become sufficiently strong to overcome the existing obstacles and to liberate the forces that made for industrial progress."

**Industrial Development**

For industrial development to commence on a large scale many conditions have to be fulfilled. The most important condition, however, is that priority be given to such productive activities as would help to improve, revolutionise tools and techniques. That means that iron and steel, coal and power industries should receive precedence. Therein is the core of the growth inducing sector.

Development means reinvestment of the surplus of total product less labour and other costs. Whatever increases the surplus accelerates the development. Two American economists, Walter Galenson and Harvey Liebenstein, recently calculated the employment potential, over a period of years in different types of textile production. The data is from India and 1943 prices and conditions are the bases. The results are tabulated below:

**Employment provided by initial investment of Rs. 1,200.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Modern Mill</th>
<th>Hand-loom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,718</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>12,200</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To meet the challenge of increasing population and poverty, industrialisation and mechanisation have to be stepped up. To those ends, as also to obtain requisite surpluses for development investments, the heavy industries demand special attention.

During the long gestation period, consumers goods will have to be augmented by the most efficient use of available light industries and productivisation of traditional handicrafts. The essence of socialism lies in the ability to overcome lack of capital, in the decentralised sectors of economy, by better organisation, co-operation and social awareness.

Introduction of new and better tools and techniques demand new skills, new attitudes and rhythms of work, new social discipline. The base of economic development and the social awareness that can effectively utilize the new sources have to grow together, symbolically as it were.

*(To be concluded)*
LETTER FROM EUROPE

Iraq And The Arab World

AFTER the 13th July revolt last year in Iraq the military tribunal sentenced one Kazzam Haidari to five years' imprisonment for attacking President Abdul Nasser over the Bagdad Radio. Even recently, Fadil Jamali and Bashayan were tried by the "People's Court" and found guilty of trying to keep Iraq isolated from the mainstream of Arab nationalism as represented by President Nasser. In both cases, it was the Iraqi communists who were responsible for setting up these "People's Courts" and putting these "People's Courts" and putting the above-mentioned persons for "trial".

We are not concerned so much with the judicial validity of these "courts" and their system of trial which consider any accused person to be guilty unless proved otherwise.

Reds and anti-Nasserism

Now the Iraq communists are agitating for the release of all the Iraqis convicted of anti-Nasserism. Has it anything to do with what Mr. Khrushchev said last summer? His exact words were, "President Nasser insists on the annexation of the Iraq Republic by the United Arab Republic. The question of union between States must be decided by the peoples of the States concerned". Last summer the West also accused President Nasser of having similar designs about Lebanon. Now the Iraqi communists are accusing him of masterminding the March Revolt of the Mosul garrison. I am no follower of President Nasser; but one should admit in all fairness that this man knows something about "plotting" and most certainly would not go about it so clumsily as has been demonstrated in Mosul. The accusation just does not hold water. And judging from one single fact.

I may be justified in saying that General Kassem himself knows that too. That fact is the puzzling case of Colonel Aref who is under the sentence of death. Under communist pressure most officers suspected of sympathy with the United Arab Republic have been either summarily executed or dismissed or gaoled except this professed friend of the UAR. General Kassem refers to him as 'my son' in the same way as Gandhiji used to refer to Nehru! But for this ascetic General the young colonel would have been shot and buried. That is why the sensible people would not agree with those who want to call General Kassem the Kremlin's Nuri-es-Said. For the most fundamental and all-embracing factor governing the Arab mind is to remain independent what we in India call "uncommitted".

Another fact we outsiders generally fail to realise is that the basic unity of feeling among the Arab countries is far greater and durable than that of the NATO,

Warsaw or the Commonwealth Bloc. That the centre of gravity shifts from the Nile to Holy Forat is of minor importance. In the process of such a shift some Big power is bound to play power-politics, others may be turfed out.

The Greatest Blunder

In Iraq itself, the Arab nationalists are on the run, the socialists are withdrawing from the Cabinet and, of course, the communists are moving in everywhere. Countries around Iraq are definitely hostile to her. Lebanon remains to be the only country in the area which although a member of the Arab League can still play the role of an arbitrator with a view to relax the tension on Iraq's frontier provided, of course, General Kassem asserts his authority on the country and reciprocates friendly gestures. President Nasser has made it amply clear and will do so again if necessary, that the United Arab Republic does not want to annex Palestine and has no wish to share the oil-revenue of that country. He prefers unity of action and planning through the Arab League of which all the Arab countries are members. It was President Nasser who announced that if anyone invaded Iraq the United Arab Republic would come to its aid.

500 Egyptian teachers have resigned or have been made to resign from Iraq's schools. The communists will move in. And that is where they might make their greatest blunder.

The Summit

UPTIL now, the European newspapers are full of headlines about His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the proposed Summit conference of the Big Four. But soon, it is generally admitted, the Middle East, specially Iraq will be the headline-matter. Sir Humphrey Trevelyan, British Ambassador in Iraq, came to London for a "routine" conference with the Foreign office and returned post-haste. The man who followed him is no less a person than Air Marshall W. M. L. MacDonald, C.-in-C. Middle East Air Force. He stopped in Israel for talks with the Army and the Government leaders. Sir Walter Monckton, the Chairman of the British Petroleum, has flown to Syria after his long talk with the Iraqi Prime Minister General Kassem.

We must not forget that Sir Walter happens to be the very same person who was in Hyderabad during the anxious days of the partition. If some kind of a sudden change in Iraq is being plotted then the whole of Middle East is heading for another bout of crisis of Suez magnitude. For very responsible newspapers are indulging in making such prophecies. The presence of the British Air Marshall for the Middle East all places, in Israel only confirms the suspicion.

It is certainly most thoughtful of Britain to get Israel to agree in advance to move into Jordan should there be any kind of political or military upheaval in Jordan or Iraq. But inaction on the part of Israel does not mean that the United Arab Republic and other Arab powers in the vicinity will play the role of mere observers. The same goes for the U.S.S.R. which played a very important part—for the first time in history—in that region during the Suez invasion.

It looks rather obvious that the breach in the Arab unity will remain unmeddled for a while. As such the Big Powers will continue to have the pleasure of playing off one against the other. The tragedy is

by

Nripendranath Ghosh
that the parties of the second part are not only playing the game but enjoying it more and more every day. Otherwise, why no statement has been issued by the Arab League regarding the absence of Iraq and Jordan in the Cairo conference on oil?

The Arab Oil Congress met in Cairo at the end of April. The participants were Lebanon, the United Arab Republic, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Libya and Morocco. Even Venezuela was there as an observer but not Iraq, the greatest oil producing country in the area. And Iraq by not accepting the invitation has only cut herself off from the mainstream of the Arab movement. A land does not live by oil alone. Sooner or later, Iraq will have to join in. General Kassem whose prestige is considerably high in the world has yet to take one step in the field of foreign policy which will establish him as one of the great men of Asia.

His admirable effort in the home front to distribute land among the Iraqi peasants has been practically ignored by the Asian countries. They have failed to see that this man within ten months of his coming to power has created peasant proprietors out of a people who for centuries were mere share croppers. But his favouring only one Big Power is causing anxiety not only among his fellow Arabs but also among his fellow Asians. This can only be ended by positive moves towards an Arab Summit which alone can lessen the tension in West Asia and anxiety in the whole of the continent.

A VIEWPOINT

ALTERNATIVE TO MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

by Swami Bhaskaranand

In a recent issue of the "Hindustan Times" Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has discussed ways and means to accelerate the pace of country's advance and prescribed his panacea: "The masses must be activated!" While there can be no two opinions that activity is the most convincing symbol of conquest over ignorance and inertia which at the moment makes too large a mass of our people to be only a dead load on the locomotion of rational endeavour, there is the equally vital consideration that such activity should be universally beneficial and should not subserve appropriation of national potential; political and economic by a few and expropriation of many, as is still happening.

Such an achievement is possible only if the governing machinery functions with its own internal dynamic equilibrium. If that rhythmic momentum is missing within the ruling organism, then a new power-plant must be installed to correct the erratic working or to replace it. An attempt is made here to survey the field of operation, the efficiency of the present governing machine and the pattern of new mechanism to correct or if necessary replace it without risking a break down.

J.P.'s Panacea

It appears J.P. has laboured long to impress upon the top ruling leadership (i) the wisdom to quit their thrones and work among masses, and (ii) to form a non-party national Government. But this labour having proved barren so far, it is perhaps perfectly legitimate now to seek popular sanctions to induce them to accept his panacea for our national ills. But it must be noted that the appeal to activise the masses is actually made to the classes. And that is a clear recognition—perhaps unwittingly—that the impulsion to activity must filter down from higher seams of social strata. Let us, therefore, follow the tenor of J.P.'s argument first and then offer appropriate alternative pattern.

"(i) I would myself very much welcome our great Prime Minister to voluntarily step down and help before his own eyes the process of filling the void that his absence is bound to leave behind him, however long one might pray Providence to postpone the day. Such an act of self-abnegation would not only resound to his own matchless prestige but render the transmission and distribution of authority among his lesser colleagues much smoother than it is likely to happen otherwise. His younger political brother, U Nu, Prime Minister of smaller neighbouring State, visualised the expediency of such a step and preferred to facilitate the process of adjustment before his eyes than to subscribe to the common air of abandonment of the political ilk "after me the deluge". Twice in writing to him, in my little way, I had counselled the advisability of this capital feat of renunciation but obviously without effect. I don't think, however, there is any single person possessed of superior competence, either to impinge the soundness of Prime Minister's own judgment or to excel the honesty of purpose.

"(ii) The idea of forming a national Government was an unassailable one. Immediately before and after the Partition, when I had some opportunities of meeting Gandhiji, I had impressed upon him the necessity of treating the transition on a footing of war-emergency. This sentiment actually reflected itself in the set-up of the first Central Cabinet. With the inclusion of Dr. Mukerjee, Dr. Ambedkar, Shri Chetty, Shri Bhabha and Dr. Mathai it had borne a near-national complexion. However, the exigencies and unrolling of policies and plans exposed that all the different shades could not be blended into one design and caused the removal of one shade after another and the last vestige of it, lingering in the shape of Shri C. D. Deshmukh has also since been squeezed out and the spectacle today is what it is. One cannot, therefore, accuse Nehru or the Congress of not giving the idea any trial at all. Probably they still remember the agonies of burned fingers and are therefore shy of repeating that experiment.

"Having accepted parliamentary democracy as the pattern of our State and Government, one cannot legitimately question the propriety of the country being governed on party lines. Because that is considered the obvious course left open after the alternatives had been
tried and found unequal. The country by and large is also a consenting party to the rule by a political party — apart from the worth of that consent and excellence of the party.”

These factual evaluations about Shri J.P.’s two proposals and contentions seem to explain the lack of inductive force behind his labours to achieve his desideratum. Yet, one agrees with the view that much of the country, as a whole, is left inert and unconcerned about what is happening through the mercenary forces at the command of the Government and that is why the country’s material advance is devoid of spiritual glow rhyme, and rhythm and so much riddled with inefficiency, indiscipline and corruption. It is no wonder that distressed by such a sorry spectacle and impatient of the sluggishness, Shri Vinobaji, the great human bulldozer, started his levelling operations in the countryside, with such spectacular results.

**Short-Sighted Planning**

Presumably, in their justifiable hurry to come up in line with materially advanced countries of the world and to raise the so-called standard of living, the planners have ignored or undermined the concomitant upsurge of social evils and failed to prevent or overcome the crisis of character. Short-sighted planning blind them to the primary need of scientific man-power planning which has only fostered opportunism appearing as a rash represented by legal proceedings against some top-ranking officers and gangs of most unabashed “businessmen.” The atmosphere, whether in services, in trade or professions, is thus made much too suffocating for honest and genuine effort for reconstruction. Anticipating such a precipitation in the wake of the no-wholly earned transfer of power, it was suggested and indeed some initiative taken to invoke the traditional spiritual potential lying latent in our society and actually notable initial success was achieved. But evidently because such a force, however benign, would not be subservient to the ruling class, the move was nipped in the bud. Bharat Sewak Samaj and the Sadhu Samaj were conceived as socio-spiritual instruments and designed to be powered by non-political, popular will and aspirations. But even these are now siezed by the same politics-ridden votaries of Satya and Ahimsa and turned into props to sustain political power. One, therefore, sincerely shares J.P.’s anguish at the surrounding dismal prospect.

**“Shudhi Sena”**

But this does not spell a counsel of despair for us, nor should lapses elsewhere daunt those dedicated to service without any desire for return or reward deter an altruistic course of action. Every non-violent social order and Vinobaji and his army should primarily apply themselves to it. For this purpose this band of workers need only plant itself in small units or in singles on open grounds in front of the ghettos of power. This “Shudhi Sena,” as I call it, should hold fast to an agreed ethical code and stand on it like a rock, like the legendary Mount Meru. Gradually, they should propagate these ethical standards among those from among services and the public who would spontaneously draw near them. There is no doubt large numbers will rally round this “Shudhi Sena” as camp followers and will both support and seek succour from this pristine source of esoteric power for good. The impact of this benign force will either induce suitable improvement in the present ruling system and accelerate the process of evaluation or produce an impulse and atmosphere for a non-violent revolutionary transition. In my judgement this will be a corollary of the non-violent struggle for a new peaceful social order and hasten the climax of a Satvic revolution.

**The “Shanti Sena”**

This “Shudhi Sena” should join hands with “Shanti Sena” and accept day-to-day task of combating and curing evils of the present system wherever they appear on the surface and then probe deeper and deeper to their roots as its own power and popularity grow. There need not be too many items of tasks to begin with. The first item should be catering of triple spiritual and ethical fare to all those who feel actually gnawing in their stomach and transcending all varieties of sectarianism; secondly, instituting a grievances’ bureau to hear serious cases of injustice, oppressions and the like and to render such first aid as is possible and in extreme cases referring to altruistic intervention; and thirdly, distribution of surplus good to alleviate pangs of poverty, including wherever necessary helping dismantling of some storeys of such sky-scraper as defy the law of socio-economic gravitations.

The mythological imageries of how the celestial throne of India used to shake as the spiritual vibrations radiated by the tempo or tapasya of Yogis rose in frequency and intensity, are not so much a myth but allegories of experience to persons of that order. They have a particular application and validity in the present national transition when fear of Rod and love of God are in duress. If the high and power-ridden personalities affected by mystic spiritual force will understand its inevitable dictation, the dictum of Geeta “what the highest lay down, the ordinary people will obediently follow,” will have its fulfilment and gradual but swift transformation will be ensured. In the event of a contrary reaction, a show-down will be inevitable. But violence will be eschewed as the forces of revolution will be already well disciplined and will have consequently earned and enlisted very wide powerful popular sanctions.

**The Spiritual Shells**

While, therefore, the Bhooand and other allied activities proceed on the rural fronts, urban fronts should also be opened and kept banging and blazing with spiritual shells. If this course of activity is initiated at top leve’s of the intelligentsia, “activising the masses” will not only be assured but will be rapid too. What is far more fundamental to votaries of non-violence, the process will be (i) self-expansive (ii) coordinated ab-initio (iii) discipline (iv) purposive (v) there will not be much gap between the effort and its fruit (vi) fruit will be proportionate to the effort. Thus, throughout the peerless pail of dynamism and equilibrium will advance in elemental weldlock and a harmonious social order will issue forth to the glory of India, consonant with the pride of capitalism and in keeping with the prestige of communism.

The key to this is as much in the keeping of Vinobaji and J.P. as in any other honest visionary and the word is “concerted will”, the open season to a world order.
ON THE PSP FRONT

Mobilise Public Opinion On The Tibetan Question

The State Executive of the Praja Socialist Party, Punjab, which met at Jullunder on May 17 under the chairmanship of S. Harbhajan Singh, State Chairman of the Party, considered the report of the State Chairman and the Secretary in regard to the collaboration on kisan and clean administration front as envisaged in the joint statement of the PSP and Akali leaders issued on May 10, 1959. The State Executive is of the view that since the Working Committee of the Akali Dal has for the time being deferred consideration of the issue no action is called for.

The meeting was attended by Shri Prem Bhasin, Joint Secretary, PSP, Sarvashri Somprakash Shaida (State Secretary), Mangat Rai, Babu Nand (Joint Secretaries), and other members of the State Executive.

The Executive has decided to intensify its membership campaign and directed its units to devote their energies to enroll membership. The Executive has further decided to call upon its local units to mobilise public opinion on the Tibet issue.

The Executive passed the following resolution on Tibet:

"The State Executive of the PSP (Punjab) condemns the wanton aggression on the part of Communist China on Tibet, by resorting to armed intervention in utter disregard of civilised behaviour, and the Sino-Tibet Pact of 1951 which it is now evident was imposed upon the Tibetans under duress of the Communist China, true to its expansionist designs the Chinese authorities have given a mortal blow to the principles of Panch Sheel and violated the assurances given to the Government of India from time to time.

"The Executive feels proud that the nation as a whole has spontaneously raised its voice against the Communist tyranny and demonstrated its inherent love for freedom and democracy. The Executive deplores the sinister propaganda let loose by Chinese Government and echoed by their Indian stooge—the C. P. I.—characterising the national resentment as intervention in the internal affairs of China.

"The fantastic charge of expansionism levelled against Indian leaders is an affront to Indian traditions of anti-Imperialism and self-respect. Ironically in India it is drummed by those who allied themselves with British Imperialism in the critical days of India's fight for freedom and in China by those who persist in showing parts of India, Burma, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim as part of Chinese territory in their maps.

"While appreciating the stand of the Government of India in giving asylum to the Dalai Lama and providing refuge and relief to thousands of Tibetan nationals the Committee demands of the Government to be extra-vigilant about the imminent danger on our 2,400 mile-long Northern Border as the designs of our much pampered Panch Sheel friend are no longer a secret.

"The Executive calls upon the Government of India to make it clear to the Chinese Government than any interference whether hidden or open in the internal affairs of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim would be treated by India as an act of aggression. The Executive also urges upon the Government of India to reconsider its earlier stand of recognising China's suzerainty over Tibet which is for all practical purposes a separate country and nation, and under the present changed circumstances, India should stand for Tibetan independence."

Jamshedpur Workers Condemn Red China

May Day was celebrated in the Steel city with a big mass meeting in the evening sponsored by the Praja Socialist Party, Jamshedpur.

The meeting was addressed by Shri Rabindranath Jha and Shri Vragnandan Kishore.

Shri Jha told the workers about the significance of the May Day and he spoke at length against Chinese imperialism and suppression of the national revolt of Tibetan people. He called for an active support and help for Tibetans.

Shri Kishore told the workers to fight against the discriminatory policies pursued by the Government resulting in giving all aid to the INTUC to split and destroy the existing organised and recognised unions.

A resolution passed in the meeting sent greetings of solidarity to workers of India. It also expressed great concern and indignation over Chinese action on Tibet.
ESSAY COMPETITION FOR INDIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

The Tolstoy 50th Death Anniversary Celebration Committee will conduct an Essay Competition on the Significance of the Life and Work of Tolstoy, open to graduate and postgraduate students of the Universities in India.

There will be three prizes of Rs. 2,000.00, Rs. 1,000.00 and Rs. 500.00 for the three best essays.

The length of the Essay should be from 6,500 to 7,500 words. The Essay should be in the English language. Those who wish to write the essay in any of the Indian languages can do so provided they submit an English translation along with their essay.

A student wishing to participate must inform the Office of the Committee (5 Hailey Road, New Delhi 1) by the end of March 1960, producing a certificate to the effect that he is a bona fide student, signed by the Head of the Institution in which they are studying. The Essay must reach the Office before the end of June 1960.

Of course mine is a safe job!

We: It's secure, yes. Nobody is going to sack you!
The Boss: And I sit behind a desk all day—no danger in that.
We: What about danger from dirt? Dirt carries
disease-causing germs, you know!
The Boss: Interesting! But since
mine is a spotless office...
We: Yes, but even here there's ordinary,
everyday dirt. You may not notice it—but
you can't escape it anywhere.
The Boss: Good Heavens! Never thought of that!
We: Don't panic! Just make it a habit to
bathe the healthy way and...

wash away the germs in dirt with

LIFE_BUOY SOAP

— and enjoy that healthy feeling of freshness!
THE problem of unemployment is exercising the mind of the country for a long time. The question has now assumed a special significance because the Second Plan projects could not create the employment potential expected of them and also because not all the projects are being carried out due to lack of adequate resources. The employment situation as a result will be worse at the end of the Second Plan than it was at its beginning. Again, when the country is promised a big stride forward as a result of planned efforts, some of the units already in existence are closing down—some because of the paucity of foreign exchange resources, others because their machinery has become outworn and outmoded and still some more because of inefficient management, reversal in the fortune of the individual owner, and so on. The persons till now in employment do not readily accept being turned out and thrown on the market where the demand for new employment is very meagre. This has also given rise to law and order problems. Lastly, the closure of the units which can be worked out means a diminution of production in an economy where inflationary pressure is considerable. All these factors have given rise to a situation which must cause concern to the nation.

Preliminary work on the Third Plan has already started and the country is anxious to know how the Planning Commission approaches the problem of the size and content of the Third Plan. Whatever information is made available till now to the public leaves an impression that the main consideration before the Planning Commission is the needs of the economy in the light of certain policy decisions already taken. These decisions include the one of placing the economy on self-regenerating basis by the end of the Third Plan, of providing proportionate increase in consumers' goods to offset the effects of increase in population and to provide bare necessities of life in areas where they are not in existence at the present moment. The size and content of the Plan are worked out in terms of these needs. The employment potential of the Plan will be worked out after these projects are decided on.

This basic situation has to be kept in mind while evaluating the function of the Central Committee on Employment which had its first meeting recently in New Delhi. Speaking on the occasion Shri Nanda, the Union Labour Minister said, "The lowest of the current estimates of new entrants to the labour force during the Third Plan places . . . at 14 million employment seekers. Added to that there will be roughly about 7 million unemployed by 1961." He also stated, "It is hoped to create employment opportunities of a size which is equivalent to the number of new entrants in the labour..."
force during this period." In other words, it is hoped that the situation will not worsen during the Third Plan period as far as available employment and persons seeking employment are concerned. But this can hardly be a matter of satisfaction. Serious attempts should be made to see if the employment position cannot be bettered during the Third Plan period. One method of doing it is to explore various techniques to achieve the same target of production and to see that the technique promising largest employment is accepted. This would mean in majority of cases less need for capital but better organisational effort. This fact needs to be emphasised in all questions relating to the choice to technique. If production is to be decentralised adequate organisational efforts will have to be put in. If this is not done it would result in serious dislocation of production programme. Looking to the fact that our capital resources are limited earnest endeavours will have to be made to make good the lacuna of organisation in our economy.

This means the reshaping of the set-up and the outlook of our administration. It also means simplification and radical alterations in accounting practices and other rules that are not suited to a commercial or an industrial undertaking. It would mean experimentation in new methods of organisations in which the various elements interested in a particular line of economic activity are able to participate and in which the entrepreneurial ability at the disposal of the community is made full use of. It would also require a radical change in certain directions of our banking practices. All these problems will have to be thought out if organisational set up is to be created to deal with the decentralised techniques involving less capital expenditure and providing greater employment opportunities.

These steps will go up to a point in tackling the employment problem. But by themselves they will not be enough. We will have also to devise what Shri Nanda called "unorthodox ways of enlarging the scope of the productive employment in the country for the many who cannot be absorbed in the normal pattern of employment opportunities created through plan investments and the regular agency of the market". This is a very fruitful avenue of enquiry and should be fully explored.

**Rising Prices**

Protests against the rising prices are being heard all over the country. There are hardly any urban areas where the cries against the ever-soaring prices and a big rise in the cost of living are not heard. In certain areas these have culminated in protest meetings and processions. Fortunately, the demonstrations have not created any serious law and order situation, thanks to the tactful handling by the authorities and the mild temper of the demonstrators. One important feature of these demonstrations is the prominent part played by women. They are primarily concerned with making the two ends meet and they know more than the menfolk how acute the situation is becoming.

In this connection it is worth remembering that the rabi crop has already entered the market, and yet the prices do not show any sign of decline. According to the official statistics both the Kharif and the rabi crops were more than average and there is no reason why the prices should not come down. Obviously, the explanation for the continued rise in prices is to be sought, not so much, in the shortfalls in supply as in the inflationary pressure exerted by the developmental expenditure and the advantage taken of this by the middlemen. But the official thinking seems to be still persisting in denying any significant role to deficit financing in the continuing high prices. The result is that inspite of a good harvest the cost of living refuses to go down.

To be sure the Government has taken certain steps in the direction of keeping the prices in check. In spite of repeated requests from the State Governments the Union Government has decided against the abolition of zones, the existence of which has helped in keeping the foodgrains prices under control. Recently the Government of India are reported to have come to a decision that the southern rice zone should not be abolished or split up inspite of strong representation from the Madras Government. Instead they have agreed to supply upto one lakh tons of rice to Madras this year to make good the deficit in the State.

Similarly the Government of India have also decided that the entire production by sugar mills would be at their disposal for direct allocations. So far the quantity of sugar earmarked for direct allocations by the Government was only 25 per cent of the production of the year. It is hoped that the decision to reserve the entire production for this purpose would help in keeping the prices in check. Some attempts at State trading are also made by the various State Governments. It is somewhat early to judge the cumulative effects of all these efforts. But the fact remains that the popular discontent against continuing high cost of living is growing. The Government, therefore, should not be complacent. It will lead the growing uneasiness to anxiety about the law and order situation.

**JOINT CO-OPERATIVE FARMING**

The July 5 issue of JANATA will be devoted to the much-discussed subject of “Co-operative Farming”—which has given a new slant to the Land Reforms. It will contain articles by political leaders and eminent theoreticians.

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Problems of Economically Underdeveloped Countries

[Address by Shri Amlan Datta, Reader in Economics, Calcutta University, to the World Economic Conference of Free Trade Unions, Geneva, 18-19 March, 1959.]

I WOULD like to begin by drawing your attention to three fairly well-known and yet basic and very important features of the situation obtaining in underdeveloped countries. The first of them relates to the gap between the underdeveloped countries and the more advanced countries. Let me quote a couple of well-known facts. The per capita income of the United States of America per year is slightly less than $2,000. India's per capita income is about $60. The per capita income in the USA is thus about thirty times as much as that in India.

Let me put the same point in a more general context instead of comparing a particular developed country with a particularly underdeveloped country. Taking the world as a whole, we find that the poorer countries, which account for two-thirds of humanity, have only one-sixth of world income, whereas the richer countries, with one-sixth of the population, have two-thirds of world income. This order of inequality equals, or is perhaps even greater than what obtained within individual capitalist countries when the revolutionary socialist movement began.

Inequality Is Still Growing

The second feature to which I draw your attention is again well-known, and yet bears repetition. That is that the inequality is still growing. The fact that it is doing so is perhaps not obvious when you consider only the last couple of years, but if you take the period from 1950 to 1955 the facts are clear enough. In Western Europe the rate of growth has varied. The rate of growth per capita income of total national income, for instance, was higher for Western Germany than the United Kingdom—but if you consider Western Europe as a whole, then the estimated rate of growth of per capita income for the period 1950 to 1955 was just under 5 per cent per year. Again there is a great difference in the rate of growth of per capita income in the Latin American countries—for instance, the rate is much higher in Brazil than in Argentina—but if we consider Latin America as a whole the estimated increase per capita per year is about 3½ per cent. In India for the same period the rate was put at 2 per cent per year, but, because of miscalculation of population increase, there are grounds for believing even this may be an overestimate.

Now these facts indicate, if this were necessary, that not only is the gap between the underdeveloped and the more advanced countries very wide, but that it is widening.

The Problem of Instability

The third of the three features I want to stress relates to the problem of instability, to which attention has already been drawn. There is one special point which I would like to highlight, and that is this: in a period of recession the terms of trade become more favourable to the more advanced countries and more unfavourable to the less developed countries. This means that a period of economic depression is doubly disadvantageous for the underdeveloped countries. Advanced countries, when they are confronted with a period of recession, have at least the inadequate consolation that the terms of trade turn in their favour precisely when the economic situation is otherwise unfavourable; but underdeveloped countries, precisely when the economic situation is unfavourable, find that the terms of trade usually turn against them.

The Widening Gap

These then are the three general features of the situation to which I want to draw your attention: the very simple fact of the gap, the fact that this is widening, and the fact that instability is an additional disadvantage for the underdeveloped countries.

Let us compare the situation in the development-seeking countries of the world today with that in the industrially advanced countries when they first started developing themselves—let us say during the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th Century and early 19th Century. It will be seen there is one very important distinction. Before I make the distinction precise it will be necessary to provide a background against which its significance will be made clear. We know, and it has been pointed out in the ICFTU document, that the passage from an underdeveloped stage to a developed stage can be described in technical terms from the viewpoint of one particular characteristic, namely, capital formation. It can be described as a passage from something around a 5 per cent saving and investing economy to about a 15 per cent saving and investing economy. This means that as long as one is in transition between 5 and 15 per cent the proportion of the national income that is consumed dwindles, not in absolute terms, but as a proportion of the national income. Yet, as we all know, it is precisely in this period when a country is still underdeveloped, when it is short of necessities and when it is for the first time coming into contact with developmental processes, that the propensity to consume of ordinary people tends to rise.

Now this poses a serious problem; here is a period when the natural instinct of the people is to raise their consumption as a long-deferred fulfilment of desires, yet it is essential for development that at this very time the proportion of the national income spent in this way should diminish in order to enable the proportion of the income saved and invested to increase. It is for this reason that, historically, a period of transition in economic development has always been one when wages rise less than proportionately to productivity. If consumption is to rise less than proportionately to income, then as a reflection of this we find wages rise less than proportionately to productivity. Whether this is desirable is not the question, but there is hardly any other way of passing...
from a 5 per cent saving-and-investing economy, than by making the income and consumption of the great majority rise slower than productivity and national income taken as a whole.

Now let me come back to the distinction between the underdeveloped countries and the developed countries, to which I referred a little earlier. When the industrially advanced countries of today started developing in the 19th Century the trade union movement was either illegal or exceedingly weak. For instance, the trade union movement was illegal in England between 1799 and 1824. It was illegal in France even after 1824. On the other hand, although the trade union movement is not as strong in a country like India as we would like to see it, nevertheless it is stronger there today than it was, for example, in the first half of the 19th Century in an industrially developing country of the West.

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Now the significance of this is that in the Western European countries when they began to develop themselves industrially, the fact that the trade union movement was either illegal or very weak made it possible for productivity to be raised faster than wages, without the government and the investing class meeting any substantial opposition. But in the development-seeking countries today the trade union movement is stronger than it was in the early 19th Century in Western Europe, although it is not as strong as we would like to see it today.

An Important Distinction

This is an important distinction, and from this distinction I draw one very important conclusion—that it is necessary for the development-seeking countries of today to bring about, for the purpose of economic development, a much closer co-operation between the trade union movement and other democratic organisations and the policy-making authorities, the political authorities, than was necessary in the 19th Century in the then developing countries.

A country like India can either take a dictatorial way by crushing the movement, but if it does not do so the alternative is to take the trade union movement into its confidence. The alternative between taking up a blatantly dictatorial way and openly co-operative way is therefore more sharply focussed for these countries. It seems obvious that for a development-seeking country today which wants to combine economic development with democracy, the workers must be persuaded that this is the bare logic of the economic situation, will have to be persuaded to take proportionately less than the rise in labour productivity, which again does not mean taking absolutely less. The point is to make this consistent with the existence of a free trade union movement.

Now I suggest that this can be done by the adoption of three important types of measures. The first is simply this, that the workers should be made to feel that they are not being called upon to shoulder more of the burden of economic development than other sections of the community, and, more important, that the richer sections of the community are going to shoulder their part—and I mean a proportionately larger part of the burden. Whether the idea has been fulfilled in practice or whether it is going to be fulfilled in future is a different question, but that is surely one of the main ideas behind such fiscal innovations as have been introduced in India in the form of an expenditure tax and a wealth tax, which seems to have frightened some investing people in other countries. The idea behind these taxes is precisely to make it clear to the richer people that if they want to spend more they must pay much more in taxation, and that the tax on wealth should be taken as an evidence of the sharing of the burden for fulfilment of the development programmes necessary for the country as a whole. This is one type of measure necessary to induce the working classes in a free democratic country to do their part. They must feel that measures are being adopted whereby the richer people also share, and undertake proportionately more of the burden that the country has to carry.

The second type of measure is, of course, educational. What common people detest or resent most is not so much sacrifice but one which they do not understand. A sacrifice for a reason one understands is more easily accepted. It is, therefore, essential to explain the economic compulsions of the transitional period. Then I believe the sacrifice would appear more reasonable to the ordinary people.

The third type of measure necessary is that the trade unions, the workers' associations and other democratic organisations should not merely be given to understand what is being done by the government, but should be given responsibility by bringing them in, wherever possible, for consultations so that policies may be framed on the basis of understanding by the people from whom sacrifices are demanded.

Sharing the Burden

The point that I am making then is that there can be no economic development without a certain amount of sacrifice, and I do not believe that it is possible to throw the entire sacrifice on one particular section of the people. The burden must be shared, and for obvious reasons the rich will have to carry more of the burden than was necessary for their counterparts in the early 19th Century. It is also important to make educational facilities available and to build up certain institutions for mutual consultation and sharing of responsibility among trade unions and working class associations on the one hand, and the political authorities and the administration on the other hand.

Industrially Advanced Countries

We believe that underdeveloped countries must help themselves if economic development is to be secured. But the industrially advanced countries have also a very important role to play in this respect.

I referred earlier to the interesting fact that, taking the world as a whole, the inequality in income among nations is at least as great as it is within nations. I would now draw your attention to an interesting ideological reflection of this fact. In the 19th Century the rich people in the capitalist countries used to say that the poorer people had only themselves to blame for their poverty. They said, "We are not responsible for the poverty of the poorer people. The poor are poor because they are lazy or improvident and because they have too many children." Not a few among the rich countries today speak a similar language, or have long done so, in relation to the poorer countries.

I would like to point out that this attitude of trying to apportion blame is very unhelpful. The point is not who is to blame for poverty but what are its possible consequences. The developed countries of today soon discovered that the only possible consequence of the situation that obtained in those countries in the 19th Century was a revolutionary explosion, and this could be averted only by the development of certain egalitarian measures. For the world as a whole a similar conclusion holds good. Irrespective of who is responsible for poverty, the fact remains that unless the increasing gap between the advanced and the underdeveloped countries is closed the situation will prove explosive.

Let me clarify one point. I do not believe that the underdeveloped countries of the world are going to remain underdeveloped for the next
The Children of Transition

In this age of rapid and inevitable transition, it is the young who bear the major brunt of social change. Unprotected by full tradition-orientation, and not sufficiently inhibited and conditioned by superstitions and impressions of the old order, they can raise no ramparts against the onslaught of the horde of new ideas and thoughts. Sometimes they wish to try these ideas. They, then, stumble against a social order which, though obsolete, has refused to abdicate. This social order operates through their parents and relations and the leaders of their communities. Hence, they stumble against loyalties, affections, emotional ties and family obligations. They stumble into the dark abyss of emotional conflict, personal disorganisation and cynicism. To have to lose emotional security and a sense of solidarity with your most dependable kins, especially when you are in greatest need of response, is to get reduced into shambles of emotions and into martyrs of distressed self-righteousness.

The Alibi

And this is the alibi of our youth. If they accept the irrational, they lose all self-respect. Their idealism gets coarsened and their vigour sapped. Or, they become bitter and crazy and lose all respect for elder members of the society. Acceptance of either of these attitudes varies, firstly, from individual to individual, depending on the personal equation, and secondly, on the interrelation between one's social group and the intensity of the process of transition.

The young generation of the first quarter and a half of this century were also faced with these alternatives. But, what they accepted was considered a sacred duty towards the country. With a long tradition of asceticism and patriotism vindicate and to cover them with an aura of divine glory, their sense of loss was more than compensated and their bitterness was transferred to the enemy. Hence, their sense of pride and of supreme self-confidence.

The young generations of our time have had to face much too grim a struggle without any emotional compensations and prestige rewards.

For, their enemies are either abstract ideas and old customs, or, in concrete terms, their own loved and revered elders. What they fight for are new values which, if anything, bring forth bitter ridicule and arouse the ire of the deeply committed old men of strong faith.

What they have to forego is love and affection of elders, without basking under the warm sunshine of popular respect. Their new values demand as total a commitment as did the struggle for freedom. Even more. They exact every day behavioural practice and brook no laxities. It is a continuous and a bitter struggle.

Strong Antipathy

Now, it is easy to accept a merely negative value; one may decide not to pray to an idol. But, in villages, for example, where to dine with the untouchable and to touch them, and what is even more important and crucial, to treat them with respect is a positive value; it becomes difficult to practice it. At every moment, you feel like being watched with strong antipathy and you feel like desecrating a sacred trust of filial loyalties. You have to fight with yourself. And when the untouchable is subjected to filthy abuse by your uncle, you find it difficult to protest, particularly as you are aware that in much what your uncle did to the untouchable, his annoyance with you was very manifestly obvious.

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The Hobson's Choice

Thus fight against old values and prejudices becomes sometimes a harrowing experience for the normal young person, a person with a developed social consciousness and a developed sense of familiar ties and obligations. Sometimes escape is possible only by making your peace with the world. That looks sensible, honourable and wise. That gives a sort of emotional security, guarantees social respect and trust and puts a youth on the road to success. The children of transition have to make the Hobson's choice. For, their commitments to new ideas and to groups of friends are also not easy to forget.

It is rather too naively suggested that our youths lack idealism, and they are not dynamic and have gone stale; and that they lack initiative and the spirit of adventure. But is it not that our youths, though basically sound, have a rough time, indeed? And, if they stifle their voices of conscience, their idealism and spirit of adventure, they rather conform to the demands of our social order, making themselves miserable. Our society glamourises idealism, but it dares not risk it; on the other hand, idealism becomes the creed of the unsocial and the irresponsible. Our youths, the children of transition, are not a stale lot; they are victims of a stale society and an obstructive social order.

On the other hand, there are certain basic changes in the social structure which react upon the youthful minds in a characteristic traditionally inferior, low and dominated. The fight of these defenders of the old order is a bitter fight, sometimes a desperate, last ditch stand. The upholders of the new order have to brave it all and stand erect.

Or, take the case of dowry, in towns in particular. Your parents are keen not only to provide for the new household you are going to set up, they are thinking of your sister's marriage and they are deeply concerned about their own prestige and status in the society. Dowry is a scale of social status in a horizontal community. To insist on non-acceptance of dowry is to injure the feelings of your parents and to degrade them in their own eyes.

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A Vision of the Morrow, Faith Enough to Grab It

By Asoka Mehta

How to channel profits into investment is a problem that deserves constant attention, and that is possible only if we cease to frown on profit per se.

This leads us to the question of orientation of economy: what powers the drive towards development, production or consumption?

In the nineteenth century, dynamics resided in production. In the interplay by which production and consumption reciprocally stimulate each other the initiating impulses came predominantly from the side of production. In the interaction between investment and income growth, the causal claim tended to run predominately from investment to income. Consumption and demand played a dependent role; the motive forces were mainly on the side of production and supply. Under socialist pressure the roles are sought to be reversed. The production-oriented economy is a harsh system. In the West its crudities have been tempered by the growth of social reform; fiscal measures favouring the underprivileged, social security measures and nationalisation of certain monopolies like coal and railway transport. Distributive justice seeks to restrain and train the productive thrusts in economy. In Asia, can distributive justice generate the productive thrusts? Otherwise, the outcome would be petering out of the developmental impulse. Can Plan provide a common focus for the claims of distribution and production and provide the requisite social discipline behind it? The Communists have a clear answer. If the Socialists endorse the answer in toto, their distinctive vision must fade. If they have a different answer, it needs to be adumbrated with clarity and courage.

Nationalisation

What, in essence, is a plan for the Communists? How is it constructed? How is it implemented?

"A Plan represents a comprehensive set of accounts linking a series of output, investment, and consumption targets with the projected factor commodity and money flows required to assure their attainment. Contrary to Western practice, in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe these accounts, called balanced estimates, do not constitute just a series of forecasts or provisional models based on varying hypotheses and assumptions, but a definite set
tasks which must be accomplished and which are binding as a law for the society as a whole."

Plan "binding as a law for society as a whole" is possible only under totalitarian control. While the Communists object to all efforts at capital accumulation and production orientation of economy, when they are out of power, on seizure of power their drive in that direction becomes single pointed. As a Polish planner, Hillary Minc, remarked, "We must do away with the erroneous conception that increase in productivity must always be accompanied by an equal or even superior increase in wages. . . That would be an effective contradiction to the fundamental laws of socialist accumulation. These laws imply that increase in wages should progress more slowly than the increase in productivity because this is the only means of achieving a decrease in cost and increased accumulation for investment."

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The "erroneous conception" fatal to the augmentation of profit for the purpose of increased investment is deliberately fostered by the Communists while in opposition, and the stern laws of economic growth are brazenly denied. Once in power, with that heave of history a decisive somersault is taken. That, of course, is dialectics!

Socialists, who are wedded to democracy and humanism, cannot function with double standards. They have to pioneer a single discipline of understanding and action.

The Communists might argue, as many a socialist is apt to argue, that accumulation of capital takes on ease and a qualitatively different form once the productive forces are nationalised: All mischief resides in the intervention of private ownership between productive forces and their utilisation; to bear down the intervention is to open up the sluices of abundance. To be cured of that illusion is the alpha and omega of democratic socialism.

Indiscriminate

We have throughout argued in favour of discriminating socialisation. Wholesale nationalisation sought by the Communists has no economic validity, only political advantage forging total control of the State on society. The Communist process of nationalisation affects not just the key segments of economy but farms, petty trade, artisans' shops and services. In China, recently all residential houses have been nationalised. The result of such indiscriminate and sweeping nationalisation is not economic improvement but harassment of the people. As Matyas Rakosi stated during the 1953 "new course" reversal "whole villages and city districts have remained without a cobbler, tailor, locksmith, plumber, electrician, and other craftsmen... If anyone wanted to have a broken window replaced, or a farm implement repaired, he would have to travel 20 or 30 miles to the county seat." What perfect chaos under total planning!

Nationalisation shares with controls common characteristics: a few selected controls can be effective, when the limit gets crossed, more and every new control makes the whole system less effective and more and more controls need to be piled, vexatious. Dynamics of nationalisation, unchecked, carries it not only to excess but to oppression. That is why periodically the pressure is relaxed in commercial countries: then in agriculture, retail trade, crafts the corset of control is loosened and free initiative given a breather.

Once total nationalisation is rejected, the market and pricing system come into their own. They obviously cannot be allowed to work unchecked; the State would take appropriate countervailing measures. They are, however, meant to enhance the social utility of the market, not to undermine it. In Asia, the socialists have taken the market mechanism for granted; it is time effective research is initiated.

In economic development the motive force comes from those who have the urge to innovate. To produce something new or differently, and to produce somewhat abundant-ly are the two aspects of innovation. Under capitalism the role was played by the entrepreneur—Joseph Schumpeter's "innovating entrepreneur" (who is largely weak or non-existent in Asia)—and under Communism by the cadre and the Commissar. Under socialism the creative impulse has to come from experimentation: new institutions and novel efforts; in some cases workers' control of factory, elsewhere trade union ownership of enterprise as in Israel. Industrial Estates as nurseries of new entrepreneurs, public corporations, cooperative management, private ownership—these among the varied foliations of socialist spirit. It is through such experimentation that as individuals or in corporate forms competent captains, engineers of development will emerge.

An Assumption

Wholesale nationalisation presupposes that the State, its apparatus, has power of initiative and enterprise inherent in it. That is as gratuitous an assumption as to believe that through capitalist innovations alone, Asian economy can blossom. Such powers have to be carefully tended and husbanded.

Innovation and experimentation are not confined to the managerial plane. Their importance to technique is no less: the form as well as the degree of industrial innovation is variable, a fact which the
Communists have ignored and the
Socialists have not fully recognised.
The truth, that in Asia not just the
relations of production, but the force
of production itself may have to
be modified needs to be branded
on our consciousness.
Economic development cannot
prosper in isolation. The onrush of
energy, of vital creativity, its de-
mands will never be confined to life
economic. Such a surge, once start-
ed, affects all activities. As Prof.
John Nef has recently shown in his
book, "Cultural Foundations of In-
dustrial Civilisation," no industrial
revolution proceeds without an in-
tellectual renaissance. Commitment
of human minds to new creative up-
surge is a necessary hallmark of
development. Socialists' chosen
arena therefore cannot remain poli-
tics or economics, the whole domain
of culture must receive their vitalis-
ing impulses and be, in their turn,
enriched by such protean commit-
ments. In a depressed and oppres-
sed world, socialism has to be the
voice of conscience, it has to touch
human thought with the vision of
tomorrow and the faith needed to
realise it.

(Concluded)
THERE are three stars rising in the ever-blue middle eastern sky—Dr. Muhammad Kaisuni of the U.A.R., Sheik Abdulla Tariki of Saudi Arabia and Emil Bustani of Lebanon. Prominence these Arab economists have gained in recent days is a healthy sign. The initiative of the West Asian politics have shifted from the Presidential and Royal palaces to the roving economists with vision of New Deal. Between three of them they know whatever there is to know about the rouble, dollar and sterling politics. They all dress in Western fashion but think as the Arab patriots should. They know that prosperity cannot be foisted on a people; it has to grow among the people.

A Formidable Problem

With that idea in common among them they gathered in Cairo last week to tell the oil drilling nations that they were not interested in nationalisation but they believed in finding a durable answer to a formidable problem—founding an Arab economic structure which will produce its own prosperity. The only way to do it is to arrange for sharing the profits not only at the well-head but also along the line to the filling stations at home and abroad. They complain that after the oil leaves the West Asian ports it brings fantastic profits to companies without any benefit whatsoever to the oil-producing countries. (It is something like the preparation Bengal Jute.) Besides, the difference in or conflict of the foreign policy of the country of the drillers and that of the drilled inevitably ended in the surrender of the latter by the simple procedure of switching over to the alternative source of oil supply. Most of the Arab oil sources are tapped by those countries who recently have handed out generous military and civil aid but who in the past took little notice of Arab nationalism, ignore their welfare and to top it all created Israel in conjunction with Russia. Every oil derrick in the West Asia was a valve through which they turned on and off the local political

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Japan is a new-comer and as such she cannot be considered to be a party to the politics of this region. Italy has in recent years contracted an extraordinarily new type of agreement with Iran. She will spend some £ 7 million in prospecting new land for which she pays nothing but if the oil is found Iran will have to put up half the capital for other long-term projects. What is most surprising is not one Arab delegate has been reported to have advocated the idea of establishing oil engineering schools and universities in the Arab countries to train their own engineers. As long as that is not done industrial progress of Araby will be no faster than that of ours. (To be concluded)
Problems of Underdeveloped Countries

(Continued from page 5)

half a century. They are going to develop, and I put it to you that they will do so over the next half a century irrespective of the scale on which the industrially advanced countries help them. The point is not whether the underdeveloped countries will develop or not; it is now clear that owing to certain historical forces which have arisen the development of the underdeveloped countries cannot be stopped over the next 50 years, but it is not certain whether this development will be within the framework of democratic institutions. Without assistance by the industrially more advanced countries it is most unlikely that development of the underdeveloped countries will take place within the framework of democratic institutions.

Democracy at Stake

What is at stake, therefore, is not just the economic development of any one part of the world, but democracy, or to put it in a broader perspective, certain basic values of civilisation. If economic development of the underdeveloped countries is to be combined with democracy, then it must take place not in the face of opposition, not even in the face of indifference, but as the result of eager co-operation between the more developed part of the world and the less favoured.

In this connection I would like to make it clear that it would be complacent to take for granted that the need for such co-operation is sufficiently realised, even in more knowledgeable quarters. I shall give you one example. It has been pointed out recently that it would be convenient to give you one example. It has been pointed out recently by a liberal English journal, the "Manchester Guardian", commenting on this, said, "The resources of the West are not unlimited." That was obviously true but the total resources of the West, as calculated for the moment, are $500,000 million compared with £300 million or just under $1,000 million. Even if we take all the underdeveloped countries into account—and put their needs at the maximum—what is required of the more advanced countries is assistance to the tune of 1.5 per cent of their national incomes.

Now 1.5 per cent is something; but whether the advanced countries feel they are in a position to give that percentage in order to help the less advanced countries depends on the sense of urgency with which they approach the whole problem. I submit that the problem is surely of such a degree of urgency as to induce the advanced countries to step forward with aid to this extent.

THE CHILDREN OF TRANSITION

(Continued from page 6)

manner. These changes are reflected in the emergence of skilled and prized technocrats and the successful men in business and the film world. These new idols of society, the blue-eyed children of the democratic socialist order we are striving to build, typify the values of a centralist, efficient, state-managed and prosperous society. Our young people idealise them, rather than the poor artist, the struggling novelist, the rebellious young man quarrelling over the choice of bride or of career, the idealist dreamer working for rural uplift. These latter gentlefolk are not only poor; they are under-privileged and are the unsuccessful, bitter and angry young people who have failed to adjust with society. And then, almost all social forces, pressures of the community and family, influence of power and pelf of the bureaucratic technocrats and appeal of the folklore woven around them by cinema, sing their panegyrics and put them across as the new heroes. There is thus not even an organised social force or pressure, even the semblance of it, which may resurrect the idealism and the dynamic freshness of the youth which is under heavy strains and pressures and is surrounded by powerful stimuli of temptations.

Dangerous and Unpopular

The veterans of our society and the idols of the previous generations who are the ruler builders and philosophers of our country are playing a double game. Whether they are conscious of this role can hardly be judged; for they have been deeply honest, courageous and clever men. In their speeches, they dish out certain new values and ideas before the youth; and through their policies, they make the adoption of these values rather dangerous and unpopular. When, however, the youth are caught in various shades of indecision, non-acceptance of the old order or a bit too rash assertion against it, indiscipline against social conformity, bitter cynicism against the double role of their heroes and callous indifference to the new ideas and values, these leaders lash at them once for being naughty and again for being submissive. Vain threats of closure of universities and of resignations and frequent firings make only a mockery of their good intentions. However, these responses and reactions of our leaders appear in themselves as the operation of emotional conflicts and split personalities. Possibly, with some of our heroes and rulers, their own age of transition has weighed rather too heavily. But if that be the case, they ought all the more to realise the turmoils of present generation of the youth. For transition has, between the generations, developed a very rapid pace and stands at a multi-faced cross-roads.

Bureaucratic Little "Deshmukhs"

Shri Nehru in a spirited reply to Dr. C. D. Deshmukh's resignation speech in the Parliament characterised himself as "we, the children of revolution" as against the bureaucratic Deshmukh. After its success, the revolution has, however, foresaken its own children and is pinning its hopes on the bureaucratic little Deshmukhs. Will the little Nehrus of this age of transition, those irritated, confused and adventurous young folk who still have the courage to scorn security and privilege and plough their lonely furrows in unknown lands of sand and stone, ever be able to reclaim their dreams and hopes from the iron grips of the efficiency—snobs which Shri Nehru and his revolution have reared? The children of transition do not know. For, their parents and their grandmother revolution seems to have forgotten them.
AFTERMATH

WITH the announcement of the Government's decision to drop the charges against Shri H. M. Patel and to only censure Shri G. R. Kamat for the LIC—Mundhra deal the curtain is rung on the long drawn out inquiry into this deal, unless the Parliament decides to consider the Bose inquiry findings and the advice of the Union Public Service Commission and the Government decisions in the matter. Some of the aspects of this deal, however, are likely to exercise the public mind and the Government will do well to draw relevant lessons out of this affair and apply them in policy and administrative matters with full objectivity so as to define clearly the shape of the management of public concerns that are likely to grow in number during the Third Plan period.

The most important question is one regarding the contribution to the party funds by the joint stock companies. The Bose Board of Inquiry has suggested as a possible motive for the transaction the desire to help Shri Mundhra as a quid pro quo for his Rs. 2½ lakhs donations to the Congress Party funds and his action in keeping the Kanpur mills open. The UPSC has disagreed with this suggestion and the Government resolution records the opinion that "there is no justification for the suggestion". No one expected the Congress Government to accept the suggestion which would have exposed them to the charge of an abuse of the public funds for political ends. But the very fact that the Board has made such a suggestion is likely to leave an impression on the public mind which is not desirable. The only way of dealing with the problem is to prohibit any contribution to the Party fund by the joint stock companies. Amendments to the Company Act are being considered by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament and they should consider this question in all its aspects and evolve a formula that would free the public mind of all misgivings on this point.

Another equally important matter is that of various relationships involved in the management of a Public Corporation in which the Government has a major or exclusive voice. The first of such relationships is between the Government and the Parliament. The question is: what was the investment policy laid down by the Parliament with regard to the LIC funds and whether the Government had followed that policy while considering the Mundhra deal. It had come up for discussions more than once in this enquiry. Its relevance to the enquiry has also been questioned. After the deal the Parliament has considered the whole question, but the policy statement on the subject is far from clear and at some stage the Government will have to lay down clearly the policy regarding the investments of the various public funds, considerations that should govern such investments and the authority that should have a final say in the matter.
Incidentally the relationship between the Minister and his Chief Secretary has also come in for a considerable debate. To what extent is the Chief Secretary entitled to presume the knowledge of the working of the mind of his Minister, when he should obediently follow the decisions expressly conveyed or implicitly known by the Secretary and when he is in duty bound to record his misgivings or non-concurrence is another important point that needs to be more clearly stated. The question as to when the Government decisions and the Secretary's reactions thereto should be noted in the file should also be determined with greater precision and the rules regarding the same should be more explicit and unambiguous.

Finally, there is a question of the relationship between the Government and the Public Corporations enjoying autonomy. Either in the Act of incorporation itself or in the rules framed under the Act this relationship should be more clearly defined and the responsibilities should be expressly attached to the various organs regarding the policy and other decisions governing the affairs of public corporations. It is the absence of such clear provisions that led to much of the avoidable arguments back and forth in this enquiry.

If the Government profits by this enquiry which has consumed so much of public time and money and take decisions on all these matters it will prove of much use in clarifying the various long-term issues besides disentangling the immediate questions with which it was specifically concerned.

Self-Governing Singapore

In an atmosphere of wild rejoicing, massive columns of fire crackers bursting over the heads of the citizens celebrating the birth of MERDEKA in Singapore with wild dragon dances, one more area in Asia has become a self-governing state. The one-and-a-half million people of Singapore will now have their own government and one by one British officers will leave the Government. Excepting the Defence and Foreign policy which would still remain in the hands of the United Kingdom the rest of the portfolios have now passed into the hands of the representatives of the citizens of Singapore. The Government has passed into the hands of the People’s Action Party which won 43 of the 51 seats in the new Legislative Assembly. Before agreeing to assume office the Party had insisted that when they were summoned by the Governor to form the Government they would make it a condition that their leaders jailed for subversive activities must be released before they accepted office and Singapore was declared a self-governing city state. Some difficulties were expected because of this insistence but the PAP got its condition accepted and after that all the hurdles have disappeared and Mr. Lee Kuan Yew agreed to form the Government.

As for the policy which the new Government is likely to follow it is very difficult to say anything at present. The PAP is described as a party of the extreme Left and is known to have strong Marxist tendencies. Mr. Lim Chin Sion, who was till now in detention, has just now been released and he is likely to impart a strong Leftist flavour to the PAP policy. If he succeeds in this there is a possibility of the Singapore Government following extreme lines and that will embarrass both the United Kingdom and the Federation of Malaya. Tanku Abdul Rehman, the former Malayan Prime Minister, has recently said that the PAP victory in the Singapore elections would not affect Malaya but that seems to be a rather over-optimistic statement. It is doubtful if the new Singapore Government would immediately precipitate a crisis but if they insist in following a marked leftist line trouble is bound to grow between Malaya and Singapore.

JOINT CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

The July 5 issue of JANATA will be devoted to the much-discussed subject of “Co-operative Farming”—which has given a new slant to the Land Reforms. It will contain articles by political leaders and eminent theoreticians.

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India, As Immediate Neighbour of Tibet

PRESIDING over the All India Tibet convention at Calcutta on May 30 last, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan made a fervent plea to create a strong public opinion in the world against Chinese brutality and oppression in Tibet.

He also appealed to the Afro-Asian bloc to fight for the Tibetans' freedom in the United Nations forum.

The following is from the address of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan:

Let me begin by paying a tribute to Acharya Kripalani for the great service he has done to India and the cause of international justice and peace. His has been almost the only voice in the Lok Sabha which from the beginning of the Tibet affair has been raised on the side of truth and justice. It is a sad commentary on the party system that even though overwhelming opinion in the Lok Sabha has been with him on this question, the House has had to follow a different lead.

Role of Public

I should also like at the outset to emphasise the need of more intimate study of international questions on the part of the public. The Prime Minister is considered to be the sole authority on foreign affairs. But events like Hungary and Tibet show how such a situation results in most unfortunate mistakes. With a better-informed and active public opinion, such mistakes could perhaps have been avoided. It has been found that after the event, the Government has on occasions responded to public criticism, but it would have been much better not to have committed the mistake at the outset.

The role of the Press cannot be over-emphasised in this respect. The Council of World Affairs, its branches and other similar institutions should receive greater attention from the educated section of the people.

In the Lok Sabha both the Opposition as well as the ruling party must produce more serious students of foreign affairs.

The broad policy of independence, some times miscalled neutralism, has no doubt overwhelming support of the people and, to my mind, is the only correct policy for us to follow. But the trouble is that this policy is not always strictly and impartially followed. This has cost us not only our good name and moral prestige, but has made us acquire in the supression of human and national freedom.

One of the great tragedies of history is being enacted in full view of the world. Tibet is being gobbled up by the Chinese dragon. A country of less than ten million souls is being crushed to death by a country of six hundred and fifty million people. Patriotism, courage, faith can perform miracles. The Tibetans love their country; they are brave; they are devoted to their religion and their Dalai Lama. Yet, one-to-sixtyfive is an odd that even a nation of Hercules will find it difficult to over-come.

The attention of the world is currently turned elsewhere. Moreover, Tibet for most countries of the world, except its immediate neighbours, is an obscure, distant, benighted land—not worth bothering about. This makes the tragedy of Tibet deeper.

India's Responsibility

India, as an immediate neighbour of Tibet and as a country regarded for its moral position, its detachment and freedom from power politics has a great responsibility in this matter. The world looks to India for a lead and India must not fail.

It is not only the question of the fate of ten million people. That of course is important and would be so whatever the number. But there is also the question—and this is of much greater importance—of the basis of international justice and peace. Is world peace possible if the strong are free to oppress the weak with impunity? Such a world would be dominated by a few powerful nations and peace would consist in an uneasy balance of power between them and the small nations would be at their mercy.

This surely is not the picture of the future world order that India has in view. We believe that just as inside nations the rule of law must be established to secure human rights, so in the international community too must the rule of law be enforced so as to ensure the freedom and rights of nations. That rule of law can only be based on an international morality which is universally accepted. Even the strongest power then might find it difficult to go against the moral verdict of the world. From my point of view, the greatest virtue of our foreign policy of non-attachment and independence of judgment is that it enables us to contribute, because of that very non-attachment, to the development of international morality.

India, therefore, must not shirk her responsibility at this testing moment. Her responsibility is far greater at this time than it was at the time of Hungary. This is so not only because Tibet is on our frontier and what happens there affects our security, not only because of our spiritual and cultural bonds with Tibet.

The Panchen Lama, by the way, twitted us the other day for showing such solicitude for Buddhism abroad when we had not cared to preserve it at home. The learned Lama forgets that the Buddha's teachings have very largely become a part of Hindu life and thought and the Budha himself is worshipped as our last Avatar. Howsoever, our bonds with Tibet are there and they no doubt determine our attitude towards their present plight. But our concern for and responsibility towards Tibet spring mainly from the fact that Tibet is a neighbour who has been wronged. The responsibility is increased when it is recalled that the neighbour had put trust in our assurances.

Talk of War

In this connection, there has been some glib talk of war. If you do this or that, it would mean war with China, it is said. It is amazing that people should talk of war in this
loose manner. The whole world knows, and China more than all, that India has no desire whatever to start a war with any one. On the other hand, India has repeatedly reiterated her firm desire to continue her bonds of friendship with China. But if China seeks to exploit that desire for unjust purposes, India cannot be party to it. Nor can India be brow-beaten into doing something that she considers wrong nor prevented by threats from doing the right.

Tibet is not a region of China. It is a country by itself which has sometimes passed under Chinese suzerainty by virtue of conquest and never by free choice. Chinese suzerainty has always been of the most nominal kind and meant hardly more than some tribute paid to Peking by Lhasa. At other times Tibet was an independent sovereign country. For some time in the 8th century Peking paid an yearly tribute of 50,000 yards of chinese brocade to Tibet.

After the fall of the Manchu empire in 1911, Tibet functions as an Independent country till 1951, when the Chinese Communist Government invaded it. In between there were attempts to re-impose Chinese suzerainty by the treaty in which the British Government took a leading hand. Pressed from both sides by two powerful forces, Tibet had little choice, nevertheless nothing came out of these attempts and till the communist invasion, Tibet was a free country.

The British had their own selfish motives for agreeing to China's suzerain powers in Tibet. Being imperialists themselves they had, of course, no qualms in the matter. Their motive was to bribe the Chinese into recognising the monopoly economic rights of the British in Tibet.

A Policy Mistake

It was this policy born in imperialist sin that free India inherited. Very rightly India renounced all the rights she enjoyed in Tibet by virtue of that inheritance. But curiously she re-affirmed that part of the sinful policy that related to China. India gave her assent to China's suzerain position in Tibet.

That was a major mistake of our foreign policy. The mistake was twofold. The first was that we accepted an imperialist formula. The very idea that one country may have suzerain powers over another is imperialist in conception. The second mistake was to believe that a powerful totalitarian state could be trusted to honour the autonomy of a weak country.

It is true that we could not have prevented the Chinese from annexing Tibet. But we could have saved ourselves from being party to a wrong. That would have been not only a matter of moral satisfaction, but it would have also set the record right, so that world opinion, particularly in the Afro-Asian part of the world, could have asserted itself. That might have even halted the Chinese. The communists are anxious to present themselves as liberators, so when Afro-Asian opinion would have condemned their Tibet action as aggression they have found it immensely difficult to go on with it.

India's acceptance of the suzerainty formula gave to the Chinese action a moral and legal sanction and prevented the formulation of an Afro-Asian opinion on the question. It thus prevented the true aggressive character of Chinese communism from being realised by the backward peoples of Asia, aggravating the danger of their being enslaved in the name of liberation.

The Basic Issue

It has been said, more in whisper than aloud, that non-recognition of China's claims of suzerainty would have earned for us the hostility of the Chinese Government. In the first place, issues of right and wrong cannot be decided on considerations of pleasure or displeasure of the parties concerned. In the second place, it should have been foreseen that sooner or later the Chinese would try to destroy the Tibetan autonomy and then a conflict of policies would become inevitable.

Furthermore, we could have made it clear that even though we were opposed to China's suzerainty over Tibet, we were, on our side, keen and determined to pursue our policy of friendship. India had strongly opposed recent Anglo-French aggression in Egypt, but on that account she did not change her policy of friendship towards England and France. Nor was India's action construed by those powerful countries as hostile, nor did they themselves on that account become hostile to India.

There are some who say that facts of history must be taken into ac-...
Close-knit Society Is Essential In Democracy

EDMUND Burke formulated a social law when he said: "Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere: the less of it is within, the more will it be without." It is true that Burke was a Conservative Philosopher but he wrote during the French Revolution, when there was as great a need for cohesion as for change.

To achieve a vital balance between internal and external controls, is the task of wise statesmanship.

Internal controls are of many kind, some desirable, some obnoxious. Where the latter predominate society becomes stagnant and stratified. External controls also are of many kinds; the character of society is determined by importance assigned to regulative as against coercive controls. To the extent controls are imposed society weakens, to the extent they are understood they are organized, society becomes free and creative.

Self-Control

Internal controls are provided partly by social customs and practices. Professor Gilbert Murray has somewhere cited a beautiful little incident of ancient Greece. In a lonely spot two warriors met in a combat and one of them was killed. He was clad in a magnificent armour. The victorious warrior was tempted to take it from the dead man, there was no one to see him do it, yet he was held back. A voice from within said: "It is not done." It is that voice that is the ultimate sanction of morality.

It is said, goodness in men makes democracy possible, 'while evil in men makes democracy necessary. It is that goodness which is the basis of internal controls. In so far as moral ideas, or categorical imperatives, are respected, society has built-in safeguards against disorder. Where they break down, danger of tyranny emerges.

Reinhold Neibbur has argued that man may be moral, but society remains immoral. Rajaji once warned me that an individual can be altruistic, but never a group. Hedonism is the nuclear core of every group. Social morality is thus something different from the sum total of individual morality. It operates not just on the plane of ideas but of interests, institutions and taboos.

Where institutions organized to regulate individual and group interests lose vitality, get drained of their purposes, they operate as taboo. Such societies might maintain a semblance of order, but at the cost of paralyzing creative impulses, as aptly described by Gurudev Tagore in Tasher Desh. Moral ideas in such context, usually spell an acquiescence in hierarchical order, rather than the evolution of free and equal life. As vital aspects of their place. The revolution has left nothing standing but individual. . . Indeed, where we have nothing but 'individuals', all matters which are not properly theirs are public affairs of the State . . . This is how we become an admonished nation.

Society in this fashion has oscillated between stagnation and atomisation. Human intelligence strives to achieve a balance, to arrest the Aristotelian cycle.

Rights and Restraints

Constitutional checks and balances were evolved to prevent concentration of power in one or limited hands. They were developed through a series of historical struggles in England, but were deliberately enshrined in the Organic Laws in the United States. We in India have followed the United States. Constitutional provisions prevent authority from becoming oppressive and safeguard liberties of individuals against arbitrary powers.

It is widely recognised that there is no such thing as liberty but only a bundle of liberties. Constitutional provisions by themselves cannot ensure free enjoyment of liberties because it contemplates rights as well as restraints. That has led to the realisation that the pyramid of representative government must rest on direct democracy at the grass roots. In the United States, the TVA developed the river basin through innumerable contracts entered into with local councils, rarely imposing its will though the Federal Law had endowed the Authority with the power.

In traditional societies community ties are important, though often they degenerate into oppressive and unjust burdens. In a free society, however, men cannot live as isolates. Only at their peril can they allow themselves to be engulfed by the Lonely Crowd. They need to enter into significant social relationships. As traditional order breaks down under the weight of its decay, and from hammer blows of charge, a quest for community has to begin. In the West, the quest has led to the creation of what one might call the social infra-structure. Men as citizens and workers enter into meaningful relationships, and a web of associations—trade unions, co-operatives, political parties, churches, professional organisations, welfare clubs,
etc.—fill the void that the crumbling of the old order throws up.

Affluent communities have moved in the direction of a plural society, where through foliation of associations, constitutional checks and balances are provided a basis of institutional interplay.

In India, traditional order is breaking down. New India cannot emerge until the ossified and often oppressive structures are razed, but then men are in the danger of losing all ties and restraints, rootless and footloose they might drift, prey to every mountebank. For the success of political democracy, as also economic progress and social change, men have to gather in folds of varied associations. Society, like any organism, grows on cells, and its cells are associations men understandingly enter into, the fusion of wills so achieved.

Where traditional life breaks down, if new community ties are not achieved, society degenerates into what the Germans call zusamen marschieren, or "marching together." Lacking inner purpose, ranks are maintained by constant discovery of fresh enemies. Loyalties become narrow, antipathy opens new edges, social erosion results in frustration, that is, in the erosion of the self itself!

In a healthy society, man draws sustenance from it as well as supports it. When man becomes purely parasitic, where he receives without returning, Hobbes' vision of a war of each against all becomes real, and then the lamps of liberty are put out. The more difficult a situation, greater is the need of overriding purposes and expanding loyalties.

To create the needed atmosphere, the democratic state needs to be at once responsive yet firm: responsive where people bring forward their felt grievances in orderly fashion, firm where disturbances are created. It is a matter of deep regret that in our country the feeling is growing up that the government operates the other way about.

Democracy in India

Long have we talked of decentralisation, but our organs of direct democracy remain weak. Our panchayats, not to talk, of higher organs of direct democracy, lack effective power. Our trade unions are fragmented, our co-operatives lack the nucleus of close-knit understanding and association, that keeps expanding as new entrants join.

We are a democratic state. But all that it means is that we have the trappings of democracy, but the people are yet to be clothed in the garments of responsibility. If people were well organised, if there were recognised channels of representation, differences could be thrashed out in fruitful manner. Lack of organisation is sought to be made up by frequent resort to direct action. This often shifts the arena of decision from the legislative chamber to the streets. Issues are sometimes resolved, not in terms of reason, but in terms of endurance to fast or ability to fill prisons. Minority action tends to usurp the place of cultivating consensus. We tend to admire self-invited suffering even when it is wanton.

On the other hand, those in power do not seem to put much premium on organisation, on the discovery of means of resolving disputes. The frequent resort to police firing in a country where the people are known to be patient and long-suffering suggests that there is something fundamentally wrong with the organisation and functioning of our democratic life.

Partisan Loyalty

During the national liberation movement we got highly politicalised. Now politics has lost much of its elevated purpose, and tends to distort every activity in a partisan manner. With us a single loyalty, be it caste or political affiliation, tends to become decisive. The checks and balances of loyalties on which alone can a democratic structure, enshrining liberties, be raised, do not easily come about. In all these directions, if we are to give firm hold to democracy, countervailing measures have to be carefully thought out, and deliberately fostered.

In neighbouring countries democracy has collapsed, not just because people had become somewhat disorderly, but because politicians had got into the habit of provoking and aggravating dissensions. If India is to avert such a debacle, politics will have to be more of an organising and constructive activity—as it was during the liberation struggle—and less of an erosive force, as it is today.

A society like ours has many fissures. To exploit them is to endanger democracy. Merely by destroying democracy, fissures do not close up nor wants get satisfied. The records of dictatorship aptly show that no magic of transformation resides in them. I have heard in a number of countries under military regime those in power bemoaning the emergence of a vacuum. Economic growth and social progress, irrespective of political pattern adopted, demand a vast effort and organisation and co-operation.

Code of Conduct

In economic life increasingly the structural disturbances are sought to be overcome by what are known as "built-in stabilisers." So in democracy, there is a need for "built-in stabilisers." A code of conduct among political parties, a jury of peers among politicians, effective decentralisation of administration, fostering of functional organisations, are among the varied stabilisers that can be built-in, to strengthen the forces of liberty against forces of licence. It is necessary to remember that more control there is within, less there will be from without.

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LETTER FROM EUROPE

OIL POLITICS-II
by Nripendranath Ghosh

The Arab Oil Conference in Cairo has produced two really great ideas—an Arab Development Bank and Arab Pipeline linking all the oilfields from Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. None of them are workable for the time being for the simple reason that the Arab states cannot agree, although the foreign oil companies do!

Haves and Have-nots

The Development Bank is essentially an idea of Mr. Emil Bustani, the brilliant Lebanese delegate. It was to be built on contribution of 5 per cent of the annual profit of each oil company operating in the area. This would have provided the Bank with a clean £35 million per annum (rising, concurrently with increases in oil production, £50 million per annum). Bustani believes that his proposed Development Bank is the only way by which the Arab countries with oil wealth could possibly agree to help out those without it, while the governments of the beneficiary countries stood as guarantors. It was, indeed, a policy to make the ‘Haves’ help out the ‘Have-nots’. But there is the rub! The proposal itself came from the delegate of Lebanon—one of the Have-nots. The United Arab Republic (Egypt, Syria and Yemen) as yet, are in that class. I used the term “as yet” purposely. Some day, some prospector is bound to find some more oilfields in these territories.

It is quite possible that U. A. R.’s desire for Al Umma (i.e., unity) is mistaken to be a design for the oil revenues which are absolutely fabulous. Clearly, the Haves are apprehensive. But while the outside powers are vying with each other to impress upon the Arab states, the well-to-do Arab states are doing next to nothing in this respect. Suspicion, the oldest enemy of civilisation, is doing a roaring business in West Asia; compromise, the oldest friend, is crying in the wilderness.

Bustani or his Lebanon does not take sides in the conflict between Iraq and the U.A.R. As such he should have been considered as an arbitrator and his proposals as the only available solution. One can remain prosperous for long if one’s brother next door is living from hand to mouth. Formation of the Development Bank is being prevented by suspicion; and the suspicion cannot be removed unless something positive like the Development Bank starts operating. Kuwait has lent £10 million to the London County Council, while quite a few Arab projects suffer for the lack of sterling. The situation is as ridiculous as that.

Kuwait is a Switzerland of the sandy West Asia. I have used the term Switzerland in the literal sense of the term. Little Kuwait is to the whole of Asia (yes, to whole of Asia) what little Switzerland is to the southern tier of Europe—a prosperous, lush garden surrounded by poverty, politics and squalor. Its schools provide free tuition, two hot meals a day, clothes, pocket money and transportation (cycle, horse or camel) if your children objects to travelling by bus. The teachers are mostly Palestinian refugees or Egyptians. That was Kuwait’s way of showing her sympathy for the fellow Arabs in distress. But she wants to keep out of Arab politics which I consider a perfectly justifiable desire. But will the others let her?

Communist Foul Play

In January, she played host to the Arab Cultural Congress which ended in a fight between the supporters of the United Arab Republic and the Republic of Iraq. Needless to say that communists had a field day. A Kuwaiti student told me a story:—A communist gave a Luger to an Arab while he loaded one for himself. “I will stand beside you”, he said, “while you shoot down your brother”. “Why don’t you do the shooting”, asked the knave Arab. Answered his communist friend, “I want to be sure you have put a bullet through your brother’s head and then I want to put one through your’s”. The administration in Kuwait had the intelligence of anticipating this sort of foul play and restored peace in the kingdom, in no time at all.

If Kuwait gives a helping hand to Lebanon then the proposal for a Development Bank would have gathered more support among the Arabs and become a reality. Now the foreign oil companies can say, “Well, we are prepared to help with 5 per cent but you Arabs don’t seem to agree.”

From Bahrain to Haifa and from Kirkuk to Tripoli runs the oil pipes that bring profits to the countries which produce the oil and those (Jordan, Israel, Lebanon and Syria) that let the pipelines run through their land. Besides, various installations all along these lines provide water for 100,000 Bedouins, 150,000 camels and three hundred thousand sheep and goats each year. The line from Bahrain to Syria—nearly 1,000 miles—325,000 tons good American steel. The whole project cost £80 million.

The Arab oil conference was discussing the prospect of building another such pipeline with the money from the oil companies but owned by the Arab states. Naturally, the question arose,—“Which states?” The prospective beneficiaries have no answer to that yet. That was the tragic end which Tariki’s proposal met with. Even if the oil companies in the region agreed to pay for another line there would not be any taker. Even if there were one such, others would not get together.

Arab Capital Reserve

However, that was one way to build up jointly, an “Arab capital reserve” beside Mr. Bustani’s Development Bank based on contribution of 5 per cent profit per annum from the oil companies. This having failed, Mr. Tariki produced his second master plan: Arabisation of the companies, just as we have Indianised British firms in India. That would give the Arab countries in a period of ten or fifteen years all the technical and managerial personnel they need to run the business all along the line. In this way they can avoid the complications arising from outright “nationalisation” which in Iran did not have a smooth sailing. Obviously, the delegates of the Conference remembered that. It is highly unlikely that any Arab state these days will repeat Mossadeq’s experiment.

Whatever the outcome of the conference, it is generally agreed upon time has come when the politicians should cool down for a while and...
leave the field to the economists like Tariki, Bustani, Kaisunny and Kub-bah. Until the Arab countries reach that stage these wonderful dreams of a Development Bank, Arab owned pipeline and a Tanker fleet will not materialise. Conflict and co-operation do not go hand in hand; and where there is no co-operation, there is no prosperity.

**Fear for Israel**

The Arab fear for Israel is not clearly understood in India except that the latter has been carved out of Arab territory and maintained at an enormous cost of America and other Western powers. They also have very clear memory as to events of November, 1956. But what they do not know about is the rocky bulge on the West bank of Jordan. The Arabs fear that any day the Israeli forces might not only reach the river but also invade Jordan and Egypt.

The boycott of Israel by the Arab countries continues even today. This boycott coupled with the military tension is doing considerable economic harm to both sides. There is an official boycott of Israel committee with its head office in Damascus. This is one issue on which all the Arab states have been able to co-operate with success. Israelis try to break the boycott.

However much Israel exports her products in the ingenious manner, she can never make her prices competitive or develop a self-sufficient economy, until the boycott is lifted. Arab countries, on the other hand, have nothing to lose but their dependence on foreign products. In ten or fifteen years time, with the help of the oil profits these countries can industrialise themselves to the extent that they will have to have no fear from Israeli competition. One thing is sure. Whatever the conflict among them not one single Arab state would dare lift the boycott.

The debit side of the Arab economy can be found in the column called “uncertainty”— a factor which is bound to sap up half the profit it will derive from the oil and attendant enterprises. Hence, Israel without being in the Arab Oil Congress in Cairo was very much present there. One hopeful sign that came from Baghdad was Premier Kassem’s willingness to participate in the discussion with certain members of the Congress on proposals which might benefit Iraq.

(Concluded)
Development of Socialism

[We are giving below an extract from the speech delivered by Marshal Tito at the special session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia held to mark the 40th Anniversary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.]

Our reality shows that socialism is the monopoly of no one particular country. The October Socialist Revolution has inaugurated the era of mass movement towards socialism, and by its victory has enabled the victory of socialism also in other countries. Conditions have been created for the building of socialism in smaller countries, independently of the views held by the leaders of this or that socialist country on the socialist development of other countries. These are the new historic conditions for the building of socialism which the strict dogmatists and people who are struggling to preserve their monopolistic position in the labour movement, do not wish to realise or are incapable of recognising.

Yugoslavia was, and has remained, an integral part of the world movement towards socialism, and has, by the logic of the development of events, become a very active factor in the present development of the international labour movement and the anti-imperialist forces in general.

No Socialist "Camp"

The attempts to identify socialism with the camp, apart from halting the rapid development of socialism—which was clearly shown in the example of Yugoslavia and others—are becoming ideologically more absurd and ever more damaging to practice. The constant insistence that Yugoslavia should be brought back into the camp, by any possible means, has far-reaching negative consequences, both on the labour movement as a whole and with regard to international relations in general. Such attempts reduce the possibilities of achieving class solidarity among the divided sections of the working class in various capitalist countries, cause doubts about their understanding of the policy of co-existence, which has been accepted by our critics also, and create distrust in the countries carrying out their independent policy outside of blocs. Such an understanding and policy with regard to the development of socialism, in fact, mean the denial of parallel existence and of the interlinking of general inevitable laws and specific characteristics in the development of socialism; they narrow the basis on which socialist forces grow and flourish, and at the same time force the Communist parties which accept this attitude towards sectarianism and isolation from the masses.

by

Marshal J. B. Tito

We Yugoslav Communists believe that the further development of the international situation will not be towards the compulsion of countries to make a choice between this or that camp, but towards the weakening of blocs and the growth, in all countries, of those forces which will direct historical development towards the strengthening and realisation of socialism on a worldwide scale. All resistance to this process and every attempt to limit the development within the framework of a camp and to mark it with the seal of camp policy, can only result, and have only resulted, in its damaging itself and its more rapid development.

Correct Forms of Struggle

Let us just consider the great energy and means that have been expended in the attempts to harm the development of socialism in our country. What results has this policy brought? It has caused great material damage to our country, but it has harmed those parties and countries which started and are still applying such a policy a hundred times more. Our capitulation in the face of such a policy would only give encouragement for its further implementation, and the negative consequences for the cause of socialism would be far greater. Our resistance to such a policy, on the other hand, strengthened those progressive forces in socialism which are beginning to realise the harmfulness of this policy. Apart from this, our stand gives encouragement to the peoples of those nations which freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism and which desire to build their life on a progressive basis—on the basis of socialism. Hence our attitude means a contribution to the strengthening of socialism and the more rapid maturing of conditions for determining the correct forms of struggle for new socialist, social relations.

The problem of our international relations and of proletarian internationalism in general should also be regarded from this viewpoint. In the past forty years, we have not merely spoken about proletarian internationalism, but by deeds themselves we have shown our attitude towards the class solidarity of the international labour movement. We can be justly proud of our record in the past forty years and can unflinchingly meet the gaze of any honest worker or revolutionary.

The Revolutionary Struggles

Our support for the October Revolution and help to the hungry in Russia were followed by our many actions in giving help and support to the revolutionary struggles in other countries. When the Bulgarian uprising of 1923 failed, we sheltered over two thousand Bulgarian fighters in our country, with Comrade Dimitrov at their head.

When the international bourgeois
started its onslaught on the Hungarian revolution, by the proclamation of a general strike, we prevented the sending of royal Yugoslav troops to aid in putting down this revolution (whereas, from some other countries, the present leaders of which now trying to teach us lessons in proletarian internationalism, troops left for Hungary unobstructed to take part in the bloody suppression of the revolution). The attitude of our Party towards the anti-fascist struggle in Spain is well known, for over 1,300 Yugoslav volunteers fought in the Spanish Republican army. The Party’s large actions of support to Dimitrov during the Leipzig trial, as well as its support for Thallmann, and saving of Rakosi are also well known. In Czechoslovakia’s crucial days, in 1938-39, our Party organised a volunteer movement for the defence of the Czechoslovak Republic, and managed to secure two hundred thousand applicants. However, since the Czechoslovak government did not decide to offer resistance and the Czechoslovak Communist leadership, which today denounces us so loudly, did not find it necessary, or did not have the courage, to step forward in defence of the independence of its country, our action remained only an expression of sympathy for the brotherly Czech and Slovak peoples.

Help to Our Neighbours

It is also well known what an important role our Party played in the course of the Second World War by its great contribution to the victory over fascism. In this most difficult struggle, we were not only fighting to liberate ourselves, but offered extensive help to our neighbours and the anti-fascist forces in these countries. We extended valuable help in the creation of the Albanian Communist Party and the spreading of the armed struggle in Albania (although, today, some of the Albanian leaders behave towards us like the man in the story whose first action when he got into power was to stab those closest to him in the back). In the course of the war against fascism, we formed, on our territory, large Italian units, Bulgarian brigades, and Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Polish and Austrian units. At the beginning of 1942, Moscow asked us to send out appeals to the enslaved peoples of Europe to follow our example. This we did, but the effectiveness of this appeal depended, above all, on the internal forces in every country and on the capabilities of the Communist parties in these countries to mobilize the people in this struggle.

The Graves of Our Comrades

The graves of our Communists are scattered all over Europe. From Madrid, where a member of the Central Committee of our Party, Blagoje Parovic, and hundreds of others were buried, then to Marseille—where Dimitri Koturovic, a worker from Rokovica, Spanish fighter and commissar of the south zone of the French Resistance Movement, has his grave, to the Polar Circle in Norway, where the graves can be found of three thousand of our Partisan war prisoners—wherever we go we find the individual or mass graves of the sons of our peoples who have laid down their lives for a better future, not only for their own people, but for other people as well.

It would not be immodest to say that there are few parties which can face the international proletariat with such a record in the carrying out of its international obligations in the last forty years of its work. We are firmly convinced that our present resistance to unsocialist features and unsocialist practice in the relations between socialist states will be marked in history as a shining example of the carrying out of our obligations towards our people and the international labour movement. We are justly proud of our glorious past and our present activities in the building of socialism in our country, as well as of our contribution, however modest it may be, to the development of socialism in the world. It is absurd to label as anti-socialist or nationalistic every expression of pride in the successes of our Party and our peoples. And we certainly have something to be proud of and we are only sorry that the future generations in some countries, although guiltless, will have cause to be ashamed of their country’s past and present attitude towards us.

We are convinced that the forces of socialism will constantly strengthen, despite all difficulties that they encounter, and that socialism will gain new victories and find the strength and means to shake off all that is negative. In the end, life and practice put everything in its true place. In the international labour movement today, there is a considerable degree of ideological confusion, but in the practice of building socialism, the old, outdated forms are falling apart, and new forms begin to be discovered, thus enabling the more rapid development of production forces, the strengthening of socialist democracy and creation of correct socialist relations among nations, both in production and in social relations as a whole.

In this situation of great confusion in the workers’ movement, the Seventh Congress of the League of Yugoslav Communists was held last year. The Congress laid down our tasks in the further construction of socialism and adopted the new Programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists. The adoption of this Programme was primarily of importance to our country and our socialist development. However, the outcry which it has raised shows that it also has wide significance for the international labour movement.

A Programme Crisis

The truth is that both communist and socialist parties have been for a considerable period in what we might call a programme crisis. This fact is best illustrated by the example of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Exactly twenty years ago, the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union passed a decision to draw up a new programme. For this purpose, a commission was set up, with Stalin at its head, but its work never bore fruit. At the Nineteenth Congress a new commission was appointed, and at the Twentieth Congress, yet another. Commissions were set up, but the programme never materialised. However, the past twenty years have brought a wealth of events, changes, revolutionary struggles, the disintegration of the colonial system and the great advances in science and technology, so that it is obvious that the conscious socialist forces should pass their judgment on all these events, and point out the processes of further development and the ways of directing them. To keep quiet about all this only indicates a certain situation in the fields of ideology and practice and does not solve the problems or arm

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French Socialists Today

A YEAR has passed since the eventful days of May last year when the Fourth Republic came to its inglorious end. Since then the French Socialist Party has gone through a difficult period over its attitude to the de Gaulle Government. It was almost evenly divided. But the new Constitution, and the election of de Gaulle as first President under the new regime, was supported by a large majority in the party—while part of the minority, led by Edouart Depreux, broke away to form the Autonomous Socialist Party. Last year's general election showed the voting strength of Guy Mollet's party hardly impaired although, owing to the new electoral law and the neo-Gaulist landslide, its parliamentary strength was severely reduced: from ninety-six seats to forty-three. Again, in this year's local elections the party generally held its own, and this is reflected in the new Senate where it occupies forty-three seats, a loss of no more than five.

In the new Parliament the Socialist Party is pursuing a policy of "constructive opposition". It is concentrating its attacks on the Right-wing Government's financial and social policies, while also warning that the danger to democracy has not yet subsided.

To meet this danger, the party is pledged to work for the rallying of the forces of the democratic Left. What are the practical chances of doing so? At present they do not seem auspicious. Depreux's autonomists have just held their first congress which gave the impression of greater potential strength than expected, and their policy on some issues is pronouncedly different from the official party. One need not, perhaps pay too much attention to the slogan of "all-out", as against "constructive" opposition. But on Algeria, they undoubtedly speak a different language. Their concrete proposal here is a cease-fire, followed by negotiations, as against Mollet's insistence on elections before any negotiations. They whole-heartedly support disengagement in Central Europe (praising the SPD's Plan for Germany in particular) as against Mollet's outright opposition to any such projects.

Lastly, there is an important difference on a crucial matter of tactics, since the autonomists, unlike the Socialist Party, favour co-operation with the Communists 'in appropriate circumstances'.

PARLIAMENTARY democracy works in very different ways, even in the West. In Austria, its ways have been rather unique. The practice there since the end of the war has been that the two main parties (Catholics and Socialists) govern in coalition and distribute power and positions in a neatly balanced way according to election results. This practice originated in the country's precarious and exposed situation, but was continued even after the Austrian peace treaty had brought greater stability. Lately, the Catholic Party as the slightly stronger partner, advocated a modification of this practice. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, opposed this, asserting that it would mean intolerable monopoly power for one party. This became one of the main issues on which the general election in May was fought. The result has been very gratifying for the Socialist Party. They polled more votes than the Catholics, though remaining still one seat behind (seventy-eight to seventy-nine seats as compared with the previous seventy-four to eighty-two). Thus the two-party coalition will go on; the electorate prefers it to single party government. The Communist Party was wiped out—events in Hungary were not forgotten.

DR. ADENAUER'S hope of forcing the Social Democrats out of the government in Lower Saxony has been disappointed. Not only did the Socialists' share of the poll in the recent Land elections rise from 35.2 per cent to 39.5 per cent, but the subsequent efforts of the Christian Democrats to bring together an anti-Socialist government coalition failed. Thus the SPD's popular leader Hinrich Kopf once again heads the new government supported by two of the small parties. In the election to another Land Parliament, that of Rhineland-Palatinate, the SPD succeeded in penetrating into former rural Catholic strongholds (in urban areas this had been done before). The SPD's emphasis on avoiding all attacks on religion and all attempts to lay down a Weltanschauung (philosophy of life) seems gradually to be bearing fruit.

THE RECENT flood disaster in Madagascar brought that island east of Africa into the news, but few people will know that the President of the Malagasy Republic, Philibert Tsiranana, is a Socialist and leader of the Malagasy Social Democratic Party. Special appeals for help were made by the French Socialists as well as the Labour movement's international relief organisation. In another smaller island further east in the Indian Ocean, Mauritius (a British Crown Colony), the recent general election the first to be carried out on the basis of general franchise including women—gave the Labour Party an unexpectedly great success; it won twenty-four seats out of forty. Its electoral alliance with the Muslim Party contributed to its victory.

SOCIALISTS and trade unionists in many countries are strongly protesting against present moves, sponsored by de Gaulle and Adenauer, to admit Franco Spain to NATO. Several years ago, when Spain's admission to the UN was on the agenda, the universal nature of UN membership provided a real argument in favour, but the position is very different with regard to NATO whose purpose is to defend a free West.

THE FABIAN Society is well-known beyond the British Isles, but the work of its Commonwealth (formerly called Colonial) Bureau has received less publicity than it deserved for its great effort in the post-war years. Its research and educational activities on colonial questions have been a steady progressive influence inside and outside the Labour movement. On Central African Federation it issued
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JANATA, June 7.

grave warnings long before the turbulent events in Nyasaland provided headlines for the press. It is over a year ago that a pamphlet appeared under Fabian auspices written by the Bureau's former Secretary Rita Hinden. This passionate indictment of the Tory Government's proved truly prophetic and is well worth re-reading today.

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progressive forces for further struggle.

But we should not deceive ourselves into thinking that our Programme provides the answers to all major questions, and that it does not have its own weaknesses. It is in fact only a more important contribution to the recognition of problems and their partial explanation. It is a great step forward in relation to the previously existing situation, and its importance lies in the fact that, at the present stage, it will greatly encourage Marxist thinking to ponder more seriously over present day problems. This will help to provide, by general efforts, the correct answers to the questions placed by life.

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Public Fury in Kerala

In a press statement from Coimbatore, the Prime Minister has described the situation developing in Kerala as dangerous and full of the possibility of violent conflict. He has not made it clear why he thinks so. As far as the Opposition parties leading the agitation are concerned they are wedded to the principle of peaceful agitation and their past behaviour in the various parts of the country should justify the claim of these parties that they would eschew violence from their agitation. And if in spite of this the Prime Minister has come to the conclusion that “a dangerous situation full of the possibility of violent conflicts is rapidly developing in Kerala the answer for it must be found in the possible action which the Communist party in the State is expected to take to meet the challenge of the Opposition parties.

There are rumours that the Communist Party may resort to provocative actions that might lead to public fury which, in turn, might help the Kerala Government to deal with the situation more easily. If there be any truth in the rumour the Opposition parties have to take special steps to see that the demonstrators do not fall into the trap. Shri Nehru’s appeal to all the people of Kerala to adhere strictly to peaceful methods and to avoid violence in speech or act at all costs is very timely and should be scrupulously followed. Any deviation from peaceful methods would only result in the defeat of the very principles for which the Opposition parties have launched the massive struggle.

In this connection, it is worth remembering that for the first time in history a struggle is about to be launched against a Communist Government on such a massive scale. Of course, the conditions in Kerala are peculiar because the Indian Constitution still operates in Kerala and that makes a lot of difference. And yet the steps taken by the Red Government in Kerala are on the orthodox Communist State lines and a successful challenge to these steps would help in developing tactics and strategies that have wider significance. Much is at stake in Kerala State and the leaders of the struggle should take all the necessary steps to make it a success which can only be done if peaceful methods are employed.

As for the objectives of the struggle it is now quite clear that the people of Kerala have begun to doubt the very bona fides of the Kerala Government. As Shri Nehru observes in his press statement, “It appears that a very considerable upsurge among large masses of people is taking place in Kerala against the Government there. I cannot measure the extent of this, but there can be no doubt that it is on a big scale.” He goes on to say “I do not think that any particular legislative measure, even though it is disliked, could have lead to this upsurge.” His own conclusion is that the upsurge is rather due to a feeling of distrust against the Government that has grown in the past
many months. The people of Kerala are, therefore, determined to end this rule through a peaceful struggle.

In this connection it is amusing to read the statement of Shri Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist party of India, in which he has charged Shri Nehru with having "kept quiet on the basic question—whether it was consistent with the principles of parliamentary democracy to rely not on the ballot box but on direct action to change a Government which enjoys a majority in the legislature? Of course, it is no use pointing out to the Chief of the Communist party in India the methods which his own party employs in the rest of India for its own purpose. Inspite of the Amritsar thesin the Communist Party does not believe in parliamentary democracy and is, therefore, perhaps quite free to adopt extra-parliamentary methods. If this be the Communists' stand they should at least allow those who believe in parliamentary democracy to determine what methods should be deemed consistent with their creed. Have the Communists forgotten that Hitler came to power through parliamentary democracy and later on dispensed with it?

The Kerala Government is charged by the people of the State with similar manoeuvres on a minor scale. The Red Government in Kerala is charged with "unfairness to other parties and partiality in many ways to the Government party in Kerala, that is the Communists". Faced with this situation they have no alternative but to launch a peaceful struggle to safeguard Civil liberties threatened by the Kerala Government.

C P I Bluff About Tibet

SOME of the arguments advanced by China and the Communist Party of India in supporting the Chinese action in Tibet which resulted in the flight of Dalai Lama and in the death of hundreds were countered by three prominent historians while taking part in a symposium on Tibet organised by the preparatory committee for All-India Tibet Convention at Mahabodhi Society Hall in Calcutta on May 28 last. Dr. Pritwi Chandra Chakravarty of Jadavpur University was in the chair.

Shri Samar Guha, in an introductory speech, said that the object of the symposium was to get answers to several questions which came up because of the Chinese action in Tibet from men of light and learning present at the meeting.

Dr. Chakravarty explained that Indian feelings were so much roused over Tibet because of the cultural and spiritual ties of the past. That on claims of the past China could consider Tibet to be an integral part of it was, an argument on the strength of which China also could make similar claims over Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and even Burma.

One of the reasons why India felt strongly over Tibet was that India's security was vitally linked with what was going to happen in Tibet. There was no doubt that the Himalayas were there, but the mountain did no longer prove an impregnable barrier as it was thought in the past. He concluded by saying that the question of India's security was raised by the Indian Prime Minister himself although he did not develop the point further. This was a question which no longer could be ignored.

The past history of India showed that because the country made such a mistake in the past whenever there was consolidation of new power around the Hindukush mountain disaster overwhelmed India in the shape of invasions. However friendly a policy India might follow towards China the question of her own security must be of primary importance and the Tibetan issue brought that question to the forefront of India and must be watched carefully.

Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar said that at no stage of Tibet's history it could be noticed that the country was an integral part of China. Chinese history, following the convention of the time, incorporated many exaggerated accounts. He gave instances that once Kashmir and a South Indian king sent their representatives to Chinese Emperor with presents and the Chinese history described the presents as tribute paid by them. He urged that India could no longer afford to remain indifferent to what was taking place outside its border. It was more difficult to maintain independence than even winning it. He advised that while maintaining friendly policy towards China, India should keep in mind the saying—keep your powder dry. That was the least that they should do in India.

Dr. Anil Banerjee said that the policy of looking upon China as having control over Tibet was fathered by the British Government. Whatever conventions and agreements were reached in relation to Tibet by the British sought to make China the central subject in Tibetan affairs. Only Curzon tried to shake off that Chinese position.

All these past historical data, however, had no relation to the present situation as it developed in China. Her insistent refusal to revise the map showing the incorporation of areas to the south of the Himalayas despite India's protests could have been well compared with Mussolini's description of the Mediterranean as the Roman lake and ultimately leading to the Abyssinian war. India's policy should be watchful and she should be vigilant. They could no longer be indifferent to the fact that India's security was vitally linked with what was taking place in Tibet today.
How Can Tibet Be Saved?

(This is a second and concluding instalment of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's presidential address at All-India Tibet Convention held at Calcutta on May 30 last.)

Here it may be well to cast a glance at the conduct of India which has been in such clear contrast with that of China. India also had inherited certain rights in Tibet from the previous Indian government. But she unilaterally renounced them all. During the British period, Nepal was prevented from having any direct foreign relations; that matter was in the hands of the Indian government. After Independence, India surrendered those rights too and now Nepal is a fully sovereign, democratic state with the full concurrence and support of India. Other instances may be given of India's clean record. It may be said without fear of contradiction that there is not a single Indian who wants to annex a single inch of foreign territory.

To return to Tibet. As on previous occasions of imperialist pressure from China, the Dalai Lama had no option but to agree to Chinese suzerainty and be content only with autonomous powers. This was in fact what the Dalai Lama himself hinted at, in that most dignified statement that he had issued from Tezpur.

Subjugation Process

Having annexed Tibet by invoking an outworn, imperialist formula, the Chinese communists were in no hurry to go on with their plans of subjugating the country. They also needed time to build roads and military establishments and to haul up arms to the roof of the world. When they had sufficiently entrenched themselves, they began to tighten the screws. It was not a question of reforms. The question plainly was that of subjugation of Tibet.

These Chinese interfered in every thing, in the matter of religion as well as administration. Revered Lamas were purposely ill-treated, humiliated, imprisoned, tortured. The sanctity of shrines and images was violated. Monasteries were demolished and their properties confiscated. A new system of administration was imposed, in which Chinese were posted at all key points. The Post and Telegraph, the Mint, the Hydro-electric plant were taken over. Printing of Tibetan currency was prohibited. Chinese Postal stamps were introduced. The powers and functions of the Dalai Lama were clipped. A vast scheme of colonization by China was set on foot, so that large parts of Tibet should cease to be Tibetan and become Chinese. That was a process of stealing Tibet from the Tibetans that caused deep anxiety and aroused bitter resentment. Centuries old granaries, some of them with grain reserves to last for years, were emptied and the grain seized by the Chinese. Reserves of gold and silver bullion were appropriated on the pretext of taking it on loan. The so-called land reforms were introduced softly at first but later with the usual communist disregard for popular feeling. Forced labour, so foreign to Tibetan tradition, was introduced on a big scale. The Press and all other means of information were taken over by the Chinese.

All this was happening over a number of years and to some of the administrative and constitutional changes the Tibetans were forced to give their "assent". The rest was done at the sweet will of the overlords.

Resistance to such a state of affairs was natural. Soon it took the form of a national resistance movement.

Communists' Enemy

Marxism of Karl Marx was meant to be an objective science of society. But present-day communism is nothing if not a complete travesty of objectivity. Had it not been so, all the wild charges could never have been made against India and Indians. Had it not been so again, the Tibetan upsurge could not have been represented by the Chinese as only a minor disturbance caused by a handful of reactionary Lamas and landlords. It is not that communists do not know the truth. It is only that communism cannot bear the truth. Truth is communist's deadly enemy.

There is no doubt that the vested interests are also with the resistance, but its character is national rather than class. The Tibetans are fighting to win their national freedom and not to defend the feudal rights of a few nobles and monasteries. The leader of the movement are not feudal reactionaries, but the most progressive elements in Tibetan society, who stand for reform and change.

The true history of the Tibetan national movement has yet to be told. There are Tibetans now in India who can give the world an authentic account. But one does not know when they will consider the opportune moment to have arrived to tell their story. In spite of all that has happened they perhaps feel that a settlement with the Chinese might still be possible. One admires the faith of these brave religious people and prays that their faith may be vindicated. One necessary condition for that seems to be an unambiguous expression and assertion of world opinion on the side of truth and justice.

Issue of Progress

There is a point of view that is not so much expressed publicly as privately canvassed. It is said that even if the Chinese are behaving a little roughly in Tibet, why be so squeamish about it? Are they not forcibly rescuing the Tibetan masses from medieval backwardness and forcing them forward towards progress and civilisation?

It is strange that as soon as some people put themselves outside their own country, they become screaming imperialists. If the right is conceded to nations to thrust progress forcibly down the throats of other nations, why were not the British welcomed as torch-bearers of progress in India? But the defenders of the Chinese civilisers of Tibet will be the first to disown any such sacrilegious thought. They might, however, be thrown into real confusion if the Russians or the Chinese were to take it into their heads to march upon India to save her from "foreign imperialists" and lead to progress!

Secondly, the question may be asked what is progress. To some, industrialisation, rising production
statistics, communes, Sputniks, Luniks might mean progress. There is another view that regards progress in terms of humanity—the growth of human freedom, the decline of selfishness and cruelty, the spread of tolerance and co-operation, and so on. For me Stalin was no improvement on the Czar and all the Sputniks of Russia leave me cold when I know that a sensitive and honest writer, Pasternack, the first literary genius in Russia since Gorki, is condemned raucously by so-called men of letters who have not even read the offending work. From the point of view of the progress of man, as distinct from the progress of things, Russia appears to me to be living in the Dark Ages.

**Humanity Under Eclipse**

It was hoped that China’s ancient civilisation would prevent that great country from being plunged into the same darkness, but Tibet has shown that the sun of humanity is as much under eclipse in Peking as it is in Moscow.

Apart from the progress of things, importance is attached to change of institutions. Destruction of temporal and spiritual feudalism might be considered to be an advance, but when that is replaced by a still more severe feudalism of Party and Bureaucracy, I for one am not prepared to call it an advance, far less a revolution. The yoke of the native medievalism was surely going to be put down sooner or later. But who can tell when the foreign yoke of communist medievalism will be overthrown? Who can tell when Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania will be free? And Hungary and the rest of them?

The question that I wish to consider finally is one that is on every one’s lips now: how can Tibet be saved? He would be a bold person who would venture to suggest a definite answer. A few considerations may, however, be advanced.

There is one thing of which I am absolutely clear: the need to create a powerful world opinion on this question. The Tibet situation should be presented to the world in all its naked reality. No attempt should be made for reasons of diplomacy to play down, cover up, belittle or misrepresent what is happening in Tibet. Diplomacy has a vast deal to answer for in history, and I do fervently hope that diplomacy, like the cold war, is kept out of the issue. The broad facts of the Tibet situation are clear. Those facts must be broadcast, and on their basis a strong and united world opinion must be created—against Chinese aggression and for Tibetan independence.

Let no one cry “cold war” at this. This is not a part of Bloc politics. This is a fight for the rights of Man. Did any one think that the world-wide condemnation of the Anglo-French attack on Egypt was a part of the cold war?

**New Delhi Formula**

The Government of India is committed to the formula of Tibetan autonomy under Chinese suzerainty. The formula is in ruins. So is the much-trumpeted Panch Sheel. But nevertheless this whole question will have to be re-considered sooner rather than later. What happens when the autonomy of a country (or a region for that matter) is destroyed? What happens when that autonomy is not restored? What happens, in short, when aggression takes place and succeeds? It would not do to evade these questions. Till these questions are answered, there is no hope of the Government of India discovering the next step. Paralysis of action in a fast-developing situation may be dangerous. However, of one thing I feel certain: The Prime Minister will never do a shoddy deal and pass off subjugation as autonomy.

It will be recalled that when the Chinese aggression began in 1950, the Tibetan Government had moved the United Nations. The Salvadorean delegate had formally called on the U.N. to condemn China for her “unprovoked aggression” against Tibet, and had proposed the creation of a special committee to study what measures could be taken by the General Assembly to assist Tibet. The matter went to the Assembly’s Steering Committee, which, on the strength of the assurances of India’s representative, decided to shelve the Tibetan complaint indefinitely.

The full facts of that affair and of our part in it have not been made public and I cannot say where the matter stands now according to the workings of the United Nations. Nevertheless, it seems to be utterly wrong that such an important event as the suppression of the freedom of a nation should take place and the world organization should not even take notice of it. It is not that the mere raising of an issue in the United Nations means that a solution will be found. We have some experience of the working of that august body ourselves.

**Portals of U.N.**

But, after all is said and done, the U.N. is the only organization the human family has that gives some guarantee that the world will not be converted into a jungle where the strong will eat up the weak. I have no doubt there will be many constitutional barriers and such things as vetoes as vetoes in the way of the Tibet issue entering the portals of the U.N. But if rules and procedures and technicalities stand in the way of international justice, it is not the latter but the former that should suffer.

In whichever form the Tibet question is presented to the U.N., I have no doubt that the Afro-Asian bloc must present a common front. This is the least that the countries of Asia and Africa must do to defend the right of small nations to freedom and also to assure against the danger to their own freedom from both the old and new Imperialism.

It is not for me to advise the Tibetans. There is one thought, however, which I cannot help expressing. Tibet, being a devoutly Buddhist country, could perhaps have its moment of tragedy into one of profound victory—if it could have turned to the Compassionate One and met hate with love, oppression with suffering, violence with non-violence. May be, even then Tibet would have been destroyed, but not the soul of Tibet, not the Religion of the Buddha.

Then, is Tibet lost for ever? No. A thousand times No. Tibet will not die because there is no death for the human spirit. Communism will not succeed because man will not be slave for ever. Tyrannies have come and gone and Caesars and Czars and dictators, but the spirit of man goes on for ever. Tibet will be resurrected.

(Concluded)
P.S.P. Condemns Orissa Opportunist Coalition

The Congress-G.P. Coalition Ministry in Orissa has been condemned as "merely a marriage of convenience... an alliance which will inevitably lead to the strengthening of the elements opposed to progress and radical social change" by the Utkal Praja Socialist Party in their 5-day deliberations at the new capital.

The PSP Provincial Executive met under the presidency of the Chairman, Shri Biswanath Pandit. Besides the executive members, the District Secretaries, the M.L.A.s and the All-India Committee Deputy Chairman, Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, M.P., were present and participated in the discussions.

Following is the full text of the statement:

"The political alliance between the Congress and the Ganatantra Parishad has created a new situation in Orissa. This has come about when the internal dissensions of the Congress were fast growing and the chances of the opposition to develop as an effective alternative to the Congress Government was brighter than ever.

"During the last two general elections, the people of Orissa gave their vote against the misrule of the Congress. In 1952, the Congress secured only 67 seats in a house of 140 which was further reduced to 56 in 1957. In spite of it, the Congress clung to power by undemocratic and questionable means, which ultimately culminated in open affray between the G.P. and the Congress resulting in the seduction of legislators, dismissal of a Deputy Minister and arrest of the leaders including the legislators of the Ganatantra Parishad.

Alternative Government Demand

"While the Congress House was bitterly divided, two of its M.L.A.s resigned and it was floundering on the rock of public opinion on account of its corrupt, inefficient and chaotic administration, the people wanted an alternative Government. This was a historic necessity and the G.P., which was the largest group in the Opposition in the State legislature, owed a duty to the people to play a positive and effective role in order to fulfil the same. The Praja Socialist Party had consistently opposed the Congress Government and made continuous efforts to unite the Opposition on the basis of a common progressive programme. The G.P. was a party to the programme and a partner in it in that endeavour. The communists, but for whose support the Congress Ministry in Orissa could not be possible, changed their attitude due to pressure of public opinion and lent their support to the common programme. The people of Orissa had also enthusiastically supported the programme and welcomed the move for uniting the Opposition and creating a new political force in the State. With the crystallisation of the democratic opposition, such a force was emerging and the Congress was passing from crisis to crisis. At this critical juncture, the Congress leadership successfully wooed the G.P. who naively fell victim to their machinations. By making such an alliance with the Congress, the G.P. knowingly betrayed the sacred trust reposed in it by the people who voted them to fight out the Congress. Had it not been for the fear of the people, they should have sought a fresh mandate from the electorate for a future course of action which is the other alternative in democracy in similar circumstances.

Marriage of Convenience

"The coalition is not based on any common programme, or policy. It is merely a marriage of convenience. The joint statement issued by the leaders of both the parties announces to implement the existing Congress programme. The coalition government is, therefore, a mere continuation of the old Congress regime. After this, there should be no illusion in the mind of the people regarding the character of the Congress and the G.P., which, for all practical purposes, are now one and the same. This alliance will inevitably lead to the strengthening of the elements opposed to progress and radical social change.

"The political instability of the State has been used as a scapegoat for this unholy alliance. Mere arithmetic majority has never been the sole factor in stabilising the political and moral life in any society. On the contrary, a monolithic leviathan is tempted to subdue and crush the popular upsurges in the country for its self preservation. The real stability rather depends upon the effective solution of the economic, political and social problems of the people. The present combination of the G.P. and the Congress for the sake of expediency and sharing of political power lacks the necessary urge to change and to lift the people from the welter of poverty, squalor and insecurity and as such the existing political despondency of the people in the state is bound to continue.

P.S.P.'s Resistance

"The PSP in its humble way has stoutly and persistently resisted the evils, the injustices, the inequalities of the existing society. It has always endeavoured to expose the corruption, inefficiency and nepotism practised by the ruling party and its administration. It has fearlessly guarded the democratic rights and freedoms of the individuals and institutions. The PSP has always attempted to rally different forces round dynamic programme for a progressive government.

"In the present political set up the main role of Opposition has developed on the Praja Socialist Party. It will unswervingly continue to play this role and appeals to the people and the progressive elements of Orissa to support and strengthen its hands to shoulder and carry out successfully this great responsibility."

Mere Power Sharing

Surendranath Dwivedy, M.P., Deputy Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party, in a Press statement at Cuttack on May 22 last, said that the "only motive behind this unusual coalition (of the Congress and the Ganatantra Parishad) in Orissa was to share power."

"It was wrong to think it has any other significance at all", he said.

The statement said: "Since the last general elections when the Congress Party lost its majority, democratic principles and respect
for the wishes of the electorate were sacrificed in order to stick to power and ultimately the Ganatantra Parishad which fought against the Congress could not resist this temptation.

"It is a known fact that a section of the Ganatantra Parishad was anxious to collaborate with Dr. H. K. Mahtab and gave him written assurances of support just after the last general elections, but their secret move was foiled by the strong protests from the anti-Congress elements in the Parishad. But they could persuade the parishad to agree to the same policy in 1959 which they failed to achieve in 1957.

There is no doubt that the opposition strength became weaker, but I feel that after this coalition, the opposition in Orissa will emerge as a force with definite principles and objectives. After accepting the economic programme and policy of the Congress Party as well as the (Contd. on Page 8)
SINGAPORE & MALAYA

(This article was written by Shri Asoka Mehta on his visit to Australia, New Zealand and Malaya. It was prior to the present general election in Singapore which has made it a self-governing state).

That the world looks different from the standpoint of a journalist who has visited many countries has often been verified in our travels. But it comes as a shock to see how very different the little world of Malaya looks when viewed from Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, one turbulent, full of forebodings, the other placid, streaked with optimism.

Not long ago, there were nine Federated Malay States and three Straits Settlements—all under British rule. Now, we have the Federation of Malaya comprising the nine States and two former Settlements—Penang and Malacca—that function as an independent constitutional monarchy. Singapore will soon be a semi-autonomous city State. The clever arrangement behind this reorganisation is a masterpiece of British diplomacy.

Singapore is a busy, bustling free port with expanding entrepôt trade—of its exports 40 per cent come from Malaya, another 40 per cent from Indonesia. Often, Indonesia's difficulties are Singapore's prosperity. The Chinese traders are known to be canny; Singapore's Minister of Commerce and Industry proudly told me of a list of 134 articles that he had taken with him to Djakarta where the prices in Singapore markets were lower than import prices from countries of their origin!

Chinese City

Singapore will soon have its new Constitution and on the Exposition organised in its celebration, the newspapers blared forth that 50 million dollars (approximately Rs. 75 million) had been spent.

The population of the city is over 1.5 million, of whom 1.1 million are Chinese, more than 200,000 Malays and less than half of that Indians. It is a major Chinese city with some of its inevitable inscrutability: it has the typical secret societies and widespread radicalism.

Everyone claims that Singapore's integration with the Federation of Malaya is necessary. But how is it to be done? The Federation demands that Singapore must prove its loyalty to Malaya, but falls to spell out the details. Singapore has a fast developing Chinese University (in whose setting up Lin Yu Tang had taken a leading part) and well-organised educational system lower down in Chinese. Every month between one to two million (Singapore) dollars are remitted to China. In the Federation, the Bank of China has just been asked to closed down. It, however, continues to ply highly profitable business in Singapore. Citizenship law in Singapore is simple and easy. The Federation is very careful about admitting new citizens.

By
Asoka Mehta

Even the most radical person does not desire the dismantling of the British base in Singapore because it brings considerable money into the city. The principal objection is to the arrangements for internal security which is to be in the hands of a Council having British, Malayan and Singapore's representatives. If the Federation's representative withdraws, the Council breaks down. The People's Action Party that is likely to win the next elections proposes to release persons who are in detention (probably Communists). In the Federation, I was told that any such move would mean the withdrawal of its representative from the Council. Deadlock menacingly confronts Singapore almost all the time.

In the coming elections, the present ruling combination, struggling to keep together under its new name Singapore People's Alliance, is unlikely to win. The present Chief Minister, Mr. Lim Leu Hock, is a shrewd politician. With a quick and broad smile he can shrug off inconvenient questions. He enjoys the goodwill of the Federation Government—in fact, he holds a high title. He recently made voting compulsory and he explained to me how, unlike in Australia, it is likely to help the moderate parties. Dato Jumat, the Deputy Chief Minister, (a Malay) intervened to point out how he had walked out of the Assembly on this question (as it will increase the Chinese vote)!

Too Many Bankers

Socialism of the Alliance is suspect as it has too many bankers and businessmen in its ranks. As another Minister put it: "We are a left of the Centre Party."

There are over 200 millionaires in Singapore, while a large section of the people live below the poverty line. The population is growing fast; 100 persons came forward every day for additional employment and socialist pronouncements find ready response. The economic strains are growing.

Singapore wants a Left Government. Hence the near certainty of the best organised party—People's Action Party—being returned to power. Its leader, Lee Kuan Yew, is a young lawyer of ability, intelligence and charm. He has gathered around him a team of competent men. Critics aver that he is merely a front man. The party, once in power, will drop him and install the present Mayor, Oong Eng Guan, who has become more amenable to Communist influence.

I asked Lee Kuan Yew as to how the Chinese were reacting to recent developments on the mainland China. He smiled and said: "Thank God, we are in Singapore. But three cheers for the motherland." "Fatherland" Madan Lee corrected him. "Fatherland" Mr. Nationalist. Mr. Nationalist.

Mr. David Marshall, the most intelligent and articulate of the politicians of Singapore, views the future with grave anxiety. He fears racial conflicts and the emergence of a dangerous vacuum in that area. Less articulate persons share the anxiety.
MALAYA has population of 6.3 million of whom three million are Malays, 2.4 million Chinese and 0.74 million Indians. Malaya has the highest per capita income in the whole of Asia—though there are marked inequalities.

With 62,000 tons of tin produced every year by 784 mines Malaya has the first place in the world. With 626,000 tons of rubber produced by 2,491 estates, Malaya occupies the second position in the world. British investments are 700 million sterling and Malayan products contribute 14 per cent of the sterling area's dollar earnings.

Malaya is not an agricultural country. Only nine per cent of the people are engaged in food production. The wealth of the country comes mainly from mines and plantations. Economists told me that of the National income that is shared by the people of Malaya, 70 per cent goes to the Chinese (38 per cent of the population), 20 per cent to Indians (12 per cent of the population) and only 10 per cent is available to Malays who constitute nearly half of the people.

Chinese Foothold in Economy

The Chinese have considerable foothold in the economic life of the country: in trade, plantations, mines and 4,000 factories of the country they have growing stakes. The Malays have, therefore, been anxious to consolidate their political power. Voting rights are predominantly with the Malays, the State language is Malay, the State religion is Islam, and for 15 years four out of every five jobs go to Malays. Over 90 per cent of the strong police is Malay and so also of the armed forces. The Malays are most anxious to preserve their political power, because that is their sole lever.

Party Negara of Sir Onn bin Ja'afar is ever ready to exploit the discontent of the Malays. Hence Tunku Abdur Rehman has just given up his high office to concentrate on the coming elections. The Alliance that he leads consists of the United National Malay Organisation, Malaya Chinese Association and Malaya Indian Association. As a critic put it, the Alliance works with the votes of the Malay and money of the Chinese! The Alliance strives to keep in check the racial sentiments of the different communities concerned.

Leanings Towards the West

The Chinese with their vast economic power are not willing to be second class citizens. The Malays feel that the Chinese will remain Chinese, and the recent experience of the insurrectionary activities of Cheng Ping (to suppress which over 150 million dollars have been spent) adds to the anxiety. It is for this reason that the Federation of Malaya is averse to inclusion of Singapore in the State and favours defence arrangement with the United Kingdom and Australia.

The Federation has not joined the SEATO and has no intention of joining it. But at the same time, the Government makes no bones about its leanings towards the West and its considerable suspicion about the Communists.

The insurrection has been effectively put down. Many of the insurrectionists have come out of the jungle, surrendered, and helped to settle down. As Mr. Tan, the shrewd and able Secretary-General of the Alliance told me, "One of the rebels is now a barber, and if I do not go to him for hair dressing he would slit my throat!"

The newly-appointed Foreign Minister, Dr. Ismail A. Rehman, declared on his return from Washington that Malaya did not favour Socialism, she wants to be "little America" where "capitalism with stabilisers" is fostered. The Western Powers are likely to make available considerable equity capital to make Malaya a show piece in South East Asia.

The Indonesians and Malays belong to the same race and have closely related languages. Indonesian books circulate in Malaya in large members. About the impact of Indonesian on Malaya, I heard conflicting reports. A large number of Malay students are now studying in Australia, and the emerging elite is perhaps more influenced by the West than by other countries. Australia is deeply interested in the future of Malaya—Singapore is conceived as the outer defence rampart.

The Alliance will win comfortably the next elections. Its Government is the only one that is proud to call itself right-wing and still enlist popular allegiance. There are many observers who believe that its magic will wear out by 1964. But here again there is lack of agreement: as it is difficult to meet optimists in Singapore, it is difficult to come across alarmists in Kuala Lumpur.

The Socialist Movement

The Communist Party is illegal. The Chinese trade union movement is weak. The biggest and the best organised union is the National Plantation Workers Union mostly manned by persons of Indian origin. There are three socialist groups that have come together and formed the Socialist Front. With the exception of Party Rayatta which is led by a Malay, the socialist movement is predominantly Indian. The Mayor of Penang is its main spokesman.

The Chinese for the time being are playing a waiting game. The future reactions of the Malay masses and of the Chinese people are shrouded in mystery and the Indian summer that Malayan politics are enjoying may not last long. It is no accident that even though the Alliance has 50 members in a legislature of 52, the astute Prime Minister has given up his office to devote all his energies to win the next elections. Because Singapore is likely to move Left, and become stridently Chinese, the Federation leaders are determined to entrench the Right and make the Malayn hegemony secure.

Maha-rao of Kalahandi Pratap Kesari Deo, M.P., and the newly-elected President of the Ganatantra Parishad, said at Cuttack on May 23 last that the formation of a Congress-Ganatantra Parishad Coalition Ministry in Orissa did not mean the merger of Ganatantra Parishad in the Congress. He was speaking at a reception given to him and Shri R. N. Singh Deo, who was sworn in as the Ganatantra Minister in the Coalition Ministry, by the workers of the Oriya daily, "Ganatantra", an organ of the Ganatantra Parishad.
Labour Policy And Food Production

Our extremely low agricultural productivity, without overcoming which there is no promise of India ever producing enough to feed her millions, is the direct result of our agricultural labourers' indifference and lack of effort almost amounting to refusal to work. To call it refusal, however, is untrue since these labourers are starved out and deprived of their work by a continuing State policy.

The real cause of this labour inertia is the anti-village labour policy which our Government inherits. This policy, though initiated and enforced by the foreign imperialist rulers whom we displaced a decade ago, is still most loyally continued in all essentials despite the present rulers' profession to the contrary. It is impoverishing and starving the villages by dumping factory goods into them and depriving the rural labour, including the agricultural labour, of their traditional work and security.

Apart from such harms as dumping of factory goods, making of huge middle men's profit in agricultural produces, and other varieties of class and caste oppressions, capitalist imperialism also pushed the colonial village labourers out of the feudal economic security but cared to do little or nothing to rehabilitate them, or provide for them in the new capitalist system.

The agricultural labourers, including poor peasants—the real men who exert to extract the grain from the soil are ignored and despised by the Government as mere hands, no better than draft animals, while the fact, on the contrary, is that our labourers are not mere hands but hereditary experts in their chosen lines.

New-Fangled Ways

The Government and the planners are beating round the bush by trying our Japanese method of cultivation, mechanization of agriculture, use of chemical fertilizers, co-operative cultivation and what not. None of these measures, however, has the potentiality by itself of remediating the food shortage in a foreseeable period of time.

Even co-operation, good as it is, cannot be all that the planners expect, since the starved producing masses, whose efforts have to do the job of pushing up the production, cannot be expected to fall in love with the co-operatives dominated by their local exploiters, the landowning peasants and caste oppressors. Further, often the privately owned plots are made to yield more by the peasants than the cooperatives, where the incentive to the poorer members to work is less tangible and less attractive.

by
A. H. Tilkar

This is not justifying private ownership but disillusioning those who bank all their hopes of increasing food production on co-operatives without setting the nation basically on the move fast enough in the direction of casteless and classless society.

Chinese Example

The greatest hitch in our national planning as well as the most obdurate obstacle to increasing grain production, therefore, is our Government's failure to put the traditional experts, the agricultural labourers on their feet and deal directly with them as free agents, not as serfs or slaves of their oppressor classes who are now mistakenly considered by the planners and the Government to be real producers of food grains.

It is amazing how the Government and the planners refuse to see the realities and still follow the policy based on the illusion spread for the imperialists' benefit, that our rural labourers are know-nothing boobies, ignorant and inert, worse than useless unskilled labour, now only deserving extermination.

In the ultimate analysis, it is the human agent that is at the wheel of production even of food grain. Deep ploughing and intensive seed rearing that form the crux of the Chinese method, now proved to be better than the Japanese method, need the understanding hearts and willing hands of the labourers much more than the co-operatives of their oppressors, the land-owning peasants. In China today, agricultural labourers vie with one another to put in larger number of hours of work to raise better crop. This explains why their agricultural output registered a phenomenal rise outstripping even that of the U.S.A.

Till today, in spite of the worst the alien Government could do to destroy the prestige and take away the work of the villagers, the labourers form the greatest production force of rural India, not the middle and the upper peasants as the planners think. It is time the nation realised that none but this hereditarily skilled village labour force can deliver the goods in respect of food production.

Village Crafts

Our Indian village labourers, not only the landless agricultural and the semi-labour poor peasants, but also our carpenters, potters, oil-mongers, and even our leather workers, were and still are experts in their own lines of production. Unlike, say the Negro slaves that in a bye-gone age worked in American's farms and plantations where the owners had the expert knowledge and the slaves were mere hands, and unlike the workers in the capitalist industries where the workers were mere cogs in the wheels and the specialist supervisors were their instructors, our village labourers and artisans have been traditional experts, and actual workers rolled into one.

The British, who suppressed these experts and deliberately created an illusion to take their work away from them to provide jobs for the workers of the metropolitan country, succeeded so well that even in the Indian minds, today 11 years after the foreign rulers have quit India, not merely the capitalist parties, but even the socialist and the communist ones remain caught in the lie.
The dress of the people...

Costumes, whether they are for occasions or for daily wear vary all over the world. Climatic conditions, natural materials available, religious demands and individual ingenuity are some of the factors that determine the dress of a people.

Many varied costumes are worn in India but different costumes need different qualities of cloth. The Mafatlal Group of Mills manufactures a wide range of cloth for everyday use in all parts of the country.

Over her salvar and kameez the beautiful Punjabi women very often wear a heavy Pulkari chaddar, a colourful, richly embroidered home-made garment.

MAFATLAL GROUP OF MILLS

CLOTH FOR THE NATION

Mafatlal’s other interests include Sugar and Dyesuffs.

MAFATLAL HOUSE, BACKBAY RECLAMATION, BOMBAY I.
THE dismal failure of the All-India Student Federation to attract the large body of young men and women in colleges and its complete disintegration in Kerala drove the Communists to devise methods to capture the minds of the youths. They had suffered a great defeat on the student union front and also in their international organisation, the Afro-Asian Student Conference in Bandung, where the vigilant socialist and nationalist elements from India and Indonesia defeated their backstage manoeuvres and also saved the conference. The growing consciousness amongst students exposed the hollowness of the (AISF) claims to represent the Indian students.

Change of Strategy

From 1956 onwards, the Communists began to shift the emphasis from students to youths. In future World Youth Festivals were to be given greater attention. The Afro-Asian Student Conference gave place to the Afro-Asian Youth Conference. And, after the Udaipur Conference held in January 1959, the AISF was no more to be the mass front organisation of the CPI; its role was intended to be changed into that of an organisation of the select cadres. Instead, the All-India Youth Federation was formed in April this year.

It is interesting to note that once again the Communists have contrived to hoodwink the common young person by projecting their organisation as a non-partisan organisation and not as a Communist youth league. Once again, however, will the searching mind find that determined and tried Communists have been put in charge of the new organisation. Its president, Balraj Sahni, well known artist and a extremist of long standing and its Secretary Shri Sharada Mitra, till recently member of the secretariat of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) in Prague and an old time student leader need no introduction to those who have made a study of Youth movement. Balraj Sahni has always had deep connections with their movement and IPTA. His brother Bhisham Sahni, has been in Moscow for years.

Another interesting fact in this behalf is the way the AIYF has started imitating the Youth Congress. For the purpose of the Youth Congress, 40 is quite an young age. And Balraj, President of AIYF, in only 47; Sharad Mitra is not less than 36. The youth secretary of another of their front organisations, Afro Asian People's Solidarity conference, Shree H. D. Malaviya, is the contemporary of Balraj Sahni. That these gentle folk still continue to pose as young exposes the paucity of really young cadre in the CPI and the Congress and shows their distrust of the young people. That also seems to be the reason why the conferences of the AIYF and Youth Congress have been stage-managed and conducted. It may here be recalled that the Youth Congress Conference at Baroda, last year, broke in pandemonium as many delegates rose to complain against its undemocratic character and constitution. At the Kanpur conference of UPSF, as well as the Udaipur Conference of AISF, again, the clamour for securing a democratic and independent character for the Federation became unbearable to the Communist bureaucracy (vide Hindustan Times, January 5 report; Janata March 15). But no youth movement can be formed on the mistrust of young people.

The AIYF has been formed to do away with another organisation, much older than itself, the Federation of Indian youth. The FIY was also till lately a front organisation; its main function was to sponsor tours of Indians abroad and tours of young people from Communist countries in India. Its leadership consists of some brilliant old timers of the old All India Student Congress, who preferred to engage in promoting 'international understanding' amongst the Indian Youth and those of Communist countries rather than to build the organisation from below. Their state committees were also organised for the sole purpose of helping these intercultural tours. The Communists found this very useful for them and patronised the FIY and were happy to use the contemporary, the FIY magazine, as a vehicle for pro-Communist ideas.

Fall from Grace

Lately, however, the Communists seems to have revised their attitude. One of the reasons is their keenness to create another organisation for the indoctrination of the youth and to make good the loss they suffered through the failure of AISF. It should be said to the credit of FIY leadership that it did not like to be elbowed out or to submit to the pressure of the Party leadership. Communists called it careerism and racketeering. Evidently, the FIY leadership had fallen from grace. But it would be too much to make heroes out of these gentlemen. The quarrel in fact exposes the intolerance by the Communist leadership of any expression of non-conformism and the utter futility of any pretensions on the part of fellow travellers to think that they need not always obey the party.

The trouble started with the World Youth Festival. The FIY was not willing to give up its leading role in selecting participants from India. And the Communists, realising the need of organising a new youth front, thought that this new organisation must have full powers.
in this selection. Hence, unlike last years, the FYI was not invited to play a major role in the WYF. The FYI could hardly accept this position as its very life was dedicated to the discharge of function. It, therefore, sought to secure the cooperation of other youth organisations and show up the WYF organisations and the CPI leadership that AIYF stood alone and isolated. The handful of young persons of the Socialist Party of Dr. Lohia, propounding up a Samajwadi Yuwak Sabha, appear to have become their easy camp followers. Their hatred of the Atlantic camp gets the better of their theory of equidistance and they join all international Communist-engineered youth fronts, as observed while at the same time keeping away from and characterising non-Communist fronts as American-inspired. In the case of FYI, the Lohia Socialists appear to have been convinced that its 'break' with CPI should be exploited to win them over to militant socialist politics.

It seems unlikely that the FYI will be able to stand its ground, as it never had a cadre except the one Communists lent it for some time. And, the fact remains that stage-managing of WFY (in India) will be the monopoly of the "official" Communist Youth Front, AIYF, now that it has begun to exist, and the FYI will only cry in vain. The Communists know how to set up fellow-travelling front organisations and how to smash them to pieces. One could only sympathise with the FYI leaders that they are still honeymooning with some front organisations of Communists, like WYF, even after they have been jilted by the CPI and AIYF. And about the fate of the Lohia young Socialists, the less said the better.

Beware of Red Tactics

SHRI Ganga Saran Sinha, M.P., Chairman of the All-India Praja Socialist Party, and Shri Basawan Sinha M.L.A., Chairman of the Bihar PSP warned their partymen on May 27 last at Dehri-on-Sone against "the tactics of the Communists to mislead the people with declarations that they were wedded to democratic socialism like the Congress and the PSP.

They maintained that the past behaviour of the Communists did not fit in with their present declarations. They wanted the people to judge the Communists not by what they professed but by what they practised.

Presiding over the annual conference of the Bihar State PSP, Shri Basawan Sinha stressed the need for developing mass consciousness to fight corruption and inefficiency in administration. If it continued unchecked, it would lead to dictatorship. The rise of dictatorship in Asian countries was a pointer, he said.

He cited the instance of Tibet and exhorted Praja Socialists to strive hard for the defence of democracy. That way alone they could serve the Indian masses, he said.

Shri Sinha alleged that the Congress was not functioning democratically nor was it furthering the cause of socialism. He said had it been so, former rulers of states and zemindars would not have joined the Congress fold.

Resolutions Adopted

The Conference passed a resolution welcoming the ushering in of parliamentary Government in Nepal.

It congratulated Shri Bisheshwar Prasad Koirala, President of the Nepali Congress, "who had made all sacrifices for the attainment of democratic government in the Himalayan kingdom."

The conference hoped that the Government of Shri Koirala would strive for the attainment of socialism in Nepal and prevent the exploitation of the masses and thereby strengthen socialist forces in Asia as a fortress against reactionary elements and totalitarianism.

The conference also congratulated the people of Tibet for not surrendering without struggle. It said the attack on Tibet's autonomy had come as a rude shock to Asian unity. It declared that Tibet was never a part of China and maintained that the attack on Tibet had increased the possibility of danger to India.

It urged the Government of India to exercise moral pressure on China to ensure Tibet's autonomy. It also deprecated the role of Indian Communists and described their attitude as anti-national.

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Trade in Foodgrains

The Prime Minister's reference to the record food production in 1958-59 in the course of his recent Press conference has given rise to some comments. It has been pointed out that if the estimate of production of 73 million tons of foodgrains during 1958-59 were true it would be difficult to explain the rising prices in foodgrains during all these months and the food crisis that is fast developing in West Bengal. In Kerala rice prices are soaring up and the Centre has to rush help to tide over the lean months. In Madras the retail prices are ruling higher even than the pre-harvest level, in spite of the bumper crop in the State this year. In the country as a whole there is hardly any relief in prices due to the increase in crops production. In West Bengal the situation is especially serious and its Food Minister, Shri P. C. Sen, has confessed that the policy of procurement and price control has failed there and a considerable number of people are migrating to Calcutta every day from 24 Paraganas district in search of food.

In this connection doubts are often expressed regarding the reliability of food statistics. The Asoka Mehta Committee have examined this question in details and have come to the conclusion that even if the absolute figures were not completely reliable the relative position as revealed by the food statistics is substantially correct. The explanation for the present paradox of rising prices with rising production has to be found, therefore, elsewhere. Rising population is only a part of this explanation. The truth of the matter seems to be that the Government's whole theory that if production is properly looked after distribution will take care of itself has been proved to be an over-simplification of the problem. If the prices are not controlled in spite of bumper crops it is due to the neglect of the distribution machinery. Large-scale developmental expenditure is exerting inflationary pressure and the middlemen are taking full advantage of it by pushing the prices higher and higher while the Government watches on helplessly.

It was because of this that there was a demand for controlling the trade in foodgrains. We are hearing a lot about the socialisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains but nothing substantially seems to have been done so far. And if all that could be done has been done it would only mean that this step by itself was not enough. If the Third Plan has to be a big plan involving large sums of developmental expenditure the whole marketing and distributive machinery in our economy will have to be thoroughly examined and proper steps will have to be taken to keep the price situation under control.
NOTES AND COMMENT

The Swatantra Party

When Shri Rajagopalachari declared some time back his decision to desist from any public controversy over the economic or political issues it looked as if the new right-of-the-centre party which was in the offing for some time had died before it was born. Rajaji’s decision, however, remained short-lived and happily he is once more in the political arena. His re-entry has coincided with the announcement of the birth of a new political party. At first it was called the Conservative Party and Rajaji made it clear at a public meeting in Madras that he was enamoured of that name because the Prime Minister, Shri Nehru had not liked it. Obviously, he was just indulging in pleasant rans. He liked the name Conservative Party because it expressed eloquently the objectives of his party, which is described as the conservation of all that is good in the country’s life and heritage. But the name has some undesirable associations and many of the sympathisers of his new party did not like that name and so he has changed it to the Swatantra Party. This name is not likely to be any more evocative and it is possible that when the party is formally launched, some further consideration is likely to be given to the problem.

There is a lot of discussion in the country regarding the desirability or otherwise of starting the new party. In a democratic set-up any group of people belonging to a particular school of thought, adhering to a given set of values and subscribing to a particular programme to tackle the problems before the country are entitled to associate themselves into a political party, and on that score there can be no question of any objection to the coming into existence of the new party. The question can, however, be discussed from the angle as to whether the coming into being of a new party would help in clarifying the public issues or would lead to greater confusion.

The other criticism of the new party is that the party has not announced any programme and in the absence of this it is impossible to engage in a public discussion with the party. Under the circumstances, it is argued, the creation of the Swatantra Party is not likely to help in clarifying the political issues. Replying to this criticism Rajaji has said that it would be wrong to say that the new party has no programme. The programme of the party, according to him, would be “the creation of public opinion against the policies of the present Government so that Shri Nehru would come down and bow to the pressure of public opinion.”

From the speeches and writings of Shri Minoo Masani, another inspiration behind the party, it is clear that the first task of the party would be to oppose the programme of co-operative farming. He told a public meeting at Madras: “What the Communist Government can do in Kerala the Congress Government can do in the rest of the country by infiltrating the Co-operatives.”

The Nagpur Congress programme of agrarian reforms should, therefore, be opposed according to the sponsors of the Swatantra Party. It is quite clear that this is but a negative programme and the country is not likely to be impressed by it. The people of India have a right to ask the Swatantra Party how they propose to deal with the economic problems facing the country. Production is not keeping pace with requirements, employment opportunities created fall far short of the new entrants in the labour market, the foreign exchange position is precarious and the majority of the people, after twelve years of Independence, are still living in abject conditions. Some ways out of these problems have to be found unless we want the end of democracy and the emergence of dictatorship in one form or another. The Congress Party has formulated a programme to deal with this situation. The Swatantra Party spokesmen do not like it. The Praja Socialist Party also has differences with the Congress programme. But it has presented before the country its own solutions from time to time. Unless the Swatantra Party is also prepared to do so there is no possibility of any joining of issues or clarification of ideas.

Police Firing in Kerala

After five days of violence the “quit Government movement” in Kerala has become peaceful. This seems to give a lie to the Communist plea that the violence was instigated by the Catholic Church. At least it has conclusively proved that agitation can be carried on, even under a Red regime under certain circumstances, without resorting to violence. The leaders of the movement having now gained complete control of the situation should see that in spite of any provocation by the Communist party the agitation does not assume a violent form.

The question of the circumstances in which the police resorted to firing is still to be determined. There is enough evidence to suggest that the Government explanation of these circumstances may not be quite adequate. The leaders of the Opposition in Kerala are emphatic that it is quite contrary to facts. Apart from this consideration it is the duty of the Government to institute a judicial enquiry every time there is a police firing irrespective of the circumstances in which the firing took place. The Communists have always maintained that stand in case of police firings in the rest of the country and there is no reason why an exception should be made in the State where they happen to be the rulers. If what the Red Government claims to be the justification for firing is true it will be established in the enquiry and the police will be exonerated. If, on the other hand, what the opposition leaders say is true that will also be established there. There can be, therefore, no objection to the institution of a judicial enquiry and that should be held forthwith.

JOINT CO–OPERATIVE FARMING

The July 5 issue of JANATA will be devoted to the much-discussed subject of “Co-operative Farming”—which has given a new slant to the Land Reforms. It will contain articles by political leaders and eminent theoreticians.

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Kerala Disapproves of Red Rule

THE Kerala Communists, who had the unique privilege of being the sole Communist Ministry in the world to capture power through the ballot-box, are under trial even before the end of their first term of office. The little state of graceful coconut palms and placid backwaters is resounding with anti-Communist slogans and counter-slogans as the Congress-PSP-League opposition front has launched a struggle to end the Red regime. It is guilty of multifarious omissions and commissions, the front says. The latest of these was the enforcement of the much-debated Education Act.

The legislation brings the entire teacher community and primary education system in the State under the effective control of the Government. Religious institutions, mainly the Catholic Church, and the landed gentry, who had so far controlled a major portion of the aided schools, naturally joined forces against the Act, which enabled the Ministry to dub the whole agitation as communal and reactionary. While the Administration's anxiety to help the teacher, who often received a raw deal, is understandable, there was genuine concern regarding the future of liberal education and religious instruction among discerning minds because of the far-reaching consequences of the Act. In the hands of a materialistic and ruthless authority, the enactment could prove, in the course of time, an unfailing instrument for the propagation of communism—among children in the schools and among the general public in the rural and semi-urban areas, where the teacher wields considerable social influence.

Red Manoeuvres

The Opposition has realised, as such, that Communists, while seemingly adhering to the form of a democratic government, are all along busy working out subtle schemes and converting every situation into an excuse to consolidate forces of their own radicalism, with the hope of eventual establishment of out-and-out communism. The present struggle, therefore, is inevitable, and all talk of compromise or "truce" can at best put off a fight to extinguish either of the contending forces. For, far-sighted persons have found out from the Kerala experiment that co-existence is a principle impracticable where dogmas like communism are concerned.

The movement will, however, need more organisation than its sponsors have realised to carry it to successful conclusion, particularly so in the northern part of the State. But as the reaction in the erstwhile Travancore-Cochin State is sure to demonstrate the depth of popular resentment and the extent of public distrust of the Communist Administration, both the Namboodripad Ministry and the Central Government—to whom the people look up for timely rescue in the form of presidential intervention—will have sufficient ground to determine their future course of action.

Meanwhile, besides school life being disorganised throughout the State, the agitation will have widened the cleavage between the pro-Government and anti-Government forces in Kerala, and also have made communal and class alignments more pronounced, so that little will be wanting in the atmosphere to develop a regular civil war in any future disturbance.

NEPAL TO THE FORE

After years of uncertainty, the Nepalese Congress has been called to form the first democratic government at Kathmandu. The Nepali Congress which thus puts an end to the feudal regime of Ranas, drew its inspiration from the freedom movement of India under the leadership of its name-sake. Prime Minister Nehru's visit last week to Nepal to bless the infant democracy was therefore in the fitness of things. Apart from the common interests that India and Nepal have in matters of defence and foreign policy, India cannot ignore the centuries old religious, cultural and other ties she has with this land of the brave Gurkhas. It is to be hoped that Nepal, under Congress leadership, will now march ahead with a programme of national development and ensure peace and plenty in the kingdom, in which India is greatly interested for the sake of both the countries. For, with an expansionist power like Communist China active in the vicinity in fomenting trouble, this buffer State acquires an added significance since the Tibetan episode for Asia's peace.

Good-Neighbourliness

However, India's good-neighbourly policy had long before this ensured Nepal's goodwill by her support to the people's freedom urge and her policy of Panch Sheel. India is already committed, notwithstanding her own foreign exchange difficulties, to assist Nepal's reconstruction programme to the tune of Rs. 10 crores in addition to certain benefits of the Kosi Project. With the improvement of communications trade and commerce are bound to increase to the mutual advantage of both the neighbours.

In this connection New Delhi will do well to take note of a certain touchiness the Nepalese have shown at times about Indo-Nepalese relations. Unjustifiable as the reaction is, the Nepalese are prone to suspecting that India, as the bigger party, might be dictating terms to the small nation. This was made clear to Prime Minister Nehru during his visit, when some paraders exhibited banners demanding treatment of equality from India and revision of the "unbalanced" Indo-Nepalese Trade Treaty. Now that a popular Government is in power in Kathmandu, Indian leadership should find no difficulty to adjust the relations to the satisfaction of the former and allay any possible Nepalese misgivings about India.

NEW PARTY IN OFFING

Blessed by an elder statesman, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, and backed by an assortment of leadership, the move to organise a "broad-based" opposition to the ruling Congress in the country has caught on. The first convention of the party, among whose sponsors are chiefly the Forum of Free Enterprise and...
the All-India Agriculturists' Federation, is meeting shortly at Ahmedabad. Though the party's aims and objects are yet to crystallize, its organisation was motivated by a desire to "conserve all that is good in India's heritage".

This desire of the founders of the Swatantra Party springs from an increasing sense of alarm felt among a section of the public at the mounting Leftist tendencies in the Congress, particularly with regard to State action on economic control. Though these fears have been voiced before from time to time, the attempt to launch a nation-wide protest against the Governmental policy was precipitated by the Nagpur Congress resolution on co-operative farming.

With an avowed programme of a welfare State through planned economy, the Indian Government has found it expedient to increasingly narrow down the field of individual freedoms originally guaranteed in the Constitution. While at first these State incursions into the liberties of the subject affected mostly the upper strata of the national economy, specially the big entrepreneur in the city and the Zamindar in the village, the logic of events has driven the administration to extend its sphere of control further and further, much as the Congress Party has been opposed to regimentation and totalitarian methods of national reconstruction.

Gandhian Path

But, though the ruling party has declared its objective as a socialistic pattern of society—with its inevitable accent on big industries and planning round the State—many thinkers, including some of the party's own adherents, have not forgotten the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi. They still believe in progress through planning in which the individual is the centre of activity and whose basis is a village civilization. They believe that once the individual has been reduced to the status of a mere farm-hand, bereft of all initiative as in co-operative farming, he will fall an easy prey to the advance of any totalitarian force like communism; once the present fabric of the socio-economic relations of the Indian village, which has withstood the onslaught of centuries of

(Continued on page 11)
American Liberals And Foreign Policy
by Emmanuel Wallerstein

To understand the position of American liberals on world affairs today, we must return to the period of the thirties, the era of Hitler. If there had been an old pacifist tradition among the American left, still strong during World War I, the rise of Fascism in Europe just about wiped it out.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt made his “Quarantine the Aggressors” speech in 1937, he carried with him most American liberals. And when in 1940, William Allen White formed the “Committee to Defend America By Aiding the Allies”, he had the active support of most American liberals.

The issue was Isolationism vs. Interventionism, and American liberals were by and large interventionist. For intervention meant the “Committee to Defend democracy. To be sure, there were exceptions. There were a few Midwestern liberals who were mired in their Populantsim, and reactionaries, the culmination of the perfidies of the Spanish Civil War, the triumph of the cartels. Appeasement was seen as the stock-in-trade of the extreme right.

U. S. Bombed Into War

And when America was bombed into war at Pearl Harbor, American liberals strangely enough breathed a sign of relief. They were glad to be at last at war against Fascism, to be part of the great world-wide struggle to end the new barbarism.

On the Asian scene, “militarist” Japan was the ally of Hitler, and China, with whom America was linked by special bonds of friendship, was the object of vocal, if not always well-informed, sympathy. India’s struggle for independence had long captured the imagination of American liberals, and they noted with great satisfaction the position of the Indian National Congress on Spain and Germany. It was all part of one big battle. The lines were clear, and the man who could not choose swiftly and certainly was pitiable if not contemptible.

The war in a sense confirmed all these prejudices. Even generals and businessmen were now chanting the litany of the alliance with the Soviet Union. And liberals campaigned for a Second Front, suspicious that some cynical conservatives, like say Winston Churchill, would prefer to see Russia bleed to impotence rather than have a swift victory over Hitler.

Atlantic Charter

As for colonial problems, liberals took a smug satisfaction in the Atlantic Charter, which would of course be the basis of the post-war settlement. In the meantime, they tended to agree with President Roosevelt that such questions should be subordinated for the moment to the major issue of defeating the Axis.

The end of the war pulled the pillars out from under a number of the assumptions of the liberals. Firstly, they had girded themselves for a renewal of the Interventionist-Interventionist battle on the question of membership in the United Nations. Actually, the dramatic conversion of former isolationist Republican Senator Vandenberg in 1943 to the principles of international co-operation symbolized the end of an issue. The United States Senate vote on ratifying the United Nations Charter was 90-2.

Secondly, liberals had expected the renewal of the depression in the United States, which never came. Thirdly, liberals had expected an enormous fight over economic aid for the reconstruction of Europe. There was a fight, but it was never enormous. The Marshall Plan was the first and major fruit of the new “bi-partisan foreign policy”, which came to dominate American thinking.

Big Three Unity

While none of the battles they had expected materialised, liberals were faced with another problem which they had not fully anticipat-

éd: the extremely rapid breakdown of “Big-Three unity”. And here they came to be on the defensive. For the arguments they had developed and propagated in the war against Fascism were now used against Communism. The conservatives argued that the Soviet Union was an expanding, aggressive power, appeasement of whom would only whet its appetite. And gradually, especially after the Communist take-over of Czechoslovakia in 1948, liberals came to agree.

But agreement came, in a sense, too late. The radical right, many of them former isolationists, began to berate the liberals for their attitude during the thirties, their call for an alliance with the Soviet Union. Thus Senator McCarthy, in 1953, would speak of “Twenty Years of Treason”, that is, beginning with the U. S. recognition of the USSR in 1933. (It must be not forgotten that, as with China today, the U. S. did not recognize the USSR for the first fifteen years of its existence.)

The coming to power of the Communists in China embarrassed the liberals even more. For it is true that many of them had argued for years that the Chinese Communists were not real Communists but “agrarian reformers”. And they repeated with relish Stalin’s presumed quip—that Chinese Communists were like radishes, red outside and white inside. So that when McCarthy attacked the “old China hands” and Owen Lattimore, American liberals were outraged, indignant, and on the defensive.

‘New Programme’

Colonial questions did not occupy the center of the scene. To be sure, American liberals rejoiced at the independec of India, Pakistan, Burma and Cylon. They were responsible for the United States’ pressure on the Indonesian question in 1949. They supported the creation of the state of Israel (which, in the United States at least, was in part an anti-colonial question). And they applauded President Truman’s Point Four speech, soon thereafter complaining that his “Bold, new programme” was neither bold nor new nor a programme.

Nevertheless, the central problems were European and East Asian. And the Korean War ended all substantive discussion of these problems—at least for a number of years. The North Korean aggression seemed to vindicate the arguments of those
production of an H-bomb only four months after the United States produced an impression.

Meanwhile, there were two dramas occurring in the United States. McCarthy's campaign did not cease when Eisenhower took office. Rather, it intensified. After one year, he spoke of "Twenty-One Years of Treason". Attacking the Army, Wall Street lawyers, he had gone too far. And after a protracted struggle, the Eisenhower Republicans decided to destroy him. The Senate "censured" him in the spring of 1954, and he would never again be heard from.

This battle was connected with another that was occurring within the Administration. Twice that year, in the offshore islands dispute and the Viet Nam struggle, President Eisenhower made the decision, against the counsel of his advisors, not to intervene with United States troops.

Geneva Conference

In the summer of 1954, the Geneva Conference brought an end to the festering war in Viet Nam. The status quo in the Far East was tacitly agreed to by China and the United States. The stage was now set for Geneva of 1955, the long-awaited "Big Four" conference. At Geneva, 1955, the status quo in Europe was tacitly agreed to by Russia and the United States.

The world's stage was rapidly changing. The issues which had embarrased the liberals in the period 1945-55 were now beginning to resolve themselves. The possibility of rational debate was once more available.

But agreements on the status quo often neglect world realities, as did these. Two crucial areas were in ferment: West Asia and Eastern Europe. Events in West Asia were part of the uncompleted anti-colonial revolution. Events in Eastern Europe grew out of the explosiveness of the "destalinisation" process. Obviously, unrest in West Asia favoured Russian interests. Unrest in Eastern Europe favored American interests. Each side quickly forgot the "spirit of Geneva" and pushed its advantage. Yet the restraint of both sides, the determination to maintain the overall world equilibrium, is the real lesson of Hungary and Suez.

Kremlin Flexibility
At this point, new analysis was called for. The Khrushchev regime was showing a new flexibility both in its dealings with the United States and with the Asian-African countries. The anti-colonial revolution was gaining rapid momentum in West Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Obviously, an American policy based on the old presumptions was outdated and dangerous.

Strange enough, while the liberals criticised the Dulles inflexibility, Dulles began to evidence more thinking than some of his opponents. He was quick to side with Egypt over Suez while some of his liberal critics hesitated, because of old commitments. Still, whatever adjustments were made were piece-meal and within the ideological framework of ten years earlier. The conservatives were as yet unwilling to make the basic shift in approach which competition in the new world arena demanded.
AFRO-ASIAN COMMITTEE ON TIBET

FOLLOWING is the text of the resolution adopted unanimously at the recent All India Tibet Convention.

I. This convention places on record its deep sympathy with the Tibetans in their struggle for freedom and the sufferings and tribulations through which they have passed in recent years due to the aggression of China. The convention is firmly of the opinion that the Tibetans have the same claim to the right of self-determination as any other nation of the world. Racially, linguistically, culturally and economically different from the Chinese, they are a nation according to all standards of nationality. Although China claimed and internally exercised suzerainty over Tibet since the eighteenth century, that suzerainty was not based on the willing consent of the Tibetans, and they had virtually shaken it off in the second decade of this century. The Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 1951 which re-imposed Chinese rule over Tibet was caused by the Machiavellian machinations and wire-pulling of Indian 'impartial' and neutral countries with a view to re-territorial allegiance by their attitudes towards the present Sino-Tibetan question. It cannot but be a matter of deep concern to India if any political party demonstrates, by either words or deeds, that it places the interest of a foreign country above the national interest of India, as conceived by the overwhelming majority of her people.

IV. This convention whole-heartedly approves of the action of the Government of India in giving political asylum to the Dalai Lama and the thousands of Tibetans who have sought shelter in this country, and endorses the views and sentiments expressed by the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha on April 2, 3, and 27 regarding the nature and origin of the national upsurge in Tibet.

This convention hopes that Prime Minister Nehru will exert his great influence in the world on behalf of the oppressed people of Tibet and, in co-operation with Afro-Asian countries, devise ways and means to secure the right of self-determination to them, thereby allaying the fears and suspicions aroused in the minds of the weaker and peace-loving nations of Asia by the Chinese aggression in Tibet.

V. This convention authorises its President, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, to set up an Afro-Asian Committee on Tibet with a view, among other things, to:

(1) Mobilise world opinion, particularly in Asian and African countries, to enable Tibet to exercise her rights of self determination; and

(2) Arrange for the appointment of an International Commission of neutral countries with a view to reporting on the alleged violation of the human rights in Tibet, including the destruction of monasteries, historical documents and ancient art treasures.

Another resolution adopted unanimously at the convention expressed its deep gratitude to India's leading dailies for their sympathy and co-operation in espousing the cause of Tibet and congratulated the journalists for placing the truth before the world. It also expressed its sincere "hope that in future, too, the Press in India will continue to lend its support and co-operation until a satisfactory solution is found of the Tibetan question."

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BOMBAY 2
Red Repression In Kerala

THE Executive Committee of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay) has issued the following statement:

"The Executive Committee of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay) views with grave concern the recent developments in Kerala. The Committee is of the opinion that such a deep discontent among people as is witnessed in Kerala cannot arise out of opposition to a single legislation like the Kerala Education Bill. The roots of the upsurge in Kerala are far deeper and can be traced to the suppression of liberties, partisan attitude of the Government, murderous attacks on the life of workers of the Opposition parties, the Communist Party's interference in the administration of the State and discriminating treatment meted out to the non-Communist trade unions.

Support to Struggle

SHRI Ganga Sharan Sinha, Chairman, Praja Socialist Party, has issued the following statement:

"The news on June 15, of police firing in Kerala which has taken toll of six precious lives, is a tragedy and a warning. Ten months ago Dr. K. B. Menon had called the attention of Parliament to the developing crisis in Kerala. If the Central Government and the people of India had then taken note of and observed the conditions of insecurity and the negation of rule of law that prevailed there, the inroads on freedom and security would not have developed to such staggering dimensions."

"In Kerala itself all attempts of the Opposition parties to influence the Communist Government have been met with cynical disdain and a more thorough imposition of measures that made Communists into a privileged and inviolate class. Only those who cherish the freedom of our country and have fought for it can know what new enslavement the Communist Government is imposing on the people of Kerala. The ghastly spectre of communism, if unchallenged, will engulf democracy in other States also. That is the warning we have to take."

"I, on behalf of the Praja Socialist Party, send my greetings to the brave people of Kerala who are so determinedly resisting this tyranny and extend full support to their peaceful struggle."

"Kerala needs understanding and support from all. Her people trust that the rest of India will be with them in this grim struggle. Let us honour that faith."

M. P. Communalism

SHRI Mir Mubarak Ahmed, Member of the PSP National Executive, has issued a statement on the proposed formation of a "Minorities' Front" as a counterblast against certain communalistic developments in Madhya Pradesh.

Pointing out the dire consequences of the proposal, PSP leader's statement says:

"The recent unfortunate communal riots in Bhopal, Mubarakpur and Sitamarhi (in Madhya Pradesh) have given shape to a new move by certain section of Muslims and Sikhs to convene a Minority Conference and form a Minority Board. The only figures worth mentioning in this connection are Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Sardar Harnam Singh, a former Judge of a High Court who seem to be supporting the idea of religious minorities coming together and forming a united front.

"This move needs examination. Granting that a section of the majority community is communal or there exist certain communal organisations, can communalism be killed by counter-communalism? Will not such a move strengthen the elements of communalism and weaken the secular forces in the country? In my opinion it is a sinister move which will harm the interests of minorities themselves and will prove dangerous to the unity of human society and national integration. Socio-economic and political questions cannot be solved as long as we try to mix religion with politics.

"Our country's Constitution is based on secular, democratic principles, granting equal rights to all citizens irrespective of caste and creed. The members of minority communities should be left free to join any secular democratic party and strengthen the hands of secular forces.

"How long shall we continue to divide human society on the basis of religion and create hatred against one another? After all, what is the uniting factor of the minority communities? Only hatred against the majority community? Where will this lead us?

"In this fast changing world, which is advancing towards a socialist society, it is necessary that the sponsors of this move should think twice before they embark upon such a venture that will disrupt the unity of the country. It is merely out of frustration that persons like Dr. Kitchlew and Sardar Harnam Singh have associated themselves with this sinister move."
ON THE LABOUR FRONT

Priority for Employment

SHRI Bagaram Tulpule, General Secretary of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, addressing a Press conference in Calcutta on June 8 last, announced the outcome of a recent meeting of the HMS Executive.

The two-day meeting of the Working Committee and General Council of the All-India Hind Mazdoor Sabha was held in Calcutta on June 6 and 7, 1959. The meeting was held at the Maharaja Cossipore Polytechnic in North Calcutta. HMS President, Shri S. C. C. Anthoni Pillai, M.P., presided.

Among those who attended the meeting were Sarvasri Deven Sen, M.L.A. (West Bengal), Basawan Sinha, M.L.A. (Bihar), Sibnath Banerjee, J. N. Mitra, Brijkishor Shastri, Mahesh Desai and D. Bastia.

The Council considered the applications of and granted affiliation to 23 new unions with a total membership of about 15,000. The Council also framed Standing Rules under the HMS Constitution for the day-to-day administration of the HMS.

The meeting considered a report on HMS organisation and the developments since the last Annual Convention at Nagpur in December 1958. The short fall in performance of the tasks decided upon at Nagpur was critically and earnestly examined. The Council decided to step up the efforts to develop the newly formed federations of workers in the Jute, Sugar and Metal industries and also to reach the target of the Special Fund launched at the Nagpur Convention.

Workers' Camps

The Council directed that State Conferences of the HMS should be held at early dates in those States where they have not been held during the past year. It was also decided to hold short training camps for HMS trade unionists in Bihar and Delhi and Punjab in July and August respectively.

The Council gave careful consideration to the Government of India Labour Ministry's proposals regarding the Code of Efficiency and Industrial Relations. By a resolution on the proposed Code of Efficiency the Council expressed itself against consideration of the proposed Code at this stage in view of the unsatisfactory response of the Government and employees of the year-old Code of Discipline and the failure of the Government to ensure to the workers a fair share of the benefits of increased productivity achieved already.

The Council framed its attitude to the various proposals contained in the Government memorandum on Industrial Relations which is to come up before the 17th session of the Indian Labour Conference. Among other decisions, the Council favoured the proposal to revive the Labour Appellate Tribunal and the procedure of secret ballot of workers concerned for determining the bargaining status of unions. The President and General Secretary were nominated to represent the HMS at the Indian Labour Conference.

The President reported to the Council the understanding reached with the UTUC to strive for closer collaboration between the UTUC and the HMS. The Council welcomed this development.

The Council also passed resolutions on Wages, Unemployment, the West Bengal Government's action against the West Bengal unions for some unions of its employees, among other subjects.

Employment Situation

Following is the text of the resolution on Employment:

"The General Council of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha views with grave concern the failure of the Government to implement the Second Five-Year Plan in a manner which would fulfill the accepted target of creating ten million additional job opportunities. The Council notes the conclusion reached by a recent study of five major industries, that emphasis on capital intensive schemes has led to the ratio of capital being significantly increased in relation to labour employed out of all proportion to the resultant productivity, and is deeply apprehensive that this tendency is likely to persist, unless determined and positive steps are taken to correct it.

"The right to work being basic to the enjoyment of all fundamental rights, as it connotes the right to live is being progressively denied to the vast mass of new entrants to the labour market as well as to those already employed in units, which because of unrestricted dividends-distribution and reckless mismanagement are being closed down. The vast army of unemployed has a depressing effect on the level of wages of even those employed, negating thereby an equitable distribution of the national income.

Third Plan Basis

"The Council calls upon the Government to take steps to arrest unemployment, and compel consolidation of uneconomic units, long before they result in closures, and to expropriate without compensation industrial units which close down due to mismanagement and run them as State enterprises, or assist their being run as co-operatives of the workers.

"The Council notes with concern that the tentative targets for the Third Plan being considered by those in power pre-suppose the volume of unemployment (excluding under-employment) at the end of the Third Plan being seven million.

"This meeting urges that when framing the Third Plan the central objective of providing for full employment should underly all its facets. Economic planning, after all, is the optimum utilisation of available resources. Any plan which fails to tap the vast resources of under-utilised or under-utilised manpower in the country, and engender its enthusiasm in the task of nation-building will undoubtedly fail to elicit the co-operation of labour in factory and field."

Wage Policy

The resolution on Wages said:

"The General Council of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha notes the growing resentment regarding what appears to be the dilatory strategy of the Government to postpone giving effect to the Wage Policy enunciated in the Second Five-Year Plan, on the basis of which labour's co-operation in implementing it was sought to be elicited. Whereas the Second Plan has promised a rising level of real wages, the Council states emphatically that real wages have steeply fallen particularly for the skilled and clerical categories in the organised industries, even from the poverty levels prescribed by..."
tribunals and the Pay Commission in the immediate post-war years, in as much as dearness allowance rates in no industry provided for full neutralisation of the sharp and persistent rise in prices, since the last war.

"The Council bearing in mind the unanimous resolution adopted by the 15th session of the Indian Labour Conference which sought to give a detailed and concrete connotation to the concept of subsistence wages, and the hopes that were engendered thereby and by the appointment of Wage Boards for some industries and the Second Pay Commission, is deeply conscious of the growing frustration over the long delay of two or three years in implementing the said unanimously adopted Wages Policy.

General Frustration

"This frustration is being deepened by failure of the Government to arrest, as promised, the rise in prices through genuine full-blooded State trading in foodgrains, and by the propaganda for the imposition of a wage-freeze, despite the persistent tendency for a continuing fall in the value of the rupee, rendered inevitable, because of the ever-increasing doses of deficit financing and of the Government's bankruptcy in the matter of production and distribution of foodgrains.

"In the unorganised industries the meagre minimum wages fixed by law have not been reviewed for a long time, despite the rise in prices. In the field of agriculture, though more than ten years have been passed since the Minimum Wages Act has been put on the Statute Book, no such wages have been prescribed for the vast mass of landless agricultural labour.

"Though the Second Plan held out the hope that steps would be taken to abolish contract labour, the evil persists and is being extended, even in the organised industries, where low and discriminatory rates of wages are being paid to labour employed through contractors.

Council's Demands

"The Council:
(1) calls on the workers in the industries where wage boards have been appointed to intensify their agitation for the early publication of the decisions of the Wage Boards or at least for interim awards.

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(2) Urges on the Government (a) to bring in legislation to legally enforce the decisions of the Wage-Boards, bearing in mind its inability to compel the Sugar magnates to implement the interim award of the Sugar Wage Board (b) to issue directives to all wage fixing authorities to implement the resolution on wages adopted by the 15th session of the Indian Labour Conference (c) to take legislative measures requiring contractors to pay labour the wage applicable to permanent workers in the concerned industry, and pinning the responsibility for the payment of such wages on the principal employers. (d) to review the wages prescribed under the Minimum Wages Act, in the light of the present day cost of living, and with a view to remove the anomalous and discriminatory rates prescribed for the same category of workers in same area. (e) to prescribe minimum wages for agricultural labour along with incentive bonus for increased production.

(3) Advises all its affiliates to marshal the organised strength of labour for an immediate restoration of the fallen standard of living, and for the enhancement of wages commensurate with the increased productivity of their toil.

Efficiency Code
The resolution on Code of Efficiency stated:

"The Council further feels that when the benefits of increased productivity of the recent years have not been shared with the workers, proposed Code of Efficiency only accentuates the inequitable treatment of workers in the task of building up national economy. While the Hind Mazdoor Sabha is aware of the need and advantages of increased productivity, nevertheless, in the absence of the following essential pre-requisites:

1. The climate of industrial relations changed by negotiating and deciding in good faith with the democratically chosen collective bargaining agents of the workers;
2. The implementation of fair wage policy adopted by the 15th Indian Labour Conference;
3. The fair and honest implementation of the Code of Discipline and the Code of Rationalisation;
4. The equitable distribution of the increase in national income and productivity of labour under the two five year plans; And,
5. Adoption of policies of increased employment;
the General Council is opposed to the consideration of the Code of Efficiency at this time and in the present form."

W. Bengal Staff
The resolution of West Bengal Government Servants said:

"The provision in the Service Conduct Rules of the Government of West Bengal that no person who is not a Government employee can be a member of a trade union of Government employees is a restriction on the free exercise of trade-union rights provided for in the Constitution. It also goes against the Trade Union Act of 1926 which provides for inclusion of non-employees as members of a trade union.

"But the recent action of the Government of West Bengal in withdrawing recognition of West Bengal State Government Employees' Union which has been enjoying the same for more than twenty years on the plea that a member of the assembly who is not a Congressman has addressed the annual meeting of the Union does not only reveal the innate hostility of the West Bengal Government to trade union movement as such but appears to be vindictive.

"This meeting therefore demands that the order of the Government cancelling the recognition be withdrawn forthwith. It further hopes that Government employees will not be intimidated of these Governmental measures but will continue their fight for trade-union rights courageously as before."

CLASSIFICATION of individual workmen into categories is an exclusive function of the management and it cannot form subject matter of an industrial dispute, according to the Government of Bombay.

The Labour Department of the Government of Bombay, ever since Shri Shantilal Shah assumed the office of the Labour Minister, has earned a reputation for evolving novel theories on industrial relations, mostly anti-labour and invariably affecting the interests of workmen, particularly those represented by unions not affiliated to the INTUC. The above latest flat is contained in the order rejecting reference to the Industrial Tribunal of an industrial dispute concerning cases of wrong classification of workmen in the Acme Engineering Company belonging to the Walchand Group.

The workers contend that the employers have classified certain workmen without reference to the work done by each with the purpose of depriving them of the benefits of the newly created wage scales.

The Engineering Mazdoor Sabha, Bombay, which represents the workmen concerned, complains that the Government order places an unwarranted restriction on the province of collective bargaining and industrial arbitration and that it is also discriminatory inasmuch as several disputes of workmen represented by the INTUC Trade Unions on the issue of classification of individual workmen have so far been referred by the Government of Bombay to Industrial Tribunals for adjudication.

(Continued from page 3)
standable concern that has perhaps prompted a real socialist like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan to associate his name with the Swatantra Party. Somewhere India will have to work out a compromise between the sanctity of the individual's liberties and the exigencies of large-scale planning. This synthesis of Gandhism and Marxism will considerably be influenced by the programme which the new party evolves for itself, besides the wisdom of the ruling party. However, if class or sectional interests are made subservient to ideologies, as happens in the case of many a party, the Swatantra Party will have only succeeded in confounding the common man to the detriment of the entire nation.

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UNCONVENTIONAL EMPLOYMENT

While speaking before Central Employment Committee the Union Labour Minister, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda has referred to the desirability of exploring unconventional forms of employment to deal with the employment problem. It was not clear at that time what was exactly meant by unconventional employment. Recently, however, reports have appeared in the press that throw some light on what is meant. It is reported that the Planning Commission is considering a paper submitted by the Union Labour Ministry in which a plea has been made to explore the possibilities of employing labour at wages lower than the prevailing rate to relieve unemployment without exerting undue pressure on our resources.

This is a rather dangerous concept of unconventional employment. It would raise a host of questions which it would be difficult to answer. Assuming that a man seeks employment what criterion will be used to decide whether he should be given employment with full wages as is normally done or should be given employment in unconventional form with a view to relieve his hardships and at rates lower than the prevailing rate. The only possible way in which this can be done is to declare certain employments as unconventional. In that case the question will arise as to who will decide whether a person should be put on the conventional job or the unconventional one. Or, it may be so arranged that the conventional jobs are filled first and then the remaining personnel should be employed on unconventional ones. But even this alternative would not work in practice. Because jobs fall continuously vacant and at no stage can it be said with certainty that the conventional jobs have all been filled up.

If such course is adopted the problem of keeping wage rates even at the existing unsatisfactory levels would be extremely difficult. If jobs exist that carry lower emoluments there will be a tendency on the part of the employers to depress wage levels under one pretext or another. Especially in consumers' goods industries there are always periods of slackness and periods of brisk activity. It would not be difficult for the employer to close the concern under some pretext during slack season, declare the concern as uneconomical and employ workers at lower rates.

The readiness on the part of the workers in some textile units to work at lower rates till such time as the units are rehabilitated should not be taken as an acceptance by the labour movement of such practices in a general way. The units concerned were rendered uneconomical because of the mismanagement and the workers are hoping that within a short period they will be in a position to get their full wages. If this hope is belied there will be difficulties even in this concern. Such an arrangement can only last for a limited period to tide over an emergent situation. They cannot be copied in all cases and should not be made into a new category of employment.
There are many other possibilities which can be explored under the concept of unconventional employment. They include starting industries in rural areas with the help of the Government in which the Government may have a definite say and a definite interest. The industries so started may otherwise be on self-employment basis where the persons engaged may take reasonable risks and be assured of reasonable returns. Village panchayats may be encouraged to start new lines in their respective areas and they may be helped liberally with credit, technical know-how and market intelligence. Capital-intensive industries may be converted into labour-intensive industries without loss of efficiency and quality.

All this requires a tremendous organisation and it is here that a lot of thinking needs to be done. The Planning Commission would do well to explore these possibilities rather than entertain schemes which may create more problems than they are expected to solve.

NOTES AND COMMENT

West Bengal Lesson

The West Bengal Government has announced the suspension of the levy order imposed on rice mills last year and also the price control order in respect of paddy and rice which came into existence on January 1, this year. In a long Press statement, the Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy, explained that the suspension of these measures had become necessary because “it has not been possible to sustain the price level fixed by the Government and the efforts to enforce price control have not been successful, resulting in stocks going underground”. He also stated that the quantity procured through the levy system had of late dwindled to a very low figure.

This admission on the part of the West Bengal Government of the failure of their price policy raises many issues that are of nation-wide importance. Dr. Roy says in his statement that State trading required for its success the establishment of a widespread machinery which his Government did not possess. The absence of such a machinery is not peculiar to West Bengal. There are many other States where the situation is equally deplorable. A fairly long period has elapsed since the National Development Council decided to socialise wholesale trading in foodgrains. But this decision has only remained on paper. Because of the lack of administrative machinery and perhaps of the still more serious lack of determination to push the policy through the only effect which the decision of the N.D.C. has produced is to estrange the wholesale traders in the foodgrains markets and thereby has created a vacuum which the Government has not the capacity, nor perhaps the intention to fill.

At the recent Congress Seminar in Ootacamund brave words were uttered regarding the Congress food policy during the Third Plan. This policy, we were told, will be based on controls, buffer stocks, fair-price shops and State trading. The West Bengal debacle, however, shows that mere expressions of pious wishes and enunciation of sound principles will not carry the country very far. In fact, it might worsen the situation by generating a sense of insecurity and resentment among the section of the people till now controlling our markets.

It is commonly admitted now that the success of the Third Plan is intimately bound up with a sound food policy. What is more important is that this policy should be implemented. For this purpose, an adequate administrative machinery is required. What the country, therefore, wants to know from the Government is the concrete steps which the Government proposes to take in order to implement the Ootacamund decisions. This machinery will have to be set up during a definite period. The country will not look kindly on any plan which may be grandiose in conception but halting and timid in implementation. And the people will judge the determination, or otherwise, of the Government in seriously tackling the problems of the implementation only through reliable statistics on the administrative units already set up to implement the policy.

There are already comments in the Press to the effect that the best way to tackle the food policy is to revert to the Kidwai era when the direct controls on food production and trade were brought down to the minimum. This way lies the danger to the whole food policy of the Government as enunciated in the N.D.C. Resolutions and the Nagpur programme.

Resurgent Africa

It is reported that more than 200 Africans have died in outbreaks of violence throughout Africa in the first six months of the year and hundreds more have been injured and many imprisoned. These figures testify widespread unrest all over Africa, which is now considered as the most important continent of the world as far as the vast social, political and economic changes are concerned. It is now clear that the White settlers in Africa and some of their Asian camp followers were not able to keep the Africans in chains. Some areas of the continent like Ghana have already become independent and this has fired the imagination of and generated hopes in all the African hearts to live and work as free human beings. The vast disparity between the standard of living of the white settlers in Africa and the Africans has sharpened the economic awareness of the people in Africa and such gatherings

(Continued on page 8)
Friedrich Adler—Architect of the Socialist International

FRIEDRICH ADLER, whose eightieth birthday on July 9th will be celebrated throughout the socialist world, is one of the few survivors of the generation of great Socialists who embodied the tradition of the Second International. He was the architect of the Labour and Socialist International, which had to be rebuilt on the ruins of the Second International, and he served it as its Secretary for seventeen years. He is, above all, remembered as one of the martyrs of the idea of socialist internationalism; in his struggle to uphold that idea in its purity when an upsurge of nationalism threatened to submerge it, he fearlessly challenged the certainty of death on the gallows.

Adler's assassination of the Prime Minister of the Habsburg Monarchy, Count Sturkh, in October 1916, and the trial that followed his action, was indeed the most dramatic episode in his long and eventful life. He did it, as he explained in a memorable speech at his trial, not only in order to protest both against the system of despotism and brutal oppression that Sturkh had inflicted upon the Austrian people, and the war with its nameless misery to live under which they had to be reborn on the ruins of the Second International, and he served it as its Secretary for seventeen years. He is, above all, remembered as one of the martyrs of the idea of socialist internationalism; in his struggle to uphold that idea in its purity when an upsurge of nationalism threatened to submerge it, he fearlessly challenged the certainty of death on the gallows.

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An Essential Element

To Adler the idea of socialist internationalism was an essential element of the conception of Socialism, and in the International he saw its symbol and the indispensable instrument for its realisation. The collapse of the International at the beginning of the war was to him, as it was to Keir Hardie and Karl Liebknecht, a great tragedy. It was to him a personal tragedy, too, because he felt that he had to oppose his Party, which he loved and whose leader, who was his father, to whom he was attached by a deep affection no less than by a profound respect. He tried to persuade the Party, but he remained a lonely figure in his struggle; its rank and files appeared to be paralysed by sympathy. Thus he decided to set an example of heroic resistance. The method which he, however, chose was strange, because it was alien to the attitude of social democracy which he wholly shared—the rejection of the method of individual terrorist action—and because it was beyond his very nature, for he is the gentlest of men. But under the circumstances he had to act during the war, when the people were oppressed and wholesale slaughter was lauded as a high virtue, he considered the use of force justified.

The response of the rank and file of the Party to his speech at the trial was tremendous. It conquered the hearts of the Austrian workers, far from it there emerged a great character, the figure of a man of utter selflessness, passionately devoted to the pure idea of socialist internationalism. The speech in fact determined the moral standard of the Austrian socialist movement for the next decade, until it was drowned in a sea of blood by Fascism.

Adler was sentenced to death by hanging. But in face of the workers' militant spirit that his speech had aroused the Government did not dare to execute the sentence; it was commuted to eighteen years hard labour.

When Adler Left Prison

When Adler left prison, the Communists invited him to take over the leadership of their Party, to be formed shortly. He, of course, rejected the suggestion to desert the cause of democratic Socialism. He indeed fought unrelentingly the Communists who, in fact, had twice attempted to seize power by armed insurrections in 1919, and it was to no small degree due to Adler's power of persuasion and the overwhelming popularity he enjoyed among the workers that the Communist flood was stemmed and the young Republic saved from the disaster that befell Soviet Hungary.

Life's Work in Ruins

But Adler's chief preoccupation after the War remained the International. The Second International was destroyed, its main parties split, and Lenin hastened to form a Communist International. Adler believed for a time that it might perhaps still be possible to re-unite the Labour movements and to revive an all-embracing International. Supported by a number of socialist parties he was instrumental in forming a left-wing International, designed to bring about the unification of the socialist forces. The attempt, of course, failed, for Lenin was out to destroy social democracy altogether. Thus, Adler assisted in the reunification of the parties of democratic Socialism. At their Congress in Hamburg in May 1923, the International under the name "Labour and Socialist International" was re-instituted, and he was unanimously elected its Secretary.

He held office in the most trying time in the history of the International. Democratic Socialism was savagely attacked by Communism and Fascism alike, and one country after the other fell victim to the fascist conquest, destroying there the member parties of the International. At the eve of the Second Empire the whole fabric of society had collapsed. The administrative machinery of the State and its industrial life had come to a standstill. There was vast unemployment, starvation and inflation. The neighbouring Hungary had turned Communist, and also to the Austrian workers the idea of a Communist dictatorship appeared to be the final message of hope to end the misery under which they had to live.

When Adler left prison, the Communists invited him to take over the leadership of their Party, to be formed shortly. He, of course, rejected the suggestion to desert the cause of democratic Socialism. He indeed fought unrelentingly the Communists who, in fact, had twice attempted to seize power by armed insurrections in 1919, and it was to no small degree due to Adler's power of persuasion and the overwhelming popularity he enjoyed among the workers that the Communist flood was stemmed and the young Republic saved from the disaster that befell Soviet Hungary.
World War it was already merely a rump. When Hitler conquered the rest of the European continent during the war, it ceased to function and virtually dissolved.

Adler escaped from the deluge which overcame Europe to America. There he devoted his labour to the rescue of socialist refugees stranded in the South of France. He saw his life’s work in ruins, many of his friends in the movement killed by the Nazis, his hopes bitterly disappointed. And yet his belief in the certainty of the ultimate triumph of Socialism remained unshaken even in the darkest hours of defeat.

Broken in health, he returned to Europe after the war and settled in Zurich. He felt that he could play no more an active part in the movement which had to struggle under conditions so different from those he had known. He resigned to the study of its history. He published a big volume of his father’s correspondence with August Bebel and Karl Kautsky, one of the most valuable sources for the history of the German and Austrian socialist parties.

**Started as an Academician**

By his intellectual inclinations Friedrich Adler was a scholar and a physicist by his studies. He started actually his career as a lecturer in physics at the Zurich University, wrote a number of books on problems of physics and even in prison a book on some aspects of Einstein’s theory of relativity. But he saw in Socialism the real purpose of his life. He declined an academic career offered to him by the Senate of the Zurich University—he proposed Einstein in his stead—and joined the editorial staff of the Zurich “Volksrecht” to which he had contributed since the paper was founded in 1898. A few years later, in 1911, he moved to Vienna where he became the Joint Secretary of the Austrian Socialist Party.

Adler is an uncompromising figure. At his trial he told the court how profoundly impressed and moved he was still at the secondary school by “the holy word of the Scripture that the gravest sin, for which there is no forgiveness, is the sin against the spirit”, and he added: “Everything I did during the war, from the beginning up to its end, was an expression of my revolt against this sin”. This spirit, it might truly be said in a survey of his life’s activities and endeavours, always guided him. Thus even when he erred, as he undoubtedly sometimes did, he was erring on the noble side.

Friedrich Adler had deserved well of our cause and had gained the respect throughout the International as a moral force. The event of his eightieth birthday is a welcome opportunity to express the gratitude for his devotion to the services of the world movement of socialism.
Peking's Claim Over Lhasa Untenable

IN 1951 People's China signed a treaty with Tibet. This 17-article agreement provided, in substance, the following among other things:

(i) Acceptance of a limitation on any claim to unqualified sovereignty by China vis-a-vis Tibet.
(ii) Autonomous status of Tibet.
(iii) Reciprocity of the rights and obligations of the contracting parties, viz., China and Tibet.
(iv) Special status of Tibet functioning as an autonomous entity, enjoying special rights as distinct from the other territorial districts forming part of China proper, and enjoyment of certain special rights by the Peking Government over Tibet and fulfillment of its special obligation towards Tibet in ensuring the enjoyment of the special autonomy by the latter.

The Chinese Government, it is clear from the treaty, being conscious of its limited and super-imposed overlordship over Tibet, deliberately chose to interpret its rights vis-a-vis Tibet in terms of suzerainty and not sovereignty.

The very conclusion of a treaty (the Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 1951) suggests, other things apart, the power of the authority at Lhasa to enter into treaties and/or agreements with another sovereign State. It is evidence of the enjoyment of sovereignty by Tibet; for, it is well-known that it is sovereign or semi-sovereign States alone that have treaty-making power. The conclusion of a treaty, by necessary implication, no doubt limits the extent of sovereignty of the contracting parties. But it cannot be a one-way traffic. The rights and obligations of the contracting parties are reciprocal.

Treaty Repudiated

Thus the claim of sovereignty of China over Tibet after the Dalai Lama Government had claimed Peking with violation of the 1951 Agreement is clearly unsustainable. What, therefore, follows from such repudiation of the 1951 Treaty is a resumption of the status of the old contracting parties—China on the one hand and Tibet on the other— as it stood prior to the conclusion of the Agreement (following the Chinese invasion). And the Peking Government has no legal authority in international law whatsoever to super-impose a new Preparatory Committee, with the Panchen Lama as its head, and dismiss the old Government led by the Dalai Lama.

If Tibet had really been exclusively China's affair, being a "region of China", then what was the necessity for concluding a treaty with Tibet and incorporate therein so many clauses, particularly the autonomy clause, which is incompatible with the Chinese claim of sovereignty? China's relations with her other regions and provinces are not surely based upon such treaty considerations. In a federal democratic republic the component units are autonomous; there is voluntary and spontaneous union of the component units of the Federation; but then there is nothing in their municipal law which will require signing of special treaties and agreements between the acceding provinces on one hand and the centre on the other.

Basis of Chinese Claim

Sovereignty over Tibet could be claimed by Peking only if China's title to the territory of Tibet could be established on grounds recognized under international law, viz., occupation by conquest, accession, or prescriptive acquisition. It is not China's case that Tibet acceded to the territory of China as a "region of China" by virtue of any Instrument of Accession. China has to base her claim, therefore, on either of the other two grounds, viz., (a) occupation, (b) prescriptive acquisition.

In the Twentieth Century—which is a century of recognition of socialist values and principles—nothing would be more unjust and anachronistic than to claim a territory inhabited by a people who constitute a distinct linguistic and cultural entity by virtue of occupation or conquest. This will be termed now a clear case of annexation by arbitration of force.

Also, can Peking say that the relation between China and Tibet is one of complete subjection of the latter by the former? Assertion of a claim of domination and subordination strikes at the root of any claim of having treated the territory of Tibet historically as part and parcel of China. It shows, however, that Communist China, supposedly founded on high Marxist principles of state-craft and "Socialist legality", wants to uphold her rights in Tibet on the ground of conquest by force.

War-time Examples

During the last war, Luxembourg was declared part of Germany; Yugoslavia was divided; Crotia was set up as a separate kingdom, with a portion being ceded to Italy; part of Greece was awarded to Bulgaria; Rumania was forced to abandon Transylvania to Hungary; part of Poland was annexed; even part of Russia was declared annexed; Japan treated Burma, Philippines and the East Indies as dependencies; and Germany and Italy treated their military occupations during the war as conquests. But, the world would not recognize any of these as acceptable under international law by itself.

Till the 1911 Revolution, China was a sort of a "hyper-colony"—a colony for all the major colonial Powers. Anglo-French and American interference during the days of the Manchus and in the wake of the Taiping Rebellion to the growing humiliation of China are well-known to the students of history. In the later 1890's Czarist Russia gained railway-building rights in Manchuria and Dairen and stationed her troops all along the railway lines. England seized a naval base at Weihaiwei, France did not lag behind. Japan declared Fukien Province as her "sphere of influence", it is also well-known that the first student agitation in China grew as a protest against the award of Shantung to Japan at Versailles. At the end of the last war, the Soviet Red Army was in Manchuria. Democratic world public opinion has not approved these wrongs of history; if so how can it acquiesce in the Chinese claim in Tibet now?

India, by renouncing her rights in Tibet, secured, to her by the erstwhile British Government, had not
only done the right thing but set up a unique example before the world. She could only hope that China, who fought colonial Powers through the centuries, would also act in good faith and not interfere with Tibet.

Some people may complain that India should have insisted on the incorporation of an "autonomy" clause in the 1954 agreement with China. It would have no doubt been better if the clause had been inserted in the agreement. But under international customary law there are certain implied legal obligations even without such a clause. The fact remains that the question of Tibet's autonomy was one of the main principles involved in the agreement. Prime Minister Nehru has categorically stated before the Lok Sabha, as also in his Press conferences, that the Prime Minister of China assured him that Tibet's autonomy would be respected and China would not force communism on Tibet. This statement has neither been contradicted so far by Mr. Chou En-lai. In view of the basic understanding reached between the parties, the parties need not have insisted for express incorporation of such a clause. Moreover, the principle of good faith is also an accepted principle of international customary law recognised by civilised nations.

**Right of Occupation**

A right of occupation (of a foreign territory) does not necessarily clothe the occupying country with sovereignty. The military occupation of a territory is always limited by and is subject to the higher right inherent in the people of the occupied territory to demand and fight for freedom from the foreign tutelege and freedom to fashion their own destiny. To put it differently, the right of occupancy being based upon sheer brute force and not the willing acquiescence of the people inhabiting the occupied territory, concurrence in the scheme of superimposed administration flows from the unjust determination of the occupying country not to treat the occupied country on a footing of equality and reciprocity.

The question boils down to this. Is the resistance to foreign rule strong enough to challenge attention and compel the ruling overlords to come to terms and quit the soil? There is thus a perpetual struggle for supremacy between these two opposing trends—the conquerors trying to put down the indefeasible right for self-determination and freedom and the freedom fighters trying to repulse the reigning overlords. The history of the rise, expansion and decline of imperialism is in a large measure the history of comparative strength of democratic nationalist forces in the subjugated territories. It is nationalism which has crushed the mightiest of imperial powers and restored the moribund subjugated countries, vassal States, protectorates, etc., to positions of honour and dignity as international personalities.

**Pancha Sheel**

The five basic principles of international relations emphasised persistently by Prime Minister Nehru and faithfully adhered to by the Government of India are the mould for the new international society which is to come. Pancha Sheel is a limitation on unrestricted State sovereignty on the one hand and a guarantee to the smaller nations or subjugated colonies as it recognises their inalienable right to be free and sovereign. Furthermore, it seeks to create and sustain a new climate surcharged with a new enlightened consciousness wherein opposition to any act of suppression of any nationalist upheaval becomes an obligation of the States adhering to the principles of Pancha Sheel.

**Prescriptive Acquisition**

"International proletarianism" must not be constructed on a denial of the principles of liberty, sovereignty and equality of other States, particularly neighbouring weaker States. If the Communists are sincere in their avowal of the ideal of international proletarianism in the sense in which Karl Marx meant it then they must realise that Communist China must not any longer indulge in the "big nation Chauvinism" and try to extend the theory of unrestricted sovereignty to absurd extents.

Authorities on international law have laid down certain tests for determining when territorial sovereignty can be rested upon prescriptive acquisition of territory. In the 'fifties of the 20th Century stands totally stripped of its imperial glamour and romantic adventurism.
Judging by these, in order that China's alleged claim of possession of Tibetan territory (speaking historically) may ripen into a right, it has to be shown that (i) Peking exercised actual political power and control openly, peacefully and adequately and not surreptitiously, symbolically or constructively, as of right, in the contested and/or disputed region, and (ii) it exercised the same in peaceful and unbroken continuity.

The claim over Tibet as “a region of China” is not historically true, because the history of the two countries is full of invasions and counter-invasions. Moreover, since 1911 Tibet remained for all practical purposes independent till the Chinese invasion in 1950. Enjoyment of this independent status by Tibet extinguishes Chinese suzerainty, if any, over the former.

Suzerainty denotes relationship of superior and inferior between the sovereignty of the occupying force and the people inhabiting the occupied territory, a degree of control and actual exercise of power, the administrative control depending upon the respective strength, political-national awakening and the changing political conditions. In the medieval period, the word “suzerain” was used to signify the relation of the king as overlord to the holders of great fields. The word is of French origin and had its roots in the feudal economy. Its scope, nature and implications having never been accurately defined. The result is that it has for practical purposes amounted to a sort of legalisation of a status imposed by the imperialists on the point of sword upon the colonies whose importance and strength it could not completely ignore and trample down without rousing their national passions to its detriment.

Sovereignty Claim

Authorities in China ought also to remember in their moments of grace and poise that suzerainty and sovereignty are not interchangeable terms. Admittedly, the Chinese had all these years been talking of suzerainty and not sovereignty; but the attitude which Peking has now taken up seems to suggest their wilful attempt to convert the claim into one of sovereignty, pure and undiluted. It is time expansionists and imperialists all the world over were told that the word “suzerainty”

In this connection it has to be remembered, even assuming that China had suzerainty over Tibet, the former has undeniably crossed the unwritten but nevertheless formidable boundary between the powers of the suzerain and the right of autonomy of the vassal State, and violated the 1951 Sino-Tibetan Agreement. The elements of sovereignty are divided between the suzerain and the vassal State. And such violations not being venial, the authorities of the vassal State, viz., the Dalai Lama Government have every justification to take a serious view of the situation having regard to the jeopardy to which their culture and their basic religion, Buddhism, are exposed, and to treat the oppressive Treaty as null and void.

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Bluntschli, writing as far back as 1874, said: "History shows that vassal States tend to complete independence; this change, already worked out in Western Europe, is still working out in the Empires of Turkey and Japan."

(To be concluded)

(Continued from page 2)

as the All-African People's Congress in Ghana have helped in bringing this consciousness to a focus and giving it a direction.

At times the immediate cause of the disturbances in Africa seems to be obscure. In Africa, as elsewhere, the anti-social elements seem to dominate the scene in them. This impression, however, is gathered only from the reports emanating from White settler sources and is, therefore, to be accepted with caution. It is, however, certain that whatever be the immediate cause, the disturbances derive their main strength and support from the determination of the Africans to live honourable and prosperous lives as free citizens of Africa. This sentiment is appreciated and approved of by increasing number of progressive people all over the world. In spite of this, the task of the Africans is by no means easy. Entrenched imperialist forms will fight hard before they give up their dominant positions that mean so much to them in terms of wealth and prestige. The new imperialism of the Soviet Union is complicating matters still further and Africa is fast becoming a pawn in the cold war between the two power blocks. There is a widespread fear even among progressive people that a sudden ending of the colonial system in Africa would result in that area falling under the influence of world communism.

Such a fear, however, has proved to be false in the case of Asian countries and also in the countries of Africa that have become independent recently. There is no reason why the history should not repeat itself in the other parts of Africa also. In any case, there are greater dangers of the people of Africa falling under the Communist snare if kept under subjugation than if allowed to make their free choice as independent people.

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ON THE YOUTH FRONT

Communist Snare In Vienna Festival

FRANTIC efforts are being made in India to see that the national youth of this country participate in the Seventh Youth Festival to be held in Vienna next month. Short-circuiting the formation of an Indian Preparatory Committee, the communist front organisations met along with some others in a meeting on June 4 and decided to set up an Indian Co-ordination Committee with a representative of Bharat Sevak Samaj as the chairman.

In the name of ensuring effective and qualitative contribution, proper cultural and intellectual representation of the country, and responsible and disciplined behaviour of the Indian team, the newly-formed committee arrogated to itself the right to select and supervise the work of the participants. It also imposed, according to its first Information Letter dated June 12, a blanket ban on raising controversial questions at the Festival. The Letter says: "If any section in Vienna raises such issues, the Indians participating therein should keep themselves aloof from futile and scandalous disputes on principle."

The decisions taken at this meeting, with which the S.Y.S. (SP) and A.I.S.C. who have joined the committee, are also associated, include agreement with the aims of the world festival and non-association with the elements seeking to disrupt the Festival.

Red Character Hidden

By a resolution, the Committee welcomed the Festival which has been organised by the "International Preparatory Committee composed of various national and international youth and student organisations without any political and ideological distinctions." According to the understanding of the Committee, "these festivals are world assemblies of young persons of all races and nationalities of all shades of political thought and seek to create understanding and tolerance among the young people of the world and help thereby a peaceful development of world affairs."

There is a deliberate attempt to camouflage the communist character of the World Youth Festival and to pass it on as "an assembly of youth of all races and nationalities and of all shades of political opinion." All these pretensions could be dismissed easily and yet the S.Y.S. (S.P.) and Bharat Sevak Samaj have chosen to be gullible is a tragedy and a warning. If those who are supposed to be informed and ideologically committed could be deceived, the non-committed youth of the country is bound to fall an easy prey to the propaganda carried on in the name of the Indian Committee, specially when a representative of B.S.S. heads the committee.

It is reported that the Youth Congress which decided not to participate in the Festival on the plea that the youth organisations in the host country had boycotted the Festival, is being pressed to reconsider its decision.

The World Youth Festivals were brought into being on the initiative of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, an organisation which was set up in 1945 at a conference in London. Harold Lasky characterised the conference aptly when he said: "During the meeting it became clear that the conference was controlled by the communist youth, who so shaped and devised the programme and the standing orders that the strategical management lay almost entirely in the hands of the communists.

Why Vienna?

"It is therefore not surprising that the permanent organisation which was founded on the London Conference is to all events and purposes a corporation whose purpose is certainly to play variations on a communist theme."

Each successive Festival has been organised by the W. F. D. Y. and another communist front organisation, the I. S. F. The six previous ones have been held in Iron Curtain countries. It is only certain political realities that have now forced the sponsors to shift the venue to a non-communist country. The sponsors found that the danger of political contamination of the communist world by the non-communists was too great to be ignored if the festival was within the communist world. Again the restrictive regulations on travel to Eastern European countries will not apply to going to Vienna and hence the choice.

No one can object to the communist youth coming together under its own name and banner in a festival. It is the pretension of the Festival being broad-based that needs challenging and exposure. In many of the countries it is being done effectively. In Austria itself the youths and the students, excepting the handful of communists, have boycotted the Festival. The attitude of the Socialist Youth Organisation of Austria could very well become the model for all democratic youth organisations. In a letter to the Preparatory Committee the Austrian Youth Organisation said:

"The Socialist Youth of Austria has been invited personally and by letter by representatives of the World Federation of Democratic Youth to participate in the next WFDY Festival and in the preparations thereto.

"Pure Instrument of Propaganda"

"The Socialist Youth of Austria has in the past always refused to participate in meetings organised by the World Federation of Democratic Youth because this World Federation has appeared to be a pure instrument of the propaganda for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Socialist Youth of Austria will also in the future refuse to take part in such obviously camouflaged propaganda meetings of one Power Block. The Socialist Youth of Austria, however, acknowledges and propagates international discussions between the youth of all countries and supports all attempts to ban the threat of war. However, it does not consider propaganda meetings in favour of one Power Block to be right means of achieving this goal nor that the real problems can be hidden behind sporting events and folk-dancing.

"The Socialist Youth of Austria would be in agreement with an in-
International demonstration of youth which should courageously express the demands of young people in the whole world and which, amongst others, ought to promote the following slogans:

- Peace and relaxation by universal, simultaneous and complete disarmament.
- International Control of disarmament.
- Suspension of tests with atomic and hydrogen bombs in East and West.
- For the right of self-determination of people and against economic and political Colonialism.
- Freedom for peoples under the Fascist or Communist dictatorship.
- Solidarity with the fight for freedom of the Hungarians, Algerians and Youth of all countries who are fighting for their Independence.
- Freedom to exercise political rights for individuals and all democratic Parties.
- Freedom from want and suppression for all peoples. Release of political prisoners.
- Formation of free trade unions, incl. (Continued on page 12)

A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing
-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

SEEING IS BELIEVING: Shankar is obviously delighted with the gleaming white shirt that Sita has washed. And look at the pile of clothes, sheets and towels washed white and bright—all with such a little SUNLIGHT! SUNLIGHT's rich, abundant lather washes so thoroughly and draws out every scrap of dirt without any beating! Prove it for yourself—try it today!
ON THE PSP FRONT

Delhi Must Supersede West Bengal Food Administration

A PUBLIC meeting convened by the West Bengal Praja Socialist Party on June 20 last, in Calcutta, to mark the beginning of the week-long, State-wide food campaign unanimously passed a resolution urging the Central Government to take charge of the food administration of West Bengal immediately till the next harvest with a view to tiding over the present food crisis.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Chairman of the West Bengal Praja Socialist Party, presided over the meeting, which was addressed by Shri Deven Sen, M.L.A., Shri Sunil Das, M.L.A., Shrimati Lila Roy, Shri Sibnath Bannerjee and Shri Roy.

Addressing the gathering, Dr. Ghosh said that the West Bengal Government had completely failed to tackle and food situation in the State and there was no hope of its handling the situation properly in the near future also even if the Central Government gave more rice and wheat. To save the people of the State from this crisis their most modest demand was that the Central Government should without any delay take over the food administration from the West Bengal Government.

Supply Not Regular

Dr. Ghosh said that in the West Bengal Assembly when he asked Food Minister Shri Sen how long the price control order in rice and paddy would remain in force Shri Sen had categorically declared on the floor of the House that it would stay till the next harvest. But in practice people were experiencing otherwise. Shri Sen's assertion had completely failed. People were not getting rice at the controlled rates. The rice supplied through modified ration shops contained stone chips. With regard to the supply of atta, Dr. Ghosh said that it was also not regular.

Referring to the Food Minister's claim that 10 million people of the State were getting food from the modified ration shops, Dr. Ghosh asserted that the actual figure was much below. He also pointed out that there was a large number of 'ghost' ration cards.

Dr. Ghosh said that the Food Minister and Home Minister Shri Kalipada Mukherjee knew very well where rice and paddy had been hoarded. But their policy was not to unearth these hoarded stocks. Instead of taking action against the small-scale dealers if the Government detected the stocks of a limited number of big hoarders and jotedars there would have been no such crisis.

A few days earlier at a Press Conference in Calcutta, Dr. P. C. Ghosh had suggested that the Centre should take over the food administration of West Bengal till the next harvest. This, he believed, would bring more confidence in the minds of the people.

He did not support the call for a State-wide general strike on June 25 given by the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee on the food issue.

The food situation would further deteriorate in the coming months if proper steps were not taken from now on. But there was nothing to hope for from the West Bengal Government the food policy of which, he said, had "totally failed."

The High Level Talks

He failed to understand why the food position should be so bad despite the fact that the Central Government had been supplying foodgrains according to the State Government's demand. The monsoon months were ahead, when the situation was likely to be more serious. They could not, therefore, afford to take risk and leave the food administration in the hands of the State Government.

The Press reports on the current high level talks between the State Government and the Centre on the food situation clearly indicated that there was divergence of views. At this hour of crisis, Dr. Ghosh felt, this diarchy in food administration should end, and the Centre should step in and assume full responsibility.

Asked what made him think that the taking over of the State's Food Department by the Centre would lead to improvement of the distribution machinery, Dr. Ghosh said that he believed if the Centre put some honest and efficient officers at the top, things would improve.

No Support to Hartal

If his party did not support the call for a State-wide general strike on June 25 on the food issue it was because such a strike would hamper movement of food at a critical time. They believed that there was plenty of rice and wheat in the country, and it was the faulty distribution machinery which was responsible for the current difficulties.

CO-OPERATION NUMBER OF "JANATA"

The July 12 issue of "Janata" (and not the July 5 one as announced earlier) will be a Special Number on "Co-operative Farming"—which has given a new slant to land reforms. It will contain many articles by political leaders and eminent theoreticians.
Heroic Fight Against Kerala Reds

THE leader of the Orissa Praja Socialist Party, Shri Surendra Nath Dwivedi, M.P., at a Press conference, held on June 14 stated that the PSP advocated inclusion of extra-constitutional activities as one of the democratic methods where larger issues like Kerala were involved.

He said, “Our Constitution does not give any right to the people to seek remedy if their representatives whom they elect for five years fail to satisfy them and the party commanding majority in the legislature does not implement its election manifesto. If the difficulties of the people are increased they cannot be expected to wait for a period of five years till the next election. They have a right to exert necessary pressure on the Government to see that it is ousted from the power and fresh elections are held.”

Shri Dwivedi continued. “I do not want to discuss in detail the charges levelled against the Kerala Government, but there is one fact which is established by a judicial commission to the effect that about one lakh of rupees was purposely defalcated for party purposes. If the Communist Government behaved differently from the Congress Government and the Communist Party had asked the Minister concerned or the Ministry to resign on this oppression of the communist regime of Kerala was, passed.

The resolution urged the Central Government to intervene and also to order judicial inquiry into the police firings resorted to in Kerala.

The meeting also decided to hold rallies and demonstrations in various parts of the town and explain the real situation in Kerala to the people.

(Continued from page 10)

dependent of state and enterprise, including People’s Democracies and colonies.

Opening of frontiers for newspapers and books.

Against any kind of censorship on newspapers, books, films and radio.

Abolition of passports and visa-requirements in the whole world.

Abolition of all legal and administrative limitation for youth travel.

Right of youth in all countries to unite in democratic youth organizations.

Vocational training and jobs for all young people. Freedom to learn and to teach.

“In our opinion these demands express the decisive wishes and the yearning of the youth of the world.

“The Socialist Youth of Austria appeals to the Preparatory Committee for the Seventh Festival of the World Federation of Democratic Youth to take up the above-mentioned slogans and at the same time to refuse that any world Power controls or manages the International Meeting of Youth. The Socialist Youth of Austria would gladly participate in a Youth Demonstration furthering these aims and would also with enthusiasm offer its services and strength in making preparations for it.”

Let the S.Y.S. (SP), Bharat Sevak Samaj and other non-Communist organisations ponder over this reaction of the Socialist youth of Austria and consider whether any fruitful purpose will be served by their participation in the Festival, especially when they have already imposed a ban on controversies.

G. G. P.

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(Continued from page 10)
People’s Will vs. Kerala Reds

With the release of the resolution on Kerala by the Congress Parliamentary Board, we have now the reactions of all the parties involved in the Kerala movement. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has met and has advised the Kerala Government not to resign. The PSP National Executive has met and has advised the Kerala unit to intensify the struggle and be prepared even to resign from the legislature, if need be, after consulting other constituents of the Vimochn Samara Samiti that conducts the present struggle. The resolution adopted by the Congress Parliamentary Board is a bit vague on the exact course of action which the Congress High Command wants the K.P.C.C. to adopt. The resolution says, “it is a legitimate presumption that the Kerala Government now in no way represents the majority opinion of the State”, and in view of the critical situation that has arisen in Kerala the Board is of the view that “the democratic way of meeting the situation is to have general elections in the State” for the Assembly.

It is obvious that the Kerala Government is not likely to accept this advice or to accept the challenge involved therein. The question, therefore, arises what the K.P.C.C. should do under these circumstances. On this point, the resolution says what the Congressmen should not do in Kerala and only by implication does it say what it should do. The resolution advises that the boys and girls should be kept outside the arena of the conflict. The Board also disapproves of the attempt to “stop transport vehicles by farcible methods.” It further states that “while picketing as a method of political action is undesirable, occasions may arise when in order to give expression to public feeling some form of peaceful token picketing may be admissible.” It hurriedly adds, however, “such a method should normally not be used as it may lead to conflict and diversion of people’s mind into wrong channels.” It is only by implication that one may read in the resolution a permission to the K.P.C.C. to carry on the agitation, which must be peaceful both in action and in word. It will now depend upon the initiative of the K.P.C.C. to shell out the details of this agitation. The Congress leaders of Kerala, fortunately, are fully alive to their democratic responsibilities and one may expect a strengthening of the movement in course of time. The measures which the Kerala Government adopts to meet this challenge will be watched with interest not only in Kerala and in India but all over the world.
NOTES AND COMMENT

Restoring the Laissez-faire

SOME clarification is now available regarding the positive programme which the Swatantra Party wants to place before the country besides opposing the policies of State trading in foodgrains, of co-operative farming, of extending the public sector and of the one contained in the amendment to the Constitution clause regarding the taking over of the property after compensation is determined according to the amendment by Parliament. These positive aspects of their policy deal with relying on the market prices for production and distribution of wealth and the direction of resources, material and human. This is very interesting and needs to be debated in the country.

What exactly will be the implications of allowing market prices full play in our economy? Will it mean restoring of the laissez-faire economics as it was supposed to operate before 1920 in our country? After 1920 even the then Government of India had to modify the laissez-faire policy by accepting the policy of discriminating protection. Would the Swatantra Party like that policy to be revised? If not, what would be the criteria in terms of which the protection should be granted? Would the interest of the consumers be a legitimate consideration in determining whether the protection should be given or not? How is the consumer's interest to be safeguarded, if that is considered a legitimate consideration? Would it be permissible for the Government to regulate prices and quality of the goods so protected or not? If it is permissible, how is this to be implemented?

If, on the other hand, the policy is to be that of regulated economy, regulated in the interest of the community as a whole, what will be the objectives of such regulation? What will be bringing the economy back to a balance in case secular and cyclic disturbances throw it out of gear? Again, what will be the machinery that would bring back the balance? Will the credit and fiscal policies suffice? Or will something more be needed? Again, at what point is the regulation to stop and how?

Perhaps the idea is to allow the profit motive and self interest full play in the economy? How are, in such a case, industrial relations to be determined? Will these relations be governed by the process of collective bargaining alone? At what stage is the State expected to step in in case the situation is getting out of hand? Would it mean only the protection of property and maintenance of law and order or would the considerations of maintaining production and employment also be legitimate? Let the Swatantra Party spokesmen give concrete answers to these questions arising out of the increasing integration of the social and economic life and the possibility of the economy being controlled by a few people occupying strategic heights of the economy, and we will be in a position to have a clearer picture of what is good for the economy as a whole.

Oftentimes we are told that in the U.S. and U.K. economy we have a model which can be followed in order to ensure industrialisation without State regulation of the economy. In this connection, it is worth remembering that many competent authorities believe that Indian economy today is less regulated than the U.S. economy and there is a greater possibility for individual initiative and enterprise to have freer play in our country than in the advanced countries of the West. Let us examine the aspect of our economic policy also. If such a stimulating discussion is made possible by the challenge thrown by the formation of the Swatantra Party, it would have fully justified itself.

Nehru-Prasad Correspondence

A REPORT has appeared in a section of the Press regarding certain correspondence between President Prasad and Prime Minister Nehru dealing with some of the burning problems facing the country. This report is neither confirmed nor denied so far. This is rather strange. The President occupies the highest position under our Constitution. Besides that, he is a beloved national leader enjoying the respect of all the citizens irrespective of the position he occupies. If he has to say something regarding the policy followed by his Government, it would command the most respectful attention of every citizen of India.

If he has written anything to the Prime Minister, therefore, it must find the light of the day, if the President and the Prime Minister so choose, in a manner quite different from the one in which it has, in the present case. The full text of the correspondence should be officially published so that the people may know exactly what the President has to say. An unauthorised summary published in a section of the Press creates wrong impressions and in the present case suggests that there is a sharp difference of opinion between the President and his Prime Minister on important questions like the State trading in foodgrains, co-operative farming, rapid industrialisation of the country, etc.

If there is no truth in the report regarding the correspondence, that fact ought to have been brought to the notice of the public very quickly. Once an impression is created on the public mind, it is very difficult to eradicate it. If, on the other hand, there is some truth in the report but it was not the intention of the Government of India to publish the letters exchanged, it speaks very ill of the capacity of the Government even to guard properly such privileged documents.

In any case, the Government owes some explanation to the public. The earlier the situation is cleared the better it is for the prestige of the Government.

JOINT CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

The July 12 issue of JANATA will be devoted to the much-discussed subject of “Co-operative Farming”—which has given a new slant to the Land Reforms. It will contain articles by political leaders and eminent theoreticians.

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IN KERALA

"QUIT OFFICE"—The Only Demand

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party met in Coimbatore on June 25 and 26 last, particularly to consider the Kerala situation.

Following is the text of the resolution passed by the Executive, supporting the "Quit Office" direct action launched by the Opposition parties in the State:

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party is gravely concerned over the developments in Kerala State.

Normally the Executive would want to extend its good-will to any democratically elected Ministry, including the Communist Ministry in Kerala, who after the last General Elections had a unique opportunity to prove that their acceptance of the democratic ways of life was genuine. The Executive also cannot but recognise the seriousness of a Direct Action Movement directed to force an elected Government to resign from power, as such a move can be endorsed only in the last extremity and the circumstances surrounding such a movement have to be exceptionally grave.

The Executive, therefore, has given earnest consideration to the developments in Kerala which have resulted in an unprecedented upsurge of the people transcending sectional loyalties. In a democracy the Government elected to office holds public authority in trust and owes to the people freedom from oppression and terror, equal protection of rights and liberties and impartial administration of law and public affairs. A Government though elected can claim to be treated as democratic only if it functions in accordance with these accepted norms and modes of democracy.

Political Banditry

The Communist Government in Kerala have failed in the discharge of this responsibility. On the contrary they have deliberately sought to spread terror and it is no accident that over a score of political murders have been committed. The Government have granted amnesty to many culprits, have withdrawn cases against Party men accused of serious offences, transferred Magistrates who did not agree to such withdrawals and have sought to subordinate the Police to the Party machine.

It is characteristic of the Kerala Government that a person convicted of political murder and sentenced to death should have been released on parole, provided transport in the Police Minister's car and seated in the Speaker's gallery as if to mock at the proceedings in the Legislature.

The Communists have unhesitatingly used powers to build up not just the strength of their Party but the rule of the Party cadres as the organisation of the Cell Courts have testified and the continued partisan use of co-operatives shows. Various measures are devised to divert funds from the Exchequer by devious means to the coffers of the Party to maintain Party militants and to use employment as a means of subordinating workers to Party's command. Provisions of the Constitution are being used in Kerala to infiltrate into the administration with a view to undermine the Constitution itself, to disrupt the fabric of democracy and to erode the rights of the common citizen.

It is this disturbing experience, commonly shared, that has ranged all political parties, all communities and castes, all sections of the people, including the working class, all newspapers not operated by the ruling Party, against the Communist Government. If today there is a mass upsurge in Kerala that the Keralaites assert is a "liberation movement", it is because the people feel that the factors that are being forged round them, if not burst now cannot be broken in the future.

The Executive is aware of the fact that where specific grievances were concerned specific remedies have to be sought through strikes or satyagraha if need be. But in Kerala though there are many specific grievances they get dwarfed before the general disbelief in the Government and the revulsion it provokes. The purposeful weakening of the Rule of Law, the impossibility of redressing a grievance against a Communist militant, have made the people so restless that the only demand that evokes the people's heart-felt response is the resignation of the Ministry leading to a fresh verdict at the polls. It is significant that the Communist Government should be unwilling to face the people.

The Broken Promises

The twenty-six months of Communist rule in Kerala are strewn with broken promises. Whenever the popular agitation grew the State Government was ever ready with conciliatory gestures that were forgotten the next day. These tactics have wholly undermined the confidence of the people in the bonafides of the Government and no homilies on constitutionalism can unfortunately restore that faith. Those who have criticised this upsurge have done so without caring to study the phenomenon on the spot or to probe into its deeper causes. When as in Kerala a Government fails in its duty to the people, they become entitled to exercise their inalienable right to resist oppression and to have Government changed.

The Executive salutes the people of Kerala on their courage, on their ability to forge such a rare unanimity and it is confident that the Communist regime will be unseated by the determined will of the people. The Executive is happy to note the deep concern for non-violence that
actuates the people in their crusade for regaining their political freedoms and extends to them in their grim struggle its support and cooperation.

On the Tibetan Situation the National Executive resolved:

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party, which has already defined its attitude towards the question of Tibet, is greatly distressed at the news of large-scale massacre of Tibetan freedom fighters and the persistent efforts on the part of the Chinese Government to settle millions of Chinese in Tibet. The Communist Government is not only denying the autonomy of Tibet, agreed to earlier, but is striving to destroy the personality of Tibet and reducing the Tibetans to an ineffective minority in their own country.

The Executive feels that India can never 'condone,' nor remain a passive spectator, to efforts to reduce our ancient neighbour Tibet into a colony. The brave people of Tibet are entitled to receive full sympathy from India and other countries of Asia and Africa in their effort to preserve the personality of Tibet.

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VICTORY IN SWEDEN

A long struggle was brought to a successful end when on May 14 last, the Swedish Second Chamber, by a majority of one, voted for Labour's superannuation scheme. First a referendum, then a general election, have been fought on this issue. In the course of the struggle the trade unions backed the Social Democratic Party with unparalleled vigour; a government coalition was broken; the first Chamber voted for the Bill with an ample majority, followed by prolonged dramatic tension because of the uncertain outcome in the second Chamber.

The battle was won at last when one of the Liberals decided to abstain. A further conflict, which would have been increasingly bitter, was avoided.

The new law, which becomes operative on January 1, 1960, marks a step forward in social justice. Fair and adequate treatment will henceforth be given to all aged workers (including white-collar workers and public servants) and not only to the privileged groups already provided with superannuation schemes. On reaching the age of sixty-seven, a retired person will eventually, receive sixty-five percent of his average income during his 'best' earning years; in the case of earlier retirement the rate will be reduced. It is envisaged that production increases will cover the contributions which will be paid by the employers. Self-employed people can, but need not, join the scheme.

The British Labour Party, and other socialist parties who have written similar proposals into their programmes, will watch the Swedish pioneer venture with special interest.

FROM MANY LANDS

by
Mary Saran

First freely elected Government and promised 'support for a policy based on democratic and socialist principles'.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL

In Hamburg recently, when the Social Democratic women meet for their international conference, they will extend a special welcome to the eighteen delegates from Asia, who will be present for the first time. Since April they have been studying social and political conditions in Northern Europe at the invitation of the four Nordic Social Democratic women's movements, whose rank and file collected the necessary funds. This gesture of solidarity is the first inspired by the programme of extending contacts with overseas countries, to which the Women's International is pledged.

The Asian Socialist Parties helped in the selection of the delegates from Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and Japan. All these women carry responsibilities in their own countries' political and social life—besides looking after their (in some cases quite large) families.

JAPANESE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The Press inside and outside Japan has recently been more deprecatory than usual about the Japanese Social Democratic Party. Yet in April last the Party was able to increase its representation in the county assemblies to 562, a gain of 105 seats, while the ruling Conservatives suffered a loss of 155, obtaining 1,601 seats.

In June, in the elections to the upper House, the Social Democrats increased their representation by seven and, what is more important, the Right failed to win the two-thirds majority it has been aspiring to for so long.

A two-thirds majority is needed in order to revise the constitution so as to make rearmament possible.

ELECTION YEAR IN ISRAEL

As usual, the election of delegates to the Convention of Israel's Labour Federation (which took place in May) was considered a kind of curtain-raiser for the general election due in November. In fact, the main issue is the same: will the Labour Party (Mapai) remain in control? Mapai had every reason to rejoice at the outcome in May. For it retained an absolute majority (fifty-six per cent) in the 650,000-strong Labour Federation (Histadrut), even though its share of the vote fell by 1.7 per cent, due largely to the lower poll.

This is a real success considering that Mapai, as the ruling party, has had to take the blame for every failure and weakness, and for unpopular policies such as wage stabilization; considering, also, that many of the new immigrants have little or no political experience. Mapai's main rivals were the left-wing Mapam, which slightly increased its share of the votes, polling 13 per cent and the more nationalistic breakaway from Mapam, Ahduth Avodah, which polled 17 per cent, an increase of 2 per cent, probably due to gains from both the Right and the Communists. The latter lost almost half their support, reaching the low figure of 2.5 per cent, which is all the more significant since the Arabs, among whom they have the best chance of a successful appeal, voted for the first time as full members.

Unlike in the Histadrut elections, in the general election Mapai will face a powerful opposition from the Right. The question is whether this will be a strong enough incentive for Labour to close its ranks.
Chinese Heresy Of Marxism
In Tibet

by Kashikanta Maitra

The doctrine of suzerainty is not based upon any legal or constitutional theory, but upon some agreement brought about under force. It is not founded on a quid pro quo basis or on principle of mutuality. Suzerainty is only a sort of legalisation of the de facto situation brought about by compulsion. One fundamental limitation of it is, therefore, the right of the vassal State to self-determination, which is an essential incident of nationality.

The history of modern Europe is in a large measure, a vindication of the right of self-determination through the rise of nationalism and the decline of colonialism.

Judged in that background, the Tibetans, being a distinct ethnic, religious, cultural entity, are a "nation" and as such are entitled to fashion themselves their national destiny. It is difficult, if not impossible, to understand how the Communists could ignore this all-important fact and deny the Tibetans this fundamental right on flimsy pretexts.

Lenin recognised the validity of this right. Stalin, in his "Marxism and the National Question", which was highly spoken of by Lenin (under whose guidance in fact the thesis was written) has discussed the question in some details.

Judged by his tests there cannot be any shade of doubt that the Tibetans are a distinct nation, from which their right to determine their own future in their own way, untrampled by any fetters, automatically follows.

Cultural Autonomy

"Social democracy" Stalin said, "in all countries, therefore, proclaims the right of nations to self-determination, which means that only the nation itself has the right to determine its destiny, that no one has the right forcibly to interfere in the life of the nation, to destroy its schools and other institutions, to violate its habits and customs, to repress its language, or curtail its right. ..." The right of self-determination will therefore include and entail the right to enter into federal relations with other nations as also the right to complete secession.

Nations are sovereign and all nations are equal. Stalin did not support the views of Bauer (of the Austrian Social Democratic Party) or of Springer on the "cultural national autonomy" theory and he considered substitution of national cultural autonomy for self-determination as "absolutely unjustifiable" for two-fold reasons:

1. "that cultural national autonomy presupposes the integrity of the multi-national State whereas self-determination transgresses this integrity" and

2. "that self-determination endows a nation with sovereign rights whereas national autonomy endows it with only cultural rights."

Lenin also considered national cultural autonomy as distinct from the right of self-determination and its substitution as treason to socialism.

The Chinese Communists are doing in Tibet, with brutal ruthlessness, what Lenin and Stalin forbade them to do. They are destroying the schools, monasteries, national institutions, and their habits and customs and repressing their religion and language and curtailing their rights.

If the Tibetans being a "nation", demand independence and right of self-determination which necessarily implies the right of "secession", how could the Communists resist it and characterise their mass movement as "counter-revolutionary" and inspire by "imperialists", and even vilify the expression of sympathy for such a just cause by India?

Procrustean Attempt

Why should the Tibetans be forced to agree to fit themselves in the integral State structure of China? Theoretically, from Marxist Socialist point of view also it is reprehensible. Stalin posed the question: "What sort of 'solution' of the problem is it that mechanically squeezes nations into the Procrustean bed of an integral State?" This is one of questions which every right-thinking Indian sympathising with the Tibetan cause would ask the Chinese and their few Indian supporters.

Rising of Upper Strata People

It does not lie, too, in the mouth of the Chinese Communists (and their Indian sycophants) to denounce this gigantic Tibetan movement as being engineered by the counter-revolutionary upper strata people. Contrary to the fundamental teachings of Marx and Lenin, the Chinese Communists have to attribute then new revolutionary potentials and values to the most reactionary classes of their society, viz., the capitalists, landlords and other upper strata people. It is no use either saying that this uprising is the act of a minority of Tibetans. For, the friends of liberty are to begin with always in a minority. It is a minority that always has endeavoured to fly the flag of freedom and suffer martyrdom.

(Concluded)

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BOMBAY 23.
A NEWS item in the "Hindustan Times", dated June 27 last, refers to certain findings of the Department of Psychology, Lucknow University. Most of the students, the Department finds, detest politics; those who feel interested in politics refer to certain findings of the Department of Psychology, Lucknow University. Most of the students, the Department finds, detest politics; those who feel interested in politics refer to certain findings of the Department of Psychology, Lucknow University. Most of the students, the Department finds, detest politics; those who feel interested in politics refer to certain findings of the Department of Psychology, Lucknow University.

During the last few years, student life in Lucknow has been disturbed by all sorts of agitations. After the 1953 agitation for the defence of the local student union led by clear-headed socialist youth leaders like Shri C. B. Tripathi, the Socialists had gained immense popularity. Thereafter, however, the Communist front organisation, the Student Federation, in order to consolidate its position, adopted to all sort of adventurist policies. Strikes, hunger-strikes, abusive speeches and indecent slogans became bywords for the student movement and politics. Other groups, for fear of isolation and in the name of student unity, also joined these actions.

Even petty grievances were played up by fastings and demonstrations. The result was that good causes suffered for the absence of proper espousal.

Lesson of Elections

The election of the University Student Union in 1958, however, expressed in unmistakable terms the utter disgust with which the common student viewed these activities. An independent candidate, never associated with the "popular student struggle", won by a very large majority, defeating the leaders of the student struggles and mass actions.

Students cannot, nevertheless, be left with this negative attitude towards politics. For a number of reasons, unless healthy and constructive activity can be introduced in this field, the old pattern will re-emerge. Again, this negative attitude will weaken the urge for positive social action and cripple democracy.

Thus, there is need for a sort of politics which is based on basic values. The discussion and propagation of right political principles and the furtherance of knowledge that can help the young mind to develop a social consciousness, being aware of the tasks of social reconstruction and the obligations of citizenship, have to be popularised amongst students.

The Department of Psychology findings bear out this truth.

Students' attitude towards politics is generally formed by their own experience of it and the Lucknow findings bear out this truth.

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ON THE LABOUR FRONT

A Significant Decision In Industrial Relations.

The Award of Shri J. A. Bakshi, Industrial Tribunal, Bombay, in the industrial dispute between the Krishna Steel Industries Private Ltd., Bombay, and their workmen, was a landmark in the history of industrial arbitration, said Shri Bagaram Tulpule, addressing a Press Conference recently.

Shri Tulpule said: "There is substantial discrimination, inequity and injustice as between the treatment of strikes (by workmen) and that of lock-outs (by employers) at the hands of law and administration. In the case of strikes, apart from the scrupulous examination of the legal provisions and prosecutions for their slightest breaches, the Government, in effect, functions as a strike-breaking agency by giving protection to black-legs. One will, however, have to hunt through all the ancient dossiers of law courts to discover prosecution of an employer for an illegal lock-out; this Award has the distinction of having for the first time nailed the real culprit."

The dispute arose out of the unilateral withdrawal of a production-bonus scheme by the employers and its subsequent supercession by another, followed by a lock-out in the rolling mills alleging "go-slow" by workmen, and lay-off in other departments and thereafter the dismissal of two leading members of the Union. The Engineering Mazdoor Sabha, Bombay, representing the workmen, demanded restoration of the original production-bonus scheme, payment of full wages for the entire period of lock-out and lay-off, and reinstatement of the dismissed workmen.

Parties' Contentions

The workers contended before the Industrial Tribunal that the employers had introduced the production-bonus scheme in order to obtain high conversion prices from the Tariff Board by showing high labour cost of production and in order to claim higher quota of raw materials on the basis of high turnover. They claimed that since the 1956 scheme was established by mutual agreement and rescinded unilaterally, arbitrarily and in contravention of the accepted principles of collective bargaining, it should be restored.

The Company argued that the workers' union and workmen had in the past wrung concessions after concessions by adopting "coercive tactics" by resorting to strikes, threats of strikes and "go-slow", and that the 1956 scheme—"a result of these tactics"—was causing financial loss to the Company. The Union denied these allegations and prayed for a full enquiry into the conduct of the Union.

The Tribunal observed as follows in the Award: "The documentary evidence does not support the Company's allegation of coercive tactics by the Union or the workmen in the past after June 4, 1953, when an agreement was reached between the parties. According to this agreement the parties agreed that the then existing disputes should be settled by agreement and in case agreement could not be reached, a joint reference should be made under Section 10(2) of the Industrial Disputes Act. The documentary evidence shows that the Union has scrupulously carried out the terms of the agreement in letter and in spirit."

Referring to an earlier consent by the Union to lay-off and retrenchment, the Tribunal said: "This gesture on the part of the Union and the implementation of it by the workmen without protest shows the discipline of the workmen and the anxiety on the part of the Union to co-operate, and it is impossible to believe that with this attitude the Union or the workmen would be indulging in coercive tactics from 1953 to 1957."

Paucity of Funds

Rejecting the plea of financial conditions justifying revision of the 1956 scheme, the Tribunal observed, "These same financial circumstances did not deter the Company from introducing it, probably because it wanted maximum of raw materials and production during the year and show a larger wages bill to the Tariff Commission". The Tribunal noted that within one year of the introduction of the 1956 scheme, the Company made a profit of Rs. 7.58 lakhs and wiped out about 75 per cent of accumulated losses, and that the labour cost per ton of production was reduced in 1956 by about 25 per cent.

The Company did not produce any findings of the "time and motion" study claimed to have been made by it before revising the scheme, but claimed that the management had the inherent power to revise the production-bonus scheme. The Tribunal observed, "The Tribunal is called upon to give its blessings to a scheme evolved in haste and without any work study and allow a well-thought-out and proved scheme to be dropped on the only ground that as it was the creation of the management it could revise it at any time. The 1956 scheme was the result of an agreement and was not entirely the creation of the management. If the scheme is to be judged by results, the results are against the withdrawal of the scheme in favour of an untried and hastily conceived scheme."

In the result the Tribunal restored the 1956 scheme with effect from January 1, 1959.

Other Allegations

As regards the Company's allegation that the workers of the rolling mills had resorted to 'go-slow' and that the lock-out was a result thereof, the Union contended that the fall in production was due to shortage of raw materials. After examining the average production of the earlier months and the raw materials in hand with the Company during January and February, 1957, the Tribunal upheld the contention of the Union.

As regards the lay-off of the workmen in the other departments, the Company had admitted that there was no organic connection between the rolling mills and the other departments. The Tribunal observed that their lay-off smacked of an attempt to punish them for being sympathetic with the cause of other workmen and for being members of the same union. In the re-

(Continued on page 12)
First Sixteen Months of Red Rule in Kerala - I*

By Dr. K. B. Menon

The Communist Ministry was sworn in on April 3, 1957. The Communist Government promised to provide an efficient and honest administration, to associate the common people with the formulation and execution of the Government policies and to raise the material and cultural standards of the people of Kerala.

Though on coming to power in Kerala, Communist leaders declared that the Government would function within the framework of the Constitution, this assurance was not specifically given in the Politbureau's resolution on the subject. Indeed, the "New Age", in its editorial of March 24, 1957, made it clear that the Party had decided to accept office as an experiment and intended to show that the Constitution stood in need of revision in order to build socialism.

Though the Amritsar resolution of the Party (April 1958) stressed that for the time being the Party would follow the peaceful and constitutional way of socialism, this was only to lull public suspicion against the bona fides of the Party which had in November 1957 got instructions from the Moscow Conference of the Communist Parties to the effect that after seizing power the Communist Party should launch non-parliamentary mass struggle, overcome the resistance of the reactionary forces (i.e., Opposition parties) and create conditions for the peaceful realisation (i.e., when all Opposition has been eliminated) of socialist revolution.

The assumption of office by the Communists was viewed with considerable apprehension by large sections of society in Kerala. It was difficult for them to believe that the Communist would break with their traditions of violence. The very first act of the Communist Government served to increase this feeling of uneasiness. Government ordered the release of 34 persons who had been convicted in cases of murder and arson mostly in offences committed on police constables.

It also remitted sentences of 1,345 persons in celebration of its assumption of office. This wholesale jail delivery which freed many hardened criminals aroused widespread fear among the people regarding the bona fides of the Communist Government and its interest in the preservation of peace and order.

Subsequent developments showed that there was ample justification for these fears. On July 23, the Chief Minister enunciated the police policy of his Government, the broad principles of which were:

(1) The workers have the constitutional right to bargain and strike collectively and the police and magistrates will not interfere with the right.

(2) The workers constitute the people, their movement is therefore, a people's movement and hence any action against them would be “anti-people” in character.

(3) If a majority of workers went on strike the management would not be allowed to run its industry either by recruiting temporary hands or with the help of loyal followers backed by the authorities.

(4) Police will interfere only if the lives of owners and the members of their families are in danger.

This policy made a distinction between workers whose interests were to be wholly protected and owners who were denied the elementary right to carry on their trade or business. The right to strike was considered to be paramount and overriding and was to be safeguarded even to the detriment of other fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution such as, the right of the owner to move his property out of the factory or the right to work of other workers who did not wish to join the strike.

In effect, the policy restrained the police and magistrates from carrying out their normal functions to ensure the peace and safety of the citizen and deprived employers of the protection they were entitled to under the laws and legal codes of the Indian Union.

Red Unions Favoured

The inequities, implied as well as explicit, in the new labour policy would still have been tolerable, had the Government proceeded to apply it impartially and uniformly in the field of labour as a whole. But it was soon clear that this was not their intention. It was soon apparent that the only 'workers' to whose benefit this policy was applicable, were those belonging to theAITUC. While Communist unions and agitations were assured of the full benefits arising out of this policy, which in effect meant that they were free to use the full weight of their numbers in coercing employers, free from interference by the police, the same advantage was not available to non-Communist unions or agitations which did not have the blessings of the Communist party.

On the contrary, the full force of penal laws and preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Codes

*The series comprises a record compiled by Dr. Menon in support of his resolution in the Lok Sabha on Kerala.
were to be invoked against such unions or movements seeking redress of legitimate grievances. They were, in fact, to be crushed between the anvil of the law and the hammer of Communist intimidation. The mills of law, which ground sure against non-Communist peaceful agitations, came to a standstill when confronted by Communist breakers of the law. This invidious distinction was made in all aspects of public administration, in agitations in plantations, in industrial disputes, in the application of anti-eviction ordinance, in dealing with agitations against ill-conceived and unconstitutional measures and even in dealing with students' agitation.

The instructions of the Moscow Conference to "smash the resistance of the reactionary ("opposition forces")" by a non-parliamentary struggle were being carried out to the letter by the Communist Government of Kerala which used its party machinery to intimidate the opposition and remove all obstacles from its path leading to the establishment of a dictatorship.

Unpopular policies adopted by the Communist Government in Kerala evoked protests from several quarters and made the Party more determined to crush the Opposition. The policy of the State Government which denied to the public the services of the police when the interests of the Party or its following were at stake, the insidious policy of discrimination between non-Communists and Communists, the planned and systematic attack on sections of the community who dared to oppose the measures introduced by the Party led to a wave of protests. The other political parties decided to take up the challenge and to stop the mischievous attempts of the Communist Government to divide the people into two classes: Communists and non-Communists, the toiling people and the owning classes, the people and the anti-people.

**Government Direct Action**

Faced with the determined opposition of other political parties, the Communist Government decided on an all-out policy of direct action to crush the Opposition from whichever quarter it appeared. The students' agitation which began against the withdrawal of concessional boat fares for students in Kuttanad area received support from the public and other parties because of the repression that the Government unleashed on the students, who did not belong to the Communist Students' Federation.

Shri M. N. Govindan Nair, Secretary of the Kerala Communist Party, stated at a Press conference on July 20, 1958 that all those who were interested in the progress of Kerala should organise local "citizens committees" to prevent the opposition parties from launching unnecessary agitations. He called upon all those who supported the policy of Government to come forward and prevent the alleged anti-social attempts of reactionaries.

This was followed by a party circular to subordinate units to defeat the "alleged political manoeuvring of Opposition leaders and Catholic reactionaries by constituting citizens committees in all places". This proved to be the signal for a series of violent outbreaks. Shri Govindan Nair's call was not by any means a new decision. It was in keeping with the Communists beliefs that ultimately they would have to launch direct action to begin the non-parliamentary phase of the transition to socialism.

As early as November 1957, Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad indicated in an article in the "New Kerala" that if the Communists failed to carry out their tasks in Kerala, there was every danger of the non-Communists dividing the country and enveloping it in a civil war. Subsequently, on March 23, 1958, Shri A. K. Gopalan said at a meeting at Dharmasala (Punjab) that the Opposition parties replaced parliametary democracy by madness of selfish nature, there would be a civil war in the country.

When in the same month, the Leader of the Opposition, P. T. Chacko, complaining in the Legislative Assembly of the failure of the Government to afford protection to members of the Opposition parties and the practice of the Communists to take law into their own hands and raise private militia, said that in the event the people would also resort to measures of self-defence, the Chief Minister threatened that in that case "the Government will not stop with meeting them with legal powers and police alone".

The implication of this was clear with the victory in the Devikulam elections, the Chief Minister threw all discretion to the winds and said in his speeches delivered at Kottayam on May 25, at Ezhukone (Quilon) on May 27 and finally at Coimbatore on May 31 that the anti-Communist front formed by the opposition parties with the sole object of overthrowing the Communist Government would lead to disruption in the country and would meet the same fate of Chiang Kai-shek in China. These speeches spread considerable fear all over the State and the country regarding the real intentions of the Communist Party of provoking a civil war and thereby crushing the opposition.

**Police Corrupted**

The Communist Party was clearly encouraged by these statements to take to the open road of violence. A series of incidents, unparalleled in their ferocity, occurred at several places in the State and especially in the Trichur area, during July 1958. The Chief Minister has tried to prejudice the process of police investigation into these cases by speaking in support of the Communist assailants.

The fury of mounting Communist violence was halted only when the Prime Minister pointed out in his press conference on August 7 that he was distressed by what was happening in Kerala. Some murders, he said, had been committed which were brutal in the extreme and horrifying.

Coming as this statement did from the Prime Minister of India, it opened the eyes of the people to the enormity of the misdeeds of the Communists in Kerala. The Government of Kerala and Party leaders began a raging campaign in which they tried to show that the Prime Minister's statement was highly exaggerated and based on one-sided view of things. Their attempts have not taken in any one.

The Prime Minister's statement had not come a day too soon. It has helped not only in spotlighting the grave situation in Kerala but has succeeded in bringing some relief to the public groaning under the weight of an oppressive and unprincipled government. The fear that they may be thrown out of office has made the Party in Kerala to call off violence at least for the
moment and the rank and file are being warned to behave.

An uneasy quiet prevails over Kerala today. Nevertheless, Communist violence erupts here and there in isolated incidents. The Party is clearly straining at the leash. The attempt to make citizens out of Communist comrades in Kerala has clearly failed and there is a sense of brooding fear, a calm that threatens to be split any moment in Kerala.

Illustrative Record

The conditions that have developed in Kerala State since the Communists formed their government are fundamentally different from other States in the Union. These conditions have steadily worsened and it is now obvious that they form part of a calculated design of administration wholly incompatible with our democratic Constitution.

2. In the present series of articles are brought together, not exhaustively but illustratively, some evidence that brings out the policies pursued by the Government of Kerala that have had to a breakdown of administration there, as envisaged by the Constitution.

3. It will unfold a story of growing insecurity to life and property and of deliberate use of terror to pulverize opposition.

4. It also brings together some evidence to show interference in the work of the Courts not only by the Executive but by members of the Communist Party.

5. It will bring together evidence about Government’s interference with police and administration to enable the Party members to terrorise the people.

6. Concrete evidence has been adduced to show arrogation of governmental authority by members of the Communist Party and of indoctrination in schools.

7. It will show the seriousness of the situation and the urgency of early measures of the Union authorities to assure security of life and property to the people of Kerala, which is the elementary and inalienable right of citizens of India in every part of our country.

(To be continued)
ON THE PSP FRONT

Delhi Citizens’ Protest

ADDRESSING a largely-attended public meeting at Delhi on June 27 last, Shri Mir Mushtaq Ahmed, Chairman of the Delhi PSP, congratulated the people of Kerala for their heroic struggle against tyranny, oppression and social injustice. The Kerala agitation, he asserted, was not a movement launched by this or that political party or community, but a mass upsurge.

The Communists, he stated, planned to terrorise people and beat them into sheepish submission so that their pockets could easily be spread over Kerala to wage a civil war in the whole country.

Shri Mir Mushtaq Ahmed said that Congressmen were afraid of the developing Kerala agitation as they felt that people in other States might also rise against their misdeeds and wage struggle against Congress misrule.

Among others, Bakshi Faqir Chand Sarhaddi, Shri Gopaldas Khera, Shri D. D. Vasishth and Shri Frempal Bhatia addressed the meeting on the treatment meted out to the non-Communist Kerala public.

Resolutions Passed.

The following resolution, moved by Shri D. D. Vasishth and seconded by Shri Surendra Mohan, was passed:

"This public meeting of the Praja Socialist Party views with grave concern the recent developments in Kerala. The meeting is of the opinion that a deep discontent among people as is witnessed in Kerala cannot arise out of opposition to single legislation like the Kerala Education Bill. The roots of the upsurge in Kerala are far deeper and can be traced to the suppression of liberties, partisan attitude of the Government, murderous attacks on the life of workers of the Opposition parties, the Communist Party's interference in the administration of the State and discriminating treatment meted out to the Non-Communist trade unions.

"The Communist Government of Kerala seems to be determined in ruthlessly suppressing the agitation by brute force as is evident from the three police firings at the very commencement of the agitation resulting in the death of eleven persons. The Chief Minister of Kerala has callously declared the unwillingness of his Government to institute judicial inquiry into the firings on the pretext that the firing was unavoidable due to mob violence.

Guilty Conscience

"If the Chief Minister's contention were to be correct, why should he refuse to institute an inquiry both into the behaviour of the demonstrators and the firings by the Police? The Kerala Government with its guilty conscience is obviously afraid to face the truth emerging from the enquire.

"This meeting unequivocally condemns the police firings in Kerala and demands judicial inquiry into the police firings as well as the behaviour of the demonstrators.

"This meeting pledges it solidarity with the people of Kerala struggling for democracy and reaffirms its faith that the struggle rests on the resoluteness of the people to conduct the struggle in a peaceful and democratic manner."

Jorhat Firing

THE District Executive of the Jorhat PSP, at a meeting held recently, condemned the "unwarranted and wanton" police firing on an unarmed crowd of demonstrators at Jorhat on June 29 last.

Expressing its sympathy with the victims of the firing, in which one person was killed and several injured, the Executive deplored the inaction at first and unwise action later on the part of the authorities in dealing with the situation.

The Executive demanded a judicial inquiry into the entire episode.

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to organise the R.S.D. branches together with the S.Y.S. organisational work.

On the S.Y.S. front, it was decided that all units would contact the youth to mobilise their opinion on questions of employment, educational reform, free and universal education and Tibetan refugee relief. They also agreed to start weekly study circles and organise the sale of socialist literature.

The day's programme at the camp ended with 90 minutes of cultural programmes at night.

On June 11 the campers observed Sane Guruji anniversary. Mukut Behari and Shri Nana Dingle spoke on the life and work of this great son of India. As an humble token of their love for Sane Guruji, the campers constructed a road in the Sanguri village by shramdan and named it Sane Guruji Marg.

(Continued from page 8)
Organisational Tasks

The issue of joint co-operative farming is being hotly discussed all over the country. All the arguments for and against the broad principles underlying the programme of joint co-operative farming have been stated and restated and yet there is a considerable section of opinion in the country that is not convinced either of its efficiency or its desirability. A part of the criticism might be from those who are likely to lose their predominant position in the village life if weak, unorganised, poor peasants of the country are organised into co-operatives.

But there is also a genuine section among critics of joint co-operative farming which is sceptical about the whole approach and is sincerely afraid that the programme may result in a totalitarian setup in the rural areas. This is a well-based misgiving and must be taken serious note of. No supporter of a genuine co-operative movement can take chances in the matter.

If co-operative farming is likely to lead to collectivisation and regimentation, one should think twice before supporting it.

The champions of co-operative farming genuinely believe that this is the only way of freeing the downtrodden from the shackles of the landlords in the villages. As far as the liberty of the individual and fight against totalitarianism are concerned, therefore, there is no difference of opinion between the genuine supporters of the co-operative movement and the genuine critics thereof.

The question, therefore, boils down to this. Is it possible to devise safeguards that would ensure the voluntary character of the programme being maintained under all the circumstances and may at the same time strengthen the economic position of the downtrodden in the rural areas? This question can only be answered by considering the issues not on general principles and historical analogies but in more concrete terms by offering solutions that are comprehensive enough to make the criticism more specific and defence more enlightened and illuminating. In the process, inconvenient questions will arise; they will have to be faced. But this is inevitable if we wish to cover fresh ground and make any headway in this programme.

For example, the critics of the programme have argued and rightly so, that compulsion militates against the spirit of co-operation. To this, the Government reply is that the progress towards a co-operative commonwealth will be made through peaceful methods of persuasion and in conformity with democratic processes. And yet the Government has before it a programme of first creating service co-operatives and then joint farming co-operatives. It is its contention that the food problem in particular, and the problem of agriculture in general, cannot be solved under Indian conditions unless agriculture is placed on a co-operative footing in the shortest possible time.

They also argue that they believe that the co-operatives are a higher form of social organisation, better able to put the country on the path of progress and prosperity and, therefore, the Government, wedded to the establishment...
of a Welfare State are in duty bound to give all possible inducements to the peasants to form themselves into co-operatives.

It is at this point that the critics point out that no amount of persuasion and inducement has so far succeeded in creating a spirit of co-operation in rural areas. To date, they argue, there are hardly 1,400 co-operative farming societies all over the country. They also point out that attempts at cooperative farming have failed in Madras, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. All available evidence suggests that even in spheres where co-operative endeavour ought to have shown good results, there has been a regular lack of co-operative spirit. How are the people then to be persuaded and induced to form co-operatives? We have to answer this question.

One answer is to launch a door-to-door propaganda campaign. This is a good slogan but will hardly work. Mere propaganda however efficient and well-informed will not persuade the peasants to take the risks of joint co-operative farming. In matters like the small savings drive, removal of untouchability, prohibition, the method of high-powered and high pressured propaganda has been tried but not with much success. Of course, propaganda should be there, in as extensive and intensive a scale as possible. But by itself it will hardly touch even the fringe of the problem.

A more fruitful approach will be the popularisation of co-operative programme through demonstrations rather than through mere propaganda. If service co-operatives can be made to succeed it will go a long way in creating a right type of atmosphere. But service co-operatives will only be dealing with problems of agricultural technique rather than with the problems of land ownership. And when a leap from the service co-operatives to co-operative farming is taken, the scale of values will have to change. The main task, therefore, is to prepare the ground for the acceptance of these new valyes. For this, public mind has to be educated through demonstrations. For this, we will have to try experiments in co-operative farming in selected areas. Some experiments have been made in settled areas where land is reclaimed through Government efforts. This can be extended to the land rendered surplus as a result of imposition of ceilings on land.

The experiments in joint co-operative farming carried on on the settled areas would not be a safe guide for deciding whether co-operation is accepted as a desirable form of organisation by the peasants, because there is an element of compulsion in this—in that the Government lands may be given for cultivation only to the co-operative societies. If we want to demonstrate that peasants should form co-operatives of their own volition because they are superior forms of social organisations, genuine voluntary co-operative societies should be encouraged. For this purpose, it should desirable to approach the farmers raising commercial crops first. Because experience seems to suggest that these farmers are likely to accept cooperation more willingly. If co-operative farms succeed in this sector, the principle can then be extended to other areas also.

Again it is to be remembered that the principle of voluntary participation should be retained even after the members have joined the co-operatives. This sense of voluntary participation will be real only to the extent that the status of the various members of the co-operatives is more or less equal and this will not be possible if there is a great disparity in land holdings of these members. For the successful working of co-operative farming, it will thus be necessary to reduce the disparities in land holdings.

Further, the members of the co-operatives will experience freedom in participation if they feel that their decisions carry weight in all important matters. The technical personnel manning the co-operatives should, therefore, have to act as agents of the co-operatives and not their masters. This raises the whole problem of the reform of co-operative laws which will have to be tackled.

One of the criticism of the experiment in co-operation as it is tried in China or in Yugoslavia is that the party cadres exert unduly preponderant influence on the co-operatives and reduce the non-party members of co-operatives to an inferior status. Attempts should be made to guard against this possible source of weakness. To the extent that we succeed in keeping our co-operatives free from official and political tutelage, shall we succeed in creating a genuine atmosphere for co-operative efforts in the country.

Another element involved in the principle of voluntary participation is the freedom to leave the co-operatives if so desired by the member.

These organisational-efforts should go a long way in inculcating the spirit of co-operation among the peasants and they should draw an increasing number of farmers to the principle of co-operative farming. They would, however, be thoroughly disillusioned unless the increase in the production of agricultural commodities, which we expect to result from co-operative farming, creates conditions of increasing prosperity in the rural areas. If in the name of exigencies of industrialisation, the surpluses resulting from increased production are permanently drained out of the rural areas, there will be a tremendous opposition to the Plan efforts as well as to the principle of co-operative farming. The requirements of ushering in a technological era can be harmonised with the increasing prosperity in the rural areas. But some of the ideas regarding raising resources for economic development will have to be changed to make this harmony possible.
Co-operatives Cover A Whole Gamut

A MAJOR controversy is raging in this country on co-operative farming. As often happens in political disputes, the contesting points of view tend to be exaggerated and the large area of agreement tends to be lost sight of. Should we favour co-operative farming in India? On the whole, evidence the world over is not for co-operative farming. But certain conditions in our country compel us, however, to examine the proposal more closely.

The sudden upsurge of interest in co-operatives is due to the general realisation that agricultural expansion is crucial to economic development. As it is necessary to have a big plan—a consensus of opinion on a Third Plan costing between Rs. 9,000 and Rs. 10,000 crores seems to be emerging—it is being realised that agricultural expansion (of eight per cent a year) will have to be through institutional changes and organisational efforts. Co-operatives are being recognised as essential to our future.

Problem of Distribution

The poverty of Indian agriculture is well known. There is a simultaneous need to increase yields as well as incomes from land. The Community Development projects have something, but the urgency and the extensiveness of the task requires something bigger still, something that involves the interest and effort of every agriculturist. Moreover, it is widely admitted that unequal possessions in land are dangerous and redistribution is recognised as an urgent form. The large section of landless agriculturists, often belonging to the depressed sections of the people makes land redistribution an aspect of social rehabilitation. By the imposition of ceilings on holdings some land scattered over the country will be available to redistribution to settle the landless on surplus lands, the need of which is now a part of the national objective.

But these landless would need crafts, animals, implements and other resources to use the lands given to them. If these resources are not simultaneously provided, they will get frustrated and the production will suffer. The provision of resources would call for an administrative machinery to reach every new settler. Hence the unanimity on service co-operatives.

It is not fully realised that service co-operatives, embracing 60 million peasant households over half a million villages of which 380,000 have a population of fewer than 500 each, will demand an organisational effort never attempted before. The co-operative movement in India is of more than 50 years' standing. In some cases, its growth and achievements have been noteworthy. But in the country as a whole, the structure is weak, lacking roots and, therefore, sans vigour.

The working party that recently studied the problem emphasises the need for consolidation, while advocating expansion. It is on the success of consolidation that dependable expansion can be undertaken. Consolidation should provide for nucleus co-operatives where rapid training — multiplication — of personnel can be carried out or the final touches given.

Folk Education

It is necessary to have a vast programme of education in co-operatives. All over the world, sound co-operatives have needed the cocoon of folk-education. The educational programme in India in schools and colleges have to be suitably reoriented. Teachers, particularly at the village level, will have to be given some insight into and understanding of co-operatives. The right ethos in the villages is all important.

To involve millions even in service co-operatives is to change their traditional outlook and pattern of behaviour. Joining a co-operative can never be a passive act; it is an act of participation. And informed participation demands the opening of a new dimension in one's personality as we know from our experience.

In India, the problem of maintaining and augmenting a marketed surplus of food grains is of as great importance as increasing food production, perhaps greater. Because our urban population is growing at the rate of four to four and a half per cent. per year—as against the general rise in population of 1.8 to two per cent.—the needs of the urban people have to be considered. From this point of view, larger farms made possible through co-operatives may play a significant role.

Investments Needed

In the utilisation of cultivable wasteland, the case for co-operative cultivation is stronger. We have between 80 to 90 million acres of such land of which 40 million with some effort and investment can be brought under the plough. But before the waste lands grow there will have to be a substantial investment of capital and considerable labour will have to be put in. There, inevitably, will be a waiting period and often agricultural machines like tractors may have to be initially used to level the lands. All this would be beyond the capacity of landless agriculturists. The Government would have to make these investments and in return, it can demand that those who seek to take advantage of the facilities offered agree to work in co-operation. The community also can share the responsibilities and can find it easier to do the work through co-operatives.

The experience of Yugoslavia is significant in this context: "What this means is simply that the remaining peasant-working co-operatives consist only of landless and dwarf peasants who apparently find it to their interest to remain in the collectives. Furthermore, these collectives are heavily subsidised by allocations of State land, by allocation of tractors and other agricultural machinery, and also by allocation of credit. At the end of 1953, they had 2,706 tractors, 3024 tractor-ploughs, 441 machines for potato-digging, 1616 threshers and so on. On that date, they held just about one-third of all tractors in the country" (Collectivization of Agriculture in Eastern Europe, p. 180).
The dispute is over inviting agriculturists to bring their holdings into co-operatives. In India, intensive farming is likely to cost less than raising production from new lands. Hence organisation of improved methods of cultivation is of crucial importance.

Critics of the Right & Left

Again, I find that there is no opposition to voluntary co-operative farming. However, three caveats are entered. Those who criticise the new proposals of the Government from the “Left” base their fears on the danger of co-operative farming between sharply unequal holdings. Only after ceilings are imposed should co-operative farming come on the agenda. There is much force in this contention, particularly because the national objectives are two-fold: to increase production and augment earnings, and foster social justice through the equitable distribution of land.

Those on the “Right” who warn us against the Government’s policies do so on two grounds. First, the co-operative drive will not remain voluntary; all kinds of pressure will be exerted by the Administration and a scale of incentives and penalties devised that would leave the drive voluntary only in name. The other objection flows from the stubborn belief that pooling of land is fatal to democracy and to production and is not in the interests of the peasants.

If the Government is interested in stepping up production, in expanding service co-operatives it is unlikely that it can build up its policies in terms of discriminatory incentives and penalties, bolstering co-operative farming. Even in the Communist countries, as soon as pressure is relaxed, as happened in Yugoslavia and Poland, such a policy has to be abandoned. In Yugoslavia, as soon as State pressure was withdrawn, the number of collectives dropped between 1950 and 1953 from 6,964 to 1,152, the number of members from 21,28,839 to 1,92,582 and the hectares included from nearly 2.5 million to 32,73,98.

In India, with her democratic set-up, fears about voluntary co-operatives in fact becoming compulsory are groundless. The danger in our country in the next five years is of the farm lobby becoming too powerful, of its acting as a brake on development. On the question of agricultural process the understanding and strength of the peasants has grown markedly in recent years.

Pooling of Holdings

The criticism as to pooling of holdings deserves fuller consideration. There are different types, or stages of co-operative farming. In Type I, there usually exists no common property. The co-operative character here consists merely in the common execution of certain farm operations, such as sowing, harvesting and threshing.

In Type II, the boundaries of individual fields are ploughed over. Expenditure arising from common farming is charged to each member in proportion to the labour put in and draft power and other things supplied by different farmers.

In Type III, lands are pooled, though the title-deeds are retained. The participants get rent for their plots of land and for livestock and implements contributed. The major part of the income is derived from manual work, which is measured in labour-days.

Type IV is similar to Type III but, in it, all income is derived from work.

Elementary Forms

Co-operatives, therefore, cover a whole gamut—they begin from no pooling of land and end with all work in common. Naturally, the discussion in our country centres on the elementary form of co-operative farming. In such a co-operative, if the members get dissatisfied, separation is an easy matter. It should be open to farmers to organise co-operative farms of any type and to travel up or down the scale. Only experience can show which type suits which region or crop or conditions. It is perhaps true that experience suggests that individual farming, particularly where intensive effort has to be put in, is more productive than joint farming. But where in the world is agriculture as fragmented as it is in India?

In Uttar Pradesh, for instance, 56 per cent. of the holdings are below two acres each, and another 25 per cent. between two acres and five acres. In Kerala, the holdings are tinier still: 55.6 per cent. are below one acre; 21.1 per cent. between one acre and 2.5 acres; and 11.3 per cent. between 2.5 acres and five acres. The number of peasants concerned stands at the staggering figure of 2,348,000.

How are these tiny holdings to be provided with the wherewithals for improved agriculture? Do the lessons of Danish or even Japanese agriculture apply to such holdings? How are these dwarf farmers to prosper? Can any scheme offer them the resources needed for development? Pooling of lands and other resources may perhaps help to increase yield and income. It is true there will be considerable reluctance to move in this direction. But, then, development always means overcoming reluctance, because it involves changes in attitudes and traditional patterns of behaviour.

Co-operative farming is particularly difficult where livestock is to be raised. Since individual care is of primary importance, paddy cultivation too will be low in the list of priorities for co-operative farming. Where there is subsistence farming, it may not be easy, however desirable it is, to persuade peasants with small holdings to pool their resources. It is only where the incentive of a large market is operating that coming together by the farmers is somewhat easy.

Co-operative farming may find some response where the cultivators are engaged in producing cash or industrial crops. Such a development will be facilitated if the cash crops grown are also processed co-operatively.

Must Status Quo Continue?

The closed and vulnerable economy of our villages cannot survive for long. If the prevailing stagnation is allowed to continue, with the increase in population and ever-worsening lower level, equilibrium will emerge. It developmental efforts are made, a considerable portion of disguised unemployment will come into the open. Only rational use of land resources can save us from this cruel dilemma.

Improvement in agriculture, as elsewhere, depends not only on the provision of resources—water, better seeds, fertilisers, credit etc. but also on improving the levels of efficiency of the producers. It will not be easy to step up the efficiency of all the 81 per cent. of the peasants in Uttar Pradesh or of all the 87 per cent. in Kerala. Perhaps such a transformation can be

(Continued on page 12)
CO-OPERATIVE farming has been advocated both on the ideological ground that it represents a "higher form" of social organisation, as well as on the pragmatic ground of its economic superiority over other forms of agrarian organisation.

One of the basic ingredients of socialist thought is that the institutional pattern has a decisive influence in determining the character of a society, so much so that certain institutions (State enterprise, agrarian collectives and communes) have become the sign-boards of a socialist society.

Yet, the fact that in spite of the entire paraphernalia of "socialist" institutions, the society in the communist countries is not "free and equal", should raise doubts about the efficacy of the institutions to alter the character of the society. Much depends upon the intentions with which institutions are built up, the purposes to which they are put, and above all on the values which inspire the leadership.

Alternatives

Personally, I would be reluctant to consider any form as "higher" (or "lower") simply because traditional (socialist) thought has considered it to be so. First and foremost, it would depend upon the alternative with reference to which it is considered higher. In the case of co-operative farming, the alternative which, in fairness to its opponents, should be postulated would be individual farming, operating within the framework of service co-operatives for credit, supply, marketing, etc.

Equally relevant to the discussion would be the overall agrarian structure within which either mode of farming (individual or co-operative) would function. Land reforms for which legislation has either been enacted or contemplated (prevention of fragmentation, consolidation of holdings, protection of tenants from eviction and excessive rents, conferring of ownership rights on tenants, prohibition or restriction on leasing, ceilings on landlord's right to resume leased land, on acquisition of land in future and on current holdings) has—or should have—altered the agrarian structure, and will progressively do so in future.

The superiority of the co-operative forms of organisation has to be assessed in the context of the altered structure. Service co-operatives along with fully implemented land reforms would establish agrarian conditions under which there would be a large measure of egalitarian and co-operative element, and many of the blemishes of present day agrarian economy would be eliminated. Given an egalitarian and non-exploitative agrarian structure, pooling of land and joint cultivation as a mode of farming would, in my view, make only a limited contribution to the improvement of the quality of agrarian relations.

Will Totalitarianism Result?

I should, at this stage, make it clear that I do not share the view that co-operative farming will inevitably lead to totalitarianism and enslavement of the farmer. This is not because of the distinction often made between co-operative and collective farming, based upon the (nominal) retention of ownership rights in the one and its (virtual) extinction in the other. As has been argued earlier, the entire ideological complex of the political party promoting the programme will determine the democratic or the totalitarian character of the farming cooperatives. Congress leadership, I am sure, does not intend such a totalitarian set-up, and, in any case, will be incapable of enforcing it. A cynic may argue that what will happen is that the Congress will fight half the battle on behalf of the collectivist ideology, and shrinking from pursuing it to its logical conclusion, may make it easy for the collectivists to take over the command and finish the mopping-up operations.

The question of economic superiority of co-operative farming is less complex inasmuch as it lends itself to empirical testing. Several farming societies of one sort or another (better farming, tenant farming, co-operative joint farming, collective) are already in operation. Working of some of these has been surveyed and results are published. By and large, these are not favourable to co-operative farming. But it has been argued—and legitimately—that this should not be taken as providing conclusive evidence on its merit. Several of these societies have been formed to evade the application of land reform legislation. The merit of co-operative farming cannot be tested unless the experiment is conducted on a national scale and under proper atmosphere and guidance. This can be readily conceded, but it should be remembered that this is true of any other form of organisation and the proponents of industrial farming can also claim similar conditions for adjudging its merits. Anyway, while we may not judge the merit of co-operative farming by reference to the performance of the existing societies, the experience should not altogether be neglected.

Advantages

Following economic advantages are claimed for co-operative farming:

1. It will help to secure higher production and productivity per acre;
2. Expand employment opportunities;
3. Facilitate adoption of technological improvements and better farming practices;
4. Help in channelling marketable surplus and rural savings; and
5. Get the best out of service co-operatives.

by

M. L. Dantwala
It would be tedious to examine seriatim each of these to determine the superiority of co-operative farming over alternative forms of farming. Besides, as mentioned before, some of these claims can be empirically tested and more experiments are necessary before decisive conclusions are drawn. We should, therefore, be content with a few general considerations germane to the issue.

The biggest advantage of co-operative farming is that it will help to secure economies of scale, especially in view of the preponderance of tiny and uneconomic farms in our agriculture. It should, however, be noted that production per acre on even very small farms is often larger than that on bigger farms. This happens because of higher intensity of the labour input. As for productivity, a bigger scale of operation should facilitate a better combination of input factors. But the co-operative farm will be handicapped by the rigidity of the labour factor, inasmuch as all the occupants of the existing farms (and, as is suggested, the landless labourers too) will have to be accommodated within the co-operative. The point is this: the formation of co-operatives does not improve the man-land ratio, and if the landless labourers are added, the ratio will deteriorate. But there could be considerable rationalisation and economy in the use of other factors, such as livestock, improved implements, machinery, etc. Their aggregation can correct their under-utilisation in some units and non-availability in others, which prevail under the pattern of individual ownership and use.

Marketed Surpluses

If preference is given to the co-operatives in the matter of supply of credit, improved seeds, subsidised fertilisers, etc., their comparative performance will be obviously better, but only at the cost of the individual farming sector, with the result that the overall national production will not be better (except perhaps to the extent of improvement in combination of factors of production on the co-operative farm). Such a policy will also be interpreted as forcing the individual farm units to join the co-operatives.

One of the primary motives in introducing collective farming in the Communist countries was to secure command over foodgrains for urban consumption and over rural savings for financing industrial development. The device through which this was secured was the system of compulsory deliveries at relatively low prices. It is a moot point whether the authorities in India will be similarly able to procure larger quantities of marketable surplus of foodgrains from the farming co-operatives. It is well to remember that at present a part of the marketed surplus represents forced or distressed sale by farmers who are heavily indebted and have, therefore, to part with their produce, irrespective of their needs for sustenance, for payments for rent, land revenue and interest charges. The urban community benefits from such sales without any qualms of conscience because the blame for exploitation is placed on the traders and the money-lenders. When, however, the system of individual farming, money lending and trade is replaced by co-operative or State institutions, it will not be possible to countenance such forced or distressed sales and purchases.

Th public authorities, like the State Trading Corporation which purchase foodgrains, will have to permit retention by the farmers' co-operatives of enough foodgrains for the sustenance of their members. If any acceptable norms of nutrition are observed, there is every possibility that the quantum of marketable surplus would dwindle. The co-operatives, on their part, would be equally justified in not parting with foodgrains which are not strictly surplus to the requirements of their members. In view of this, it is doubtful whether the system of co-operative farming, on the one hand, and of State Trading in foodgrains, on the other, will be able to ensure a larger quantum of marketable surplus. The bane of hoarding by private traders will, however, be eliminated. But how much significant is hoarding for supply in the long run!

Opinion is sharply divided on the question whether co-operative farming will expand the employment potential of agriculture. On a static view, since the land area will remain the same—except for marginal additions as a result of elimination of demarcating boundaries—there is no reason why co-operative farming per se will augment employment. It is, however, argued that many improvement-and-development projects which today cannot be undertaken individually or for individual units, because of the high cost of hiring labour, will become economically and technologically feasible on a co-operative basis of ownership and use.

Chinese Figures

In China—according to an article in the "Economic Weekly" of June 20, 1959—"the expansion of 80 million acres of irrigated land in 1958 necessitated the employment of about 100 million workers. The conservation, afforestation and manure gathering probably required another 100 million. Deep ploughing of farm land (with manual labour) called for still more labour force". These figures do appear somewhat fantastic but the point is that such mass utilisation of labour will encounter many difficulties under a system of individual legal rights of ownership and use of land, unless, by consent, it makes itself amenable to comprehensive regulation and planning by public authorities.

To sum up, the main contention of this article is that it is sheer mental laziness to believe that a change in the institutional pattern will provide solutions to our maladies and pave the path towards a socialist society. Maladies like the severely unfavourable man-land ratio or the very rapid rate of... (Continued on page 16)
WITH JOINT FARMING

THUS FAR AND NO FURTHER

Co-operative farming, in our country, has taken a two-fold shape: (1) collective farming, (2) joint farming, voluntariness being the essence of the same in both.

Collective farming is the method adopted where landless labourers are given lands for co-operative cultivation under common management, in most cases, by the Government as in Bombay State. Joint farming co-operative societies are formed where owners and/or tenants of lands pool their holdings and/or other resources for purposes of co-operative cultivation under common management. The difference in these two forms of cultivation lies not in the working of the society, but only in the distribution of profits.

Land-rent or remuneration for the lands pooled together is provided to the owners thereof at the rates previously agreed upon from the profits. The balance is then shared by the members on the basis of the wages earned during the year. This is so in the case of joint farming co-operatives. In the collective farming co-operatives, on the other hand, all members share profits on a thoroughly equitable basis of the wages earned by each of them during the year. Hence, between the two, collective farming co-operatives are more favoured by most of the members, since inequalities based on landed or vested interests are avoided and consequently no bickerings take place on that account. These two farms differ fundamentally from the tenant farming, better farming, multipurpose or service co-operatives, inasmuch as the production or agricultural operations in these latter types are carried on a family basis as in the multi-purpose or service co-operatives envisaged in our country. Such freedom cannot be even thought of in a co-operative farming society in Russia or China, where once a peg, always a peg, as a cog in the wheel in the same place, “unless allowed to be removed at the instance of the State or the ruling party.”

We have seen above that Kibutz of Israel provides the most ideal and the highest form of co-operative action, wherein there is not only fullest co-operation in all agricultural operations, but community life is also organised at the highest level. In these, the democratic atmosphere is retained and the voluntary aspect is zealously preserved. Owing to human frailties, however, these may not suit all human beings in the society, unless they are to live as mere cattle with no say in the shaping of their life and living, being satisfied with provisions of their material needs only, such as, food, clothing, shelter, etc.

In Other Countries

In international parlance, co-operative farming means that the ownership of the lands rests in the co-operative society, which is responsible for all cultivation operations from A to Z, under common management. There is no such distinction as between collective farming and joint farming as we have in India. But, the nature and scope of their working differs most fundamentally in democratic and dictatorial countries respectively. In the latter, as in communist countries like Russia and China, the State fully and most effectively controls their-entire being and functioning. The individual just works as a cog in the wheel in keeping with the dictates of policy and programme of the State, guided and controlled by the ruling party in its own ultimate interests to retain power.

Israel’s Experiments

On the other hand, in democratic nations like Israel, the society alone, and not the State or the ruling party, guides and controls the destiny of its members. It is formed entirely on a voluntary basis and hence the members are free to join it and leave it as and when they like. No pressure, direct or indirect, is exercised over them as in Russia or China, for joining or leaving the society. Hence, they have free and full scope for the play of their personality and in the choice of their location and vocation unlike their counter-parts in dictatorial countries.

These realities are fully illustrated by the conditions prevailing in Israel, where many members have voluntarily joined the Kibutz and have even left them at their free will to join the Moushaq-Ov-Dim or the Moushaq-Dim, in the latter two, community living, as in the Kibutz, not being a necessary feature. The Kibutz looks after and controls not only the production aspects of the society but also the human aspects of the members as to their moral, material and cultural needs. Food, housing, clothing, games, recreations, medicine and hospital facilities, educational highest calibre for children as well as adults, are all provided by the society for all its members and their families. But, human nature, complex as it is, may not work the same way in all cases. Hence, some members prefer personal life with the family as the unit and many have, therefore, joined the other two types of co-operatives, in one of which, the production operations are carried on collectively, while in the other, even the cultivation and agricultural functions are carried out on a family basis as in the multi-purpose or service co-operatives envisaged in our country. Such freedom cannot be even thought of in a co-operative farming society in Russia or China, where once a peg, always a peg, as a cog in the wheel in the same place, “unless allowed to be removed at the instance of the State or the ruling party.”

Second Pattern

Moushaq-Ov-Dim of Israel short of Community Living, where all farming operations “from seed to sale” requirements are looked after under Common Management of the Society.

My wife and I have been associated very closely with this kind of experiment for the last six years. Nearly 300 acres of land were placed at our disposal in a village Shri Amirgadh (near Abu) in the Banaskantha district by the State of Bombay for the benefit of Adivasis or backward-class people of this region. Here, we tried three different types of experiments: (1) Cent per cent collective or co-operative

by

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Shri Amirgadh (near Abu) in the region. Here, we tried three different types of experiments: (1) Cent per cent collective or co-operative
farming under common management of the managing committee of the society, (2) Individual farming on the basis of the family unit, each family being given the economic unit of land according to the needs of its members and (3) Co-operative farming through small groups of some families that can work in an homogeneous way.

In the latter two cases, the society functioned as the multi-purpose or service co-operative, to cater to the needs of the families and groups as to their requirements of seed, manure, cattle, implements of agriculture, mechanised implements like the tractor with the disc-plough, cultivator, seed-drill, earth-scoop, pulley, a lift-irrigation unit consisting of engine pump, etc., we could draw under-ground water from a bored well, with enough quantity of water to run the unit for all the 24 hours during day and right. The society constructed its own pucca godowns and could store the produce to realise the best market price for the produce of the members. The necessary funds were obtained from the Bombay State Co-operative Bank, Ltd., as the apex co-operative bank, by way of short-term and medium-term loans and by way of deposits from members and non-members. In brief, the members and the groups or the society never suffered for paucity of funds as normally happens in the case of agriculturists and even their so-called multi-purpose societies. Consequently, the most important aspect in agriculture, namely, Credit-Facilities were fully provided to the members.

Dismal Failure

Yet, it is most painful to note that the experiment of collective farming failed completely and most miserably, since our members showed no enthusiasm whatever in the work and produce of the society, but, on the contrary, they were found to be interested in "more wages, less work, more leisure and no responsibility"! Despite continuous night vigils, we could not protect our crops from being devoured by blue-bulls, since the members showed no initiative and had no incentive in the joint undertaking!!

A mill or factory can go on and make profits from year to year, despite lack of incentive and initiative on the part of the labour-force, owing to other favourable circumstances, such as availability of raw materials at comparatively low prices, adequate demand for the produce with the ever-increasing population of our country and consequent availability of reasonable price for the produce to earn decent profits in any large-scale industry. But lethargy and lack of interest on the part of agriculturists working in the fields cannot but result in losses and ruination, because agriculture depends entirely on nature and once the opportunities for cultivation, sowing, inter-cultivation, weeding, harvesting, etc., are lost, they can never come back. Moreover, agriculture, being generally an uneconomic proposition from the points of view of the cost of production and the price structure, except for cash crops, lost opportunities prove fatal when the produce is meagre.

The Other Picture

Thus, while the experiment of collective farming did not prove successful, the other experiment carried on side by side during the same year and under similar conditions as to soil, water, credit and all other facilities referred to above, no doubt, showed better results from the point of view of produce, initiative and incentive on the part of the members carrying on their cultivation operations on the family basis. Every member of the family, young and old, men, women and children, would be found in the fields from sunrise to sunset and even long thereafter. Despite hard work during the day-time, every family used to take care and make arrangements most scrupulously to protect their crops from being damaged by the birds or destroyed by animals like blue-bulls at night. Every family would work out its own crop-planning for growing food crops and cash crops, though this may not be scientific or in the village or even the society.

Other serious defects in herent in the system of individual farming also could not be avoided by the members. There was found to be tremendous waste in the long run in terms of money, man-power and cattle-power. Each family must have a pair of bullocks, though not supportable economically! Each family would have to engage a boy or a girl for the whole day and for all the days of the year to look after the cattle and to accompany these for grazing purposes! Such children had to forego even the elementary education of the three Rs' and could be of no use for producing other useful articles from small industries. Each family would have to keep all the necessary implements of agriculture, though these are not required all the time and despite paucity of funds. Egoism, an overdose of individualism and lack of community feeling appeared to be serious handicaps in their coming together, taking decisions in an homogeneous atmosphere, and working our schemes for the benefit of all concerned, to the ultimate advantage of the society, the village and the country.

Middle Course

In view of the above experience, we struck a via-media between the two systems of collective farming and family farming and resorted to co-operative farming of small and homogeneous groups of families. This experiment appeared to eschew the weaknesses of the former two methods and to avail of all their advantages. Each such group of families works like an enlarged big family. Its members may vary from 10 to 30 as may be convenient and suitable to each of them. If service co-operatives are set up with sufficient members forming suitable groups in the village and with adequate funds made available to them by the Co-operative Bank and/or by the State, I am confident that homogeneity, unity of mind and purpose, initiative on the part of the leaders of each group, incentive on the part of every member of each family would have to take care and make arrangements most scrupulously to protect their crops from being damaged by the birds or destroyed by animals like blue-bulls at night. Every family would work out its own crop-planning for growing food crops and cash crops, though this may not be scientific or in the village or even the society.

The above experience is further strengthened by that of a committee of some social workers of Gujerat, that was appointed to enquire into the working of co-operative farming societies in Gujerat, numbering over 80. An intensive survey was undertaken in the case of nearly 20 co-operative societies, collective.

(Continued on page 16)
Co-operative Farming, A Critique

The debate on co-operative farming, now going on for the last six months, has generated more heat than light. The sponsors of the Nagpur resolutions set the tone for the debate when they dubbed all their opponents reactionaries and enemies of land reforms. One of the General Secretaries of the Congress suggested that all opposition to the Nagpur decisions stemmed from either vested interests or ignorance. The Prime Minister himself threatened to sweep away the Opposition.

Besides vitiating the atmosphere, the refusal to argue the merits and demerits of co-operative farming has done great harm to this cause. Shri K. D. Malaviya brushed aside the suggestion of Shri K. M. Munshi for referring the matter to an objective and dispassionate inquiry by experts on the plea that “we are passing through abnormal conditions and time is in a hurry.” Shri Nehru ruled out “room for experimentation” and declared that co-operative farming “has to come, whatever happened.”

This “closed-mind approach” to a system which has yet to be tried, will certainly not help in commending it to the people. The language of coercion, in fact, runs counter to the assurances in regard to the voluntary character of the experiment.

Opportunity Spoiled

By linking co-operative farming with service co-operatives, the area of controversy has unnecessarily been widened. With the near unanimity about the usefulness of the latter, a large amount of enthusiasm could have been built up for it in the country. But by insisting that service co-operatives will lead to co-operative farming, the chances of both have been jeopardised.

Again, there could hardly be a greater disservice done to the cause of socialism than taking its future to the experiment of co-operative farming. By making this as the main issue of socialism, a vast field has been offered to its enemies. In the event of the failure of experiments of co-operative farming, which in no case can be ruled out, these elements will become the natural leaders of the peasantry. Already, the so-called reactionaries have got a foothold in the country-side where they were complete aliens so far, thanks to the way the question of co-operatives is being posed. But what about a large number of feudal interests who are welcoming the Nagpur resolutions and throwing their weight with the Congress?

There is hardly any logical connection between co-operative farming and the question of ceiling, which both sides of the debate are assuming. In fact, the opponents of ceiling and the supporters of co-operative farming start from the same premise. Both seem to be prompted by their belief in economies of large-scale farms. The Prime Minister himself provided a common ground between them by suggesting that there were only two

by

Balraj Puri

alternatives, viz., co-operative farms and large estate farms. He was opposed to the latter on grounds of social justice. If the case for the former fell on practical grounds, his sanction would obviously be available for the only other alternative. Here is another instance of how the supporters of co-operative farming came to the rescue of what they call vested interest. Already they have not only diverted popular attention from the urgent problem of land reform but also weakened the logic of the case for ceiling.

Man-Power Problem

To the extent that the economies of large farms are obtained by economies of labour, it is a doubtful gain. For, it simply makes disguised unemployment come into the open, without any guarantees of absorption. As Shri Shriman Narayan points out, on big farms productivity per man increases but not per acre while in a country of scarce land and abundant man-power only a per-acre-increase in production has any sense.

But Shri M. R. Dantwala has suggested, “in so far as production per acre is concerned, it is not at all proved that small farms are inferior”. The data available from the farm management surveys, which were recently conducted under the Research Programme Committee of the Planning Commission, indicate that for food crops, at any rate, the per acre yield on the small farms is larger than that on the bigger farms.

An official publication gives the following figures of productivity for farms of various sizes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of farms</th>
<th>Production per acre</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in acre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-50</td>
<td>3,977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-100</td>
<td>3,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-150</td>
<td>2,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151-300</td>
<td>2,033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301-500</td>
<td>1,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 500</td>
<td>1,923</td>
</tr>
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There is thus an almost definite negative correlation between the size and productivity of a farm. The average production per acre on farms around 500 acres is less than half of that on farms below 50 acres.

Operational Cost

A co-operative farm, however, is not merely an enlargement of family farms. It involves a number of operational and organisational problems which should also be included on the debit side of large farms while comparing them with small farms. The technical advantages of co-operative farming with regard to large scale operations, as Dr. Schiller points out, may not, for instance, compensate the disadvantage of “additional personnel for recording and book-keeping increasing considerably the administrative expenditure”. Family farms do not need accounting, auditing and registers and can be run without a supervisory staff. But they are prerequisites of a co-operative farm. For without any of them, mutual trust would be impaired and misunderstandings would tend to wreck the farm.

The labour on a co-operative farm is also costlier than on a family farm. For, in the latter case, all members of the family would be too willing to assist the head without demanding cash remuneration. Moreover, they can more conveniently adjust their time for work on the farm than is the case when the adjustment has to be made with a larger number of persons. What
is more important is that the interest and devotion with which family farms are cultivated can hardly be purchased at any price.

Much is made of the fact that under the proposed system of co-operative joint farming, pooling of land would not affect rights of ownership. But, as Dr. Schiller says, "it is questionable whether a legal title to a piece of land, which still exists in the records but has in fact disappeared as a visible unit in the fields, can provide the same incentive as real possession of the land". In any case, as admitted by Mr. Sunil Guha, editor of the "All-India Congress Committee Economic Review", this does "require a blurring of the sense of ownership implicitly".

**Human Factors**

Unlike industry where technical factors are more important than human factors in raising productivity, agricultural production cannot increase unless the farmer puts his heart and soul into it. The difference between exclusive ownership and co-operative ownership is, therefore, much more crucial in the latter case.

The peculiar character of agriculture creates a formidable problem in relating work to wages and profits. It is very difficult to work out the precise contribution of various operations, as for instance, ploughing, marketing and supervision, to total income. Even for the same type of work all workers cannot be supposed to be endowed with the same degree of efficiency and earnestness. But no formula can be conceived to make allowances for varying degrees of inefficiencies and indifference.

A typical instance is quoted by a study of the Planning Commission, which says that "complaints from some individual members seem to have been common in recent years and the nature of these is that so and so simply pretends working and does not put forth substantial labour". A further difficulty, the study adds, is "in judging whether a complaint is genuine or made out of sheer prejudice against a particular member". This study refers to what was called the best co-operative farm in Mysore State. The Congress Agrarian Reform Committee, after visiting a farm, also referred to "disputes about one individual working harder and the other avoiding work".

**Fertility of Soil**

An additional problem will be faced in the farms where, as may often be the case, the fertility of the soil also varies. As the Madras Committee on Co-operation, 1956, observes, "each farmer will have his own estimate of the yielding capacity of his own land and it will be difficult to secure a measure of unanimity among the farmers on the fixation of basis for the division of net income or net yield".

Finally, livestock, which is an essential partner of the farmer in farming operations, too, needs personal attention. On family farms, cattle are more or less members of the family, a privilege which "co-operative cattle" cannot enjoy for obvious reasons. Moreover, economy in the use of livestock, supposed to be possible on co-operative farms, will be a doubtful gain till it is possible to dispose of the surplus livestock which along with surplus man-power is not uncommon in many Indian villages.

The above difficulties are often explained in terms of what is called lack of co-operative spirit. This type of thinking generally leads to the suggestion that what is needed is just some change in human nature and inculcation of the co-operative spirit among the members. Why can't, it is asked, the conception of family be widened so that each member of the farm considers another his brother? Wouldn't a co-operative farm work if nobody bothers about receiving a share less than what he thinks is his due and about another person working less than he does?

But isn't it a bit presumptuous on the part of our rulers to assume that besides political and economic revolution, which they are supposed to be bringing about, they can also usher in a psychological revolution in the countryside within next few years? It may be submitted that the resolve of the Prime Minister to go from peasant to peasant and from field to field, notwithstanding his enormous influence on the people, may not work the expected miracle.

**Vinoba's Example**

After all another man, too, has been going from peasant to peasant and field to field as a whole-time job. Vinoba, it would appear, has been asking for something more. In the name of Gopal he demands land donations. People have responded. In gramdan villages they are supposed to have surrendered all rights over their right hand.

(Continued on page 15)
Evolution Of Co-operative Agriculture Is Inevitable

The Nagpur Congress resolution mooted the idea of co-operative farming primarily with a view to increasing agricultural production by promoting intensive cultivation after pooling lands of small and middle peasants for co-operative efforts.

On principle, one can hardly object to this idea. There is no inherent conflict between modes of traditional individual farming and co-operative farming. Both can be integrated into a general co-operative pattern for a village. Co-operation is the essence of democracy and socialism. I cannot conceive of either a democratic or a socialistic way of life without some measure of co-operation.

In this age of science and rapid technological advance, a progressive industrial sector cannot co-exist for a long time with backward agricultural sector. Again, even capitalist economy which had prospered in Europe on the ideas of "free enterprise" and "individulism" had to seek desperate fulfilment through such combinations as trusts and cartels so much so that even national barriers were set aside in the days when national sentiments ran high.

Use of Manpower

How can peasant economy in Asia remain feudal, exclusive, isolated or backward for long under the tremendous pressure of modern civilization? It must take the form of either mechanised or co-operative agriculture. In America, large individual farms developed because on the one hand they could command cheap slave labour and on the other they could enjoy vast land and material resources. In our present socio-economic set-up, we cannot expect to raise the standard of agricultural economy through capitalist enterprise of big individual farming. We have huge manpower in villages which is either unemployed or underemployed, while our capital resources are very meagre. If mechanised farms on large-scale are ruled out, co-operative farming becomes the only alternative, because it can employ the idle manpower and improve old methods of cultivation by utilising simple but scientific tools.

I can understand big land holders opposing this idea because they are naturally reluctant to pool their lands and other resources for social endeavour and common consumption. They generally oppose the imposition of ceiling on land ownership. But it is strange to find that industrial magnates and city traders who are not directly connected with agricultural activities have started a big crusade against co-operative farming through their political spokesmen. To my mind, the reason is very simple. They suspect that ceilings and co-operative farming would lead to Communism. Their real anxiety is to see that villagers remain permanently disorganised, isolated and separated so that their exploitation for industrial purposes can continue unchecked and unchallenged.

Regimentation Scare

The private capitalists who were opposing for a long time encroachment by the public sector have now combined with landlord classes to oppose co-operative farming. They have raised the slogans of "free enterprise" and "individual liberty". In co-operative farming, they see potential dangers of regimentation of life as practised under collectivisation and communication schemes of Russia and China. This is a deliberate over-simplification. The co-operative idea is not to be a monopoly of a Communist system. Democracies, on the contrary, have nourished the idea of co-operative life and mutual aid organisations. Dangers of regimentation are inherent in a totalitarian State, but in a democratic set-up even if there are trends of statism co-operatives cannot be easily made the playthings in the hands of politicians and administrators. In India, the rulers must know that Gandhiji still rules the hearts of millions of our countrymen. With the growth of democratic conscience and spread of social awakening, the masses will not cease to be passive participants in the organisation of their own creation.

Let us seek the positive content in the idea of co-operative farming as propounded in the Congress resolution at Nagpur. The Nagpur resolution was originally meant to decide the policy of ceiling on land ownership but as the opposition was too formidable from the landed interests inside the Congress, the High Command shifted the emphasis to stepping up "of agricultural production for which co-operative farming was considered the best solution. Again the question of ceiling was left to the sweet will of the State Governments.

Big Controversy

In the absence of a definite clear-cut national policy on land reforms, the Congress plea for promotion of co-operative farming became a mere doctrinaire approach. Though joint farming was not the immediate issue, it became a central theme of hot discussion by people who were far removed from the hard realities of Indian villages. The Nagpur resolution mainly aimed at the creation of service co-operatives to cover 500,000 villages within a period of three years. Co-operative farming was conceived as a future pattern of agricultural organization. But Jawaharlal's fanatical zeal created enemies even in unknown quarters.

The result was a subtle conspiracy to sidetrack the main and immediate issue of ceiling. The discussion went round a theoretical proposition of a future political and economic set-up, a discussion in which Jawaharlal's socialism was described as state capitalism. Rajaji has emerged as a hero of big land holders and property fighters, who formed a new party of conservatives named as "Swatantra Party" by raising the slogans of "freedom of man", "freedom of farm" and "sanctity of property". We humbly ask Rajaji, what about the freedom of crores of landless who have today
no stake in the present economy? Freedom of farm by all means, but freedom of whose farm? Of the toilers or of mere title-holders?

Coercion Charge

The Congress has no final say on the idea of co-operative farming. The idea will gradually evolve. It has to be worked out in a free democratic set-up. It will be a voluntary effort. The peasants themselves will sponsor it. The Government has only to guarantee aid and freedom to choose and develop it at all stages. Even in the ultimate stage, compulsion or coercion is ruled out. Shri K. M. Munshi foresees a Governmental engine using economic discrimination at some stage to coerce individual farmers into joining co-operative farming. We cannot dismiss this possibility. Ultimately, the people's will is the surest guarantee against such pitfalls in democracy. He poses a question, who will manage the co-operatives? Here also farmers' consciousness, training and education can be a real safeguard against bureaucratic control and domination of a ruling party. But this menace is not peculiar to co-operatives only. It extends to the field of education and other domains also.

To my mind, the most redeeming feature in the proposed plan of co-operative farming is that farmers who pool their lands in joint farming will certainly retain their right of ownership of these lands. Even Jawaharlal is prepared to grant them the right of withdrawal with certain safeguards. This right is the greatest bulwark against inroads of centralised planning. Even in joint farming, the natural attachment of the peasants to their patches of land is to be fully respected. The peasants' attachment to his plot of land and his right of cultivation of it is appreciated and recognised by Vinoba under his plan of villagisation of land, known as Gramdan.

First Measures

In order to popularise and spread the idea of joint farming the Government should take two important preliminary steps. First monstrous inequalities in land ownership should be removed and the landless should acquire minimum acreage of land to enable them to assert their economic freedom. For this, the fixation of ceiling on landholdings should precede co-operative farming. Secondly, the much abused co-operative organisation, a legacy of British rule, should be completely overhauled and should be made free from influences of vested interests. The new model should be very simple, easily understandable and manageable by the simple unsophisticated peasants who join them.

These co-operatives should be normally confined to few families and to 200 to 300 acres of land so that no unforeseen forces can control them from behind. In initial stages, such co-operatives should be extended to cash crop lands only.

The ideal arrangement for distribution of the produce will be to give 50-50 share as remuneration for rights of ownership as well as actual labour done, by the owners or the labourers. These co-operatives should avoid mechanism on a large scale as it causes unemployment, but should encourage and adopt scientific methods and simple but efficient tools.

It is often argued by the opponents of co-operative farming that there will be no incentive to work hard on a co-operative farm— incentive which is generally found in family farming. Truly speaking, family idea or sentiment is not destroyed in co-operatives. A man will retain not only his land but his house, cattle and other family belongings and he will have the additional advantage of joint and better farming. Only he should feel that he has entered a larger family for a common good.

Our ultimate effort should be to evolve a free co-operative pattern of village life as a sure foundation on which the super structure of our new social order will rest and grow.

(Continued from page 4)
Wrong Path To Rural Development

HAVE been a life-long supporter of cooperation. I am one of the founders of the Industrial Cooperative Association in Bombay, and my own little bank account has never been in a capitalist bank but always in the Bombay State Cooperative Bank. I believe very strongly in the principles of genuine cooperation. But when we use these terms like cooperation, we have to be very clear as to what cooperation really is, and what it is not. I hold in my hand a little booklet called Co-operatives: True or False, by Mr. J. A. Hough, Research Officer of the British Cooperative Union; and the views I express will be in line with those of cooperators such as the Indian Cooperative Union in India, the British Cooperative Union and all cooperators throughout the free world.

Now, what is true cooperation and what is false cooperation? True cooperation can take many forms. It can take the form of cooperative credit; it can take form of multi-purpose cooperatives which help the peasant who owns his own land to get good seed, borrow or loan a tractor, if necessary, to have fertilisers, to get credit for all these services. And he can also use the cooperative for selling his goods in the market, that is, marketing co-operatives. They can be separate or together. But the essence of genuine cooperation is that the peasant must own and cultivate his own land. Cooperation can only be between free men, not between serfs. Cooperation can be between men who say, "This land is mine, I shall cultivate it with the members of my family, but for the sake of greater production and mutual assistance, I shall come together with others of my kind". That is genuine cooperation, and I do not think any one can object to it or can dissent from it.

But there is another kind of cooperation, so-called, which is not cooperation at all, and that is collective farming of the Soviet-Chinese model. That collective farming, as Marshal Tito recently said about China, has nothing to do with Marxism or socialism. That system has been devised so that the greatest amount of surplus value or surplus plus grain can be squeezed out of the peasantry for the greater glory of the dictatorship, its military machine and for the forced process of industrialisation which is being erected on the backs of the groaning peasantry of Russia and China.

According to an editorial in The Hindu of January 11, 1959:

"The Nagpur programme appears to be borrowed from China where the fabric of society was destroyed by war and revolutions and where the Communist Party was in a position to do anything it wanted".

Now, it is in the light of this distinction that I would judge the policies which today go under the name of joint "cooperative" farming. In my view and the view of co-operativists, to get the name of joint "cooperative" farming. In my view and the view of co-operativists, the dividing line is this:

**by M. R. Masani**

... if you allow a peasant to keep his land and his boundaries, if he farms it with his own hands and those of his family and hired labour, then he is member of a genuine cooperative; but if you uproot these boundaries, if you pool the land, if you create a big farm and call it a cooperative, it does not change anything, it is still collective farming minus the name. Now, in the light of this distinction, let us look at the Nagpur resolution. I shall quote the relative para, because I do not want to be accused of misquoting or misunderstanding what was decided at that meeting. I am quoting from Yojana, the official organ of the Planning Commission:

**Pooling of Land**

"The future agrarian pattern", says the resolution, "should be that of cooperative joint farming in which the land shall be pooled for joint cultivation, the farmers continuing to retain their property rights and getting a share from the common produce in proportion to their land. Further, those who actually work on the land, whether they own the land or not will get a share in proportion to the work put in by them on joint farms. As a first step", says the resolution, "prior to the institution of joint farming, service cooperatives should be orga-nised throughout the country. This stage should be completed within a period of three years; even within this period, however, wherever possible and when generally agreed to by the farmers, joint cultivation may be started".

But what will these property rights mean? When the boundaries of that farm have been uprooted, when tractors and machines are running over that land which once was six or eight or ten or twenty farms, what will the right of property mean? It will mean a piece of paper, a scrap of paper given to the peasant to console him saying "You once owned so many acres; your property is still intact." This is the dodge that was tried and practised in China and in other communist countries. But, after a while, the question is raised 'Why should this man who is not working hard or not doing as much as the other fellow draw a larger share because he owned once some land?' In other words, you start by saying that the people in the farm will be remunerated partly in proportion to the land contributed, and partly in proportion to labour contributed. That is fair enough. But this can never last, because the functionless owner is no owner. His property actually has been taken away from him without telling him so, and he is being fobbed off with a scrap of paper which a future Government will have no hesitation on "equity-paper which a future Government able grounds" in tearing up, because his utility to society ends on the day on which the farm ceases to be his. Therefore, let us be quite clear.

**Communist Way**

Let those who are party to this decision consider whether they really have understood the implications of what has been enacted in their name. Actually, I have no hesitation in saying that this resolution passed at Nagpur, whether those who passed it art aware or not, is a resolution for collective farming of the Soviet-Chinese pattern and not for genuine cooperative farming. Therefore, I like many others oppose this insidious attempt to bring in collective farming by the back-door.

Some reasons have been given why co-operative or collective farming—and for this purpose, let us use the two interchangeably, because...
the Congress pattern of cooperative farming, if ever carried out, in spite of Acharya Kripalani's doubts, will be collective farming—has been advocated. What are the arguments for this measure? I am aware of three reasons. The first is that production will increase. I am amazed that, in the face of all the facts from every country in the world there should still be members of our Government who repeat this claim parrot-like. Collective farming—wherever tried, cooperative farming, wherever tried—of that pattern—has failed to increase production. On the contrary, production has invariably gone down, whether it has been tried in a communist country or otherwise.

First of all, the assumption is that a bigger farm produces more. It is not true. Statistics of rice and wheat produced throughout the world show that countries which have small farms, like ours, produce more per acre than countries with big farms. Let me give an example of wheat and rice. The two countries with big farms in the
two giant farming systems small
have relatively very low yields of
world are the USA and USSR; both
crease under cooperative farming. I
crease whose average holdings are smaller
is 34.4 quintals and in Japan—
what Russia and America do. The
9.3. Now, compare against these
duces out of an acre of land more
USSR. P; the face of evidence like
produces 48.5 quintals per hectare and the USSR
smaller farms, produces 25. Japan, again with
our produces out of an acre of land more
and rice than we do and what Russia and America do. The
size of Japan is quite irrelevant.

Take rice. The USA produces 28.3
quintals per hectare and the USSR
produces 25. Japan, again with
smaller farms, produces 48.5 quin
tals per hectare—twice as much.
Where, in the light of this, is any
case at all for argument that pro-
duction will increase under coopera-
tive farming? Let me come to a
study made by the Indian Agricul-
tural Research Institute of sugarcane production. I will read it:
By plowing with bullocks yielded 410
maunds of sugarcane; ploughing
with tractor farming up to 6 inches
361.5 maunds; with tractor farming
upto 10 inches 356 maunds. In other
words, the bullocks gave the best
return, a little dose of tractor farm-
ing gave less, and full tractor farm-
ing gave the least.

Now, I turn from these general
statements to the efforts to establish
collective farming where it has been
tried. Countries which have tried
collective or cooperative farming
have always failed. The USSR, it is
notorious, lags behind the rest of
the world in production per acre
and per man. Yugoslavia, which
tried collective farming from 1948,
gave it up in 1957. The Yugoslav
Parliament passed a law on April
27, 1957, abandoning collective farm-
ing. It is said that it had shown
negative results—loss of interest
by the peasants and decrease in pro-
duction. Communist Poland, which
also in its Stalinist phase, tried collec-
tivisation, had to give it up. In
Poland, 80 per cent of the collective
farms and cooperatives have been
liquidated in the last two or three
years. Motor tractor stations have
been broken up and the tractors
have actually been sold to individ-
ual peasants. The tax advantage
given to cooperatives has been
taken away by the Gomulka Gov-
ernment on the ground that there
should be fair competition between
cooperatives and individual pea-
sants.

Gandhian Approach

Let me give the figures that Mr.
Gomulka, Prime Minister of Poland,
gave in October 1956. He said that
peasant production per hectare was
16.7 per cent higher than in co-oper-
ative farms and 7.2 per cent higher
than in State farms. This was the
reason why, even the Communist
Government of Poland has given up
cooperative and collective farming
and given back land to the peasants;
80 per cent of the cooperatives and
collectives have been liquidated.

There is only one way to create
more employment in the coun-
tryside, and that is the method that
Mahatma Gandhi always urged, the
establishment of rural industries,
the taking of industry to the coun-
tryside with electric power and with-
out. I believe that this country
needs all kinds of industry—central-
ised and decentralised. My own em-
phasis, like Mahatma Gandhi's,
would be on decentralised industry,
small people working on electric
tools through power taken to the
landscape. I believe that that is
the pattern of the future and that
Mahatma Gandhi was ahead of all
of us by many generations. Finally,
it has been said that cooperative
farming is a higher form of society,
it is a part of the socialist pattern.
Collectivisation is no part of demo-
cracic socialism in any part of free
world. Let me quote what Mr.
Aneurin Bevan, Left-wing leader of
the British Labour Party:

"India cannot afford to make the
mistake that Russia has committed,
because she does not possess empty
spaces which could be called upon
to make up for the failures and
mistakes in agriculture as in Russia.
India has to bring about an econo-
mic revolution in harmony with the
needs of the countryside. The appli-
cation of the principles of collectiv-
isation, mechanisation and central-
ised control has proved a failure in
the field of agriculture in the Soviet
Union. The whole countryside in
Russia seethed with discontent. The
number of cattle in Russia today is
less than before the revolution. The
Russian experience was being re-
peated in China and the Commiss-
ist States of Eastern and Central
Europe."

(To be Concluded)

(Continued from page 10)

But what is the is the gramdan expe-
rience? Shi Jayprakash Narayan
has been quoted as having "told
more than once that the experiment
of joint farming in the gramdan
villages of Koraput and elsewhere
was a failure".

The moral is significant. It shows
that it is easy to induce a farmer
to renounce his property rights but
extremely difficult to make him
conform to a pattern of work which
does not fully recognise his indi-
viduality and lacks any sound basis
of appreciation and return for his
work. Denial of initiative, in the
latter case, is not only frustrating,
it is also devoid of the satisfaction
of sacrifice involved in the act of
donation.

Another highly debatable assump-
tion is that the psychology of the
Indian peasant, which he shares
with his counterparts all over the
world, is basically defective and
needs change in the direction sug-
gested. While it may be an exag-
eration to equate co-operative
farming with a system of serfdom,
as alleged by some of its critics, it
is in no way axiomatic that it has
superior virtues—whether political,
economic, social or cultural—than
those represented by individual
farming.

Mental Revolution

Whether the sturdy individualism
of the Indian peasant is an asset to
democracy or is a drag on develop-
mental efforts, and whether an
alternative incentive to that of work
for reward—which is not easily
determinable in co-operative farms
will elevate or degenerate him
are questions an examination of
which would involve considerable
digression from our present dis-
ussion. What is more relevant is
the fact that psychological evolution
is perhaps slower than even bio-
logical evolution and social planners
would do well to remember this
fact.

It would be uncharitable to con-
lude from the foregoing that the
co-operative movement is not suited
to agriculture. All that is claimed
is that peculiarities of agriculture
warrant corresponding adjustments in the institutional form of the movement. In fact, co-operation is known to have yielded its richest dividend if it just stopped short of pooling of land, i.e., what is called co-operative joint farming.

An F.A.O. report to the Government of Pakistan brings out this succinctly when it says: "It is a mistake to believe that these advantages can be brought to the small cultivator only on condition that he gives up his independence and merges his holding with others to make a big managerial unit. . . . All these other functions which contribute essentially to the advantage of large-scale operations can, however, be carried out co-operatively without merging the small holdings".

U.N. Report

The U.N. Report on Rural Progress also states that "many of the advantages of large-scale co-operations in agriculture—cheaper, and sound credit, economical purchasing of goods and services, and good processing and marketing—can be secured in large measure through co-operative societies of the common type".

If, as is very likely, the ceiling is further delayed and the limit remains pretty high and much land is not available for redistribution or after due examination by experts some of the holdings are considered to be too small, an innovation suggested by Dr. Shiller may be adopted. He recommends the formation of "farming units by combining two, three or even four small cultivators with their separate plots, called sub-units which they might or might not cultivate co-operatively. . . . The cultivators in a combined unit should be advised to observe in their separate plots belonging to the same farming unit an adequate cropping scheme in order to facilitate for their own benefit, irrigation, plant protection, etc."

Prof. D. R. Gadgil and Prof. M. L. Dantwala also broadly share the above view and have made similar proposals for the cultivation of pahably uneconomic holdings. Call it co-operative farming, if you please, as you must save your face. But it would be different from the co-operative joint farming as defined by the Planning Commission and envisaged by the Congress in not only being of much smaller size than visualized by them but also in its emphasis on co-operation and co-ordination in production and not on joint cultivation. Its another essential feature is that the separate entity of an ownership unit will be maintained.

(Continued from page 6)

growth of population cannot be curbed by the trick of institutional change.

This is not a plea for the retention of the status quo or a retreat from radicalism. Lack of sustained organisational effort and training of party cadres for the same are our major deficiencies and a blind faith in the curative powers of institutional change is largely responsible for diverting attention from this basic weakness. The vested interests have become used to radical declamations; they have remained unperturbed—in spite of angry verbal protestations—by the tenancy and the ceilings legislation; they know that however ferocious our bark may be, the bite does not hurt. They have even pioneered the formation of co-operative joint farming societies. I believe that effective implementation of the tenancy legislation will be more radical today than all the talk of pooling of lands. Nothing is radical in the mouth of the people who have miserably failed even in implementing a simple tenancy legislation.

(Continued from page 8)

joint and tenant. This committee was appointed at a conference of co-operative farming societies of Gujarat and was later recognised officially or otherwise quote from the same. But, at this stage, I may make the following observations based on some of the facts ascertained by the Committee without the fear of any contradiction:

We visited these co-operative societies regionwise in different batches at different times, looked into their working in detail by examining their books of account and other records, talked to the members collectively and individually and noticed generally that (1) joint farming co-operatives, though some of them worked profitably and fairly successfully, created some heart-burning among the members owing to inequalities of income due to additional and extra incomes derived by some members as land-rent (2) The members of collective co-operatives generally preferred individual farming to avail of the benefits of initiative and incentive, though some of them was on a sound footing. (3) Tenant farming Societies in most cases merely functioned as credit societies, though their members were generally satisfied by their working as such and did not desire to switch on to the collective type. Where, however, the society functioned as a full-fledged service co-operative and there was common management too, many of the benefits of the collective type as well as of the family type were made available to the members. But, generally, these societies lacked the co-operative spirit, a broader outlook on life and society and progressive outlook on agricultural matters. (4) One experiment, however, carried on in a collective small working groups of eight to co-operative farming societies, where eleven members and their families were formed, proved to be quite a success.

I, therefore, most humbly and respectfully submit to all concerned—political parties, their leaders, the Central and State Governments and above all the agriculturists themselves, from the valuable experience gained as above, that in our country, the tenant farming, better farming and mere credit co-operatives must be inspired to rise above narrow selfish outlook and move in the direction of co-operative farming through small homogeneous groups, and that instead of wasting time, money and energy on large-sized co-operative farming societies, necessitating concentration of power and money in few hands constituting the management, small groups would suit the Indian genius better and prove much more successful.
Charity On Industrial Front

SHRI LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI's address to the tenth meeting of the Central Advisory Council of Industries stressed some important aspects of the industrial policy of the Government and gave some intimation regarding the industrial pattern of the Third Five-Year Plan. His dismissal of the controversy between the public sector and private sector as "ideological battles" was unfortunate as it tends to avoid the basic issues that one comes across from day to day in determining the role of the respective sectors. It is quite all right to say that there is so much to be done that both the sectors can have their handful in the Third Plan period. The controversy is not regarding the quantum of work at all. It is regarding the type of work to be done and under what condition it should be done.

The private sector wants those jobs that give quick profit and effective control over the economy. It wants to do this job with the least interference from the Government. The Government, on the other hand, believes that it is not possible to divert large amounts of resources to light industries, where profits can be had quickly, and heavy capital-goods industries have to be earmarked for the public sector. The private sector thus becomes a residual claimant as far as the resources are concerned and that is its grudge.

From the Press reports it appears that both the sides evaded these basic areas of conflict. Such an attitude on the part of the participants makes such meetings only ceremonial affairs without in any way helping in finding solutions to the problems involved.

On matters of regulating the private sector, Shri Shastri was more explicit. Referring to the problem of increasing control, he indicated the possibility of introducing an element of compulsion for this purpose which might take the form of some sort of quality control. "There will have to be compulsory pre-inspection and certification of goods", he said. But he went a step further and also suggested that in certain carefully selected industries, export of a specified percentage of production might be made compulsory. He was of the view that such a compulsion might bring down the cost of production. He even hinted that, if in spite of quality control and reduction of costs, our manufacturers found it difficult to compete in the international markets, they will have to sell goods at the competitive prices even if that entailed some loss. In such an eventuality the industries would be called upon to meet the export losses. "This can be done," he said, "by some form of voluntary levy decided upon by the associations of manufacturers concerned".

Shri Shastri has expressed these views even before and has only reiterated them on this occasion. The spokesmen of the private sector, however, seem to have steered clear of this subject without either approving or protesting against the suggested scheme. Either they think that it is hopeless to argue against the scheme or, perhaps, they think it feasible to effectively counter the scheme through passive resistance. They do not seem to be enamoured of the scheme. Otherwise they would themselves have taken voluntary steps in that direction and thus obviated the necessity of Government regulations.

etc., etc.
As for the objective of the industrial policy, Shri Shastri said: "We want to accelerate the pace of the industrial development with a view to creating in 10 to 15 years an economy which will not keep us dependent on others in our vital needs." This suggests that the original objective of creating a condition of self-regeneration and even pace of development by the end of the Third Plan has been given up, and instead it has been pushed further to the end of the Fifth Plan. The country would like to know the reasons for this postponement and whether, in the changed plan, it would be necessary for the people to make tremendous sacrifices, which the Prime Minister has insisted more than once are necessary for the rapid industrialisation of the country. It is obvious that the sacrifices would depend upon the rate of industrialisation and if the rate is to be slowed down the sacrifices demanded should be comparatively less. The normal situation in our country so far is that, while the targets and objectives are revised downwards in the course of the implementation of a plan, the sacrifices as envisaged in the original plan continue to be exacted from the people. This should change and some conciliation between the achievements and the efforts should be established.

Shri Shastri was silent on the problem of employment except for advocating decentralisation of production. He deprecated that the tendency on the part of the manufacturers to take into their own hands all the operations connected with a given line of production and reminded them that in some of the most advanced countries major manufacturers bought thousands of components from hundreds of different suppliers. This is a very good idea though this is not exactly what is meant by those who advocate the development of the small-scale sector. The scheme envisaged by Shri Shastri would help greater employment. But before any such scheme is put into effect, it will be necessary to create a tremendous organisation, without which serious dislocations might result. The large-scale industry has to go on continuously and if any component is missing on an assembly line the whole production might be dislocated. It is, therefore, necessary to ensure that the components are delivered to industry in time and in necessary quantities.

The problems that we are facing, therefore, are many, and the Advisory Committee would have done well to examine them and resolve the differing views on them. Nothing of that sort seems to have been done from the Press reports. There seems to be a general feeling of complacency in these matters. In spite of difficulties we have done well and no convenient questions need be raised to spoil the atmosphere of our home—this seems to be the attitude. If this is so, it is deplorable. As Shri Asoka Mehta has pointed out, we may have made some progress, but many other countries in the world, faced with tremendous difficulties and without an elaborate planning machinery, have shown much better results and this shows what is possible of achievement, given will and competence. That will has to be created and that competence is to be achieved. This is the crux of the problem, which cannot be ignored.

ON THE PSP FRONT

Bengal Food Muddle

Under the auspices of the West Bengal PSP, a public meeting was held recently at Raja Subodh Mallick Square, Calcutta, to protest against the State Government's total failure in implementing the Price Control Order, giving a free hand to the profiteering and black-marketing elements to exploit the people. Dr. P. C. Ghosh, Chairman, West Bengal PSP, presided.

Dr. Ghosh challenged the statement made by the State Food Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen, that one crore people of the State had been getting rice and wheat under the modified rationing system. These figures were all "Paper statistics". A visit to rural areas, specially, would convince anyone that the people had not been regularly getting rations.

As the State food administration was utterly corrupt, it would be better if the Centre took charge of it as a short-term measure, Dr. Ghosh said.

Shri Deven Sen, M.L.A., Shrimati Leela Roy and Shri Sunil Das, M.L.A., and Shri Sibnath Banerjee also addressed the meeting.

The meeting adopted the following resolution unanimously:

"This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta is of the opinion that the West Bengal Government has failed to tackle the food situation in the State and there is no hope of its handling the situation properly in the near future also, even if the Central Government gives more rice and wheat. This meeting, therefore, requests the Central Government to take charge of the food administration of the State immediately till the next harvest."

'DIRECT ACTION' ISSUE

A addressing a recent Delhi meeting of PSP workers on "democracy and direct action", Prof. Mukut Behari Lal, member of PSP's National Executive, said that in a democracy, resistance against oppression was the fundamental and inalienable right of the people. Citing the views of various authorities on political science, Prof. Lal stated that voting by the people for the formation of a Government could not bind them to accept all sorts of policies and laws of that Government. Such a strict constitutionalist attitude, he said, would enable a democratically elected Government, like Hitler's, to undermine the constitution and democracy.

Prof. Lal discussed the attitude of the Communist Party of India towards direct action in a democracy at length and pointed out that it had been all along pursuing direct actions since 1948. In November, 1957, a declaration to support Communist Governments by mass actions and to defeat Opposition through these mass actions was proclaimed. He wondered how such a party could take exception to "direct action" in Kerala now.
A Harbhajan Singh, Chairman of the Punjab P.S.P., in the Court of Shri P. D. Sharma, Additional Sessions Judge, on June 29 last in the defamation case brought against him by Shri Surrinder Singh, son of Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of the Punjab.

The statement read:

I am being prosecuted for having named Shri Surrinder Singh Kairon "as one of the leaders of smugglers (and) also responsible for a large number of other crimes." But cases against him are being shelved because he is the son of the Chief Minister. I file this present statement in order to sum up the circumstances and reasons that led me to issue that statement.

It is well-known that my party, the Praja Socialist Party, has a long and distinguished record of public service and sacrifice. Power politics or intermingling and interfering in internal affairs of the Congress has never attracted any of its functionaries. We in the Punjab have scrupulously followed this practice, and have evinced little or no interest in who should be, or should not be, the Congress head in the State or the Chief Minister.

I have absolutely no animus against the person either of Shri Partap Singh Kairon or his son. Nevertheless, I have no hesitation in admitting that I did issue the impugned statement. I merely discharged a sacred duty enjoined upon me by my country and the cause of good Government. I am prepared to bear all the consequences that flow from it.

Election Drives

Shri Partap Singh Kairon became Chief Minister of Punjab early in 1956. In the second general elections, he contested from, and mostly remained in, Sirhali constituency, which is adjoining to the Indo-Pak border. During the course of that election, all kinds of vehicles moved freely along the border, ostensibly for Congress electioneering, but in fact laden with smuggled gold. Smuggling in this area and elsewhere on the border was carried on so openly and rampantly, with active connivance and assistance of high police officers and political high ups, that it became a veritable scandal in the State.

Shri Partap Singh Kairon is known as a stern and efficient administrator. But when under his very nose gold smuggling went on unhampered and unchecked, the public opinion was greatly intrigued, nay, positively shocked. Were the defenders of our border in fact unmitigated accomplices in anti-national activity? This became a household question everywhere.

The extent of gold smuggling was vast indeed. During the course of its first year, according to the high officials investigating the gold smuggling racket, as the "Blitz" of Bombay reported in its issue of August 17, 1957, gold worth Rs. 35 crores was smuggled from across Indo-Pak border. This report has never been authoritatively contradicted. Figures only recently released by the Reserve Bank of India show that demand on Indian rupees abroad went up from Rs. 6 crores in 1956 to more than Rs. 45 crores in 1957 and 1958 each. This increase represents the extent of Indian currency illegally smuggled abroad in exchange for smuggled gold which has compelled the Reserve Bank to contemplate special currency being issued which alone would be legal tender abroad. It rather lends credence to the "Blitz" report.

Public Scandal

As early as January 1957, the allegations for complicity in gold smuggling against police officials and relations and friends of Congressmen found their way into the daily "Prabhat," Jullundur, an influential Urdu newspaper of Master Tara Singh. Those were the days when Master Tara Singh's followers had actually joined the ruling Congress Party with his blessings and it could not, therefore, be said that it was part of political tactics. In Press and elsewhere in private talks, one of the persons freely mentioned and broadly hinted for complicity in the smuggling was Shri Surrinder Singh Kairon.

The allegations could not, and did not remain confined to the Punjab. The then General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee, Shri Shriman Narayan visited the Punjab, including border districts, met a number of people and submitted a report to top Congress leaders at New Delhi. They evidently thought that the report did not at all clear the thick air of allegations about complicity of certain Punjab officials, Congress leaders and their relatives. The report was, therefore, passed on to the Home Ministry, which deputed Shri Gurdial Singh, a Deputy Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Government of India, to hold an on-the-spot inquiry.

The Court has already seen this officer's report, which is a comment on Shri Shriman Narayan's report, and allowed privilege in respect of it. The very fact of this report gives the lie to Shri Shriman Narayan's palpably false testimony in this Court that his report primarily dealt with the defects of law, and not the complicity of officials, Congressmen and their relatives. In that case, there was no need to depute Shri Gurdial Singh.

Assembly Queries

In the meantime, the Punjab Government maintained a studied silence. The Vidhan Sabha was deeply disturbed. In fact, in the budget session of 1957, a number of M.L.As. vehemently expressed the anxiety of their own and their constituents at the complicity of the Minister's son in gold smuggling and the connivance at it of Shri Partap Singh Kairon. Instead of putting their case, the Chief Minister and his colleague, the Finance Minister, Shri Mohan Lal, ridiculed these allegations with criminal glee.

Then, towards the end of May, 1957, Shri Jagat Narain, M.L.A., unsuccessfully sought to move an adjournment motion in the Vidhan Sabha to discuss the Punjab Government's failure to check the crime of gold smuggling and the Union Government's communication to the Punjab Government expressing the Union Government's anxiety at the complicity of a Punjab Minister's son in the smuggling.

The scandalous situation bestirred an avalanche of public pressure, and the Punjab Government was constrained to initiate a drive against smuggling on the border. Scores of police officials, including a Superintendent, were overnight
transferred from vantage positions, a few suspended and others dismissed. A number of persons were hauled up for interrogation.

The investigations were, however, conducted with "loaded dice", good care being taken that the material against certain dignitaries and some of their friends and relations did not find its way in the police diaries, and for that purpose certain police officials were transferred and demoted with a view to suppressing positive evidence in their hands.

The atmosphere in the Punjab became surcharged with the knowledge that the gang of smugglers was under the leadership of Shri Surinder Singh Kairon. The press of the Punjab and the "Eastern Economist" of New Delhi discreetly mentioned the complicity of a Punjab Minister's son in gold smuggling.

The Black Record

I was then the Provincial Secretary of the Punjab Branch of the Praja Socialist Party. As a police man I was gravely perturbed over what was appearing in the Press and what came to my knowledge otherwise. Police and other governmental officials, both high and low, whom I happened to meet during those fateful days, told me categorically that Shri Surinder Singh Kairon was a leader of smugglers, responsible for a large number of other crimes and was escaping criminal liability for being under the protective wing of his father, the Chief Minister.

I was informed by them and otherwise how Shri Surinder Singh Kairon, even during his student days at Hoshiarpur, had brought from outside notorious criminals to threaten to shoot fellow students with revolver, how that led to widespread agitation and a day's strike in the college; how he cheated the Punjab University by managing to appear at the M.A. examination when he was in actual fact greatly short of the minimum number of lectures, which he did by illegally obtaining a manifestly false certificate of having attended the course of lectures which he never did; how he employed his father's willing but illegal authority to force the Subordinate Services Selection Board, Punjab, into giving him the lecturership of the Government College, Ludhiana, which according to rules belonged to other applicants who were better qualified for the post; how he fraudulently obtained service with the Dunlops by promising them his father's illegal influence for bettering the Dunlop's business prospects with the Punjab Government; how he set up a cooperative cold storage, and by violating rules and laws reduced it to the level of a family concern, built a huge fortune for himself by obtaining timber, cement, iron and machinery etc., illegally, fraudulently and with the illegal influence and authority of his father; how he defrauded the municipalities by committing thefts of tolls and other taxes; how he concocted, fabricated and forged palpably false accounts of the cold storage; how he was associated with his real first cousin, Shri Jagjit Singh Kairon, in the Mukerian dacoity case; how he managed the postings and transfer of police officials with the help of Shri Naurang Singh, the Senior Superintendent of Police during the heydays of smuggling in Amritsar in order to facilitate the smuggling of gold by his gangmen; how he prevailed upon Shri Naurang Singh and another associate Shri Sadhu Singh to appear as defence witnesses to save another smuggling associate, Hazara Singh Gill, from the gallows for being involved in a murder case; how he prevailed upon Shri Naurang Singh to help Hazara Singh Gill obtain a "border defence scheme" rifle which the said Hazara Singh Gill would never have otherwise got because of police record; how he interceded with a Magistrate to let go Kalwant Rai who was being prosecuted in a smuggling case and when the Magistrate did not oblige got the case withdrawn by his father, the Chief Minister; how he helped his smuggling associate, Sohan Singh, escape punishment for smuggling when 480 tolas of smuggled gold was recovered by the customs authorities from the said Sohan Singh; how he obtained all Indo-Pak passport and an entry visa to Pakistan that exempted him from arrival and departure reports; and how he was an associate and protector of notorious smugglers like G. S. Purewal (since escaped to Pakistan), Balraj Kapur and Dewan Chand Kapur of Messrs. Shambu Nath & Sons, Maddi, Jarnail Singh of Majha Transport Company, Dev Raj and a host of other outlaws.

There were other instances as well that came to my notice, which I have desisted from mentioning either here or in the course of the trial since I have no intention to hit Shri Surinder Singh Kairon or his father below the belt.

Evidence Produced

I was not only verbally informed about these criminal activities of Shri Surinder Singh but also certain documents were shown to me in original and certain others in photostat that established the truth of these activities. Some of these documents are already in the custody of the Court, while others have not been allowed by the Court or if allowed have not been produced by the authorities of the Punjab State due to the dictates of Shri Pratap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister.

Instead of seeking to set the things in order and punishing the guilay, howsoever highly placed, the Punjab Government chose to indulge in an unprecedentedly brazen undignified act by issuing a press note on July 22, 1957 which, while categorically denying the complicity of a Minister's son in smuggling, said that certain Urdu dailies were indulging in "deliberately mischievous and false propaganda" and they should have "the courage to come out openly" with the name of the Minister's son, should not take "shelter behind anonymity" and should face its "consequences." It was indeed a masterly stroke on the part of Shri Pratap Singh Kairon, for he knew that for reasons of business the newspapers avoided litigation and they would not accept the challenge.

Thus, on the one hand, the Union Government and the top Congress leaders would be led to believe that the allegations against the Minister's son were baseless, and on the other the way would be paved for Shri Surinder Singh Kairon to undertake his journey abroad to taste the golden fruits of his ill-gotten wealth. Even the "Tribune" of Ambala, known for its moderation and restraint, was intrigued by the "unusual tone and content" of this Press note which, it said editorially, "violates all the proprieties of official poise and dignity" and "does not clear the far more serious aspersion that, if Minister's sons are (Continued on page 11)
Direct Action In Democracy

THERE has been a good deal of discussion in public and the Press about the place of civil disobedience, satyagraha, in a democracy. That this weapon should not be used in India any more against a Government put in power democratically by the popular vote has been the contention of the Congress Governments. This limitation to satyagraha has not been accepted by the Opposition parties, including the Communist before they came to power in Kerala. Today the Communists and their Government in Kerala advance the Congress plea that civil disobedience against a democratically elected Government is neither right nor proper nor legally or constitutionally justified.

It will, therefore, be worthwhile to study Gandhi ji's views on the subject. After all, he conceived the idea and developed the technique of this non-violent method of fighting injustice and redressing wrongs.

Gandhiji has never once, in his copious writings on the subject, said that civil disobedience cannot be resorted to against a democratically formed Government. It would be strange if it were otherwise. Gandhiji never believed that the majority opinion must always be right. He assigned the supreme place to individual conscience. But he did not consider it infallible. He therefore put on it the restraint of non-violence.

What is Right?

If individuals and groups do not use violence or coercion and are prepared willingly to suffer the legal and other consequences of breaking the law, they are entitled to do so for what they consider to be right. But who is to decide what is right? Here is Gandhi ji's cryptic answer:

Question : "However honestly a man may strive in his search for truth, his notion of truth may be different from others'. Who then is to determine truth?"

Gandhiji : "The individual himself."

Question : "Honest striving after truth is different in every case?"

Gandhiji : "That is why the non-violence part of it."

Gandhiji was conscious of the fact that any system of Government, foreign or indigenous, democratic or totalitarian, may go wrong. He knew that under democratic forms a Government may be autocratic; that is, it may be highly centralised or corrupt. In such cases it would trample on the individual's liberty and freedom. Under such circumstances Gandhi ji proclaimed the supremacy of the individual conscience, provided he was willing to suffer the consequences of bearing witness to the truth in him. Gandhi ji also held that it is thus that the world has progressed.

Ancient Models

He says : "When Daniel disregarded the laws of Medes and Persians, which offended his conscience, and meekly suffered the punishment for his disobedience, he offered satyagraha. Socrates would not refrain from preaching what he knew to be truth and bravely suffered death. Daniel and Socrates are regarded as having been model citizens of the States to which they belonged." Further, Gandhi ji considered satyagraha as a pure and sure weapon. He says: "I believe that the use of a pure weapon even from a mistaken motive does not fail to produce some good." Again he says, "to put down civil resistance is to imprison conscience."

Can civil disobedience be offered against a democratic Government? The answer would be in the negative if no occasion could ever arise for a democratic Government to offend an individual's conscience or to be corrupt. This would manifestly be unhistorical and not true to the facts of life. However, Gandhi ji's answer is clear. He says: "I hold non-co-operation is of universal use. Well applied, its use in politics can displace the phrenalia of the vote and periodic elections, it may be totalitarian in character. We have the examples of the Nazi and Communist regimes. In India the Communist Government in Kerala is charged with trying to destroy democracy, after it came in power through the democratic vote. Gandhi ji therefore does not talk of democracy but, what is more unambiguous, a well-ordered State, and here too he holds that civil disobedience may become a duty for a conscientious citizen."

To further clarify his point Gandhi ji says, "I wish I could persuade everybody that civil resistance is the inherent right of a citizen. He does not give it up without ceasing to be a man." The word citizen in this context is significant. Only in a democracy is a man a citizen. In a totalitarian regime there are no citizens, but subjects and slaves.

Gandhiji goes so far as to say that civil disobedience is the birthright of the citizen. It is possible to question the wisdom of applying civil disobedience in respect of a particular act or law; it is possible to advise delay and caution. But the right itself cannot be allowed to be questioned. It is a birthright that cannot be surrendered without surrender of one's self-respect.

Further, Gandhi ji holds: "Civil disobedience becomes a sacred duty when the State becomes lawless or, which is the same thing, corrupt; and a citizen who barters with such
a State shares its corruption and lawlessness."

**Necessary Climate**

Again Gandhi says: Civil disobedience can be made a sovereign remedy for all our ills if we can produce the necessary atmosphere for it. For individuals there is always that atmosphere, except when their civil disobedience leads to bloodshed. . . . Even so a call may come which one dare not neglect, cost what it may. When the neglect of the call means a denial of God, civil disobedience becomes a peremptory duty.

"When a Government goes wrong to the extent of hurting the national fibre itself, it becomes the right of the subject, indeed it is his duty, to withdraw his obedience to the extent it may be required in order to bend the Government to the national will."

Gandhiji further holds that a person who deliberately sets himself to flout society has no right to be served by society." This applies as much to individuals as to groups and Governments. He says: "You assist an administration most effectively by obeying its orders and decrees. An evil administration never deserves such allegiance. A good man will therefore resist an evil system or administration with his whole soul. . . . Civil disobedience is the only and the most successful remedy and is obligatory upon him who would disassociate himself from evil." (Bold types mine.)

Gandhiji was most careful in using words. He not only talks of a bad system of Government but also of a bad administration. A good system of Government may become evil because of bad and corrupt administration. Even democracy may be badly administered. The present controversies in India between different political parties do not centre on the democratic system, which all accept, but how the system is being administered—by the Communists in Kerala and the Congress elsewhere.

**Universal Force**

Gandhiji held that "satyagraha to be genuine, may be offered against one's wife or one's children, against rulers, against fellow-citizens, even against the world. Such universal forces necessarily make no distinction between kinsman and stranger, young and old, man and woman, friend and foe." No exception is made here of a Government come into being democratically. In Gandhiji's view any individual, group or Government may go wrong and then, the sovereign remedy is civil disobedience and not coercion or violence.

Again, when Gandhiji enunciated his Theory of Trusteeship of the rich, it was pointed out to him that it implied the existence of the law courts, which in the last resort could compel fulfilment of the terms of the trust. Where was this court of justice in his Theory of Trusteeship of the rich and the capitalists? His reply to this was that there was none, except civil disobedience. It would compel compliance with the terms of the trust.

(To be continued)

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First Sixteen Months Of Red Rule In Kerala—II

JUDICIARY is the bulwark of democracy and it is to judiciary that the people appeal when their rights or their liberties are interfered with by the executive. The Communist Government of Kerala has been frequently interfering with the work of the judiciary by withdrawing cases, remitting sentences and reducing fines. This tampering with the judiciary is a matter for grave concern. It has not only impaired the dignity of the judiciary but has also lowered its efficiency. It has also affected the day-to-day life of the people to the extent that they are now compelled by conditions to seek the help of the Party bosses in order to secure redress of their grievances, be that civil or criminal.

One way adopted by the Government in order to use the judiciary to the advantage of the Party was to bring pressure, direct and indirect, upon the judges and the magistrates to secure decisions favourable to Party members. Where they have refused to yield to pressure, the Ministers have either demoted or transferred or divested them of their powers.

Misuse of Power

The Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure provide for withdrawal of cases, remission of sentences and reduction or return of fines imposed by courts. Objection therefore is taken not to the withdrawal of cases but the conditions under which and the way in which these powers are used by the Government. The Communist Government of Kerala, soon after it was installed in power, announced a general jail release, including the release of confirmed criminals, and withdrew a number of cases, none of which had anything to do with politics.

On July 5, 1958, in answer to an interpellation in the Assembly on the subject, the Minister for Law stated that 354 cases pending in courts were withdrawn and fines of 326 convicted of crimes were refunded to them and that the majority of such cases were cases against Communist members and sympathisers. This and similar acts have thrown the Government open to the charge of partiality to the members of the Party.

While accusing the Government for withdrawal of cases, they have to be judged under the context of conditions under which it is done. Here are relevant quotations from the order passed on July 27, 1958 in F. E. No. 10/57 by the I Class Magistrate, Trivandrum, T. A. Paraman, M.A., LL.B., refusing permission to the Government to withdraw the case: "The only reason sufficient for the court giving its consent to the withdrawal of a complaint is that such withdrawal is in the best interests of justice. Where reasons of State policy, so contrary to what is in the best interests of justice are given the court is not justified in consenting to the withdrawal. The withdrawal of a complaint shall be allowed only when reasons of State policy are in the best interests of justice.

"The State is logically incapable of advancing and reason that conflicts with the interests of justice. This logically follows from the meaning of justice and the role of the State in the preservation and maintenance of justice. Justice is the coordination, adjustment and reconciliation of the public rights of citizens as members of a politically organised society and the State is the organisation which preserves that state of adjustment. That is why the State is supposed to be the complainant in every criminal complaint as distinct from cases where the private rights of individuals are infringed.

"Where withdrawal of a criminal complaint by the Government leaves the violated public right of any citizen unredressed, the Government may be taken to have failed to comprehend the true nature of justice and the role of the State is the preservation and maintenance of justice. I am unable to see how the withdrawal of the complaint would be in the interests of justice. On the other hand, it would be least in the interests of justice".

The facts of the case are that a lorry was waylaid, the occupants beaten and the lorry taken to the Communist Party Office at Attingal where 8 gallons of petrol and two tins were stolen. The Government asked for the withdrawal of the case on the ground that "since the offence arose out of a labour dispute which has been settled, the Government have decided to withdraw the complaint against the accused in the interest of good labour-capital relations". The prosecution witness urged that no labour dispute was involved and that it was a misrepresentation by Government of facts and pleaded that the case may be proceeded with. The learned Magistrate agreed with the prosecution witness and declined to grant permission to withdraw. Magistrate Paraman was demoted in connection with this case.

A Glaring Instance

One of the most glaring cases of partiality to Party members is the Chawaghat assault case in which Pulikoottil Jacob and six other Communists knocked out the teeth and broke the arm of a Congressman, K. V. Inasu. The Government Prosecutor prayed for permission of the court to withdraw the charges on the ground of public interest. Magistrate P. Sivarama Menon told the Prosecutor that he saw no issues of public interest involved in the case on hand and asked him to proceed with the case.

Communist Aniruddhan, who was the rival of Pattom Thanu Pillai in the last General Elections, was charged with a number of other Communists for assaulting Mohamed Sheriff in February, 1955. Soon after the Communist Party came to power, an application was made for withdrawal of the cases. The withdrawal was granted. It was however objected to by the complainant who in his affidavit presented to the High Court says: "I submit that the respondents are politically influential people, the third respondent having been a candidate for election on the Communist Party ticket from one of the constituencies in Trivandrum City. I understand that the order of withdrawal was made improperly on account of the influence of the respondents on the Government. The case has not been prosecuted properly ever since the general elections in 1957."

Another case cited is "Vengacottah Estate assault case" in
Contempt of Court

While the appeal was pending, the Irinjalakuda Magistrate's Court, Government ordered release of all the prisoners by G. O. No. 1497 of 19-5-1958. The Government (vide Order No. G. O. Rs. No. 220 dated 6-2-1958, Home—B) directed the police to withdraw a case against certain Communists in the Vengathanam Estate. The sudden transfer by telegram of P. V. Korath, the Revenue Divisional Officer, Trichur, as Treasury Dy. Collector, Quilon, 170 miles away, is an act of extreme vindictiveness and thoroughly indefensible. He was openly challenged and told by V. V. Raghavan, brother-in-law of the Kerala Finance Minister, that Korath would have to pay the penalty within 24 hours if he did not release the nine Communists he arrested in the "Week of Violence" in Trichur.

The Strictures

Certified copies of judgment in two important cases are appended. Both these cases were where the Government have fabricated and foisted false cases on members of the opposition political parties in order to discredit and demoralise them. The Judge, in the course of his judgement in the Pampavally murder case, says in so many words that, "The inference, therefore, possible to be drawn from the circumstances of the case is that Papachan was murdered by somebody unknown and the responsibility for the murder has been foisted on these people out of political enmity." (Note on Mundasseri case).*

In the Mundasseri assault case, the stricture of the Judge is equally severe. In the course of the judgment he says: "There is thus no reliable, cogent and convincing evidence to hold that the accused had formed themselves into an unlawful assembly (as simply to organise a black flag demonstration does not amount to an offence) or did any of the acts attributed to them, namely, 'pestering or threatening' the Minister and Member of Parliament Punnoose, witness, are devestating. Acquitting all the 25 accused, the Judge in the course of his judgment says that "the evidence is not worthy of credence" and that the witness examined by the prosecution were "unreliable".

Fabrication

The Court observes that the conduct, particularly in the evidence by the Minister Majid and Punnoose, as disclosed by the records, made it impossible to place any reliance on their evidence. It was strange that the Minister identified the first accused, who, according to evidence was far in front of the car, while he failed to identify any one of the persons alleged to have been in possession of daggers and attempted to open the door of the car. On the evidence tendered by Punnoose, who travelling with the Minister in his car, the Judge observed that he had an "elastic conscience" as he attempted to explain his mistake in identifying the fifth accused who is a member of his wife's family.

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Wrong Way To Rural Development

CO-OPERATIVE" farming of the Nagpur pattern is collective farming; it has nothing to do with co-operative farming. It is no good playing with words. Wherever you uproot family farms, wherever you pool land, there put an end to cooperative farming; you bring in collective farming by whatever name you call it, I do say with all responsibility that the Nagpur resolution is a resolution for collective farming, whether the people who passed it know it or not.

Collective Pattern

The Nagpur Resolution says:

"As a first step, prior to the institution of joint farming, service co-operatives should be organised throughout the country within three years."

After that, after they have played their part, after they have softened up the countryside for the totalitarian measure that is to follow, we have this type of joint farming.

So long as you leave the farm in the possession of the family, so long as you do not disturb the man-land nexus, which is part of our tradition and our civilisation, I am for every measure of co-ordination and co-operation. But, if you uproot the boundaries and take the land away from the peasants, I shall fight you because you are moving towards totalitarian collective farming.

Now, the question is raised: Can voluntary methods bring about this result? I can only quote a man whose knowledge on this subject is unsurpassed in this country, Shri Charan Singh, who has made a life-long study of this. He is a member and leading light of the Congress Party. He knows this subject much better than anybody else; and, in my opinion, he represents Congress opinion. Shri Charan Singh is a staunch and disciplined member of the party and he has not changed his opinion. He has agreed to bow to the decision of the party as a good democrat. There are some people who change their opinions.

Shri Charan Singh is not one of them. This is what he says:

"Human nature being what it is, even brothers of the same mother usually separate from one another after the head of the family, the father, has been removed by death or other cause. In the circumstances, it is Utopian to expect that an average householder will, all of a sudden, identify his interest with the interests of these hundreds of persons in the village or neighbourhood who were total strangers to his life before."

We know that murders are committed between cousins and between brothers for land. To say that because you pass a resolution or you pass a law, you are going to change a human being overnight and make people who love their lands with passion to pool their lands in a voluntary manner is thoroughly Utopian. There is only one way in which this kind of joint farming can be brought about and that is by coercion and violence.

Take another example. We know about the gramdan villages. In Koraput, Acharya Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash tried to ask the local people to cultivate them as a village and not to ask for distribution of the land. Jayaprakash confessed to me that this experiment had ended in failure because the peasant does not want to farm village land jointly; he wants something of his own. He wants to farm his own land. That is part of human nature. We all want something of our own. We are not prepared to share everything with everyone in an equal measure. You may call it selfish. The human being is largely selfish, though not entirely so. Are you going to legislate for human beings or are you going to legislate for angels who do not exist?

Now, the Government of India announced last April that there should be 3,000 co-operative farms by the end of the Second Plan and of them 600 should be brought into existence by the end of the financial year 1958-59. What does this mean? What kind of voluntary co-operation is this? Can the Government of India sitting in Delhi decide in advance with foreknowledge and foresight how many farms the peasants are going to want on a voluntary basis during a certain period? Is it not a farce to talk of voluntary cooperation and targets?

I would quote from Gomulka. Gomulka pointed out very rightly that targets and voluntary co-operation cannot go together. This is what he said; these are his words in October, 1956:

"Quantitative development of producers' cooperation cannot be planned because, on the basis of voluntary entry to co-operatives, this would mean the planning of the growth of human consciousness, and that cannot be planned."

This is what he said when he rescinded the collectivisation law and handed back the farms to the peasants.

What kind of administration have we with which to guarantee this gigantic experiment, after three years, of destroying peasant proprietorship, in taking people away from their lands, millions and millions of them and pooling them in joint farms?

In the Report of the Agriculture Administration Committee appointed by our Government, they say that there is only a handful of competent senior officers in the Department of Agriculture. No replacements are available for this handful of senior competent officers. Directors of Agriculture in the States have said that if such replacements were available, they would like to replace 30 or 40 per cent of their staff who are not up to the mark. The scales of pay in the Agricultural Service are lower than in other services. It is common for an Officer to be promoted to a gazetted post after 20 years of service and then to retire on the magnificent salary of Rs. 400 a month! The service rules have in many States not been revised for 25 years. Is it any wonder that Sir

* This is the second and concluding part of Mr. Masani's article, comprising extracts from a Lok Sabha speech.
Malcolm Darling, an experienced and enthusiastic co-operator, who was asked by Government to come to this country a couple of years ago and have another look at the picture that Indian co-operatives presented summed up his impressions by saying:

"In every State the path of co-operation is strewn with wreckage".

Out of this wreckage this great mausoleum of joint co-operative farming is to be erected after three years.

What kind of autonomy will these co-operative societies enjoy? Are we really serious when we talk of co-operatives, or are we only intending that we will impose a super zamindari from Delhi on the poor peasants and call it co-operation in order to pacify them?

Let me summarise the recommendations of the Co-operative Law Committee which reported only a few days back. It was a committee of Registrars of Co-operative Societies and other gentlemen who will have to administer this co-operative farming after three years. Let us see what their ideas of co-operation are. I am giving only five or six of their recommendations:

1. The Registrar should have the right to have the accounts of any society audited "under his own direction and control" and then to give directives to the society to put its house in order.

2. The Registrar has the right to settle disputes of any kind, to appoint another officer to settle the disputes or to appoint an arbitrator. And no appeal shall lie to a court of law in regard to any of these disputes—at one stroke the Registrar would abolish the jurisdiction of the rule of law.

3. The Registrar will have the power to supersede any society; and he may run any society so superseded for two years and, at his own discretion, extend the period to four years.

What kind of co-operative society is it which has to be run by a nominated official over the heads of the society for four years? Why not admit defeat and dissolve the society?

4. The Registrar may make an order directing the winding up of any society.

5. The State Government may become a member of any co-operative society, "each person nominat-
ed by the State Government on the committee shall have one vote."

It is surprising to have this kind of report from those who are going to administer the agricultural co-operatives in this country. The Indian Co-operative Union, a leading body of co-operative enthusiasts in this country, have said that the effect of such a report, if accepted, would be to "reduce the co-operatives to little colonies of backward, ignorant and helpless people to be "administered", "controlled", "super-vised", "audited", "inspected", "superseded", "adjudged" and "dis-solved" by one single authority, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies."

There is no wonder that Prof. Chandrasekhar, one of our finest demographers, who recently visited China, described the Chinese communes as "a new form of colonialism", the same phrase that is used here by the Co-operative Union.

It seems to me that there are two alternatives with which we are faced. One is that an attempt will seriously be made to implement this programme of destroying peasant proprietorship after three years and to try to bring in collective farming. I do hope that such an attempt will not be made. But, if it is made, it can only be by threats, by coercion; and I do not hesitate to say that if a serious attempt is made, it will unfortunately lead to civil war and bloodshed and the death of thousands of people in this country. I think anyone who thinks he can persuade the peasants of India to give up their lands and become landless serfs again for a super-zamindari in Delhi or the State capital is living in a fool's paradise. They will never accept such change.

I hope, therefore, no attempt will be made to carry this out. There are, of course, many cynics who say that there is no intention of doing this. Acharya Kripalani might think so. But I am not a cynic; I like to take people seriously. When they say something I like to give them the credit of meaning what they say. One must hope nonetheless that they will not continue on this path. If they do not do so, then again, one could not say that it would be harmless. Untold damage will be done in the attempt to bring it about even if the effort is given up half-way. Let me give the example of communist Poland. Only 9.2 per cent of land was actually collectivised but the production in even the private farms fell until the policy of collectivisation was abandoned for every peasant felt that his turn might come in a few month's time. The incentive to production was taken away. Even the psychological damage of talking about joint "co-operative" farming will be considerable.

The Prime Minister, talking at Basi on the 10th February, is reported to have said :

"Those who tell you that co-operative farming amounts to some sort of confiscation of land are trying to cheat you. . ."

I wish he had not used this uncharitable remark about people as diverse as Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, Shri K. M. Munshi and many others who have said that. For instance, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has said in Banaras only four days ago that co-operative farming in today's context means creating "puppets in the hands of officials", thus depriving the peasants of their volition and land. It is not good to say of these patriotic sons of the soil that they are changing the people.

I would not for a moment say that those who are trying to tell the people that the land would not be taken away from them, as the Prime Minister and others do, are cheating the people. I do not resort to such language and I do not think the Prime Minister should either. But I do say this that, whatever the motives may be, whatever they may be thinking they will be doing, the people who are really misleading the country are those who say that this Nagpur pattern of joint co-operative farming will not take the land away from the peasants. I say it will. It is those who are denying this who are misleading the people and not those who are bringing this matter to the light of the people and performing a patriotic duty that they must perform. The ruling party has set its feet on the wrong road, wrong from the point of view of public morality, wrong from the point of view of a free society and also, if may say so, wrong from the point of view of self-interest.

I say it is wrong from the point of view of self-interest because for the sake of a minority, a majority is sought to be penalised. Let me give the figures of the landed and the landless people in this country. The National Sample Survey of 1954-55 came to the conclusion that there were 66 million households owning land with 5 members per household, while there were 15 million households not twinning land at all—about 20 per cent of those with land. Indian Agriculture in Brief, published by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1957, gives these figures. Those who are self-employed in agriculture are 53.7 per cent of the population. Those who are landless labourers are only 12.6 per cent. In case anyone is under the impression that a small minority is sought to be attacked by the collectivisation of land in favour of a big majority, let them think again. The big majority of people living in the villages do own some land. You may say it is a small plot but they love that land, small as it may be, as they love their baby, even if it is a little infant. They do not think that their land is worthless. . . because it is small. Help them to cultivate it better; provide them with wells.

(Continued from page 4)

involved in crime, its investigation will be ordered and undertaken to satisfy the public."

Public Duty Discharged

On the day the Press note was published, I was in Jullunder. All the Punjab Urdu papers are published from that city. I came to know that the Press note had had the intended effect. That indeed was the testing time. There was an urgent choice before a public man who had no personal ends to serve. It could not be postponed. On the one hand, public interest demanded that full investigations be held and the matter of the Minister's son's complicity in gold smuggling should not be left there, and on the other hand narrow self-interest suggested a course of cowardly silence in face of the threat of "consequences".

When I issued the statement I knew it well that it was a fight against the Punjab Government itself for the activities of Shri Surinder Singh Kairon were being carried on with full connivance of his father, Shri Partap Singh Kairon, who very well knew that Shri Surinder Singh is hand in glove with notorious smugglers, had frequently employed the Chief Minister's telephones for making trunk calls to
notorious smugglers in Amritsar and across the borders in Pakistan, had successfully interceded on behalf of notorious smugglers with the Chief Minister and police officials.

In fact my accusation was directed against the Chief Minister himself and he knows it. He has sent a number of emissaries to me to hold out bloody threats or sweet temptations, both on political and personal level. It was even suggested that I should say that I named Shri Surinder Singh by mistake; that I in fact meant not the son but the nephew of the Chief Minister, Shri Sohan Singh Kairon from whom 480 tolas of smuggled gold was recovered by the customs authorities on the border and against whom evidence was promised. I am proud to say that I have not fallen a prey to such ignoble strategems. The border State of Punjab was never more in need of men of unsullied courage and conviction.

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**Editorial**

**Trade Unionism Must Improve**

The membership figures of the four all-India trade union organisations released by the Registrar of Trade Unions make dismal reading. The drop in the membership this year, compared with that of last year, is attributed to the change in the method of calculation.

Even if one makes allowance for the factor, one cannot be satisfied with the low percentage of the labour force drawn into the trade union movement in our country. This is partly due to rivalry among the various unions in the concern or industry, partly to the mentality of the workers, who still preserve their rural background, and partly to the fact that unemployment is so chronic in our country that the worker is afraid of organising himself for securing his just rights and claims. The employers take advantage of this and try to victimise any one who attempts to organise trade unions in the concerns under their domain.

All these difficulties are genuine, but a way has to be found out of them if the workers are to be assured of their legitimate share in the national income and if industrial development is to proceed at an even pace. The years ahead are going to be trying for the workers in this country. With the publication of the report of the Pay Commission, the whole question of the wage pattern, which is for the time being held in abeyance, will become a live issue and it will require all the organising strength of the trade union workers to ensure a just and equitable pattern that would give the workers their due without exploiting the unorganised consumer and without hampering capital formation.

The Third Five-Year Plan is now on the anvil. Various projects to be included in the Third Plan will be discussed in the country and targets of production and investment fixed. Employers are now a well-organised body and they have got resources at their command to make their voice heard at the highest level. They will naturally be interested in adopting schemes that give large returns for their investments irrespective of their effect on the employment situation. It will be necessary to counteract this pull. Trade unions will naturally be interested in enlarging the scope of employment because it is the experience all over the world that the working class are able to develop their strength only under conditions of near full-employment. They will, therefore, have to fight for schemes that are labour intensive, care being taken to see that production is not hampered and wage levels not depressed.

Lastly, the problem of productivity will have to be tackled. It is obvious that the workers and the masses in general in the country will not be able to enjoy a real higher standard of life unless production is stepped up. Organised labour can be very helpful in this matter provided proper conditions are created for their effective functioning in the sphere of increasing productivity. The unions will have to agitate both for creating these necessary conditions and for making use of these conditions with a view to stepping up the productivity drive.
These are stupendous tasks and can be carried out only if the largest possible number of workers is drawn into organised trade union movement. The workers' representatives would do well to apply their minds seriously to this problem and do all they can to solve it satisfactorily.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Food Trade Paradox

The Union Food Ministry has, at last, realised the importance of the study of the problem of low food arrivals in the markets despite a considerable increase in the output of foodgrains. Till now the tendency in the Ministry is either to explain away the phenomenon as one of temporary shortages due to various passing factors that can be easily tackled or to rely on hunches and apply measures accordingly. This policy has failed singularly and the situation has become sufficiently serious in some States—at least, to compel re-thinking on the matter. Accordingly, the Food Ministry has now appointed four teams of experts to conduct a rapid survey in four selected areas to diagnose the causes of the paradox of peak food production being accompanied by conspicuously low arrivals in the market, and consequent high prices.

There is a general impression in the produce markets in the country that low foodgrain arrivals are not due principally to increased food consumption in rural areas. The prices prevailing in the urban centres are sufficiently high to attract foodgrains in the market. The hoarding by the producers with a view to unloading at favourable prices also cannot be regarded as the main cause. Hoarding by middlemen and black-marketing can be two possible causes. It is significant that the moment the price control order was lifted in West Bengal, sizable quantities of rice did appear in the "footpath market" though at higher prices. This shows that even small traders are holding on to their stocks with a view to getting better prices.

It was in order to tackle this aspect of the problem that the socialisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains was recommended. But the experiments so far carried out in pilot schemes do not seem to create much enthusiasm for the capacity of the Government to try this remedy effectively. These experiments seem to point out, according to the official version, that the Government trading is successful in supporting the market price of foodgrains. However, the main task of the legislature is to bring to bear on the administration and the proposals of the experts on the administration and for making controls more effective. Without such controls, it will be impossible for the country to launch on an ambitious plan of industrialisation. Any way, the reports of the expert teams should throw some light on the possible weaknesses in the Government programme. The foodgrains price control policy should be revived only after due consideration has been given to the findings of these experts.

Parliament Debates

The House of Commons debate on a Select Committee report on the procedure to revise the antiquated rules of Parliament will be read with interest by those who are interested in the successful and efficient working of the institution of parliament. Of special interest to back-benchers in our own Parliament and their sympathisers will be the speech of Mr. R. A. Butler, leader of the House, who opposed suggestions like promising House Committees on the American pattern.

The back-benchers in Parliament have a universal feeling that they do not "catch the eye of the Speaker" as frequently as they should and that the majority of the time of any debate is taken up by members on the front benches. With the tremendous amount of legislative work which modern legislatures have to put through, the time for debate on any legislation or topic has to be severely rationed. In the large legislatures of the present day, therefore, it is impossible for the Speaker to permit every one to have his full say in his own time-consuming manner on each topic.

Further, because of the specialised nature of the work before Parliament, expertise becomes more and more important and the commonsense point of view is not much in favour. The front-benchers have an advantage of having been closely associated with administration and are, therefore, supposed to be better acquainted with the intricacies of the problems. They have to be given more time to debate these intricate issues. The result is a growing sense of frustration among the back-benchers.

One of the possible ways out is House Committees on the American pattern with powers to examine in greater detail the policies of the Government. This should give a chance to more members to familiarise themselves with administrative intricacies. Our Select Committees come near to this pattern and the back-benchers do get some scope in participating in legislation. In this connection, it is worth remembering that the main task of the legislature is to bring to bear on the administration and the proposals of the experts the commonsense point of view, so that the zeal of the experts may not result in disproportionate breaks or unjustifiable caution. The back-benchers, if they study their papers carefully, can ideally do this job as the front-benchers are too close to the experts to maintain the freshness of outlook of a commonsense man.

But, Mr. Butler did not seem to favour this idea and all that he conceded was that at the Speaker's discretion there should be an hour during important debates when the back-benchers might be given an opportunity of making five-minutes speeches. No wonder one member indignantly brushed this idea aside as amounting to setting up a "parliamentary children's debate".
WHEN the question of Kerala was raised in the Lok Sabha during the last session, some important member of the Congress, an ex-Minister of some sort, in the lobby, told me: 'Why this hulla-baloo? The Congress Governments in the States do the very same things that the Kerala Government has been doing.' I could say nothing to this weighty assertion. He was likely to know more about his organisation than myself. How could I contradict what came straight from the horse's mouth?

I was also conscious of the fact that Congressmen do indulge in irregularities. There are instances where, it is alleged, they have interfered with the administration, not excluding the police and the judiciary. Criminal cases are said to have been withdrawn at the instance of Congressmen. There have been political murders in Congress-ruled States. The Congressmen try to do many things that are undemocratic, to perpetuate Congress rule. Yet, I felt there was a vital difference between them and Kerala.

The great difference is that Congressmen do many of these doubtful things in their individual capacity and for individual advantage. There is no set and determined policy behind it. For instance, if an advantageous contract is given to a Congressman, in preference to a non-party man, it is for personal reasons or for some consideration. It is not in pursuance of a party policy or to fill the coffers of the party from profits of the contract. If there is sometimes interference in administration, it is by individuals and for the benefit of individuals. Interference in the work of the administration is not the creed of the Congress, behind which rests a political philosophy and ideology.

Administration Above Party

If some Congressman is favoured by a Minister, it is due to friendship, relationship or for benefits received. Non-Congressmen too receive similar favours for the same reasons. One group in the Congress patronises its own adherents to the neglect of those of the rival group. If there have been some stray political murders, the victims have been both Congressmen and the members of the Opposition. Sometimes there is a murder as the result of group rivalries within the Congress.

The Chairman or the Secretary of the local Congress organisation, is not the boss of the administration there. His word is not law with the officers. He cannot order them about. He cannot get transferred such officers as do not promote the party interests. Congressmen sometimes indulge in these things, not as a system and not for party purposes but for their personal interest, and sometimes get away with it. The Congress Committees, whether at the Centre or in the States, are not more important than the Government. The administration cannot not be ordered about by the Congressman as of right. It is not bound to obey a Congressman as of duty.

What individuals in the Congress do to advance their personal interests or those of their relatives and friends is frowned upon in higher quarters. It may be that the higher authorities, do sometimes the very things that they prohibit ordinary members from doing. But this only proves that there is no philosophy behind what is done. How often have warnings been issued to Congressmen by Congress Governments and bosses in the States and the Centre not to interfere with the administration!

Communist Policy

Some of this interference is made possible by the timidity of the members of the services brought up in traditions of subservience under foreign rule, and their excessive anxiety for personal safety at all cost. Whenever officers have been independent, Congressmen have not been able to interfere. Moreover when Congressmen interfere with the administration they have a bad conscience. They know that what they do is something wrong, which is against party interests and discipline. They do it out of their weakness and cupidity.

However, interference by party-men in the administration is a set policy in all Communist countries. The party not only decides the broad policies for the Communist Governments but is commissioned to supervise and control the detail of the day-to-day administration. They party boss occupies a more important position than the administrative boss.

The Congress, if anything errs in the contrary direction. Here even the basic policies, whether at the Centre or in the States, are generally decided by the Prime Minister, The Chief Ministers in the States or by the Cabinets. In the party meetings, even Ministers are not free to give their independent opinion on organisational matters. It is what happened recently in the U.P. and half of the members of the Cabinet were obliged to resign on this issue.

Such a thing will be unheard of in the Communist Party. The party is superior to everybody else there. When, therefore, a Communist interferes in the administration, he feels he is doing his duty. He has no bad conscience. He is not injuring the party principles, interests or discipline. He is working in consonance with the philosophy and ideology of the Communist Party. He knows it is the party dictatorship which will bring about the proletarian revolution and the consolidation of power.

Curious Temptation

For years, Stalin was merely a Secretary of the Communist Party in Russia. Yet he wielded more power than the nominal Prime Minister there. He was the dictator before he was the Prime Minister. When Bulganin and Khrushchev came to India, it was not the former, the Prime Minister of Russia, but the latter, the party Secretary, who dominated the scene and made the most important speeches and announcements. The Prime Minister was merely the decorative appendage of Khrushchev, the party boss (Communist Parties have no Chairmen or Presidents. The Highest office in the party is that of the Secretary.)

Sometimes I have wondered why Stalin and Khrushchev got themselves elected to the Premiership of Russia. It may be they wanted to add the glamour of that office, nominally the highest in the Gov-
Every absolute monarch in the past declared that he was the State and the law. The Communist Party dictatorship also considers itself the State and the law. In the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church was the master of people's souls. Therefore it also became ultimately the master of their bodies. Th Communist Party is the master of people's bodies and, therefore, of their souls, if they pretend to have them. Th Catholic Church was infallible. The Communist Party too is infallible.

The Catholic Church was the vice-regent of God on earth. The Communist Party is the vice-regent of the Proletariat. Those who opposed the Church opposed God and were the agents of anti-Christ, Satan. Those who oppose the Communist Party oppose the Proletariat, of which the party is the vice-regent. The party alone can be the protector of the Proletariat, having been assigned the task by the new God of Historic Necessity. Therefore, even a popular upsurge or revolt as in Hungary and Tibet must be one inspired by those who are "against the Proletariat", the "imperialists, vested interests, and reactionary elements".

The Western imperialists have not been brought in the picture in the present upsurge in Kerala. They may yet come in at some stage. However, the whole movement is engineered by the 'vested interests' and the "reactionary and communal elements", who are the enemies of the people. The movement is "anti-people". These assertions are made and repeated day in and day out even when labour organised a day's strike against the regime. It would appear that there are thousands upon thousands of capitalists and landlords in Kerala, who demonstrate every day and against the Communist Government and court arrest. Who says Kerala is a poor State?

Arguments Futile

It is, therefore, useless to argue that the Kerala Government has broken the Indian Constitution. They are not bound by it but by their own Marxian philosophy and ideology. If they were not, they will not be Communists but only democrats. They believe in the Constitution as long as it serves them. It served them to get in power. Today it serves them to call civil disobedience against them in Kerala as unconstitutional while in every other State they have been indulging in campaigns of civil disobedience.

The fact is that when people have a God or History-given mission to perform, they cannot think of such unimportant things as the Constitution. Further, purity of means has no meaning for them. They must have always a double standard of morality, one for themselves and the contrary one for their opponents. If a Communist were to betray his party or his nation, he would be a traitor. But the same conduct by a citizen of a democratic State will be applauded. There can be no treason against a democratic party or State.

The legalists who are talking about Constitution do not know what they are talking about. The Communist Party has everywhere thought itself above the Constitution. Lenin declared that Kerensky's Government was as good a democracy as any other in Europe. All the Governments behind the Iron Curtain were installed in power by the support of the Russian Army stationed in these countries after the last war, even though they had opposed Hitler.

The Grim Humour

The Constitution is not something that a party can uphold unilaterally. It is not like a moral imperative that must be adhered to, do what others may. There can be no Con-

(Continued on page 9)
Collectives In Guise Of Co-operatives

IN no sector of our life the gulf between governmental policies and public opinion is wider than in the field of our agricultural life. Agriculture is the basis of our financial life and our budget. The policies that the Government are now thinking of carrying out will hit the financial stability of this country more than anything else one knows.

We know that the Nagpur resolution has three prongs: ceilings, State-trading and co-operatives. There are three real issues about joint co-operative farming: one is whether it is productive, whether it will raise food production. Wherever collective or co-operative farming has been tried, it has been a failure in so far as foodgrains and agricultural fields were concerned.

A Confusion

The second issue is: is joint co-operative farming any different from collective farming? The Prime Minister says the two are completely different; he is against collective farming, he is for joint co-operative farming; the identification arises out of a confusion to my mind.

In the Soviet Union there are two kinds of farms, the Sovkhoz, which is a State farm, and the Kolkhoz, which is a collective farm. The Sovkhoz is very abnormal, it is an experimental or demonstration farming like the co-operative farming in our Prime Minister's Canada, but the Kolkhoz is a normal collective farm. It is the Kolkhoz which prevails over the larger portion or the bulk of the Soviet Union. The Kolkhoz by Soviet law is an artel. Artel is the word for a co-operative. In other words, Soviet collective farming also masquerades as co-operation. The members of the collective farm hold the land in perpetuity from the State. The farm cannot be taken away from the collective farmers. It is their joint property leased to them in perpetuity by the community. The members do not have to pay the State anything for this farm because they have pooled their land in this farm. Half the capital of the farm that is thus contributed by the contribution of land and animals is indivisible till the collective farm is dissolved. The other half can be taken away by a man; his own share can be taken away when he wants to leave the collective farm. The farmer thus has the right to opt out of the Soviet collective farm.

No Self-government

Another feature of the Kolkhoz is that there is complete self-government. The code or charter of 1935 which prescribed the way in which the co-operative or collective farm will be run lays down that there will be no interference from the Government, that the co-operative farms will elect their own president, manager and executive committee which will run the farm. We know from practice, of course, that a coach and four have been run through this charter right from the time it was promulgated, and that the Soviet collective farms enjoy no self-government. This is admitted in the Soviet papers that there is complete control and domination from day to day by the Soviet dictatorship. I say so far as the statute on collective farming in the Soviet Union is concerned, the Nagpur resolution is a carbon copy of Soviet collective farming.

There are two differences: one, which is in favour of Soviet collective farming, and that is that when the peasants refused to co-operate, when food production went down, when Russia had famine, which I hope our country will not share as a result of this kind of misguided policy, even Stalin retreated and he allowed the collective farmers to own family kitchen plots, family kitchen plots that range from half an acre to as much as 2½ acres per farmer. On that private kitchen plot the Soviet collective farmer today grows vegetables and fruits. He owns his own livestock and he takes his dairy and vegetables and fruits to the markets in the big cities where he sells it to the richer people, the new capitalist class in the Soviet Union, in the black market which is there called "the free market." These are facts. This is one difference between our farming and Soviet farming which is in favour of Soviet collective farming, because it has given a concession against joint farming to the peasant.

The other difference is that we have a democracy and they do not possess one. That will be the answer of those who argue: why should you think that we will do the same? I am sure the Prime Minister certainly means that he will not distort this internal autonomy and other provisions of the Soviet collective system as those in Russia have done, but there, if I may say so, he is being thoroughly unrealistic. I suggest that when you herd millions of peasants into big co-operative farms, the same conditions will recur here as happened in Russia. You will have chaos.

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you will have a catastrophic drop in food production, and you cannot let the country starve. Therefore, you will have to impose on these joint co-operative farms, may not be the same brutal regimented measures, but you will have to destroy their autonomy; you will have to reduce them to collective farms as in Russia; you will have to reduce the collective farmer or the co-operative farmer to a landless labourer, deprived for ever of his farm.

Three Disadvantages

There are three very precise reasons why one should deprecate even the talk of joint co-operative farming at a time when the country wants more food production. There are three disadvantages which will happen through mere talk and not through implementation. The first is that the primary obligation of Government to supply water and irrigation, to supply fertilisers, to give better advice and tools, and to give credit is sought to be overlooked; attention is diverted from these primary tasks of Government to help the cultivator by this talk about joint co-operative farming three years from now. It is a disincentive to Government to do the right thing.

The second disadvantage is that by creating insecurity in the minds of thousands of small and middle peasants, you are going to give a disincentive to increased food production. May I know whether, in three years his farm is going to be taken away from him, he can now be expected to cultivate it with that zest in his heart which he would do if he thought that his enthusiastic work on his land will come back to him in fruits five or ten years from now?

The third harm that is done by this kind of talk is that it gives aid and comfort to and prepares the ground for communist propaganda to take advantage of it later on. In this way it acts as a kind of Sappers and Miners of the Communist Party of India.

I happened to be in Belgaum in the State of Mysore and I asked the peasants there how far back in their history the system of Ryotwari, the ownership of the land by the actual tiller, went. They said that they could not remember; some people said five hundred years, and others said a thousand years. In the end, it was established that never in their memory had there been a time when there was anything like a Zamindari or the absence of peasant proprietorship. Therefore, the difference is this. In Bihar and in Uttar Pradesh, from which the advocates of co-operative farming have been coming—though there are also stout champions against it—the kisan, the peasant proprietor is a new phenomenon. He has been there only for three or four or five or ten years. But, in the South, by and large, and in the West of India, in my State of Bombay and in the South as a whole, peasant proprietorship is part of our way of life. It is part of our civilisation. And to try to uproot it in three years or even in five years is playing with fire. I do beseech the Government not to pursue this dangerous path.

An Element of Passion

I am glad there is a very good discussion going on in this country on the subject. I am only sorry that the Prime Minister seeks to import an element of passion into this debate. He said that there was no passion like the passion of a vested interest. I cannot help feeling that the passion with which the Prime Minister spoke in this House a few days back and elsewhere shows that there is nothing like the passion of a doctrinaire who is thwarted in the pursuit of his dogma. And when the people of India do not go along with that dogma, an attempt is made to create a climate of intimidation, to say: 'How dare you get up and speak against us?' I can assure the Prime Minister that he may have succeeded in thrusting these measures down the throat of his own party at Nagpur, but that he will not be able to do it in the Lok Sabha, and that the people of India will stop these measures from going through.
First Sixteen Months Of Red Rule In Kerala—III

The unpopularity of the police with the public was used to the advantage of the Party by Shri Nambodiripad when he, immediately on accession to power, announced that he would not allow the police to interfere in labour, kisan or student disputes. In making such an announcement, the Chief Minister did not give due consideration to the larger interests of the public. This order of the Chief Minister imposed restrictions on the police and limited their activities to the investigation of cognisable offences. Even here the police were soon made to understand that the Government was not prepared to give the police a free hand to act according to law, where Party interests were involved.

Discrediting the Police

The police thus found themselves harassed at every step in every way. There was often direct interference by ministers with the officers in the investigation of cases. Sometimes pressure was brought to bear through superior officers on their subordinates, thus destroying the influence, initiative and morale of local officers. Vilifying officers and holding them up to ridicule, both in the press and on the platform, were methods used to further discredit the police in the eyes of the public. Party bosses often pulled up investigating officers and tried to suggest courses of investigation. The failure on the part of the officers to comply with instructions often led to transfers and other forms of harassment. These punitive transfers reduced the police to a state of subservience to Party dictation. The Minister for Law, in answer to an interpretation in the Assembly on March 2, 1958, said that the Government had effected 854 transfers of police officers since taking office.

Following are a few of the instances of harassment of police officers:

(i) S. I. Mohandas of Trivandrum city was suspended by Government for alleged discourteous conduct towards one Kosaldamdas, a City Corporation Councillor and Secretary of the City Committee of the Communist Party. The S. I. had arrested Kosaldamdas for obstructing an Amin of the Civil Court from executing degree.

(ii) The S. I. of Police, Kuthiathode (Seraalai, Alleppey District) took up investigation into an alleged case of trespass by Communists. He was surrounded by a Communist mob and had to be rescued by a police party led by the A. S. P. Alleppey. Government blamed the S. I. for interference in what they considered to be a pure agrarian dispute and ordered the R. D. O. to enquire into it. On the latter's report the S. I. was transferred.

(iii) The S. I. of Police, Thiruvalla (Kottayam District) was transferred for arresting a person who with the aid of Communists, caused restraint to a lady doctor and her family who were involved in an accident with the arrested person.

by

K. B. Menon

(iv) The S. I. of Police, Payyannur was transferred for failing for preventing black flag, demonstrations during the occasion of the visit of the Finance Minister on August 6, 1957. The Sub-Inspector had not received any intimation of the visit nor did the orders require him to provide any escort for the Minister.

(v) The Communist suspected a case of suicide at the Nattika Police Station, Trichur, to be a case of murder. The Sub-Inspector who treated it as a case of suicide was transferred.

(vi) The S. I. of Police, Kazhakuttan (Trivandrum District) was accused of assaulting a few Communists while evicting them from a plot of land in compliance with court orders. Even though superior officers including the I. G. P. reported the allegations to be false he was transferred on representation by the local Communist M.L.A.

(vii) The S. I. of Police, Vidura (Trivandrum District), was transferred because he took legal action against Communist-controlled labourers.

(ix) In September 1957, there was a demonstration against the P.W.D. Minister at Kanjirapalli (Kottayam District) and his car was damaged. The Law Minister brought pressure to bear on the S. P. of Kottayam to convert the charge of assault to one of attempt to murder. As the S. P. failed to respond, he had to quit the district. All the accused have been acquitted.

Minister's Meddling

Interference from Ministers and Party leaders with the investigation of cases has become a common feature. Some instances are given below:

(i) In September 1957, there was a demonstration against the P.W.D. Minister at Kanjirapalli (Kottayam District) and his car was damaged. The Law Minister brought pressure to bear on the S. P. of Kottayam to convert the charge of assault to one of attempt to murder. As the S. P. failed to respond, he had to quit the district. All the accused have been acquitted.

(ii) The same kind of interference was in evidence in the investigation of the so-called Mundassery assault case which occurred during the course of the Education Bill agitation. A minor incident was exaggerated and made to appear as an attempt on a minister's life and pressure was brought to bear upon the police to make it appear as an attempt to murder. The trying Court has acquitted the accused, holding that they had been charge-sheeted on political considerations.

(iii) In a murder case of Thamarasseri, the Communist M.L.A. interfered with the investigation and induced the Circle Inspector of Police to implicate Christophers in the case. As the Inspector of Police did not agree, the Dy. S. P. and S. P. were ordered to look into the investigation. They found that the investigation was along correct lines and thereupon Government directed the I.G.P. (Spl.) to re-investigate the case. The I.G.P. (Spl.) directed the local police to exclude two of the accused and include others whom the Communists had implicated. This glaring instance of forcing the police investigation along lines desired by the Party has impaired
Public confidence in the independence and fair-mindedness of police investigation in the area.

(iv) Another instance of interference by the Party was that by the Secretary of the Kozhikode Taluk Committee of Communist Party, who wrote to the Sub-Inspector of Police accusing him of not taking action on a number of complaints made at the Police Station and of general indifference on the part of the Police. The S. I. was warned that the Party would be forced to complain to the authorities if such indifference continued. The allegation against the S. I. had to be enquired into by the Circle Inspector and the Dy. S. P.Apparently the Government took the view that there was nothing wrong with the action of the Secretary of the Taluk Committee as he is a representative of the people.

New Licence

Executive instructions from Ministers have often fettered the hands of the police. Such instructions were often based on expediency and the interests of the Party. Thus, in the case of the "Malappuram Nercha" which had to be banned in the past because it gave rise to communal disorders, the Law Minister gave instructions to police officers that it should be celebrated because he was anxious to win the support of a majority of Muslims in the locality who were eager to celebrate the festival. The attitude of the Government in this case contrasts sharply with the position taken in that of a similar festival known as "Chandanakudam" in Pathanamthitta (Quilon District). The practice here had been for the police to give protection to the majority for the celebration, but as the Communists were opposed to the celebration, the police, under instructions from the Law Minister, enforced prohibitory orders and the celebrations were not allowed.

Another method adopted by the Communists to win over the police force and pack it with men of their own persuasion was the reinstatement of several dismissed personnel. The Law Minister was reported to be seriously considering the re-employment of ex-Capt. Kerala Varma who was dismissed from the police force of the former Cochin State for alleged Communist activities. One Vijayan of Punthalur, discharged for pro-Communist activities during the last General Elections of 1954, has been reinstated.

K. T. Musa, an ex-sepoy, discharged for Communist activities, has been re-employed as a village official.

K. T. Krishnend put out of employment as clerk in the Trades School of Chalakudi. Nearly 600 ex-M.S.P. men dismissed, discharged and allowed to resign have been ordered to be re-instated in future vacancies in the Armed Reserve or in other inferior posts in the Secretariat. They were all involved in a Communist-inspired strike of the M.S.P. in 1946.

Hesitant and Halting

The re-entertainment of large numbers of dismissed personnel is likely to have grave consequences for the discipline of the force. It is not unlikely that considerations of their usefulness in indoctrinating young members of the force have weighed with Government in arriving at this decision.

It is obvious from all that has been said so far that the summary way in which police officials, high and low, are dealt with by the Government when they incur the displeasure of Party members or act against the presumed interests of the Party has made them hesitant and halting in their behaviour towards the public. The police in the villages, therefore, turn their backs when crimes are committed in their presence. When six Congressmen were besieged by a gang of 300 Communists under the leadership of Pushpangadan in a private house in Peringottukara village and when frantic efforts were made by the Congress office in Trichur to induce the police to rush to their rescue, the police refused to budge. Instances have also been cited in the cuttings where the police have been passive onlookers in serious crimes committed under their very nose.

The extent of demoralisation which has come over the police of the Kerala State is clearly reflected in a report of the Commission set up to enquire into the clash that occurred in February, 1958, at Ernakulam between the students and transport workers resulting in a police charge on the students. The enquiring officer who is the First Member of the Board of Revenue, Kerala, pointed out that he was constrained to refer to a state of confusion and almost frustration that existed in the minds of the police force in dealing with the situation. Senior officers of the police had left the scene of occurrence just when their presence was most needed because they were confused over the matter of the use of force.

The Commissioner said that he was clear in his own mind that such confusion existed though he did not come across any orders calculated to cause such confusion. The report was said to have caused a good deal of embarrassment to Government as it was well-known at that time that the Law Minister and the Transport Minister were in constant touch with the local police.

Shrimati Anna Chandy, the Sessions Judge of Kozhikode, in her judgment in the Paleri Manikkan murder case (Sessions case No. 29 of 1957) exposes the spinelessness and helplessness of the police. This is a case in which a young girl in her teen age, by name Manikkam, whose marriage was arranged by Andi, a rich merchant in the village, and celebrated on March 18, 1957, was raped and murdered before the month was out. Andi figured as the first accused in the case.

The Judge, after a critical review of the way in which witnesses were examined and re-examined by many police officers and recording all such statements in the case diary giving the accused an obvious advantage, concludes with a telling remark, "On the whole, I think, the police betrayed absolute headlessness in the investigation of the case. 'I do not say more.'" (Bold type mine.)

(To be continued)
(Continued from page 4)

The grim humour of the present situation, however, is that Congress today is a house divided against itself. What constitutional propriety was there for a Governor of a State giving his opinion in a political matter, and, that also, concerning another State? Unfortunately all shades of opinion are found represented in the Congress. The socialists, liberal democrats, the status quo people, the social reactionaries, the communalists, casteists and the provincialists are all represented in the Congress. There is also a fair sprinkling of fellow-travellers, sometimes in high places. This is the tragedy of the Congress and the country.

A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing  
-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

ONLY THE VERY BEST FOR DOLLY! Nina loves to dress her Dolly with the whitest and brightest of clothes. How does Nina find so many lovely clothes for Dolly? She takes Sister's and Mummy's and, of course, her own. All washed white and bright with just a little SUNLIGHT.

Just look at all those clothes, sheets and towels! A lot of washing? Yes, but it's done with such a little SUNLIGHT. That creamy, extra lather washes so much and chases out every scrap of dirt without any beating! Make SUNLIGHT your soap for the washing!

SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT
Direct Action In Democracy—II

It is often said that civil disobedience is not constitutional. Gandhi ji's emphatic view was that civil disobedience is not unconstitutional. Inasmuch as the persons who offered civil disobedience are non-violent and are willing to pay the penalty of disobedience they act constitutionally.

A constitution, if it is really democratic, cannot deny to the individual the right to act according to his conscience provided he does so non-violently, without violating the rights of fellow citizens and is willing to bear the consequences of his disobedience.

Violating the Law

Gandhi ji goes further and holds that civil disobedience, is not an illegal activity. It is not the violation of the law but the fulfillment of a higher law. Socrates violated the law inasmuch as he refused to refrain from preaching to the young and arguing with them. He again violated the law when he refused to pay the fine for what be considered a lawful activity. He refused to accept the judgment of constituted authority so far as his guilt was concerned. But he did not refuse to bear the consequences of his disobedience though it meant his drinking the cup of poison. He was the first Satyagrahi known to history. He was opposing the newly constituted democracy of Athens, after the Tyranny of the Thirty.

Was Socrates a law-abiding or a law-breaking citizen? He himself answers the question in the Crito.

His friend, Crito, advised secret flight from jail before the cup of poison was administered. To him Socrates replies: "Consider the matter this way. Imagine that I am about to play the truant and the laws and the government come and interrogate me. Tell us, Socrates, what are you about? Are you not going by an act of yours to overturn us—the law and the whole State. Do you think that a State can subsist and not be overthrown, in which the decision of law has no power, but is set aside and trampled upon by individuals?" What will be our answer, Crito, to these and like words? Shall we say, 'Yes, but the State has injured us and given as unjust sentence?'

As in your power lies,' What answer shall we make to this, Crito? Do the laws speak truly or do they not?" To this Crito replies in the affirmative.

An Implied Contract

Further, Socrates points out to Crito that the laws would say: 'By remaining in the city for 70 years and not leaving it and having experience of the manner in which justice is administered in the State you still remained in the State. You have thus entered into an implied contract that you will do as we command you. More, you might have in the course of trial fixed the penalty at banishment; the State which refuses to let you go now would have let you go then. But you pretend that you prefer death to exile. Now you have forgotten these fine sentiments and pay no respect to the laws, of which you are the destroyer. You, Socrates, are breaking the contracts and agreements which you made with us at your leisure. In your old age you will not be ashamed to violate the most sacred laws from a miserable desire of little more life. Listen then to us and not to Crito.'

Socrates concludes: "This, dear Crito, is the voice which I seem to have been hearing in my ears like the sound of the flute in the ears of the mystic. I know anything more you may say will be in vain. Leave me then to fulfill the will of God and follow whither He leads."

This, in brief, is the position that Socrates takes. He breaks the law and yet says he is the slave of the laws. All the benefits he and his children have enjoyed have been under the protection of the laws. He also admits that between him and the laws there is an implied contract of subordination and not of equality by virtue of his continued residence in the city and accepting its benefits. Is there not a clear contradiction between the two positions enunciated by Socrates, of disobeying the law and being subservient to it? Socrates seems to find no contradiction. It is only an apparent contradiction. In fact, when Socrates seems to break the law he thinks that in reality he is not breaking the law, because, he does so under three limitations: (1) He obeys a higher law, that of his conscience, which a good constitution must respect even though it may be obliged to punish violation of the law; (2) The law is broken non-violently; and (3) The violator is prepared to pay the full penalty of violation willingly and cheerfully.

A Good and Patriotic Citizen

Further, Socrates in his defence in the Apology shows that he is a good and patriotic citizen of the State. He says: 'Men of Athens, I honour and love you best. I shall obey God rather than you and while I have life I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy'. He also recounts the services he has faithfully rendered to the State, and on several occasions at the peril of his life. He is a good citizen who not only obeys the laws, but respects his fellow-citizens. Such a one even while breaking a law is in reality not breaking the law, but fulfilling it in a higher and nobler sense.

In Crito, the laws do not take Socrates to task for violating them when he refused to obey his judges and refrain from preaching to the young. Again they, the laws, do
not blame him for refusing to pay the fine imposed upon him. They would blame him only if he followed the advice of his friend Crito and escaped from jail. The first two cases of disobedience are civil, because, for them he is willing to pay the penalty imposed by the law, fulfilling authority. Leaving the jail supremely would be criminal disobedience, because, he would not be prepared to suffer willingly the penalty attached to absconding. If he were, he would leave the jail openly and in daylight. Nay, if not seen, he would invite the attention of the jail warders to the act of leaving their custody. If he did this, there will be no point in absconding, for he will not be allowed to do so from leaving but he will get the added punishment for trying to abscond, which is against the law. That was not what Crito had advised. He had advised deceiving the authorities and gaining freedom. That would not be civil but criminal disobedience. As such it would injure the laws and the State.

Fulfil the Law

The same point is made clear in the life of Christ. When the authorities of the Temple accused him of breaking the Jewish laws, he declared that he had come "not to destroy but to fulfil the law". He could say this even when he was violating any number of laws and conventions prescribed by the heads of the Jewish religion. Jesus, it seems, saw no contradiction in his mission of fulfilling the law and breaking many of the prescribed laws of his religion. Sometimes the law in its spirit and essence can be fulfilled only when its external regulations are violated. The law is thus transcended. It can be transcended when its scope is extended to bring out its essence more effectively. This was possible not by adhering to the letter of the law but by violating it. "The letter killeth but the spirit saveth".

As a matter of fact, there has never been a reformer or a prophet who has not broken laws as they existed or as prescribed by the ruling authority, be it political, social or religious. Law making as today was never the exclusive function of the State. As a matter of fact, that was its least function. Its chief function was to see that the immemorial laws or those that were customary or made by religious and social heads or organisations, were observed. The political authority was further to inflict appropriate penalties for non-observance. When a religion, law or convention was broken, the priesthood decided the case and handed the sinner or the criminal (there was no distinction between these then) to the political authority. This was done in the case of Christ. The authorities of the Temple adjudged Christ to be guilty and awarded him the punishment of death on the cross. The Roman Governor only carried out the punishment.

The sanctions attached to the laws that existed or were made by associations other than the State were no less stringent than those attached to laws made by the political authority or the State. Often, psychologically, they were more stringent and compelling. All such laws and those that in latter days were made by the State were broken by reformers, prophets and pioneers. The progress of society has depended so to say upon those who did not hesitate to break the existing laws, whether religious, social or political. Only so could higher laws be evolved. Generally, these law breakers have been good, peaceful and patriotic citizens as were Socrates, Jesus and Gandhi and a host of others known and unknown to history. They all broke the law to fulfil the law.

To be concluded

LETTER TO EDITOR

Azad's Comment On Partition

The autobiography of Maulana Azad, "India Wins Freedom", is a thought-provoking, historic document. The central theme of the book appears to be that acceptance of Partition (of the country) was wrong and that it could have been avoided.

I have not the competence to challenge the facts of the Maulana, but I certainly differ from him on some of his conclusions. When he says the partition of the country could have been avoided "if Pandit Nehru had not committed three mistakes", which he has pointed out, I cannot agree with him because the Maulana lightly dismisses the historical background and events of the last 30 years. He ignored that religious, social and political developments eventually led to the partition. The "mistakes" can be traced back to the period when the Congress accepted the communal award.

Religious fanaticism, caste distinctions, social barriers, communal organisations, vested interests, British manoeuvres and the insincerity of the Muslim League leadership were the real factors responsible for the events leading to the partition. In 1946, therefore, the climax had been reached, and there were only two alternatives left: either to reject the partition and go for a revolutionary movement (as was hinted by Mahatma Gandhi) or to accept the partition. The Congress leadership was tired and was not prepared to go into wilderness again. Hence, in 1947, at the A.I.C.C. meeting at the Constitution Club the partition resolution was moved.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and Shri Achyut Patwardhan on behalf of the Congress Socialist Party, Maulana Hafizur Rehman on behalf of Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind and Rajirshi Tandon opposed the resolution, but Maulana Azad replied to the opponents and supported the resolution. I hold the entire Congress leadership including the Maulana, responsible for accepting the partition. If the Maulana's feelings were so high against the move, why did he not have the courage like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to revolt against the leadership of the Congress? Mahatma Gandhi would have supported him and the course of history would have been changed. It would have been proper if the Maulana had admitted that it was because of a state of helplessness due to our own inertia that we accepted the partition.

Mir Mushtaq Ahmed

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The dress of the people...

Costumes, whether they are for occasions or for daily wear, vary all over the world. Climatic conditions, natural materials available, religious demands and individual ingenuity are some of the factors that determine the dress of a people.

Many varied costumes are worn in India but different costumes need different qualities of cloth. The Mafatlal Group of Mills manufactures a wide range of cloth for everyday use in all parts of the country.

Women from different parts of the country wear the saree in their own special way. The pretty Maharashtrian women of Western India, for instance, wear a nine yard saree, like a dhoti, taken between the legs and tucked in at the back.
EDITORIAL

TAKE-OVER IN KERALA

As these lines are being written it is now certain that the President will shortly issue a proclamation suspending the Constitution in the State of Kerala under Article 356 of the Indian Constitution. With the issue of this proclamation the tense situation now prevailing in the State is likely to ease. Some people in Trivandrum and elsewhere have already started victory celebrations. There is of course the possibility of the Communists taking to the war path. That apprehension is entertained in New Delhi circles is clear from the report of a news-service that administrative measures are being urgently planned to ensure the maintenance of law and order in the State after the Presidential proclamation. From the available indications it seems likely that the Communists will not take any hasty action and the disturbances if any will be confined to sporadic events. An emergency meeting of the Central Executive of the Communist Party is being held in New Delhi on August 6 and 7 to review the situation. It is only after this meeting that the Communist plan will become clear.

At this juncture it is necessary to be clear in our mind about the implication of the Presidential proclamation. Article 356 empowers the President to issue a proclamation if he is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which a Government of a State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The power to issue a proclamation is thus dependent on the subjective satisfaction of the President that the situation contemplated by Article 356 has arisen. According to the spirit of the Constitution, however, it is necessary that the President should be guided by the advice of his Cabinet. According to the Union Cabinet there exists proof of an objective fact necessitating the suspension of the Constitution.

The question, therefore, is what constitutes this objective fact. It seems the Governor of the State has reported to the President that the Opposition agitation in the State had assumed such dimension that it was impossible to put it down without blood-shed on a large scale.

Such a situation by itself should be sufficient to constitute the situation contemplated by Article 356. It would not be fair, however, to construe that the suspension of the Constitution had become necessary only because of the massive resistance of the people of Kerala against the Communist rule. This massive resistance itself was a result of a certain deliberate policy followed by the Red Government in Kerala and ultimately it is this policy which is responsible for the institution of the President's Rule. When Parliament debates the Kerala issue it would, therefore, be necessary to consider the policy of the Kerala Government in details and to clearly lay down what is permissible for a State Government under the Constitution and what is strictly prohibited under it.
NOTES AND COMMENT

ROLE OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh, presiding over the conference of the social workers of the South, had some caustic remarks to make recently regarding the attitude of the Government towards the social workers. In a spirited defence of the honorary social workers, she asserted that barring a few black sheep the cadre of these workers was essentially very sound and they had made a very valuable contribution to the development of social work in the country. She asked the Government to lay down in clear terms its policy towards these workers as they were under the impression that they were no longer required in the new set-up. Though she did not mention the provocation that made her to come out in the open on the issue, it is generally believed that these social workers have resented some of the remarks in the report of the Programme Evaluation Committee of the Planning Commission regarding the way in which the social welfare work is carried out in the country.

In a sense, this public controversy is to be welcomed. It is necessary to clearly lay down the policy regarding the terms and conditions under which these workers, fired by zeal to serve the community taking to social work, are to be assimilated in the various social service agencies. There is not the slightest doubt that these workers have rendered very valuable service in the initial stages of the social work when the Government was not willing to find resources for this class of men and when no specialisation had taken place in this field. The situation has however changed since then. Under a welfare State, it becomes the duty of the Government to find resources for social agencies. Recent developments in the social fields have also made it possible to place the work on scientific basis. There are now experts in every field of social work and they can be effective with the least possible mistakes.

While these developments may be taken into account in formulating the public policy on this subject it must be remembered that India is still far behind in the development of social services and of creating experts to man social agencies. Those who are available are trained in foreign countries, where instructions differ in material respects and it is not easy for these experts to devise fool-proof scientific methods for these agencies. Nor are sufficient funds available to these agencies for completely dispensing with the services of the honorary workers.

Thus these workers have yet to play a valuable role in the social fields. They will, however, have to change their method of work to suit the procedure necessary for the growing social organisation. These organisations can longer function on the intimate personal basis where uniformity is possible and is even desirable. A certain amount of bureaucratisation is inevitable in large organisations and when public funds are involved certain prescribed routine will have to be adhered to. If the social workers recognise this necessity and change their outlook and method of work accordingly, they can ease the task of policy-makers in assigning definite and honoured place for them.

URGENCY OF LAND CEILINGS

The expert teams appointed by the Union of Food Ministry to investigate the paradox of peak food production being accompanied by abnormally low market arrivals are reported to have come to the conclusion that big and medium farmers rather than traders are mainly responsible for the withholding of foodgrains from the market this year. According to these experts, the farmers are able to do this because of the excellent production of cash crops, which provided the farmers with the cash they required and so the farmers could hold on to their stocks of foodgrains.

If these findings are correct they raise an important question which has to be faced. If the cash obtained through the sale of cash crops has helped the farmers to hold on to the foodgrains stocks, it is clear that only those farmers who could grow both the cash crops as well as the foodgrains must have been responsible for this hoarding. Because it would be difficult to imagine that the farmers first cashed the cash crops and then bought foodgrains from the market and then held on to them. And even if this happened, the farmers in this case would be acting as middlemen as far as these foodgrains are concerned. And the Committees are reported to have come to the conclusion that the role of the middlemen in this phenomenon is limited. There are not many farmers on the countryside who could raise both the cash crops and foodgrains at the same time. The experts' conclusion thus points to the large-scale farmers, who are responsible for the low market arrivals.

If this conclusion is valid, it will mean that it is the failure of the Government to impose ceilings on current holdings of land that is mainly responsible for the scarcity of foodgrains. The Congress Party has now declared its policy to impose ceilings on current holdings also, and yet hardly four or five States have so far made any beginning in that direction. The Congress High Command should now realise that the imposition of ceilings on land-holdings is not a doctrinaire approach motivated by egalitarian fantasies, but is the urgent need of our economy, which is so much dependent for its stability and smooth working on the stable prices of foodgrains at reasonable levels. If the Congress leaders fail to bring home to the State Governments the urgency of this reform, it would seriously jeopardise the whole working of the planned economy as well as social stability and peace. Already there are signs of increasing tensions in some of the scarcity areas and unless quick remedies are applied the situation is sure to become difficult if not serious.
Communists In Power — Why They Failed

IN faction-ridden Kerala, where democratic parties had been fighting inter se and with one another, no Government could last for long. In the last election in 1957, the Communists became the largest single Assembly party, securing 60 seats in a House of 126. Five Independents joined it and thus it secured a majority of two. Of these five Independents, two were taken in the Cabinet. (But the party had secured only 35 per cent of the votes polled).

Here was an opportunity for the Communists to show that theirs was a progressive democratic Government, determined to reform the administration, diminish corruption, and afford some relief to the masses. High hopes were entertained that they would do so. The Central Government was sympathetic. Non-communist public men wished them well.

However, instead of doing what was expected of them and what they had promised to do before the election, they copied the Russian and Chinese methods in administration. Soon it was clear that they were more intent upon building the strength of their party than upon serving the people: they were aiming at a party dictatorship.

Labour Front Novelty

On coming to power, they enunciated a novel labour policy, which was bound to create confusion. They declared:

1. The workers constituted the people. Their movement was therefore the people's movement and hence any action against them would be anti-people in character.
2. If the majority of workers went outside, a management would not be allowed to run its industry either by recruiting temporary hands or with the help of loyal workers.
3. The police would interfere only if the lives of the owner and members of his family were in danger. (The workers could freely endanger the life of anybody else!)

All this may be advocated by a party that wants to create confusion, to rise to power on its crest. No Government, unless it wants to create chaos and civil war, can give the different associations and classes in the State freedom to fight and settle their quarrels among themselves, with the Government looking on as a silent spectator. Even in this absurd labour policy, discrimination was made against non-Communist unions; in their case, the law and the police interfered in their legitimate activities.

Meddling With Justice

Within six months of its existence the Communist Government ordered the withdrawal of 354 criminal cases, pending before law courts. Some of the accused in these cases were charged with murder. Fines already realised were returned in 226 convicted cases. Most of these accused and convicted were Communists.

It has almost become a general rule in Kerala that when, rarely, the police venture to register a case against a Communist, it is ordered to be withdrawn by the Government. Judges, Magistrates and police officers opposing these practices are either transferred or demoted. False cases are also instituted against members of Opposition parties and convictions secured by hook or crook.

Local Communist committees order about officers, get them transferred and degraded. The Kerala Government has also established what are called "Cell Courts", whose main function is to try cases in which the Communists are involved as complainants or defendants. The judgments of these courts, needless to say, are generally in favour of the Communists.

Opposition Harassed

The members of Opposition parties are abused, attacked, injured and occasionally murdered by "party" men, whom the police dare not touch. Incited by party members in some places, the peasants have been allowed to take forcible possession of private lands. Even forest lands, the property of the Government, have been allowed to be so occupied. Lessons in school text-books are incorporated to indoctrinate the minds of the young in Communist ideology. The accomplishments of Russia and China are boosted. Government contracts are given to Communists, fellow-travellers and to Communist-controlled co-operatives. Part of the profits of these contracts go to fill the party chest.

In short, the Communists in Kerala are doing every thing in their power to place the party above the administration on the pattern of Russia and China.

Distinctions Ignored

Unfortunately for the C. P. I. the conditions and circumstances in India are not the same as in Russia and China. In these countries, the Communist Party gained absolute and totalitarian power over the whole country, and not on a tiny part of it, before its leaders could put the party above the people. They could silence all protests by suppressing all Opposition parties. In Kerala, the Communist Government cannot suppress other political parties. It, therefore, uses terrorist methods to demoralise them. But in this effort, evidently, it has not succeeded.

It has also not altogether succeeded with the services. Their members, having a long tradition behind them of working according to rules and procedure, have not all been demoralised. Some of them occasionally resist political pressure. This is more so in the case of members of the judiciary. Some judges have refused to administer "Communist justice." They have spoken their mind, and their utterances have received wide publicity throughout the country.

Reliance on Centre

Further, neither the Communist Government nor the party seem to realise the fact that State Governments in India are not independent national Governments. They have no armies or other paraphernalia of independent Governments. They are subordinate parts of the Indian Government. Their revenues are often less than those of a fair-sized city in Europe or America. The resources that some of them command are less than those of the three or four cosmopolitan cities in India. The sources of their revenues are strictly limited, all the expanding revenue sources being with the Centre. The States have to lean heavily on the Centre for their economic and other progress. In the
matter of food, most of the States depend on the Centre. Kerala, with its large population and limited land, does so to a greater degree. No State Government can take a line that is repugnant to the rest of India or to the Centre.

Sympathy of Neighbours
The Centre may show the patience of Job, but it cannot allow a State with a dictatorial ideology and methods to remain in office for long. In an emergency, the Constitution of India gives the Central Government the right, nay imposes upon it the duty, to interfere and set things right by suspending the State Government and imposing the President's Rule. The contingency for the exercise of this power, the lawyers may however argue, is a matter of opinion and judgment of the Central Government. But this right of the Centre is not justiciable.

The Indian Communists have also failed to see another vital difference between Kerala, and Russia and China. In these latter countries the Communists came to power under an absolute party dictatorship. In Kerala they came to power through the vote. The Government in Kerala has, therefore, no dictatorial powers. Its existence in the last resort depends on the Centre.

(Continued on page 6)
Kerala: A New Dimension

In Political Awareness

In philosophy, a fundamental distinction is made between ontology and epistemology. The former relates to the subject matter of knowledge, which is independent of its relation to the perceiver; the latter refers to the relation of the scientist as experimenter and knower to the subject matter he knows. In consideration of significant political questions such a distinction would be of real value.

In January 1958, I had reported on Kerala in the columns of the "Statesman". I had then asked the question "Will communism . . . penetrate deep into the texture of men's life and loyalties? and answered it on the basis of my observations as follows: "Nine months' experience enables one to give the answer: it is an unambiguous 'no.' The Communist Government sits insecurely in the saddle. It won power with only 35 per cent of electoral support and ever since it has been alienating the sympathy it once enjoyed." I had ended my report with the words, "One more God has failed".

The report was my assessment of the situation and hence was suspect, was deemed to be coloured with my prejudices. The pessimistic prognostications were considered to be more an outcome of my antipathy than a fair assessment. Events, I hope, have helped to set the record straight somewhat to my advantage.

New Developments

I do not propose to offer a fresh assessment, but would like to draw attention to certain developments, of significant interest, in Kerala, about which I hope there would be no controversy.

In the agitation that is going on in Kerala, women have come to the fore. In that State, women have been advanced—it is the only State where a woman judge sits on the Bench of the High Court. Educationally and socially, women have been advanced. Politics, however, did not attract them, and streets were never the venue of their actions. Suddenly we find women actively participating in picketing and facing lathi charges.

A similar phenomenon had occurred in 1930 in Bombay and some other cities and towns in India, when women had responded to Gandhiji's call and taken up picketing of foreign cloth. Whatever be the merits of the agitation in Kerala, it must have some arresting quality to bring about such a change in the outlook and attitude of women.

The torches lighted in memory of those killed in Ankamali were taken many miles by relay, exclusively by women torch-bearers. This was not an Olympic event, but an assertion of protest against what was deemed to be obnoxious. These torches, as it were, mark the end of one social age and the beginning of another in Kerala.

New Social Pattern

These torches were lighted in the graveyard from the side of the Christian graves of the victims of the police firings. The torches were lighted, at such a sacred spot, by Shri Mannath Padmanabhan, a veteran leader of the Nairs who in the past has often been at cross purposes with the Christians. That he should have been invited, and that he should have responded, indicate a certain new stirring in the social life of Kerala. The dams that divided Kerala society seem to have loosened, and the open breaches indicate their erosion.

Agitations are usually instigated by politicians and they, therefore, tend to exploit the sentiments of solidarity provided by religion or language. That has been the experience not only in India, but in neighbouring countries like Pakistan and Ceylon. The explosive force is sought from antipathies based on religious or linguistic passions. Not so in Kerala. Religious divisions have closed up and language is not an issue in any form. Nor has politics provided the dynamism.

As the memorandum presented to the President on behalf of the lawyers of Kerala puts it, "In fact, the political parties in the State were the last to enter the fray. . . . The stage has been reached when it can be asserted without fear of contradiction that any political party which is suspected of beating a retreat will seal its own fate, but will not, by its decision, adversely affect the mass upsurge and the determination of the people."

The irrelevance of politics—as understood in other States—stands out sharply in the agitation in Kerala. The politicians may ride the waves, but they did not and could not have caused them.

Government Note

In the note submitted to the Prime Minister, during his visit to Trivandrum, by the Government of Kerala the opening paragraphs read as follows:

"The issues that have ostensibly led to the present agitation are: (1) The Education Act, (2) Reservation for Backward Communities, (3) The Agrarian Relations Bill, and (4) The omnibus 'charge-sheet' against the present Government."

"The weakness of the various parties and interests concerned who are supposed to have formed a united front on these issues can be seen from the fact that they are far from being united on them."

If the agitation is on the first three issues listed above, on which the parties and interests are divided, why cannot negotiations succeed, or concessions successfully made to some party or interest concerned with just one issue or a part of it? Why is there such a massive opposition and a total refusal to discuss anything whatsoever with the Government?

Omnibus Charge-sheets

The omnibus charge-sheets are interesting. The first charge-sheet was submitted to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha by Dr. K. B. Menon, M.P., in support of his motion for a discussion on Kerala on August 11, 1958. The latest charge-sheet is from Shri Shanker of the Kerala Congress Committee. It "loses charge-sheets submit."
terval of a year are examined carefully; one discovers that the key charge in both is "insecurity". It is this insecurity, believed to be deliberately fostered by the Communist Government, that has rallied together people in Kerala.

**General Grievances**

There are specific grievances in Kerala as in other States. Food prices have registered a rise there as, say, in West Bengal. The people feel their impact as much as elsewhere. But the agitation does not spring from such grievances, though they undoubtedly feed it. The specific grievances are as it were absorbed in the general grievance against the Government of Kerala—grievance over insecurity.

The awareness about threat to personal and political liberty and a widespread agitation to ward off the threat opens up a new dimension in politics in our country. Everywhere one notes growing apathy among the people towards politics. Where people are drawn into a vortex of agitation it is usually over some sectarian issue. In Kerala there is an upsurge of interest and involvement in the core of politics—which is not allegiance to one party or another—but determined alignment in favour of personal and political liberty.

If Kerala was unique in saddling the Communist Party into power through the ballot-box, it is equally unique in evoking such passionate interest in personal and political freedom, and, perhaps, the latter is the consequence of the experiences encountered under the former.

**Certain Special Features**

In the controversy over the wisdom or otherwise of the demand in Kerala for the Government enjoying a majority—howsoever slim—in the legislature to quit, it is unfortunate that the unfolding of certain distinctive features in the agitation is ignored. Communists being voted to power and having to function in the framework of democracy are rare occurrences. When that happens, surely, both the Communists and democratic functioning are likely to get modified. These modifications deserve objective 

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open up a new dimension of awareness in politics.

It is surprising that the Communists strive to have the cake and eat it. They claim to be fundamentally different from other political parties, but also insist on being accepted as behaving in the same manner, when found in power, as other parties. The people of Kerala recognise the fundamentally different character of the Communist Party—some with enthusiasm, others with alarm. The sharp polarisation is the consequence of the different character of the Communist Party.

To confuse these issues by purely concentrating on the constitutionality of the demand for the resignation of the Government is to rivet attention on the final outcome of a process of awakening and unfolding while ignoring the process. It is the process that is of considerable meaning—and warning—to India and the world.

(Continued from page 4)

The people of Kerala cannot for long tolerate in one tiny State conditions of political life radically different from those in the rest of India. In their agitation against their Government they will always get the sympathy and the support of the rest of the country. Apart from the facts that have already received publicity, if those with the Home Department at the Centre were made public, I feel sure that every genuine democrat will be completely convinced that the Communist Government has violated the directive and other principles of the Constitution, making Central intervention, therefore, only legitimate and constitutional.

Many people fail to understand the fundamental character of the Kerala Government. Its continuance means party dictatorship. It will destroy the liberty of the individual and democracy. The non-realisation of this danger is largely due to defective publicity on the part of Opposition parties in Kerala. The propaganda machine of the Communists is better organised and financed. There is a fair sprinkling of fellow-travellers among seeming neutrals and impartial observers. Even the Congress organisation is not free from their presence. They are more useful for propaganda purposes than party men.

**Inevitable Doom**

If the doings of the Communist Party and Government and the sufferings of the people in Kerala were sufficiently known to the rest of India there will be no support for them from any impartial quarter. However, this only means delay and more sufferings for the people. It is inconceivable that the Communist Government in Kerala should remain a totalitarian island in the sea of Indian democracy.

The Communists could have avoided this trouble easily. They could have entrenched themselves in power in Kerala and paved way for further expansion. This they could have done if they had given to a harassed people a clean and efficient administration and some measure of relief. But, instead of doing this, they blindly and thoughtlessly borrowed the pattern of the Government and its functioning from Russia and China. It may do little harm to get one’s information about Hungary, Tibet and international affairs in general via Moscow and Peking. But to copy their party organisation and their methods of administration in a small corner of democratic India was absurd and bound to cause trouble. The failure of the Communists in Kerala was, therefore, a foregone conclusion; if I may say so it was a "Historical Necessity".

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RAPE OF THE LAND OF LAMAS

I RECENTLY undertook a two-month study tour of Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and certain Assam areas on the Pakistan border. I jeeped up to the 14,000 foot Nathu La (Pass) on the Sikkim-Tibet border, along the only road of its kind in the world. By direct contact, during this period, with the sufferers and refugee Lamas and common folk, I came to realize the gravity of the situation following the Tibetan national uprising.

I had discussions at Gangtok (capital of Sikkim, with which India signed a treaty in 1950 assuming responsibility for its defence, foreign affairs and communications) with the Maharajkumar of Sikkim, with Shri Appa Saheb Pant, India's Political Officer for Sikkim and Bhutan, and with Shri N. K. Rustomjee, the then Dewan of Sikkim, besides leaders of political parties, merchants, teachers and the youth.

Though regular warfare has stopped in Tibet, yet irregular fighting is going on, and bands of guerrillas are roaming the mountainous terrain and harrying the Chinese Communist invaders. Some roads are still almost inoperable by the Chinese authorities. The Chinese “Liberation” Army employed, and is still employing, the most ruthless methods, such as bombing, machine-gunning, and cruel torture of the captives, in quelling the rebellion. The odds are undoubtedly against the helpless Tibetan freedom fighters.

Unstoppable Crisis

China's claim to suzerainty, and her assertion that Tibet has been an integral part of China, as have been by now well-known, are fallacious for two important reasons. First, the Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 1951, by its very language, clearly shows that it was an agreement between two sovereign authorities. Secondly, Tibet remained neutral in World War II, in which China was a belligerent, and in 1942 after the debacle in East Asia the Peking's proposal to open communications through Tibet was successfully resisted by Tibet.

Further, Communist China has repudiated the MacMahon line as a legacy of British imperialism. Isn't suzerainty an equally imperialistic concept?

Shri Chou En-lai has not even cared to reply to Prime Minister Nehru's latest communication regarding the India-Tibet (now, thanks to the Nehru policy since 1950, India-China) boundary, nor his communication on Tibet. Apparently, China wants India's friendship on her own terms, whereas Premier Nehru wants China's at all costs, even at the cost of national dignity and honour.

by

H. V. Kamath

China has not only committed cartographic aggression against India, but she has launched insidious propaganda on the Himalayan border for the inclusion of all Mongolian and Mongoloid people in the “great Chinese family”. Chinese leaders in Lhasa have declared that their territory extends up to Sikkim (Darjeeling district). There is also a secret plan or blueprint for the formation of a Himalayan federation, consisting of Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and NEFA under the suzerainty of China. With the Himalayan buffer gone, how can India, in face of all these developments, feel safe and secure?

China's plea that the feudal social system of Tibet needed overhauling is untenable to democratic socialists, who hold that the Tibetan people should do it themselves. Else, the colonial activities of predatory imperialists all over the world have to be justified. It would only mean a revival of the old “white man's burden” with a different complexion.

Colonial Vassalization

Mass deportation of rebellious, recalcitrant Tibetans to China is proceeding apace. Some five lakhs Chinese have already been settled in various parts of Tibet, and another ten lakhs are expected in the near future. Monasteries and temples have been pillaged, and their fabulous wealth removed to Peking. Anti-religious propaganda is mounting and even the Buddha is depicted as a reactionary. People are suffused, but helpless. The entire Tibetan nation is being uprooted and Tibet reduced to colonial vassalage.

At the same time, however, Chinese authorities are working round the clock in Lhasa and elsewhere. Land is being opened up for agriculture, and roads, schools, houses and hospitals are being built, with forced Tibetan labour. “A little bread with no freedom”—that seems to be the motto. The 17-mile road from Yatung to Nathu La is expected to be completed next year, linking Lhasa with Sikkim.

Indo-Tibetan trade has not yet revived. The impression is growing in the frontier areas, and even in Kalimpong, that prosperity can return only with the goodwill of the Chinese. Unless the Government of India can do something, and that quickly, for the restoration of confidence, building up trade and improving agriculture, the pull of China may prove stronger than India's in the near future.

The Communist Party of India plans to join hands with infiltrating Tibetan Communists in Bhutan and Sikkim, and foment violence and disorder in those areas. The Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong has a first-rate intelligence service, which can teach a lesson or two to our own C.I.D. Even the postal censorship in Kalimpong is inefficient and exasperating.

Pak Aggression

Pakistan has made mockery of the cease-fire agreements on the eastern border, occupied Indian territory and abducted Indian nationals. Kisans and shopkeepers have fled from some of those areas, upsetting the economy.

It is a political, international and military problem, not a communal one: even Muslims have been killed on Indian soil by Pakistani bullets. Muslim Congressmen participated in the Karimganj Convention on June 6 last, demanding stern action by the Indian Government and Army. The Convention also asked that the U.S.A. should lose its military aid to Pak.
‘Protected Workmen’—A Legal Study

THE Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, has been substantially amended in Bombay by the Amending Act of 1956 and the effects of these amendments have not received all the scrutiny they deserve. Of particular significance is the addition of Sub-section (3) to Section 33, which has created a special class of ‘protected workmen’.

The pre-amendment Act provided that during the pendency of a dispute before a Conciliation Officer or Industrial Tribunal no workman concerned should be discharged or punished and no alteration should be made in the conditions of his employment to his prejudice without the express permission in writing of such Officer or Tribunal. After working this provision for 6 years, the Legislature apparently felt it to be an unwarranted restriction on managerial functions and sheared the scope of the protection so granted to only a few selected leaders of the workmen. Such workmen, since the 1956 amendment, are referred to as the ‘protected workmen’.

Persons Benefited

The explanation to Sub-section 3 of Section 33 of the Act provides that for a workman to be so protected, he must be (i) an officer of a trade union; (ii) which is connected with the establishment; (iii) in which an industrial dispute is pending before a Conciliation Officer or Industrial Tribunal; and (iv) he must be so recognised in accordance with the rules made in this behalf.

Sub-section 4 of Section 33 further provides that the number of such protected workmen shall be one per cent of the total number of workmen employed in each establishment, with a minimum of five and a maximum of one hundred protected workmen.

Rule 66 of the Industrial Disputes (Bombay) Rules, 1957, and its sub-

by

Padmakar D. Kamerkar

rules provide for the manner in which the number of such protected workmen shall be distributed amongst trade unions, where there are more than one claiming to represent workmen in a given establishment, and for the procedure to be followed for recognition of such protected workmen and for the determination of all disputes with regard to their recognition. It is provided that where there are more than one such trade union, the number of such protected workmen on behalf of each trade union shall roughly bear the same proportion to one another as the membership figures of the unions.

During Inquiry

The law now provides that during pendency of any proceeding in respect of an industrial dispute, no employer shall take any action against any ‘protected workman’ concerned in such dispute by altering to the prejudice of such workman, the conditions of service applicable to him immediately before the commencement of such proceeding, or by discharging or punishing, whether by dismissal or otherwise, such protected workman except with the express permission in writing of the authority before which the proceeding is pending.

The net result of all these provisions can be stated as follows:

Minimum 5, Maximum 100

(1) In each establishment the number of protected workmen shall be one per cent of the number of workmen employed, with a minimum of five and maximum of one hundred.

No Office : No Protection

(2) No one who is not an officer of a trade union is entitled to be so protected. The Act does not define an ‘officer’ of a trade union. The Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, also does not provide an exhaustive definition or description of an officer. It only says that an officer shall include any member of the executive body to which the management of the trade union is entrusted. If, therefore, the general council, as distinct from the managing committee of a union is so entrusted with its administration, there is no reason why the membership of such a bigger body should not qualify a person to be an ‘officer’ as described. Thus, as to who is an officer of a union must depend on its constitution.

Last Date : September 30

(3) Before 30th September each year, every trade union must communicate with the establishment to which the Act applies and state the names and addresses of those who, in the opinion of the trade union, should be recognised as ‘protected workmen’. Such communication must be made irrespective of whether during the period immediately prior to that date, a dispute is pending or not. Apparently the law does not contemplate initiation of proceedings, for workmen being recognised as protected, after an industrial dispute arises or is taken up before the Government machinery for the settlement or adjudication of industrial disputes.

Recognition by Employer

(4) Within 15 days of the receipt of the communication from a trade union, the employer must write to the trade union in response, giving a list of workmen recognised by him as ‘protected workmen’. Apparently, this indicates that the ‘recognition’ referred to in the law refers to recognition by the employer and not recognition in law.
(5) The employer is bound to recognise only the maximum number of such workmen as provided in the Act.

Proportionate Share

(6) When there are more than one trade union in an establishment, the employer must write in his reply the number of 'protected workmen' distributed in proportion to the membership of each. Each trade union in that case is entitled to revise its list and select such workmen from its original list as it chooses. The choice is not with the employer. But the trade union can do so only within five days of the receipt of such communication from the employer.

Conciliator Arbitrates

(7) In case of any dispute between an employer and a trade union in any matter connected with the recognition of protected workman, the dispute shall be referred to the Conciliation Officer "concerned". Since there are several Conciliation Officers, it remains to be clarified as to which Conciliation Officer shall be the 'concerned' Conciliation Officer. No form is prescribed for filing of such reference and a clarification is due. Nor is any time limit set for filing a complaint. With the 'small-town despot' attitude of Conciliation Officers, there is every fear of such complaints being dismissed as barred by limitations of their own creation.

Silence is Golden!

Where an employer ignored the communication of list of 'protected workmen' from a trade union, and the trade union failed to take recourse to proceedings before a Conciliation Officer, it was held by certain Tribunals that such workmen were not 'recognised' as 'protected workmen' and were, therefore, not entitled to the protection given by law. Thus, despite the statutory mandate requiring an employer to reply within fifteen days of the communication from a trade union, where an employer fails and neglects to respond, a dispute is deemed to have arisen and a trade union is not entitled to assume that the employer, by his silence, is accepting the union's list. This view, with respect, is of doubtful validity. This may provide a legalistic mind with an opportunity for adventure. But for a trade unionist, the wisdom of wakefulness need not be stressed.

The Conciliation Officer is not a judicial authority; he cannot administer oath and hence cannot record evidence on facts in dispute. Barring a few notable exceptions, the Conciliation Officers have not been guilty of independence, much less of fearlessness where the interests of the ruling party are affected. The wisdom of empowering such officers with the judicial task of adjudicating on the representative character of trade unions, without provision for appeal, would have been questioned but for the notorious partisanship of the Labour Department of the Government of Bombay, whose technique has no parallel even in Kerala.

Letter to Editor

Kerala Experiment

On Amritsar Thesis

The Communist Party of India, which advocated (and which even now believes in) the "historic necessity of revolution to attain State power to achieve the goal of socialism", was compelled to adopt at Amritsar a resolution in favour of parliamentary democracy and peaceful methods for the establishment of a socialist society, as a result of its unexpected victory at the polls in Kerala.

There were serious ideological crises within the party between the two rival groups, one led by Shri P. C. Joshi, favouring parliamentary democracy and supporting the Nehru Government both in its internal and external policies, and the other led by Shri B. T. Ranadive, who totally disregarded "elections" and peaceful methods as a road to attain the goal of socialism. The presence of Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, and his prediction, that as a result of his Ministry's wonderful achievements in the State the C.P.I. would make much headway in the 1962 elections, forced the Communists to approve the new thesis.

Thereafter, the Communists began to proclaim that they were the only genuine democrats in the country. They were so confident of their success in Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, at least, in the next elections, that they even formed "shadow cabinets".

New Situation

Thus, a new situation arose in the country. For the first time in the history of communism, Reds came to power, though with a minority vote, through the ballot-box. The Communist victory in Kerala proved that even a totalitarian party could come to power through votes (though it might be difficult to replace it so once it is in power.)

The formation of the Communist Ministry was hailed in this country not only by the Reds and the fellow-travellers but even by non-Communists, as the latter thought that it would decide the future of communism in India.

Shri Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the C.P.I., boasted that the Kerala Government threw a challenge to the Congress Governments for a healthy competition. In fact, many people even from outside Kerala hoped that the Reds would present an honest, efficient, and non-partisan Government to the people.

The critics of the Communists, who were well aware of their strategy and tactics, however, watched the performance of the Reds as they knew that communism and democracy can never co-exist and the C.P.I. could not be separated from international communism. They even predicted that the Amritsar thesis would prove to be only a change of face and not a change of heart.

Talk of Civil War

Twenty-seven months of arrogant misrule by the Communists in Kerala, terrorising the people, aggrandising the party and subverting the Constitution, has now proved, to the misery of the State, the misgivings of the critics were only too well-founded. While the people in their revolt were forced to launch an unprecedented agitation, the C.P.I. leadership has been heaping insult upon injury by talking of a nation-wide civil war.

Shri "E. M. S." is reported to have said last year that if the Reds are not allowed to rule Kerala loses (Continued on page
Direct Action In Democracy-III

LET us see what Gandhiji says about the "civil" breaking of laws. He says: "Civil disobedience pre-supposes a scrupulous observance of all laws which do not hurt the moral sense. Thoughtless disobedience means disruption of the State. The first thing, therefore, for those who aspire after civil disobedience is to learn the art of willingly obeying the State laws, whether they like them or not. Civil disobedience is not a state of lawlessness, but it pre-supposes a law-abiding spirit, combined with self-restraint.

"Only when a citizen has disciplined himself in the art of voluntary obedience to the State laws is he justified on rare occasions deliberately but non-violently to disobey them and expose himself to the penalty of the breach.

"I have found that it is our first duty to render voluntary obedience to law, but whilst doing that duty I have also seen that, when law fosters untruth, it becomes a duty to disobey it. We can do so by never swerving from truth and suffering the consequence of our disobedience.

"The use of civil disobedience will be healthy, necessary and effective only if we otherwise conform to the laws of all growth. Civil disobedience is a beautiful variant to signify growth, it is not discordance, which spells death." (Bold types mine.)

Certain Pre-requisites

"Before one can be fit for the practice of civil disobedience, one must have rendered a willing and respectful obedience to the State laws. A satyagrahi obeys the laws of society intelligently and of his own free will, because he considers it his sacred duty to do so. It is only when a person has thus obeyed the laws of society scrupulously, that he is in a position to judge as to which particular rules are good and just and which unjust and inequitous. Only then does a right accrue to him of the civil disobedience of certain laws in well-defined circumstances.

"A satyagrahi is nothing if not instinctively law-abiding and it is a law-abiding nature which exacts an implicit obedience to the law. That is, the voice of his conscience. Every law gives the subject an opportunity to obey the primary sanction or the secondary, and I venture to suggest that the satyagrahi, by inviting secondary sanction, obeys the law. He does not act like the ordinary offender, who not only commits a breach of the laws of the land, whether good or bad, but wishes to avoid the consequences of that breach." (Bold types mine.)

Gandhiji's view is emphatic that when one obeys the laws and is a loyal citizen and yet on occasion breaks the law because it is against his conscience and is prepared to pay the penalty provided for the breach of law willingly, he is not breaking the law.

The Active Loyalty

Again Gandhiji says: "It is only when a people have proved their active loyalty by obeying the many laws of the State that they acquire the right of civil disobedience.

by

J. B. Kripalani

"Daniel and Socrates are regarded as model citizens of the States to which they belonged and Prahlad, a model son, Mirabai a model wife." They fulfilled the law though apparently breaking it.

In what I have written, I have made three points clear: (1) The law of conscience is supreme; (2) Civil disobedience can be offered whatever the nature of the State, autocratic or democratic; (3) Civil disobedience is constitutional action and though apparently violating the law is really the fulfilment of the law.

I have discussed in this limited space only these aspects of civil disobedience. I have not discussed whether a particular movement of civil disobedience in the present is justified or not, whether it adheres to the conditions laid down by Gandhiji on this behalf, namely, adherence to truth and non-violence, the readiness to bear the consequences of disobedience willingly, humble submission to the law, etc.

I have not discussed whether today in the country there is the necessary atmosphere for launching a movement of civil disobedience in any particular area against specific or general grievances. Whatever the atmosphere and the circumstances, individuals cannot escape the obligation of bearing witness to the truth that is in them and bear the consequences.

(Continued from page 9)

(Concluded)
Red Hooliganism At Calcutta Rally

Under the auspices of the West Bengal Praja Socialist Party, a mass rally was held in Calcutta on July 18 last. Shrimati Leela Roy presided over the meeting and Shri Asoka Mehta was the main speaker.

In his hour-long speech, Shri Mehta explained how the Communists came to and stayed in power in Kerala after successive Governments’ failures. The Communists took advantage of this situation and, through their usual tactics of dishing sweet promises, seized power, from which they would not go now.

The crux of the whole problem in Kerala was that the people had been put in a situation which had made their life miserable from which they wanted to save themselves. The Communists offered various pretexts for their reign of terror in the name of democracy, but people did not listen to them and hence there was the mighty upsurge against the Red rule.

Replying to Communist leader Shri S. A. Dange’s threat that they could stage a counter-movement in any State at any time, Shri Mehta said that the Communists had already tasted the bitter experience of miscalculating the people’s support. “In 1948, in the name of people’s support, they did all sorts of violence, for which they had to apologise to the people openly and retrace their step”, he said.

Talks of No Avail

Rejecting the Communist offer for round-table talks over the issues involved, Shri Mehta said that there could not be any talk with those who had created a reign of terror. People today were in no mood for any talk. When the Communists were repressing their life, how could they agree to talk with them? he asked.

A few minutes after the meeting started a group of Communist “goondas” made an attempt to break the rally, creating disturbances. The disturbing elements were chased away by the organisers, but not before some had received injuries from the brickbats. Half a dozen persons, including Shri Debu Bose, Shri Kalipada Saha, Shri Tulshi Chandra Dey and Shri Nani Bhusan Chakraborty, all P.S.P. workers, were seriously injured.

Hyderabad Meeting

A meeting of the Praja Socialist Party, Secunderabad and Hyderabad district, was held recently under the chairmanship of Shri A. Alexander. The meeting was addressed by Sarvashri R. Shivraj, Venkat Ranga Naidu, and K. R. Abbiah, Municipal Councilor, on organisational work, membership campaign, the food problem and the Kerala situation.

Shri Shivraj explained the significance of democratic socialism and appealed to the audience to actively co-operate with the newly-formed Socialist Democratic Party to eliminate the corruption, nepotism, etc., of the Congress Government and fight the totalitarian tendencies of the Communist Party.

A resolution, which was unanimously passed at the meeting said: “This meeting of the workers of the PSP of Secunderabad and Hyderabad district condemns the brutal firings on the unarmed and peaceful citizens of Kerala and demands a public enquiry. It also regrets deeply and mourns the loss of the victims of the firings resorted to by the Communist Government.”

Shri Abbiah, speaking on the soaring food prices, stressed the need to organise public protests to move the Government to reduce the prices and open fair price shops.

Yuvak Sabha Call

Workers of the Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha, Faizabad, met on July 6 to discuss the activities of the organisation and also the national developments. Several members from Azamgarh, Behraich and Faizabad attended the meeting, which was presided over by Shri Ramkrishna Panday.

The meeting adopted a resolution calling upon the Kerala Government to stop its “repressive” and “subversive” methods and congratulating the State’s people on their brave fight against the Communist Government.

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The ‘Swatantra’ Forum

In the Statement of Principles adopted by the Bombay Convention of the Swatantra Party attempt is said to have been made to give a positive content to the policy of the new Party, which had been assailed as being purely negative. Earlier, Shri Rajagopalachari had declared that the quarrel of his party with the Congress was over fundamental issues. In the Statement of Principles, we have thus also to search for the points on which the Swatantra Party wants to join issues with the Congress. These two, are thus the criteria in terms of which the policy of this party has to be judged.

As for the positive content, we are told that the party holds that the progress, welfare and happiness of the people depend on individual incentive, enterprise and energy, and as such it stands for the principle of maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State. The party also stands, it is stated, for every effort being made to foster and maintain spiritual values and preserve what is good in our culture and tradition, and avoid dominance of a purely materialist philosophy of life which thinks only in terms of the standard of life without any reference to its context or equality. These two principles, together with the adherence of the party to the principle of trusteeship adumbrated by Mahatma Gandhi, represent the positive aspects of the Swatantra Party policy.

But even these principles are not stated absolutely. This is quite natural, because even those who are standing for giving liberty of the individual precedence, over all the other democratic values, cannot advocate going back to the laissez faire social order. Nor can any one completely ignore the material aspects of human existence. The principles, therefore, do accept the obligation of the State not only to prevent and punish anti-social activities and to protect the weaker elements of society, but also to create the conditions in which individual initiative will thrive and be fruitful. The positive aspects of the obligations of the State have thus been given grudging recognition even by the Swatantra Party and its difference with other political parties on this point would be one of degree rather than of principle. What exactly, for instance, constitutes protection to the weaker elements of society? Industrial laws that seek to protect the interests of the workers, laws that take care to see that backward regions should be given precedence in the matter of location of new industries, precautions to ensure that the productive apparatus of the country is used to its maximum—all these constitute protection to the weaker elements in the community, while some of the industrialists and businessmen are of the opinion that these laws constitute an infringement on their liberty.

The same can be said of the spiritual values. Even Gandhiji, who the new party claims to follow and about whose passion for spiritual values there can be no doubt, is on record as having said that to a hungry God would not dare to appear in any form except that of food. In the country where the standard of life is so low, per capita consumption of food and clothing is so meagre, this dichotomy of spiritual and material values loses much of its significance.
As for the adherence to the principle of trusteeship, much would depend upon what is meant by trusteeship. Gandhi wanted the Haves to behave exactly as trustees are expected to do under the Indian Trusts Act. This would mean end of all companies consumption, severe restrictions on property distribution, acceptance of restrictions on the investment of ploughed-back profits, etc. The laws of the land as they stand at present do not go much farther than that. Here again, at the most, the fundamentals would degenerate only into matters of details.

Of the issues joined with the Congress, the only important ones on which genuine differences exist are:

- The place of the public sector in our economy,
- the allocation of resources among the capital goods industry, consumers goods industries, small-scale sector, and agriculture;
- and, of course, the Nagpur resolutions on co-operative farming and land reform. All these are the issues on which sharp differences exist. It is desirable that they are debated in public in all seriousness with a view to educating the people on the various questions involved. The great service which the Swatantra Party can render to the country is to keep the debate on these issues alive and insist on every aspect of the problems being discussed in terms of the realities of the situation.

* * *

NOTES AND COMMENT

IKE-KHRUSHCHEV VISITS

The decision to exchange visits by President Eisenhower and Shri Nikita Khrushchev has been universally hailed as it promises to make possible the discussion of issues between the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia by the two chiefs of the two Power blocs. This decision would recall the visit of the U. K. Premier to Russia earlier in the year, which facilitated the Foreign Ministers’ Conference at Geneva. It has been announced that before the Soviet Premier arrives in the U.S.A. Shri Eisenhower is visiting Europe to confer with his West European colleagues. Of course, all these visits do not amount to the Summit Conference, for which Russia is pressing all along and which is resisted by the U. S. President, who insists that the Foreign Ministers’ Conference should make sufficient progress to justify the meeting of the Heads-of-State. But these visits do amount to something more than the Conference at the Foreign Ministers’ level and as such mark a stage further in the process of exploring the possibilities of a thaw in the cold war situation. Whether such a thaw would ultimately materialise, however, depends on the desire of the two statesmen to make concessions.

President Eisenhower told his news conference in Washington that he initiated formal discussions early in July, which led to the agreement for an exchange of visits. This fact itself would suggest that the U.K. Prime Minister, Shri Macmillan, has succeeded in impressing upon the State Department at Washington the desirability of establishing personal contacts with a view to understanding each other’s point of view and making personal discussions and probable general talk possible.

The reaction in the U.S. Congress to this initiative of the President seems to be on the whole favourable. Senator Dickson for instance has said that the talks, if successful, could “enshrine the President as the boldest and most determined peace-maker in many generations.” The U.S. papers have also hailed the exchange of visits, some newspapers going to the length of describing it as the biggest event since the end of the last war. The Western allies of the U.S.A. have also acclaimed the decision. Shri Khrushchev has persistently demanded exchange of views among the Heads-of-State. The world is thus expecting some tangible results from these exchanges. Even if they do not materialise, however, the decision would help in making it possible for the President and the Premier to know at first hand the country in the other camp with the attitude of which they are most concerned. Such opening of windows is by itself a great step.
Caution Against Semantic Confusion

Semantic confusion has existed throughout the ages and it has been often led to the wranglings of the learned and the confusion of the common people. This is because words are often used not to portray reality but our ideas about it. In the present age the confusion caused by the misuse of words has reached such proportions that communication has become difficult. If there is difficulty in the interchange of thoughts and ideas, there is little chance of converting or being converted through argument and discussion.

Reason and logic imply that the words used by the parties to an argument bear, in the hands of the disputants, the same or near-same connation. Today, this is mostly absent in political discussions and controversies. Recently, we had an example of this in the television talk between Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev and the U.S. Vice-President, Mr. Nixon. The result is that in this field, we more often have the threat or the actual use of the big stick than reason and argument.

Types of ‘Democracy’

To take an example, the word “Democracy” is applied to all varieties of political phenomenon. There is the ancient tribal and village democracy. There is the Greek “City State” variety. In the present day, there is the formal centralised democracy of the West and some other nations. There is then the socialist democracy on the continent of Europe. Further, there is the Titoist democracy in Yugoslavia, which is a class by itself. Then there are a few varieties of totalitarian democracies—democratic centralism, people’s democracy, controlled democracy, guided democracy. Then, in addition, there are military democracies and other places (recently, of course, there was an “election” in Egypt). There are also various varieties of imperialism. Each accuses the other of imperialism and feels that its own variety is not that. If one country rules or dominates another or interferes with its administration, it claims for itself either the God-given or History-given right to do so.

In Communist-governed Kerala, the word “communal” is today creating semantic confusion in the minds of the unwary. It is a word which has nothing corresponding to it in the recent upheaval in Kerala. Yet, the Communists have been repeating it ad nauseam in connection with the movement against their misrule in Kerala. Like Hitler, they believe that if a lie is often repeated it becomes the truth.

Meaning of ‘Communal’

Let us see what the word “communal” connotes. As understood by people who have no preconceived notions and no purpose of their own to serve but are interested in the scientific use of words, and through them in the clarity of thought and understanding, the term “communal” has either of the two connotations: one is that a particular religious community considers itself the nation, and the rest of the population is relegated to a second-class citizenship; the second is that a religious community seeks some special advantage or advantages for itself at the expense of other communities or of the nation as whole.

Having stated the positive aspects of the word “communal”, let us see what it is not. Supposing a community wants to advance its legitimate interests without injuring the legitimate interests of other communities or the nation, the desire is not “communal”. Such a community may be considered to have a narrow outlook, but it is not a “communal” outlook. It is like a member of a society or family confining his services to his own society, group or family without infringing the legitimate rights of others.

Again it is not “communal” in different communities, separately or jointly, do something for the common good as they conceive it. Even if they do something that is wrong, the action will not be “communal”. It will merely be undesirable. For instance, the Hindus, the Muslims, and Christians in Kerala have been by and large fighting, together or separately, the Communist Government. But they do not become thereby “communal”. Whether fighting separately or together they have a common aim. Their aims are not in conflict with each other. They all wanted the same thing—the removal of the Communist Government.

Test of Common Aim

Communists have no common aim or aims. As long as the Hindus, Christians and Muslims have the same objective, which is not in conflict with each other’s legitimate interests but embraces the whole of Kerala, it is not communal. Otherwise, what would be the result? The argument will run thus: “The Hindus are fighting against the Kerala Government; therefore the movement is communal. The Muslims are fighting against the Kerala Government; therefore it is a communal movement”. It can also be added: “The Hindus, Christians and Muslims, even though they are fighting together for the same cause, have not ceased to belong to their respective communities. They are therefore communists”. This is so obviously absurd!
If this absurdity is accepted, the only non-communalists in Kerala are the members of the Communist Party and a few others who have renounced their religion, that is, who do not belong to any religion. No religion except materialism, if it can be called a religion. The Communists will be the first to repudiate that idea, in spite of their fanaticism and mania to persecute the non-conformists. They have not characterised all religions. Some of them have been tolerant. We can, however, safely say that the Communists are religion-less people.

Majority Other Type

Unfortunately, the overwhelming bulk of the Kerala population is not made up of such as these. They happen to be Hindus, Christians, Muslims or others. It is true that they had fought each other as communalists on several occasions in the past. The Mopla Riots in the 'thirties were communal. There had been in the past clashes between Hindus and Christians. These were communal clashes, but these past communal clashes do not make the recent upheaval communal, except in the jaundiced eyes of the Communists.

Therefore, to consider the recent mass upsurge in Kerala as communal was to indulge in semantic confusion and make any argument and conclusion based thereon impossible. If this confusion was sought to be deliberately created by the Communist Party and the Government in Kerala, it is reprehensible. Let no honest and intelligent man fall in such linguistic confusion.

What I have said above has, however, nothing to do with the justice or otherwise of the recent struggle in Kerala, except to say that it was a popular movement and not "communal" in character.
U. P. Wants Food, Not Propaganda

IN spite of persistent efforts and repeated assurances by the Central and State Governments to check the trend, the prices of foodgrains have been rising. Wheat and rice are not at all obtainable for functions like marriage at controlled rates anywhere. The Governments, however, claim that they have been successful not only in checking the rise but also in bringing down prices and that the last Kharif and Rabi crops have been bumper crops.

The Central Government estimates an 18 per cent increase in production over last year's. The U.P. Government, which claimed a 24 per cent increase in June, has brought it down to 14 per cent in a month's time. In any case, it is beyond dispute that the crop has been good. The question that arises is why, then, has there been no fall in the prices of foodgrains like 1955, which was supposed to be a year of good crop.

The food problem may be broadly divided into two parts, viz., one, of production and secondly, of distribution.

In spite of over seventeen years of “Grow More Food” Campaigns, followed by (supposed) increases in irrigation facilities, land reforms and successful Rabi and Kharif drives, the total food production has not increased. The production of the main cereals, viz., wheat, rice, barley, gram, jowar, bajra and maize in 1921 was 10,318 thousand tons as against the less than 10,000 thousand tons claimed for this year. During this period there has also been a 12 per cent increase in acreage; but the production, even in an year of bumper crop, has remained more or less the same. The growth in population has further added to the misery. It has gone up by over 35 per cent during this period.

Dismal Comparison

To meet the increasing needs of the people, the various Governments have been more after propaganda than real work. The increase in irrigated area has been negligible and the use of better fertilisers and seeds have not found any the greater favour with the cultivator. An average citizen has less to eat today than 40 years back. As against the daily 10.88 chhataks of foodgrains in 1921, he has less than 7.25 chhataks in 1959.

It is worthwhile to know that during this period, in other countries, food production has gone up. The U.K. and Canada have had a rise of 25 per cent since the last war. Australia and the U.S.A. have achieved the record figure of a 50 per cent increase during the same period. Even Japan, with all her war ravages, has registered an increase of 16 per cent.

If we were to look at the figures of production per acre of various countries, India will be found at the bottom of the list. Inside the country, the irrigated area has been negligible and the use of better fertilisers and seeds have not found any the greater favour with the cultivator. An average citizen has less to eat today than 40 years back. As against the daily 10.88 chhataks of foodgrains in 1921, he has less than 7.25 chhataks in 1959.

It is noteworthy that the Government, which paid Rs. 14 per maund for average quality wheat, in May 1959, sold the wheat purchased by it in the Punjab, six months later, at Rs. 20 per maund. How can one expect to bring down prices when the “People's Government” was itself indulging in profiteering? The price paid for the Punjab wheat was Rs. 17 per maund. In grain business, overhead charges of Rs. 3 per maund have been unknown. They hardly exceed six or seven per cent, including transport from one end of the State to another. It should also not be forgotten that the Punjab Government had purchased this wheat at about Rs. 14 per maund.

Spiral of Prices

The Governments, both Central and State, have only succeeded in keeping the prices high and their claim that they are lower than in previous years is belied by figures. Price of wheat per maund at harvest time, i.e. the first week of June were (in terms of rupees and naye paisa) were as follows: 1955 Rs. 13.16; 1957—Rs. 14.50; 1958—Rs. 16.50; and 1959—Rs. 16.75.

Since June there have been further increase this year. The latest quotation of Hapur is Rs. 18.50 to Rs. 20 per maund. Rs. 24 for ordinary rice.) But the Governments, believing in propaganda, live in the hope that the oft-repeated lie of falling prices will pass for truth.

The fact is that the present food policy is neither in the interest of the consumer nor of the producer. The latter is asked to part with his grain at less than the production cost—a thing unknown in democracy. Procurement in marginal areas and artificial barriers have also caused rise in prices. What is required is a bold policy and if the Government is really anxious to control prices, it should enter the market, make purchases at the prevailing rates and then sell at reasonable price. The deficit, if any, should be met by the public exchequer. That was done in Canada.

(Continued on page 9)
State Farms In Yugoslavia

The rapid and steady rise of production on State and collective farms began in 1956. Output on these farms was formerly at a low level owing to the primitive farming methods and organisational weaknesses, which were due, among other things, to the lack of personal and insufficient experience in the organisation of modern and intensive agriculture. The phase was marked by the fairly extensive construction of economic projects on the farms, and the necessary preparations for transition to modern farming methods.

According to statistics, there were 770 State farms with 588,819 hectares of arable land in 1957. The 370 collective farms had 116,000 hectares, thus bringing the total area cultivated by the big social holdings to approximately 705,000 hectares, or only 4-7 per cent of aggregate Yugoslav farmlands. This percentage comes to 6.14 by with the addition of 216,297 hectares of the land held by the peasant work collectives.

Although the production capacity of the big social holdings is not large, these farms nevertheless play a significant role in present-day agriculture. In the first place, the State farms have definitely abandoned obsolete concepts and adopted modern methods which they are continuously improving by the constant development of mechanisation and new technological processes. This has yielded far better production results than those obtained by the individual peasants, and in this respect the State farms provide an example for the co-operative and private sectors in agriculture.

High Quality Products

Almost the entire output of the State farms is intended for the market, thus constituting an important factor in the supply of the major consumer centres and acting as a regulator of market relations. The orientation to the production of high quality products intended for exporting which comply to foreign market requirements, is particularly significant, noteworthy results having been achieved in this respect so far.

The capacities of the State farms and holdings of agricultural institutions and schools are largest in the grain-farming sector, these units now being large producers of wheat and maize, with an improved yield to the area of sown acreage. The sustained and rapid rise of yields since 1954 testifies to the growing significance of the State farms and similar holdings in the grain-farming sector.

by
Radomir Jovanovic

The grain yields per hectare on the big holdings reveal a sustained upward trend which is due to the adoption of mechanization, the application of modern farming methods, and the introduction of new varieties of hybrid maize and Italian wheat. While the average yield per hectare on the big farms was only slightly higher than on the individual peasant holdings in 1954, the wheat yields obtained in 1958 were twice as high, while maize yields were trebled. Last year was unfavourable for agricultural production, so that the average grain yields were lower than in 1957. As distinct from this general tendency, the yields on the State and collective farms were higher than in the previous year because the application of modern methods made it possible to overcome the effects of adverse weather conditions.

Development of Livestock

The growing yields per hectare has enabled the share of the State farms and work co-operatives in aggregate Yugoslav cereal production to increase steadily, and in 1958 they reached 10 and 15 per cent for wheat and maize respectively. Many modern orchards and vineyards have been planted on the State farms during the past few years, the object being that these holdings should become major producers of fruit, grapes and wine.

Serious efforts are being made and substantial resources invested for the speediest possible development of livestock-farming, formerly one of the most backward agricultural branches in the country.

Considerable headway has been made in the cattle-breeding sector. Notwithstanding last year's drought and other difficulties, the State farms have succeeded in maintaining the livestock numbers, and this year they are expected to be even 60-65 per cent above the 1957 figure. This improvement has been achieved by imports of stock for breeding and an increase in the number of bloodstock in the country.

Pig numbers on State farms in 1957 were far below the 1954 level. The situation improved rapidly in conditions for the fattening of pigs and importation of purebred stock.

Sowing of Hybrid Maize

The sowing of hybrid maize and high-grade Italian maize is a case in point. The first attempt to popularise hybrid maize met with strong resistance among the individual peasants. It was only when high yields of hybrid maize were obtained on vast surfaces belonging to the State farms, that hybrid maize and the farming techniques required by high yields were widely adopted. The State farms are now striving to secure average maize yields of 80-100 quintals of dry grain per hectare, and it is certain that they will accomplish this objective in the near future.

The popularisation of the high-grade varieties of Italian wheat provides a similar example. The first experiments with these were made on the State farms in 1956-57, when the former record of 40 quintals per hectare was surpassed and raised to 70 quintals per hectare. In 1957 and 1958, Italian wheat was sown on about 40,000 hectares, of which the State farms accounted for about 32,000 hectares. An average yield of 40 quintals per hectare was obtained on these surfaces, while the Yugoslav record yield of 70 quintals per hectare in 1957 rose to 91 quintals per hectare in 1958. This was also the word record that year, and one of the highest yields obtained anywhere.

The adoption of these measures on the State farms led to the development of new methods in the cultivation of wheat and maize and other staple crops, based on deep ploughing, the preparation of the soil for sowing, the consumption of large quantities of mineral fertilizer, etc. A similar situation prevails in the other branches of agriculture.
Hazards Of Swatantra Party Campaign

INAUGURATING the Bombay Convention of the Swatantra Party, Shri Rajgopalachari claimed that he was launching not a political party, but a movement—a movement for individual freedom and individual incentive, and against the increasing inroads of the State in the individual's life. However, the grievance of Rajaji's "movement" is not new to political philosophers ever since the rise of communism.

The framers of the Indian Constitution also had considered the ideal of absolute individual liberty and the exigencies of community well-being that calls for restrictions on that liberty. They eventually struck upon a balance between the safeguards for both, and the working of the Constitution has proved the sagacity of their judgment. Not that there were no protests from proponents of the rival causes, but, by and large, they were from extreme adherents of either, like the Communists or the vested interests. For the first time now, Rajaji claims to raise a protest on this issue on behalf of the common man and in an organised manner.

Age-Old Ideals

The ideal of the individual's freedom has been immanent in the various political (and even religious) schools of thought either as the principles or as the goals of their action. Even the Communists claim to secure it for the citizen with the "withering away" of the State. The pertinent question, therefore, all along human history, has been about the agency that will ensure it —the means of winning it and the machinery for safeguarding it.

The majority of mankind's leadership relied for it on the State apparatus, but a few like Mahatma Gandhi, on the other hand, relied on the "moral instinct" in the individual and worked for the development of it. But in either case, for any substantial progress, the governing force—the fear of the State or the regard for "morality"—has to control and guide the entire scheme of the individual's activities. No

THE NATIONAL SCENE

by Kun Du Lay

half-hearted allegiance to either of the forces or allegiance to both is conducive to effective action and advance.

Under the Indian Constitution reliance was placed on the power of the State, as guided by the judiciary, to enforce the liberty; a parliamentary system was set up to safeguard the ideal. Yet, according to Rajaji's own complaints, there has been breach of the guarantee of the liberty by legislative action and forsaking of the ideal by Constitutional amendments.

The Prime Question

The million-dollar question therefore is: 'Does the Swatantra Party have (or at least bid fair to have) a leadership and a party cadre of the numerical strength and moral stature that can both secure the individual's liberty and safeguard it?

People who fight for the rights of individuals, communities and sections, more often than not, develop a political myopia which disables them from seeing the needs of the nation as a whole and the requirements of the changing times. Hence the "swatantra" zealots may themselves, one day, be tempted to tinker with the Constitution—a charge which they now level against the Congress leadership.

The new party, whose doors are open to any and every person, has little to ensure the strict adherence to a fixed political ideology by its followers, who, even now, appear to be but a mass of heterogeneous malcontents. Such a party, lacking a positive programme of action—action not merely to attain the immediate objective, but also to reach the ultimate goal—can hardly be expected to do anything constructive.

If the party, therefore, merely proves obstructionist in the path of the present trend of socio-economic changes, without evoking a nationwide responsibility in the individual mind towards collective welfare and security, it will only pave the way for the advent of communism, which one of its sponsors called the party's Enemy No. 1. They may drive out King Log only to have King Stork in its place, however laudable their aims and ideals may appear.

Co-op. Farming : A Bibliography

SURVEYS (Books and Reports):


GENERAL (Books and Reports):


(Continued on Page 9, Col. 3)
THE Executive Committee of the West Bengal Praja Socialist Party met on July 25 and 26 last at Bar-Basudevpur, District Midnapur, under the chairmanship of Dr. P. C. Ghose to discuss the deteriorating food situation in the State.

The Executive Committee, in a resolution, warned the State Government that if it failed to end its bungling in the food distribution despite popular protests the PSP would call for mass satyagraha from September 1 next.

“The Committee viewed with grave concern the progressive deterioration of the food situation in the State, where price of rice had gone up by Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 per maund in all regions since the Price Control Order was withdrawn by the Government on June 25 last. In certain areas the people faced semi-starvation.

“The State Government has totally failed to tackle the food situation, this in spite of the fact that the Centre has always been ready to supply the deficit. When the State Government wanted 7-lakh tons of foodgrains, the Centre also agreed to supply it; later, when the demand was raised to 9.5 lakh tons, the Centre again agreed; now the Centre has agreed to give 11.5 lakh tons. Still the position is getting worse. The problem of rising food prices is thus not primarily a question of supply. The whole trouble is improper distribution due to inefficiency and corruption in the administration,” the resolution said.

In any other country, at least the Food Minister would have resigned, if not the whole Cabinet, if such a situation had arisen, the Committee felt.

Recalling its resolution of June 2 last, it said: “We still feel that it would have been better if the Centre had acted up to our wishes. It did not see its way to do the needful. The people’s sufferings are on the increase.” The move of the West Bengal Government in creating a new Ministry for Agriculture and Food Production was an attempt at hoodwinking the people besides self-deception. It was no solution of the problem of mal-distribution of food.

The Executive Committee, therefore, called upon the people of West Bengal of all shades of opinion to intensify mass demonstrations in all parts of the State, in towns and in villages, for obtaining food grains at reasonable rates from August 16 next. If the people responded in large numbers, but the Government did not mend its ways, the PSP would then advise the people to offer Satyagraha from September 1 on a mass scale throughout the State.

The resolution further said: “The Committee believes that in order to alleviate the distress of the people, the Government should implement the following programme forthwith:

(a) Adequate supply of rice and wheat through modified ration shops at reasonable prices throughout the State.
(b) All families except those which possess more than one acre of land per member should be issued with ration cards and the existing grouping of the rural people into three classes should be abolished.
(c) Invalid persons should be given gratuitous relief.
(d) Minimum prices of paddy should be fixed before the sowing season every year.
(e) In rural areas where the poor are unable to purchase the entire ration quantity at once, the ration shops be directed to sell rations in instalments.
(f) Supply of essential commodities such as dal, mustard oil, sugar and kerosene, etc., through modified ration shops at reasonable prices.
(g) Introduction of test relief works on an extensive scale.
(h) Remission of rent for persons owning three acres of land or less.
(i) Supply of fertilisers, seeds and cattle-purchase loans at the proper time.
(j) Fixation of an economic price for jute.”

THE Conference of the City Council of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay) was held at Dadar, on July 26, 1959 with Shri Madhav Limaye, Joint Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party, Maharashtra, presiding.

Shri Peter Alvares, Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay), presented a brief report of the activities of the City Unit of the Party and a Statement of Accounts.

More than 200 delegates and 200 member-visitors attended the Conference, which elected 15 members to the Executive Committee of the City Unit of the Party.

The Conference unanimously passed the following resolutions:

Kerala Situation

This Conference of the City Council of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay) sends its warm greetings to the people of Kerala who are so valiantly fighting for the defence of freedom and democracy in that State.

The Communist Party in Kerala, which rose to power through democratic means, has used the power it acquired to subvert democracy itself. The challenge to free and independent judiciary, through the Communist Party’s Cell-Courts, murderous attacks on workers belonging to opposition parties, use of the resources of the State to strengthen the Communist Party, discriminating treatment of cooperative and trade unions sponsored by non-Communists, transfer of Magistrates who refused to allow the withdrawal of cases against Communists, are all symptoms of the collapse of democracy in Kerala.

The City Council is of the firm opinion that under such circumstances people have no other alternative but to resort to non-violent mass action to force the oppressors of democracy to quit power and seek a fresh verdict at the polls.

The City Council notes with regret and concern that the General Council of the Samyukta Mahashtma Samiti, which unequivocally condemned the police firings on dock workers at Madras and demanded judicial inquiry into the firing, did not find it necessary to adopt a similar attitude towards the police firings in Kerala, including
the firing on strikers in Kerala a few months back, in spite of the Samiti's categorical assurance given to the people through its election manifesto for legal provision to institute a judicial inquiry into police firing.

This Conference demands a judicial inquiry into the police firings in Kerala and the immediate resignation of the Communist Ministry.

**Appeal to Samiti**

This Conference of the City Council of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay) has noted with regret the reported directive of the General Council of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti to the Samiti Bloc in the Bombay Municipal Corporation with regard to the resolution on Kerala tabled in the Corporation.

It is the considered opinion of this Conference that, in terms of the resolution of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti dated June 8, 1959, which *inter alia* states,

"Wherein a certain question, which the parties consider as fundamental to their party point of view but does not reflect directly on the Samiti, its organisation and programme, the parties retain their right of independent view and action,"

the above-mentioned direction refers to a fundamental party issue and concerns a matter not reflecting directly on the Samiti, its programme and organisation; and in view of this, the City Council feels that the right to exercise the freedom of speech and vote in favour of the resolution by Samiti Councillors, particularly by the Praja Socialist Party Councillors, is granted by the above-mentioned resolution of the Samiti.

The Conference, therefore, requests the Standing Committee of the Maharashtra Executive of the Party and the Municipal Section to consider this view of the Conference and convey the same to the Samiti.

**Support to Struggle**

This Conference of the City Council of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay) welcomes the decision of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti to broaden and intensify the struggle for the realisation of the common objective of the people of Maharashtra to establish Samyukta Maharashtra and to bring about the inclusion of all Marathi-speaking border areas in Maharashtra.

The City Council is confident that the Praja Socialist Party, which has given its unstinted and active cooperation to the Samiti in all the phases of the struggle for Samyukta Maharashtra, will mobilise all its strength to ensure the success of the coming struggle.

The City Council directs all the Constituency Units of the Party in Bombay City to make determined and organised efforts to make the Samiti's March to the Assembly on August 3 a great success.

**Forrowing is the list of the newly elected members of the Executive Committee:**

- M. R. Dandavate
- Prabhashkar Kunte
- S. S. Varde
- Vasant Khanolkar
- Y. S. Goad
- Pyarelal Paralkar
- Harshad Bhat
- B. M. Dhaboowala
- Baban D'Souza
- M. Madhvan
- Laxmibai Tambahkhu
- Bhaskar Desai
- Ram Tambe
- Dinesh Thakur

**Ex-Officio Members:**

- M. Harris
- Peter Alvares
- G. G. Parikh
- Nana Savant
- Asoka Mehta

**BAITING CO-OPERATION**

SHRI N. G. Goray, General Secretary of the All-India Praja-Socialist Party, has, in a statement, rejected the "offer" made by Shri K. K. Shah, President of the Bombay Regional Congress Committee, of the Congress and the PSP working together in the Bombay Municipal Corporation in order to isolate Communists.

"On behalf of the Praja-Socialist Party I reject Shri Shah's offer with thanks," Shri Goray, who is also the Chairman of the Maharashtra PSP, said in the statement.

Shri Goray added: "Years back in the late respected Sardar Saheb (Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel) had made a similar sporting offer of a whole province to the Praja Socialist Party. The Party, which did not swallow that bait, is not likely to be influenced by Shri Shah's present overtures. The attitude of the Praja Socialist Party to other parties is not determined by considerations of the loaves and fishes of offices, but is decided according to the merits of the situation."

(Continued from page 7)


First Sixteen Months Of Red Rule In Kerala—IV

THE Communist Government did so much violence to the accepted traditions of loyalty to democratic institutions, which mould people’s norms of conduct, that society is left drifting rudderless. It is the kind of chaos and confusion in society that the Communist Party wants. The Party needs a cadre loyal to it during the critical period in society that the Communist Party hestsof the Party. It was for building up this kind of cadre that Shri Namboodiripad let loose in the State, before three months were out, criminals guilty of heinous crimes like loot, arson and murder.

The Trivandrum Mathrubhoomi correspondent gave an analysis of 200 cases withdrawn by the Communist Government during the first three months of its rule. The correspondent says: “Out of the 200 cases reported to have been withdrawn, details of 119 cases are given below:

- On examination of all available data, 106 out of the 119 cases are against Communists. All told 1,076 Communists are involved in the said 106 cases. It is possible that the same person may be figuring in more than one case. The remaining 13 cases are made up of:
  - 2 against INTUC, involving 17 persons;
  - 5 against RSP, involving 51 persons,
  - and 6 against PSP, involving 122 persons.

- Charges against INTUC, RSP, and PSP are for rioting, while those against the Communist range all the way from petty crimes to serious crimes like arson, loot, dacoity, murder, etc. The cases withdrawn against Communists include two murders involving 56 persons.”

Social Insecurity

Out of 1,076 Communists released, 56 are “confirmed killers”.

Many more such were released in subsequent months. These favoured sons of the Party, proud of the fact, strut about in the villages unbridled, striking terror in the minds of the villagers. The net result of all these is that there is in the countryside a bewildering sense of insecurity arising out of a feeling that those who belong to the Communist Party alone have State protection. As a corollary to this, it may be stated that there has sprung up in the State a privileged group which dictates and dominates the life of the State.

The qualitative difference referred to above between the ordinary crimes committed in other States and the crime wave in Kerala today lies in the fact that the objective towards which every act of Communist Party is directed is the subversion of the existing democratic social order and replacing the same with a totalitarian set-up.

The advent of the Communists to power was marked by tremendous consolidations of the Party on all its fronts. New horizons of power in other States opened up before it

by

K. B. Menon

and the Communists were determined to use Kerala as the base of operations. In achieving their objectives they were prepared to adopt a policy of ruthless suppression of the very liberty which they claimed for themselves. Dual standards were adopted by the Government in its industrial and agrarian policies. While Communist organisations were given every facility to extend their influence and hold, similar opportunities were totally denied to Opposition parties as well as to other social organisations opposed to communism.

Education Bill

While the Communists were marking time to march triumphantly to their goal, the Education Bill was brought in. This Bill created considerable controversy and conflict in the State. It roused opposition from all sections of the people, particularly the Christian community.

The Christian community has made substantial contribution to education and they rightly felt that this Bill was directly aimed to destroy all that they had laboriously built up through several generations of hard work. The general public also suspected that the Bill was a move to control the educational system in order to indoctrinate children with Communist ideology. They, therefore, held meetings and organised opposition to the Bill.

The Communists disturbed these public meetings and assaulted the speakers and persons who attended such meetings. They took advantage of the part played in this agitation by the Christopher organisation to characterise them as a militant body designed to overawe governmental authority. Minister, Krishna Iyer, once in the Assembly, painted lurid pictures about this organisation and made wild allegations. But Government produced no evidence to prove their charges of violence against this or any other organisation.

The mammoth procession of volunteers, gathered from all over the State, that demonstrated in Trivandrum on August 26, 1957, against the Education Bill was completely non-violent in spite of the Communist agent-provocateurs throwing stones on the processionists and indulging in other acts of violence.

Symposium Disturbed

A symposium had been convened at Cannanore on August 4, 1957, by some teachers to discuss the Education Bill. The Communists disturbed this meeting and assaulted some of the participants. On August 8, 1957, they caused obstruction to a procession which was on its way to join a public meeting organised to protest against the Bill. At Alleppy, on August 5, 1957, the Education Minister was met with black flags. About 50 Communists took upon themselves the duty of affording “protection” to the Minister. This was later exaggerated by the Government to appear as an attempt on the life of the Minister. After the Minister’s departure the Communists attacked the demonstrators and in the clash several persons were injured, of whom seven were admitted to hospital.

The intolerance of the Communists was also seen in action against cultural shows which parodied Communist policies. Some artists organised a play known as Bhagwan Marconal, a burlesque on the food policy of the Government. On March 18, 1958, a troupe of artists returning from a performance of the play, along with Devaki Krishnan
and Assiz, Congress workers, were stopped by some Communists armed with lethal weapons, and attacked. Some of the artists and the Congress people received injuries and their car was damaged. Aboobaker of Alleppey belonging to its music party was stabbed by a Communist worker by name Raghavan. Aboobaker succumbed to the fatal injuries at the Alleppey District Hospital.

**Liberty For Themselves**

While meting out this treatment to their opponents, the Communists claimed liberty for themselves to stage plays which criticised their opponents. Slanderous plays like Pottath Tail and Who Is Mareoni? were staged till late hours freely. Street singers were encouraged to sing obscene songs in which political opponents were ridiculed. This has now become a common occurrence in Trichur, Ernakulam and Alleppey.

Sporadic outbursts of violence in the Communist regime in Kerala started as early as June, 1957, with the agitation on the Education Bill, three months after they came to power.

On August 26, 1957, when Shri Pattom Thunai Pillai, membe of the Kerala Assembly and ex-Chief Minister of T.-C. State, was returning with two of his colleagues in the Kerala Legislature after giving evidence before the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, his car was held up on the road because a Red procession was passing. A group of Communists surrounded it, beat on its sides with their fists and abused him in foul language with threatening gestures. The police took no action.

**Law Obstructed**

On October 28, 1957, a police party who went to search the house of a Communist in Thevakkad village for stolen property were forcibly detained by the Communists in the neighbourhood. The local Congress President of the Panchayat along with the villagers had to rescue them.

On March 3, 1958, Kurien Varkey, Treasurer, INTUC Cement Employees' Union, Kottayam, and his pregnant wife were beaten by Communist goondas. They were so badly injured that they had to be admitted to the Kottayam Hospital.

Arson and rioting were organised at Tiruvalla on March 22, 1958. The Communists collected Agitprop volunteers from neighbouring towns of Alleppey, Qilon and Mavelikkara and attacked those whom they considered to be their opponents. The injured included a pregnant woman.

On March 20, 1958, a series of violent attacks on their political opponents in Shertallai and surrounding villages was launched by the Communists, who imported Agitprop volunteers from outside. P. K. Raghavan of the Fishermen's Society was beaten. Two labour leaders from Cochin who had come to address a meeting were also belaboured. Narayanan and Virasan, drama actors and others were manhandled. INTUC worker Prabhakaran was pulled out of a house and mercilessly cudgelled and one of his arms was fractured. Congress workers, Damodaran and Sadanandan, were beaten in the market place and forced to apologise for their anti-Communist activities.

**Fishery Ransacked**

At Vattakkal, on March 20, 1958, Communists who were waiting for an opportunity to oust the INTUC fisherman, entered the waters of INTUC people and started fishing. The R.D.O., urging that it was a labour dispute, refused to interfere when representations about the Communist encroachment were made by the INTUC.

In Shertallai, on March 3, 1958, a band of 150 armed Communist Agitprop and 80 women under the leadership of N. D. Thandar invaded the rich waterlogged fish fields of Ayyanan Parai, a rich landowner. Rs. 1,500 worth of fish were sold in the market the next morning by the Communists. The Communist Agitprop marched away with the cash shouting "Kerala Government Zindabad".

On March 7, 1958, the Agitprops came back to the same place for fishing. This time the villagers gathered in large numbers to resist. The Communists took to their heels. They, however, vindictively broke the bund and let the sea water in, damaging the standing crop worth about Rs. 15,000.

During the month of disturbances in Thrivalle, when the members of a family were engaged in harvesting their half-acre field, a band of 400 Communists gathered there to oppose them. A woman who boldly entered the field was stripped naked by the Communists and her breasts sliced off. This incident was reported in the Assembly by the leader of the Opposition, Shri P. T. Chacko.

**Orgy of Violence**

On July 4, 1958, INTUC workers Manuel and others, employed in S.V.O.C., were brutally assaulted by Communists and left in a dying condition in a ditch on the roadside at Ernakulam.

From July 22, 1958 to July 30, 1958 an orgy of violence was let loose in erstwhile Travancore-Cochin State. Violence that broke out in the two adjacent taluks of Trichur and Mukundapuram in the last week of July appeared to have been a part of an organised plan. They have to be linked with the militant speeches of the Secretary of the Communist Party, Shri M. N. Govindan Nair, and Shri V. V. Raghavan at Kiliyallur at Trichur. There was a big demonstration of half-clad Communists shouting militant slogans in Trichur, on the 23rd, led by Shri Raghavan. The speeches mentioned above were the signals for starting violence.

In Peringottukara six Congressmen who sought refuge in a private house from a gang of Communists, with whom they had an altercation, were besieged by a band of 300 Communists for three hours. They entered the room after battering down the door and the Congressmen were brutally assaulted, hauled into a jeep and paraded through the streets of the village and then handed over to the hospital.

Street fights were common during this week. Sarvashri P. R. Francis, Congress M.L.A., and C. G. Janardhanan, P.S.P. M.L.A., were both victims of Communist attacks. Shri Sukumaran Pottekad, the rival candidate of Minister Mundasseri in the last elections, Shri Verghese Mcheri, sub-editor of Thozhilali, and Shri Prabhakaran Menon, Secretary, Anthikkad Co-operative Society, were all pulled out of public buses and beaten.

**Climax of Murders**

The car in which Shri Panamalli Govinda Menon, Pradesh Secretary, Udaybhanu and Bharathi Udayabhanu, M.P., were travelling, was damaged by Communist assailants, but the occupants escaped due to the presence of mind of the driver. The Sitaram Mill Action Committee Office was pelted with stones by bands of Communists who came in a procession to the place.

As a climax to the "Week of Violence" came the tragic incident
in Varandarapalli, a village 14 miles away from Trichur, where a Communist jatha from Palapally Estate came to the Congress Office in the village. A few Communists lying in ambush pounced upon six Congressmen after the jatha left and stabbed them to death.

While the violence was raging in Trichur, a gang of Communists raided and looted four houses and half a dozen shops in Karanchira in Irinjalakuda. Some of the raiders, removing tiles from the roof, entered the house of Youth Congress Secretary, Simon and attacked his brother Samuel and his sister Neta. Both were badly injured and admitted to hospital. Property valued over a thousand rupees was stolen and damaged.

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The Bombay PSP observed August 9, 1959 as Martyrs' Day. A procession was taken out from Chowpatty to Gowalia Tank, where a wreath was laid at the Martyr's Memorial. Shri S. M. Joshi addressed a meeting held at the Memorial.
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Praja Socialist Party Today—and For Tomorrow

IN November next, a conference of the Praja Socialist Party, to be held in Bombay, will celebrate the completion of twenty-five years of the party's existence. Some people may naturally wonder here how, in the first instance, a jubilee conference can be called when the Praja Socialist Party as such has yet to complete ten years. Usually, one understates one's age; why then should the PSP exaggerate it?

The reason why we are holding a jubilee conference this year is that we are celebrating the twenty-fifth year not of our party but of a specific school of thought in India: In 1934 was founded the Congress Socialist Party as a unit of the Congress, when a planned and organised beginning was made in the way of leading the country towards democratic socialism. That trek is still continuing, under the aegis of the PSP.

Till now it got many a turn and twist from time to time. Sometimes other streams merged with its onward progress, sometimes there were permanent digressions from its midstream. Sometimes it gathered speed, sometimes it slowed down. But in no circumstance did it peter out or come to a stop. From 1934 to 1948, those who followed the line of democratic socialist thought were in the Congress itself. They were in the vanguard of the freedom struggle against British imperialism. Since 1948 they have been trying their best, independently and as a distinct party, to proselytise Indian democracy towards socialism and thus make it strong and true to its appellation.

Indications of Strength

What is the nature of the PSP today? What is its strength? It is natural that such questions should occur to those who are intimately concerned with the country's politics. There exist a few broad measures of gauging the strength of a party, namely the total membership of the party, the work it does in such professional and sociological strata as workers, peasants, the middle classes, students, etc., the members of the party in important representative bodies of the democratic State from the gram panchayat to Parliament, the administrative power vested in the party, the loyal workers working selflessly for the party in city and village, the newspapers controlled by the party and its finances, the number of candidates put up by the party in the elections and the votes that have been cast for them, and so on.

On applying these broad or physical measures, we find that in some respects the state of the PSP is hopeful while in some it is not. Although figures themselves are mundane, their extent can inject life into a theory or an organisation just as it can act the opposite way. It depends on how we look at it. When we stack on the credit side such facts as a yearly membership of two to three lakhs, important work in a labour organisation like the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, more than 10 per cent of the total vote in the 1952 and the 1957 elections, 19 members in Parliament and 200 in the legislative bodies of the various States, and recognition as the main Opposition party in Uttar Pradesh, Mysore, Madhya Pradesh, Assam and Bihar, we can count the state of the party as sound enough.

We can also maintain that next to the Congress ranks the PSP because in the last general elections the Congress got nearly 476 lakhs of votes, while the PSP got 114 lakhs, the Communists 99 lakhs and the Jan Sangh 44 lakhs. Some time ago a reader of The Times of India had contended that we contest far too many seats, so that our catch of votes appears to be enormous! He further argued that our real strength could not be assessed by this number of total votes but should be restricted to a consideration of only those votes in areas where we have won seats; so it followed that the party which got more candidates elected percentage-wise, that is, the Communist Party, was stronger than ours. While refusing this argument another reader of the paper had pointed out that an application of this rule would prove that parties like the Jharkhand or the Republican were the strongest.

Final Strength

Once we accept the point of view that the celebrations in November will symbolise organised democratic-socialistic thought, there need not be any objection to mentioning the strength of the other Socialist wing in the same breath as mentions the strength of the Praja Socialist Party. Moreover, we have been repeatedly inviting them to join the Socialist family again, and we have also abstained from criticising them in the belief that they too are trying in their own way to implant democratic socialism, as the history of the recent past will prove.

If we add the strength of the Socialists to the strength of the Praja Socialist Party, the membership figure will reach four lakhs, the members of parliament will count as 27, the members of legislative bodies as 239 and the total vote will also increase by about 5 lakhs.

But the picture composed by these figures does not satisfy me. I am aware that while assessing the strength of the party, something much more substantial, apart from the figures, can be cited. In many places the members of the party are running efficient co-operatives, e.g., Bombay, Bassein, Jaysingpur, Parghar, etc. They are running municipalities on ideal lines, as in Sarasvati. They have organised vigorous labour movements. There are literally hundreds of workers with the party, who have sustained the work of the party for the last several years with great faith and selflessness in many States from the Punjab to Madras, in spite of the party's existence being nominal in places. They are the real wealth, the real strength and the heart of the party. But even after taking this into account I feel like saying that the state of the PSP is far from being satisfactory.

Strength and Weakness

The present state of a party never accrues to it from the present; it follows from the events of the several years that have passed. When we separated from the Congress in 1948 and started on our own, we had much to our credit. I say this from the point of view of our prestige in the country, not
of our physical means. For, if you consider the predominance of physical means, the PSP has never been able to approach the Congress or the Communists, let alone equal them. As far as I know, at the present moment the means available to the Communists are much better than those of the Congress! I am surprised that the Communists with all this strength of means should be so weak in the country. I consider it but another proof of their extremity.

Anyway, the Praja Socialist Party at its inception had an adequate reputation earned in the freedom struggle. It had leaders of the front rank like Jayapraekash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali and Narendra Deo. But a party organization depends more on second and third rank leadership than those of the front. There too, a number of workers like Asoka Mehta, S. M. Joshi, Basavant Singh, Madanlal Bagdi, Annaji Dandekar, Madhu Limaye, Harris, Dave, Ishwarbhai Desai, Munishi Ahmed Din and K. B. Menon were ready to look after their own regions. Many new, young workers who had graduated in the freedom movement and emerged from the mood of enthusiasm after 1946 were joining the party.

But to be valiant is one thing and to imbibe the spirit of bravery for good is another. The PSP has as yet not been successful with the latter. Todate the PSP has been leading in the country in struggle, sacrifice and service. But as soon as the sacrifice turns into power, the PSP somehow puts its wrong foot forward—the PSP, that is, its revered leaders.

Two Great Defects

There are two reasons for such a development. First, an exaggerated concept of democratic principles of freedom; second, a bookish insistence on constitutional methods in the post-Independence period. The PSP had so many young leaders who thought of ever-new ideas and who could explain them lucidly to the people that it would have been a matter for envy! But our young leaders were not ready to believe that every new idea or programme was not born of prophetic intuition.

In the Congress, Gandhi and Nehru led their followers by the nose. The Indian Communists staked everything on Moscow and Peking. But the Praja Socialist Party indulged in a far-reaching conflict of opinion before it agreed to a programme. We used to think that this was a symbol of our genuinely democratic methods. But the differences of opinion gradually crossed all bounds and the party had to lose one leader after another! With no practical idea of what it would have to face on attaining power, the shooting ordered by the Pillay Ministry in Kerala created such a heat of controversy inside the party that it as good as melted the whole Kerala unit.

The party has reached its position today after having faced many such internal and external difficulties and deficiencies. It is neither big enough to rule the whole of India nor small enough like many others to be blown to the winds by a whiff. (Even the Communists have no power to rule with a majority over one-fourth of the country, leave alone the whole of it.) Whenever there is an international or national problem like Hungary and Tibet or Samyukta Maharashtra and Kerala, the PSP can display intellectual and dynamic powers that will create a distinct atmosphere in the country. Its mind and intellect are still sound.

New Factions

The real problem is that of developing strength and of finding the skill to draft a flexible policy that will preserve our homogeneity while at the same time facing the different complexities growing in the different States of the Union which are as big as countries. Those who think that they shall have no truck with anybody, that all are in the same boat, should better not join the hullabaloo of politics.

Just as the PSP must forget the idea of establishing one-party rule in India, it must also not harbour such thoughts as the possibility of dissolving the party since it is small and has not grown during the last five years. Actually, it is a universal experience that democratic parties take years and years to grow. The ideology of democratic socialism spent its first fourteen years in attaining that freedom which is the breath and basis of democracy and socialism, which means that they were spent well, not wasted. And though the next ten years have been spent in propagating the idea of democratic socialism, there is nothing in it to be regretted. It is now that these two faiths are being tried.

The Congress is talking socialism, and the Communists are at least pretending to be convinced of democratic means. Rajaji, Ranga and Masani are crying wolf over the supposed prospect of the Congress going Communist and starting the Swatantra Party. The politics of India is in a mould. While we are progressing through this environment, it is wrong to expect that the traditional limitations, ways and character of every party will remain unchanged.

But while the changes go on, the main conflict will still be based on the problem: “Democracy plus socialism or totalitarianism plus socialism?” and so there will broadly develop the two camps of those who have faith in democracy and those who are against it. The PSP can do a lot of important work in this battle of ideas and of practices.

This Can Be Done

In the time to come the necessity of thinking and re-thinking will be felt a great deal. But it will have to be accompanied by a programme that is bold and meant to forge the fastest link with the people. It is not enough to tell the people what sacrifices they should be prepared for in order to fulfil the Five-Year Plans.

The PSP can do much to avoid all these possible and not entirely imaginary dangers. It is not even likely that the Congress itself will remain as it is during this period of great change. It is inevitable that those leftists and rightists that are finding shelter in its camp should some day face the world. That process has now started. As it develops, thoroughly unprecedented moves will follow on the chess-board of Indian politics. It need not be believed that all these will be unfavourable to the PSP.

In short, although the present period appears to be wintry to the PSP, it should be considered a time for hibernation, the way plants and animals pass the winter in a state of torpor. During this period, emphasis should be laid on making whatever we already have more organized, deep and efficient rather than making it grow. Then it is quite likely that with the thaw in the air we shall find the well-preserved roots and trunks bursting with new shoots and foliage.
AN APPROACH TO THE THIRD PLAN - I

BY

Mukut Behari Lal

India is confronted with a multiphased economic crisis—increasing unemployment, inflationary rise in prices, shortage of foodgrains, foreign exchange difficulties, growing foreign indebtedness, and so on. This crisis is no doubt rooted in the imbalances of our underdeveloped economy; but it is also the result of the inadequate economic policies of the Congress, miscalculations of the Planning Commission, and administrative inefficiencies of the Governments.

It has deepened distress, tension, and frustration much, and led the people to question the very fundamentals on which the Second Five-Year Plan was based. Some were even forced to wish the country had made "such profit as they can" allowed to come to this country and make "such profit as they can" (M. R. Masani, Kalki, August 10, 1958).

It is, however, not possible to agree with them. A public sector and economic controls are essential components of an underdeveloped economy struggling for development. As is recognized by Dr. Wilfred Malenbaum, in Asian development, "business entrepreneurship will become an important function of Government." (The American Review, January '59, p. 45). The public sector which has so far been built up in India is hardly ideologically inspired. It is there mostly due to the inability of Indian capitalists to branch off into heavy industry and to mobilize the necessary resources for the purpose.

Exploitation Barred

In the name of development, foreign capitalists cannot be allowed to exploit the Indian people. Nor is it possible for us to have a static conception of our resources and to be satisfied with a plan which may stagnate our economy. But, all the same, it is also our duty not to suffer from the attraction of gigantism, which has no doubt already added much to our difficulties.

We should so plan as not to strain our resources too much, but at the same time to enable us to march ahead towards prosperity. It is not possible for us to follow any particular pattern of development. We will have to find out our own way, suited to our needs and conditions. For that we will have to begin with the fundamentals of planned economy.

Living Standard

While production for its own sake is meaningless, there can be neither prosperity nor appreciable increase in the standard of living without proper development of productive capacity and increase in production. Both increased production and human welfare require full employment, which needs enlargement of productive capacities. Full employment and constant increase in the

standard of living are basic laws of both socialism and welfare economy.

In the modern world an economic plan worth its name must not only provide for an increase in national income, but also enable the working people to share and enjoy the prosperity, and help the community in the attainment of its social objectives, which are declared in our Constitution to be the dignity of human personality, economic equality and social justice, along with national unity and liberty.

The objectives of planned economy must, therefore, be:

(1) Development of productive capacity and expansion of production.

(2) Liquidation of unemployment and provision of full employment to all adults.

(3) Equitable distribution of the national prosperity and constant increase in the standard of living of the producing masses—the working people.

(4) Social advance towards an egalitarian order free from exploitation and domination as well as from the inordinate inequality in wealth and economic power.

In the Third Plan these four objectives of planned economy, which are inseparable components of an integral whole, must be pursued simultaneously. Proportionate advancement of all these objectives must be aimed at.

Priority Schemes

Whereas the productive capacity of our people is too low to allow us to build up a good national economy, in a scheme of development of the productive capacity the conservation and development of human power and facilities must be assigned first priority. Man is both an end and a means of production. The preservation of his health and the development of his faculties are, therefore, doubly necessary.

The Third Plan must, therefore, give high priority to schemes for:

(a) the preservation of the health of the people,

(b) development of the physique of the people,

(c) provision of instruction to all children in general education, useful avocations and elements of democratic citizenship,

(d) advancement of higher technological studies,

(e) technical training of workers, peasants and artisans in their avocations, and

(f) training in economic management and co-operation.

Business Management

Rationalization in the management of both public and private enterprises must also be assigned a high priority in a scheme of the development of production.

To Indian employers rationalization almost invariably means retraining in labour force and cut in labour budget through the installation of up-to-date machinery and increase in work-load. Such a conception of rationalisation is inadequate, not only because it ignores the basis and necessity of rationalisation in management but also because it fails to take account of the fact that while India is short in capital it has plenty of idle labour force.

As is pointed out by the United Nations, labour-saving technology is not of great value to an economy which is over-populated. In underdeveloped countries like India the short-term measures of rationalisation should include:

(1) increase in
the output of existing machines, (2) increase in employment opportunities, and (3) utilisation of the available capital resources for purposes of greater employment and larger production, by expansion of industrial activity, so as to absorb the surplus labour, rather than for a slight improvement in one sector of existing activity (U.N.O.: Measures for the Economic Development of Under-developed Countries).

I.L.O. Assessment

The International Labour Organisation Productivity Team which came to India in 1953 had demonstrated that "by better maintenance and better utilisation of existing machines both productivity and production should be increased and costs reduced, without the retrenchment of a single worker and without the replacement of a single existing machine. (Giri: Labour Problems in Indian Industry, page 138).

India today suffers much from inefficiency of management, and its rationalisation is necessary for the development of productive capacity and production.

Rationalisation in management requires (1) adequately trained personnel in charge of management; (2) reduction in overhead charges; (3) improvements in the methods of management and production; (4) elimination of undesirable managerial practices; (5) greater attention to workers' needs and comforts and improvement in technical efficiency; and (6) standardization and maintenance of the quality of products.

Consolidation Urgent

Consolidation is a necessary concomitant of development. The former should precede the latter. The growth of new economic enterprises at the cost of the old enterprises and unfinished projects will be improper. The consolidation of old productive capacity should, therefore, have priority over new schemes of development.

As is pointed out by Shri Asoka Mehta in his discussion paper on the Third Plan, "high priority" must be assigned to such items as "where through comparatively minor additions and alterations, replacement and modernisation, production can be stepped up and led to fuller use of the existing capacity". For the purpose of consolidation and fuller use of existing capacity, priority should be assigned to:

(a) completion of schemes which are under construction and may not be completed by the end of the Second Plan;
(b) measures for the protection of land and crops from erosion of soil, waterlogging, pests and other avoidable calamities;
(c) measures for full utilisation of the installed capacity that is lying idle in large-scale and small-scale sectors of industry.
(d) repairs of old irrigation wells and tanks as well as bunds and bridges, etc.; and
(e) construction of necessary distributaries and field channels.

Co-ordinated Growth

The development of agriculture and industry must progress in a paralleled fashion supplementing each other. If we neglect one or the other, or support one at the cost of the other, we will thereby undermine the economic foundations of the country. As is pointed out by Imre Nagy, "If anyone tries to regard the peasantry merely as a tax-base, thinking by excessive taxes and selling prices he can squeeze more material wealth from

(Continued on page 13)

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Institutional Basis For Democratic Socialism

DEMOCRATIC socialism is facing a great challenge today in our country and all over the world. This challenge emanates both from the Right and the Left and questions the very possibility and even the desirability of fighting for socialist values. In essence this is mainly due to the failure on the part of democratic socialism to create appropriate organisations and institutions to realise and conserve the socialist values.

This defect in democratic socialism is not due to any outward deficiency in the philosophy, but goes to the very root of its origin and fundamental tenets. If socialist values are to be defended, we will have to analyse critically the institutional foundations of socialism and see if we can evolve a body of principles that may help in creating appropriate institutional set-up for democratic socialism.

Democratic socialism claims to be a scientific philosophy of life and action in the sense that it does not accept Utopian solutions of the ills of the world. Nor is it satisfied with the assertion of high ethical ideals, however sound in themselves but which are not set in concrete terms, to deal with a given situation facing the social revolution. It is a revolutionary doctrine in the sense it believes that radical transformations are required not only in the thoughts and beliefs in man, but also in the institutional set-up of the community that gives concrete shape to them. It is therefore all the more necessary to concentrate attention on the institutional foundations of democratic socialism.

Marxian Influence

The incapacity of democratic socialism to create adequate institutional set-ups stems from the faulty reading of the nature of man out of society. This faulty reading, in its turn, inherits from Karl Marx, whose basic philosophical tenets have played a causal role in the development of the socialist philosophy.

In his crusade against the Utopian solutions of the world's ills, Karl Marx rightly pointed to the debasement of social institutions that played a significant role in creating conditions of misery for the vast mankind, and, in the thorough Germanic traditions, he launched an all-out attack on the institutions of his day. He characterised the State as an apparatus designed for the purpose of the coercion of a class of people by another class to do certain things and to refrain from doing certain other things.

The Church was, according to him, a shield to make acceptable the tyranny of natural and social forces, doping the faithful and blunting his sensitivity against natural and social injustice. Property likewise was an instrument of coercion of the productivity-active elements in the society, and so on. His attack on the institutions of his time was not an attack on the particular aspects of the institutions but on the institutions as such. And he promised man liberation from all the tyrannies of social forces only if he succeeded in dispensing with all the institutions with their coercive apparatus. In his Utopia there was a place only for voluntary associations, founded and destroyed with utmost ease according to the convenience of those who participated in them.

Bolshevik Example

Naturally, in such a philosophy there is nothing to provoke thoughts regarding the changing of the character of a given institution so that it can better serve the purpose for which it exists. No wonder when the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia they had very little to fall back on in the Marxian thought, by which they were to justify their centralised democracy and State capitalism. They had to rely on comparatively obscure writings of Karl Marx to justify their claim of belonging to the Marxian tradition. The Bolshevik institutions, in consequence, did not differ from the institutions they claimed to replace; only one form of social hierarchy was replaced by another form of hierarchy.

Nor has democratic socialism so far evolved a philosophy of institutions which can fundamentally alter their characteristics and make them serve the purposes for which they exist more effectively.

In exploring the relationship of the values and the institutions which seek to create conditions in which these values are realised and conserved, it is necessary to keep certain basic characteristics of both in mind. Values have certain abstract norms, but their contents are largely governed by the thoughts and beliefs of those who entertain these values. Values have thus a significant personal substratum. Institutions on the other hand relate to group behaviour and derive their strength from customs, habits and law, which create them and which in turn are created, or at least significantly modified, by these institutions.

II

THIS being the function of the institution in the life and well-being of the individual, the two kinds of philosophy—one that opposes any change in the institution in the name of conserving values, and the other that advocates complete dispensing with institutions—would be beside the point. Karl Marx rightly pointed out that an institution that seeks to throttle the creative forces of man should be radically changed so as to make it capable of helping productive functions. But when he jumped from this to the position that ultimately institutions as such should disappear he took an illegitimate leap.

The real task of a social revolutionary is to so alter the institutions as to further the values cherished by the members of the community which they govern. The alterations are thus to be justified on the basis of releasing the creative powers of an individual and making him happy and capable of living a joyous life.

Essence of State

When Karl Marx described the State as an apparatus in the hands of the dominant class to exploit the rest of the society he did not point his finger to the essence of the State but only described its degenerate condition. Marx and Engels
themselves have described the history of mankind in terms of socially advanced classes assuming the position of dominance in society and using the social institutions to further the progress of civilisation. It is only when the antithetical forces are generated as a result of dialectic processes that the dominance and exploitation start arresting further progress. It is at this stage that a new class should, according to them, take control of these institutions and use them as instruments of social change.

This theory is applied by the Bolsheviks in their centralised democracy, where the Communist Party elite are put in charge of the various institutions. Democratic socialism cannot accept this theory of State. They consider the State as an institution where the individual liberty of each and every citizen is sought to be reconciled with the rule of law as the theory of a democratic State tries to do and at the same time expect the State to strengthen the weaker elements in the community in their competition against the stronger ones so that equality and social justice become concrete goals of the State policy.

Any radical transformation of the State should thus aim at discrimination in favour of the weak to the extent that their competitive strength matches with that of the strong and then allowing the forces of healthy competition to draw what is the most creative and joyful giving in every individual, rewarding the competent and encouraging the weak to put in greater efforts to attain at least an average competence.

The State also aims at encouraging the identification of the good of the individual with that of the community only to the extent that an individual with a healthy sense of obligation is in a position to achieve such an identification through his free volition.

Socialist State

In these two aims lie the germs of the positive State of the socialist theory and the decentralisation of the powers and functions of the State apparatus. Any positive function assumed by the State which does not result in strengthening the weak or any decentralisation of powers and functions that fail to promote such identification would

(Continued on page 12)

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Chinese Plot To Set Up Himalayan Federation

In the course of a two-month tour of Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and certain Assam areas on the Pakistan border, which I undertook last May and June, I gathered much valuable information: the most startling piece, however, which I obtained from reliable sources was about China's secret plan for the establishment of a Himalayan Federation comprising Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and NEFA under her suzerainty.

The plan is an integral part of her policy and aims in Asia. Her objective is the elimination of all Western, particularly the growing American, influence from this vast continent. This again is linked up with the global strategy of international communism.

My information is that Russia and China have carved out their spheres of influence: Europe and West Asia for Russia, and the rest of Asia for China. The communication of South and South-East Asia under China's hegemony or leadership is the programme set by her Communist leaders for the first twenty-five years of their regime.

Expansionist Psychology

The Chinese have always regarded themselves as the master race, particularly so during the expansionist epochs of China's history. The present is one such. Let us not forget Germany's expansionist drive in Europe during the 'thirties, albeit under the anti-Communist banner.

The Communist masters of new China realise that they cannot consolidate their position, and make China the leader of Asia, unless and until the last vestige of European and American influence in Asia is destroyed.

Shortly after the Communist Party seized power in China 10 years ago, the charming Shri Chou En-lai wheedled Prime Minister Nehru into recalling the last British representative of India in Lhasa, the shrewed Shri Hugh Richardson, because the Chinese were sure they could deal with the Indians more easily.

Before leaving however, Shri Richardson warned Shri Nehru not to withdraw Indian troops stationed in Tibet, but Shri Nehru paid no heed, and in the name of Sino-Indian friendship, he withdrew our troops, relinquished India's rights in Tibet, and subsequently made to China a free gift of our telegraph and telephone installations there— all in exchange for a few affectionate greetings and sweet assurances from Shri Chou En-lai, and the delightfully nebulous Pancha Sheel.

Communist China for her part refused to renounce her suzerainty over Tibet—a feudal, imperialist concept. She did not even pay up the claims of certain former Indian employees of Shanghai Municipality—a paltry sum compared to what she had got from India. Thus, she gained much, whereas India lost almost everything in the very first round.

Shortly after the Indian troops returned home, the Chinese army marched into Tibet. There was, however, no imminent danger from the West and so China agreed to an autonomous region of Tibet, with obvious mental reservations.

The Himalayan Federation plan stems from Communist China's basic expansionist and imperialist policy, which is sought to be furthered and implemented in various ways: ethnic affinity or irredentism, economic allurement and hatred of the West, besides, of course, ideological claptrap.

There is insidious propaganda on the Himalayan border, as indeed there must be in other parts of South-East Asia, for the inclusion of all Mongolian and Mongolid peoples in the "great Chinese family". It will not be out of place to recall in this connection the recent statement of Shri Kaznacheev, former Soviet Information Officer in Rangoon, that "the main role in espionage and other activities in Burma is played by China more than by Russia".

The resident Chinese community, too, would not mind lending a hand. Besides the psychological plank in her programme, China's economic offensive will be increasingly felt in the coming years.

Anti-Indian Sentiment

On the Himalayan border the psychological assault will make a sizable dent because of the prevailing anti-Indian sentiment in those areas. Nor is the economic offensive likely to fail in its effect on the terribly poor and backward people of the region, what with trade inducements, and the picture presented by the rapid agricultural and industrial development programme in neighbouring Tibet: for on that bleak Asian plateau, after an orgy of slaughter and vandalism, the Chinese authorities are now working round the clock, in Lhasa and elsewhere. Land is being distributed and opened up for cultivation, and roads, schools, houses, hospitals are being built, with forced Tibetan labour.

China is not so stupid as to launch a military attack against the Himalayan States, because that may unleash World War; and India by virtue of her treaties and agreements, becoming the victim of aggression, would be thrown into the arms of the West. That will be a dangerous development for China.

Her modus operandi will, therefore, be infiltration, erosion and subversion; the weapons being mainly psychological and economic, and the instrument of action, here as elsewhere, the local Communist Party. Communists and their agents on both sides of the border will not be averse to bringing about the desired result, and fomenting internal disturbances to achieve that end.

Befriending Nepal

China's policy will be more friendly towards Nepal than towards India in the coming years, and she will thus seek to drive a wedge between the two friends. The recent statement of Col. Basnett, Nepal's representative in Lhasa, about China's doings in Tibet, was a pointer in this direction. The mounting anti-Indian tirade in Nepal by Dr. K. I. Singh, who sought and obtained asylum in China a few years ago, is also significant.
There is another factor which has to some extent motivated China in her actions. Developments in Pakistan since 1954 seem to have weighed with China in making swift changes in her policy and strategy. Pakistan has passed under the influence of the U.S.A. which, China is sure, will establish military and air bases in different regions of Pakistan. It is assumed that India will be neutral in the coming world conflict, which, China is convinced, is inevitable within the next five years or so. A neutral India will not be of much help to China, but a less neutral Himalayan region will be useful, strategically and otherwise.

Tibet remained neutral throughout the last World War, but China and the U.S.A. were then allies. But in the next war, wherein China will be pitted against the U.S.A., Tibet will not be helpful to China, with U.S.A. bases so close as in Pakistan and Pakistani-held Kashmir. That is one of the reasons why she has completely subjugated Tibet. Her apprehensions with regard to the next World War may not be well-founded but they can be understood, if not appreciated.

Policy Shift Expedient

If the Chinese plan for a Himalayan Federation is to be foiled, the Government of India will have to re-orient its Himalayan policy. India will have to be firmer towards China, and while continuing to be friendly she will have to expose China's imperialist, colonial policy in Tibet no less than her anti-religious, even anti-Buddha, drive. Has not India been friends with Britain, France and the U.S.A., and yet castigated them for their misdeeds in Asia and Africa during the past few years?

India must simultaneously adopt a more tactful and generous policy towards the Himalayan States, particularly with regard to their independence, internal autonomy, and economic development. The Government of India, after capitulation to China on the Tibetan issue, must do something, and yet that quickly, for the restoration of confidence in the Himalayan region, for building up trade and improving agriculture; otherwise a strong China would appear a better protector and a more attractive ally than a weak India.

China is intent on acquiring a hold on the Himalayan States in pursuance of her general policy no less for her own 'safety in war, and as a jumping-off ground for the next stage in her neo-imperialist drive. This explains her cartographic aggression against India's, the still circulating map of new China—an outward sign of the inward design.

Boundary Ignored

China has repudiated the McMahon Line, International boundary with Tibet, and has even refused to reply to Shri Nehru's latest protests over the map. She has already built, or is building, airstrips in western Tibet, and on the borders of Nepal and NEFA. It was also reported that she occupied, last winter, certain portions of Indian territory in Ladakh and in Almora district of Uttar Pradesh, Will the Government of India let down Bhutan and Sikkim, just as it has let down Tibet?

The Himalayan Federation plan is thus not merely part of China's present expansionist drive in Asia, it not only fits into her ultimate design for the communization of South and South-East Asia under her hegemony, but it is also related to her grand strategy for the coming world war which, she feels rightly or wrongly, is far distant.

Government Indifference

A friend warns, but an enemy strikes. I expect however the Government of India will deny all knowledge of China's secret plan or blueprint, and may even dismiss it as "fantastic nonsense". But that will not mean anything, because it is now common knowledge how colossal and profound Government's ignorance was of Chinese Communist moves in 1949, 1950, 1956 and again in 1958-59. (This was also so at the time of the Hungarian national uprising three years ago).

If our Government pursues a firm, vigilant foreign and defence policy, serving India's interests first and last, and is not anxious to court the friendship of other nations at the cost of her own national honour or at the cost of human, democratic, ethical and spiritual values, all may yet be well with India, and China's plan will come to nought. Else, menaced by China in the north and assaulted by Pakistan in the east and west, India's freedom will not long endure.

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Some Recent Trends In Gujarati Literature

The year 1958-59 is full of encouraging activities and significant incidents in the Gujarati world of letters. Last year, at least half a dozen poets had made their debut by publishing their first collections of poems. This year the process has continued, though a little less vigorously.

Rajendra Shah, the veteran among the newcomers, had published his new collection of songs and poems, Shruti. It is very unlike his earlier Dhvani, inasmuch as it has a lot of experimentations with rhythm rather than with pure rhyme which is not surprising, since songs are the order of the day in Gujarati poetry and the newer poets lip with enthusiasm.

Niranjan Bhagat and Jayant Pathak have added new poems to their earlier collections, Chhandolaya and Marmar, respectively. These updated editions of old titles are evidently enriched in quality by new additions and surely give a higher stature to their authors. The 'old guard' poets of the 'thirties seem to be silent these days, but their silence is more than made up, at least in quantity, if not in quality, by the younger ones.

Significant Change

The most significant development of the year is a welcome growth of 'little reviews' of poetry. This was first experimented in 'Kavita', a pocket-size periodical published by 'Kumar' magazine of Ahmedabad. Soon Bombay followed suit by launching 'Kavikol' on the same lines as 'Kavita.' Today a small town like Visnagar has a little magazine of poetry, 'Manjari.' The most recent advent in this field is a small publication, 'Palash', from an unexpected corner in Saurashtra, Joravarnagar.

These and other inexpensive pocket-size pamphlets admirably serve as a handy and localised vehicle for new verses and also suitably perform the role of a clearing house for regionalism. Though much of the stuff in these pamphlets is derivative, there are quite a few signatures that hold out promise. Pradyumna Tanna, Gulammohammad Shekh, Harindra Dave, Jasubhai Shah, Nalin Rawal, 'Meenpiyasi', Aniruddha Brahmarsh, Hemant Desai, Jayant Parekh, Ratilal Jog and Dinesh Kothari are amongst the new arrivals in these little magazines.

Among the new poets to come out with their first books of poems this year, Jayant Palan, author of Gulumor, may be mentioned. Among the 'experimentalists', Hasmukh Pathak's debut is eagerly awaited. Karsandas Manek, after a long spell of silence, will be staging a comeback with his new collection, Madhyanha. Posthumous publication of Harischandra Bhatt's collected poems under the title Swapnaprayan will be a major event of the year.

Field of Fiction

There is hectic activity, as usual, in Gujarati fiction. The veteran novelists 'Dhumketu', Gunavantri Acharya and Chunilal V. Shah are still going strong in their traditional and tried forms of novels. Of these, 'Dhumketu', and Acharya are so preoccupied with their favourite historical serials, extending to half a dozen volumes in one single unit, that they have practically no time left to think over any contemporary social or political theme. Oddly enough, the prolific and popular younger novelists, Pannalal Patel, Ishwar Petlikar and Pushkar Chandarvarkar, who usually excel in depicting rural life, have tried, in their new novels, themes that are not very congenial to their genius of regional depiction.

Pannalal Patel's Navoon Lohi is not a very happy experiment in sophisticated themes. Similarly, Ishwar Petlikar has tried the almost impossible in fictionalising Kalidas's Shakuntala. Pushkar Chandarvarkar, in Nave Chile, has tried a topical theme of social and economic development. Devshankar Mehta, a regionalist pure and simple, depicts Saurashtra village folks in Dharati-no-Pachhdeo and is now working on a similar vigorous theme MithiVirdi. 'Sopani', senior-most in this group, has depic-
when one looks across the footlights, what one normally sees is either a plagiarised hotchpotch or a mediocre adaptation, when it is not an honest translation.

This has had a usual quota of such adaptations, which need not detain us. The only outstanding and legitimate play of the year is Rasiklal Chhotalal Parikh's Sharvilkak, based on Sudraka's Mrichhakatikam, but having an entirely new depiction and original approach to Sharvilkak as a spearhead of revolution in King Palaka's regime. Other notable attempts at full-length playwriting are by Madhukar Randeria (Ante to Tamari), Vajubhai Tank (Vaibhav-Vish) and Chandravadan Mehta (Sonavatkad).

In the realm of prose, Darshan Ane Chintan by Pandit Sukhlal Sanghvi is the most outstanding philosophical and literary treatise, which can very well be adjudged as the best work of the decade in Gujarati literature. There are a few publications of literary histories, which can be better described as utilitarian than critical. So are the publications of some of the theses prepared for Ph.D. degrees, which hardly justify the high honours conferred upon their authors by the universities.

Critical Works

Some of the collected works of criticism are, however, noteworthy. Anatrai Rawal's Sahityavivek is one of them. Now that Gujarati is the medium of instruction at the highest levels in Gujarat University, some of the 'must' classics and critical works are fast being rendered into Gujarati. Nagindas Parekh's authentic translations of Abercrombi's Principles of Literary Criticism and Worsfold's Judgment in Literature will prove more than just useful treatises.

Personal essay and travelogue are not much in vogue these days, but Vinodini Neelkanth's Njanaan is a welcome addition to essays in Gujarati literature. Umashankar Joshi's forthcoming Ooghadi Baari, unlike his earlier Goshthee, should be better described as a collection of 'short short essays', originally written as editorials of his magazine 'Sanskriti' during the last decade. Hariprasad Vyas' Pothisman-nan Ringanai is the only publication of the year in the realm of highly hilarious 'light' skits. Among serious works of study K. K. Shastri's translation of Bharata Natyashastra deserves a mention.

By far the most significant event of the year is the programme of re-compiling Sartha Gujarati Jodankosh, which was first compiled and published in 1929 at the inspiration and initiative of Mahatma Gandhi. This all-embracing standard spelling dictionary is a living monument to the memory of the Father of the Nation, who wrote his major works, including the famous autobiography, originally in Gujarati.

Kremlin Pretences

The Bolsheviks only replaced the Church of God with the Church of Stalin and now of the Seven-Year Plans. There is the same insistence on taking the gospels of the new religion on trust, the same obedience to the pontiffs of the Kremlin and the same exhalation which a man feels when he considers himself to be looked after by powers greater than himself.

Though it may sound a bit heretic, it needs to be emphasised that the philosophy of democratic socialism could and should contain a theory of the Church. This theory should insist on creating conditions whereby an individual can transcend the limitations of his personality by developing a sense of belonging to a community where he is regarded as possessing a worth of his own irrespective of his contribution to its wealth and progress.

This sense, of belonging, must give him confidence in himself to surpass his limitations to tap unsuspected reservoirs of strength in personality, making him humble in the face of his individual achievements and giving him courage in times of adverse circumstances. Any radical transformation of the Church should thus aim at fostering the sense of belonging to a larger whole and at making man capable of surpassing his limitations through his efforts, competence and courage.

The institution of property has come under the heavy fire of socialist thinkers because it gives power to its owner to withhold, if he so chooses, the productive capacity of the community which he claims to hold and to exploit those who possess property only to a small extent or do not possess it at all. No one who has dispassionately studied the history of capitalism can doubt the searching analysis of Marx; but here again, the baby is sought to be thrown away with the bath water.

Property as an institution has deep-seated roots in the nature of man. Property to the extent that it is immediately related to its possessor gives him a peculiar glow of satisfaction, a very intimate sense of being related to the objects of the world and a feeling of security. These are very valuable satisfactions passionately desired by the individual and no system of philosophy will be able to deprive him of these for long. We have therefore to distinguish between the ownership of property that leads to the exploitation of the people and ownership that leads to the satisfaction of human desires. Only the former needs to be destroyed, not the latter.

Principle Outlined

This discussion only aims at establishing the point that it is possible to lay down principles for institutional reorganisation without doing violence to the philosophy of democratic socialism and that without such institutional foundations democratic socialism will not be able to grow. Once some agreement is reached on these principles, it will be necessary to build up comprehensive theories of various institutions.

Democratic socialism can neither accept the present institutions without radical alterations nor can it subscribe to the point of view that seeks to dispense with them altogether.
(Continued from page 6)

...and the peasantry, it will necessarily lead to the stifling of the rural productive forces and to a decrease in agricultural production."

If large-scale tensions are not to be created in the national economy and even development of rural and urban sectors is to be assured, it is necessary that the development of agrarian economy be recognised at par with the industrial development as one of the principal objectives of planned economy, that the public investment on agriculture and irrigation must not be less than on the industrial and mineral development, that parity in prices of agricultural and industrial goods be maintained and that all possible efforts be made to remove the lag in the development of the rural sector.

A substantial increase in agricultural production was regarded by the Planning Commission as an essential condition of the success of the Second Plan, and our failure on the food front has undoubtedly been a major cause of our foreign exchange difficulties and consequent economic distress. Food self-sufficiency is absolutely necessary for the rehabilitation of our national economy. It must be aimed at by the end of the Third Plan and must be deemed the most important target of this Plan.

**Agrarian Reforms**

Land Reforms, including ceiling on land and the introduction of service co-operatives and co-operative farming, may, if properly executed with necessary co-operation of the peasants, promote increase in production. But if we wish to attain the target of food-sufficiency, we must be prepared to shift our emphasis to agricultural development and to make heavy industry subserve its interests.

The production of agricultural implements and machines must be deemed an important task of heavy industrial concerns that exist in the country. Irrigation and credit facilities as well as the provision of good seeds and fertilizers are also to be considerably increased. While the campaign for green-manuring is to be intensified, adequate provision of chemical fertilizers must be an important item in our scheme of industrial development.

Social and economic rehabilitation of agricultural workers, forming the largest sector of the labour force and lying at the lowest rung of Indian economy, must receive special consideration in the Third Plan. They must be freed from conditions of servitude. While special provisions should be made for improving their conditions of living and work, in all schemes of rural development they must be assigned an equitable share.

**Rural Organization**

They should be encouraged and helped to organise themselves in labour co-operatives and for constructive work in rural areas. Labour co-operatives rather than contractors should be utilised to the extent possible. "The development of labour co-operatives," points out Shri V. V. Giri, "can be of material assistance in increasing work opportunities in rural areas and increasing the income of landless workers". (Labour Problems in Indian Industry, p. 359.)

**Flexible Policy Needed**

India cannot afford to be dogmatic about any particular technique of industry. To promote its economic development and prosperity, it must be prepared to promote heavy and large-scale industries along with medium and small-scale industries. "The urgent need for increased investment to expand modern industries, for production and consumer goods, must be paralleled by an expansion in the labour-intensive and small-scale industries." (Dr. Alfred Melembaum on 'Asian Economic Potential': American Review, January 1959, p. 47).

Shri Asoka Mehta has rightly maintained that "growing unemployment makes it obligatory to have the next plan employment-oriented," that "growth of the factory sector at the expense of the cottage production is no growth, only increase in misery of those rendered workless," and that "the test of development lies in making the tools and technique of cottage production more efficient".

A large part of our industrial plan must be labour-intensive. Attempt should be made to industrialise village through small and medium industries, to be organised in co-operatives to the extent possible. Processing industries can best be located in villages. Special provisions will have to be made for the industrial development of distressed areas which cannot be made self-sufficient even in food. To provide employment to labour force in cities and towns and to develop indigenous industries, medium and small industries should be promoted also in urban areas and artisans encouraged and helped to improve old technique of production.

**Major Industries**

The development of heavy industry and large-scale industries will have to be attended to. But the "Government must be prepared to discourage to some extent the popular emphasis upon the traditional symbols of industrialisation and growth, the capital-intensive producer-goods industries." (Dr. Wilfred Malanbaum: Op. Cit., p. 47.)

We must remember that on account of foreign exchange difficulties, "it has become necessary for the people and the Government of India to make a stern resolve that the Third Plan should be based on a minimum requirement of foreign exchange. (K. Santhanam: Kalki, August 17, 1958.) For that, "let us decide that as far as possible we shall import machine tools rather than machines. Let us make a decision that for the present no further factories will be permitted to be set up which require imported raw materials to a considerable extent.

It may be worthwhile to turn temporarily from very big projects involving huge capital investment to medium enterprises, costing, say, not more than a crore of rupees, and try to establish one or two of such concerns in every taluk all over the country. (K. Santhanam: Kalki, August 17, 1959.)

Large-scale industries suffer from certain ills which need to be remedied to promote production and productivity and we will be well-advised if, in this sector, we devote special attention to this problem during the Third Plan period.

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**NOTICE**

There will be no issue of **JANATA**
dated August 23, 1959.
BOOK REVIEW

NEHRU: "A Romantic Hero"

PROF. Brecher's book is titled "Nehru: A Political Biography" and one begins to turn the cover wondering how that difficult task of separating the personal from the political in so complex a character like Nehru's has been attempted and achieved by the author. One puts down the book after reading it with the satisfaction that not only has that difficult task been accomplished with a large measure of success, but that though the personal aspects of Nehru's life have been dealt with in detail they have been cleverly juxtaposed with the political. The result: one gets a clear idea of how much the personal in Nehru has affected and moulded the political in him.

"Darling Leadership"

The history of India in the past 30 or 40 years may more or less be the history—half personal, half political—of that group of leaders who worked with Gandhi; a group one of whose former members recently called it, albeit with heavy sarcasm, "darling leadership of a darling party". Apart from Gandhi, to the present generation, Nehru dominates the Indian scene, the personal has merged in the political. This reviewer had just finished Maulana Azad's "India Wins Freedom" before Prof. Brecher's book fell into his hands, and it was with some misgiving, rather than expectation, that he began reading it. Azad's "autobiography" while emphasising the perspicacity and vision of the Maulana, brought into such sharp focus the Hamletian characteristics in Nehru's political life in confirmation of his well-known indecisiveness, that Prof. Brecher's study became all the more important. Unfortunately, Azad, while tracing the events leading to freedom with the authentic voice of the Congress President, failed to record a detailed assessment of his associates, many of whom according to him, do not appear to have played a role in Congress—and national politics which public adulation and reverence credited them with. In Nehru's case, however, Azad has been consistently charitable, seeking at the same time to give an impression that Nehru would have acted under given circumstances differently or better if he was a realist instead of a mere theorist. However, we are here concerned with Prof. Brecher's Nehru and not Azad's, and we are surprised to find numerous instances quoted where Nehru has not been such a "mere theorist" after all. In fact, in later life, nobody has been aware in greater measure than Nehru how the realities and demands of everyday politics can successfully obstruct the path of an ideal.

Shining Fabric

To Prof. Brecher, who is from McGill University (Montreal) India has not been a new assignment. His "The Struggle for Kashmir" must have put him in the proper frame for understanding the very complex features which are woven into the political fabric of India. Without Nehru, this fabric would surely have not shone with the luster it does today. The writing of biography can be a minor ordeal when the subject is alive, and in the case of a subject like Nehru, whose own autobiography provides overwhelming competition, the task can be exacting. It is to Prof. Brecher's credit that he has drawn as interesting and absorbing a picture of the leader as the time of his life has been historic. Mr. Nehru, more than most of the other figures, has been a follower and leader simultaneously—succumbing to Gandhi's persuasions often against his own better judgment, but rising to great heights in carrying out Gandhi's mandate. Many Indians, familiar with Nehru's thoughts, have been amazed at the way he could work with and be supremely loyal to a man whose thinking differed so basically from his own. To read Prof. Brecher, therefore, is to refresh one's memory of the great events written into Indian history by these two men inspired by the same cause: one a typical and down-to-earth Indian and the other a highly Westernised aristocrat "a queer mixture of the East and the West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere". Nehru carried a home nowhere."

Objective Study

Prof. Brecher draws an admirable portrait of the man. He pulls no punches. He is objective but understanding, and understandably sympathetic throughout. The "years of crisis" following independence effected a change in Nehru's personality, and in dealing with that point, Prof. Brecher brings out the essential helplessness in Nehru's character that results in the "beginning of disenchantment" with his political leadership among the vocal sections of population where "questioning and critical voices multiplied". But despite his foibles and follies, Nehru still remained the man whom the masses continued to adore.

Twin Ideologies

What was Nehru's positive contribution to the shaping of Congress policies? Essentially a Westerner in his intellectual make-up and "an impatient one at that", the Nehru of the Home Rule days and the Nehru of the Quit India days do not differ much. Then, as later, two ideologies, nationalism and socialism "were to vie for primacy in his thought and action". Those two formed the core of his thoughts as he campaigned in the Congress for full independence, a Constituent Assembly, national planning, land reforms and above all, against casteism and communalism. Prof. Brecher recalls to us how Nehru injected into an otherwise staid, placid, and conservative organisation ideas of liberalism and socialism and faith in science; how he opened the windows of the world to the Congress leaders, Gandhi downwards, by introducing the phenomenon called "foreign affairs"; how as early as in 1931, he persuaded the Congress at Karachi to incorporate in its resolutions references to adult sufferage, primary education, secularism and nationalisation of key industries. Avadi was conceived at Karachi. National planning was a favourite bee in Nehru's bonnet. Gandhi was the symbol of political awakening: he would lead India out of bondage. Nehru was the symbol of the aspirations of modern India, to lead India out of its conservative moorings into the hope of a socialist era. Some 300 pages are devoted by
Prof. Brecher in this 682-page book for the period between the advent on the Indian scene of Gandhi and his disappearance from it, a victim of an assassin’s bullet. They make interesting reading and show how democratic, purposive and dynamic every day of that period had been in the life of this nation. And more relevantly, they show the supreme efforts made by Nehru to discipline himself to a leader possessing an ideology in which Nehru’s belief was not full, to a technique of fighting in which he had no faith and with which he had no patience and a body of colleagues and followers whose pace was nowhere near his own. But all through those pre-independence days, as for some time thereafter Nehru’s loyalty to Gandhi made him forget the pangs caused by compromises on several matters. From a visit to Gandhi, Nehru would return invigorated. But with the passing away of Gandhi, says Brecher, “more than a man had passed. An era had come to an end. And Nehru was alone.”

The chapter entitled “Duumvirates”, deals with the friction between Nehru and Patel, of which most Indians are aware. But few

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know or have cared to find out how often their ideological differences were sunk in the interest of the Congress cause. The two of them, along with Gandhi, were so close to the heart of the average Indian before independence that the friction between them was often dismissed as a family dispute which would inescapably be resolved by Bapu. But after independence, reports of conflicts between the two became so persistent that the menacing possibilities inherent in them did not fail to escape attention. Says Prof. Brecher: “Partly, because of the growing cleavage between his (Gandhi’s) two leading disciples and partly because of his unhappiness with the chain of events during the last six months of his life, it was generally believed in India that disillusionment entered Gandhi’s heart before a bullet entered his body.” Prof. Brecher’s analysis of the role played by each of the duumvirs “who had helped Gandhi to make a revolution” and who after partition “carried the heavy burden of rescuing India from the dangers of internal chaos”, is masterly. The Duumvire was the decisive fact of Indian politics from the partition until the end of 1950. And Prof. Brecher discusses the self-allotted role of Nehru and Patel which a dispassionate judgment that is refreshing. The personality of Nehru is such that lesser men might have tended to ignore the significance of Patel’s work in laying the foundations of a free India, but Prof. Brecher renders unto the Sardar what is the Sardar’s.

Over-zealous

Nehru was the champion of unadulterated socialism during the days of struggle. After independence, however, “caution led Nehru to propound a novel variation of socialist economic planning”. “For want of a better phrase,” says Brecher, it may be termed ‘socialisation of vacuum’, that is to say, the concentration of public investment in those areas of the economy which are totally free from private interest’. Nehru was subscribing to the principles of a mixed economy, with “special emphasis on the historic task of the State to develop the vacuum in realistic economic trends.” The biographer’s assessment of Nehru’s role in shaping economic policies, however, is overzealous. It is true that Nehru “has been the prime mover in India’s massive planning effort.” But the economic field is the one arena where’s indecisiveness has been more evident. The incapacity to decide the form in which “socialisation of the vacuum” should take, the frequent changes in economic policies resulting in perplexing and frightening the private sector, the frequent pronouncements against and for the private sector, the tendency to let ambition run away with the need for efficient planning—witness the pruning of the Second Plan—and the puny efforts to control the population—these must be largely laid at Nehru’s doors. It is not as if Prof. Brecher is unaware of these: in concluding his chapter on ’planning and welfare’, he goes on record thus: “The numerous and serious shortcomings of these programmes, especially in the fields of land reform, population and public sector, reflected in large measures the weaknesses of Nehru’s policies and his frequent reluctance to act resolutely when forcefulness is necessary”. An insight into these “shortcomings” would have yielded surprising material.

Personal Friends

What enabled Nehru to achieve his illustrious position? “His personality, his relationship with Gandhi, the setting in which his leadership matured, the Indian tradition of hero-worship and the nature of his ideas.” Who are the influential people around Nehru now? “Pandit Pant for internal politics and administration; Krishna Menon for foreign policy, Pandit Morarji Desai, B. C. Roy and Shastri for party affairs; Mahalanobis for economic matters; Mrs. Gandhi and Mathai in the private sphere; Radhakrishnan as an elder statesman; and the Mountbattens as personal friends. With the possible exception of Krishna Menon, Nehru no longer has close Indian friends.”

As was expected of him, Brecher does not fail to pose the twin inevitable questions: After Nehru, who? After Nehru, what? His analysis shows his grasp of the Indian political scene completely: it adds to the voluminous material that has been written on this subject during the last 10 years. It does nothing else. Prof Brecher writes with unexpected authority and confidence on a subject which must remain in the domain of speculation and conjecture. Hypothetical posers cannot be treated with scholarly seriousness; nor is it so easy to say, bearing in mind what happened after Gandhi, as he does: “Regardless of who assumes the Prime Ministership the forces set in motion by Nehru and the ideas instilled in the people will act as a formidable restraining force on deviations from Nehru’s policies.”

Left and Right

The author concludes by saying that in the short-run the danger to constitutional democracy is more from extreme Right than from the Left, some form of Hindu authoritarianism rather than Communism. The Congress will probably retain power for some time at least; and if conservative forces are in control they will certainly slow down the process of social and economic change... henceforth the contest for political power in India would be between a form of Hindu Fascism and Communism; and Communism with its pledge to complete the revolution initiated by Nehru would be the likely victor.”

The threat of Hindu Fascism seems terribly menacing in the mouth of Prof. Brecher. Obviously the success of Hindu orthodoxy would automatically prove Nehru’s political failure. This reviewer is disinclined to take the first part of the author’s conclusions seriously. The after-Nehru era might throw up conservatives to the fore, but the federal composition of India and the past ten years of parliamentary democracy should meet that threat. As for Communism trouncing Hindu Fascism, Brecher is perhaps nearer the mark. If the prophecy comes true, one of the contributing factors would have been Nehru himself: while his pronounced socialistic bias would counter Hindu conservatism, his failure to train an effective second-line cadre would pave the way for successful leftist inroads into the political pattern. Whether Communism would be able to squeeze out other democratic socialist parties is a question which must be left to time, but none the less worth some thought. For the present, in the hands of his biographer, Nehru emerges as a lovable political leader, whose virtues outshine his faults, whose indispensability for some years to come is amply proved and who continues to be the “most romantic and heroic figure in modern Indian history”.

—Virgo
BOOK REVIEW

Paul Robeson—A Great Negro

N YASALAND and the insult suffered by Dr. Ralph Bunche has once again spotlighted the colour prejudice rampant in the White world and the sufferings of the darker races, especially the Negroes.

Mr. Paul Robeson is one of those great personalities of the world who has been subjected to untold humiliations and degradations in his own native land. He personifies one of the tragedies of the world, in so far as a liberal and humane personality has today become the champion of a wholly illiberal and if one may say so, inhuman society. The blame for this tragedy lies partly with his fellow-citizens—the White Americans—for denying the Negro his fundamental rights, and partly, it must be confessed, with the very naive political approach of Robeson himself.

Artist is Bureaucrat

In spite of the fact that we do not share Mr. Robeson's or Miss Seton's political beliefs, no society can claim to be free, which prevents the artist from freely practising his art, because the bureaucrat disapproves of his opinions. The restrictions imposed on him have definitely created deep and lasting bitterness in Robeson.

Both the books tend to be extremely rhetorical when dealing with Robeson's political conversion and beliefs. The explanations put forward by Miss Seton about Robeson's political awakening are extremely sentimental and childish. One cannot take seriously suggestions that Robeson was convinced of Russia's democracy as Maxim Litvinov appeared at his front door in "badly worn carpet slippers and a much-darned grey pullover" to greet the Robesons!

Both the books abound in contradiction and repetitions which in Miss Seton's case in particular make very annoying reading. Of the two books, Robeson's own 'Monologue', Here I Stand, is far superior. In places, he verges on the lyrical and there is a passionate conviction in his feelings for human rights and dignity.

To take Marie Seton's book, it must immediately be stressed that it is very bad biography, and it does not have any particular literary merit either. In fact, it seems to abound in irregularities. One feels, when reading it, that one is making hops and skips over various aspects of Robeson's life and thoughts and feelings. There are irrelevant flashbacks in the wrong places and the whole book is devoid of a proper sequence or harmony. One feels that Miss Seton has written the book in fits and starts.

Contradictions

One is told, for instance, on page 44 that Robeson was "probably the most admired and respected American in London" and on page 122 that Robeson echoed Frederick Douglas' words, whilst leaving England, "I came as a slave . . . I go back a free man . . ." yet on page 95, we find that Robeson felt like a human being for the first time since he grew up when he visited Russia in 1934.

Miss Seton's political beliefs have naturally led her to give a very facile explanation of Robeson's fellow-feeling for communism. Looking deeper into the facts, however, one is made aware of a more complex development. Robeson has an innate concern for human rights. He first stands out as a liberal and a left-winger in his awareness of Nazi brutality and the Spanish Civil War. This conviction led him into the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace and the concept of left-wing politics. During the Roosevelt era of Liberalism and the New Deal, both Wallace and Robeson won national acclaim. Robeson seems truly to have taken to heart that famous phrase, 'Freedom is indivisible' and Roosevelt's statement that our enemies are "... all the forces of oppression, intolerance, insecurity and injustice...". The tragedy started with Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945. America was swept by a wave of illiberalism, bringing in its wake anti-semitism, Negro-hating and the Committee for "un-American Activities". During this period, Robeson, Wallace and the rest were branded as Communists and treated to various outrages. Miss Seton has vividly dramatised the outrages in Peeks-kille and Peoria. It shocks us to realise the fury of the Ku Klux Klan and the indignity and brutality of mob violence. These events seem to have put Robeson on the defensive and brought out an ingrained stubbornness. This along with the deep hurt he suffered probably catapulted him towards that which was most hateful to the Americans,—the championship of the U.S.S.R. and Communism. A further insight into his conduct now comes from the comment of his English producer, Ronald Adams, who says: "Paul was infuriating to argue with . . . We called him "the autocrat of autocrats . . ." It is this autocratic and intolerant attitude of Robeson that now makes him refuse to see the contradictions and inequalities in the Communist system.

Again, in his anti-imperial tirade especially in Robeson's own book, no awareness is shown of the U.S.S.R.'s own bid for imperialism,—no comment is made of the unhappy Hungarian tragedy.

Also, Robeson refers to the Bandung Conference and proclaims his beliefs in the Ten Principles accepted by the Conference. Is he aware that the Chinese have today repeatedly flouted principles seven and eight, the latest being the Chinese invasion of Tibet? It is a great loss to the world that a doughty champion of racial equality should not also be a champion of freedom instead of a blind supporter of totalism.

Acknowledgements

Socialism in Southern Asia: By Saul Rose. (Published by Oxford University Press : Rs. 17.50. pp. 278)

Communist Rule in Kerala: By Jitendra Singh. (Published by Dwanchand, ndian information Centre ; Rs. 3.00. pp. 136)

Polish German Frontier: By Boleslaw Wiewiara. (Published by Wydawnictwo Zachodnie, Poland)

Soviet Ghereke Mazdoor: By Anatole Shah, Translated by Shrikanth Shastri. (Introduction by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan : Rs. 0.50. pp. 144)
litarianism. With the lifting of the bitterness cast on his soul, one hopes that Robeson will once again revive his old liberalism.

It is doubly a pity that his irrational political beliefs have today made him a useless fighter in the cause of Negro freedom. His association with any Negro group immediately gives a ready-made excuse for further suppression of Negro rights. Robeson is indeed today a lonely and isolated individual,—tremendous loss to his people and to the world at large.

In spite of the developments of the last decade of Robeson's life, he stands out as a great man,—'One', as Alexander Woollcott wrote, 'touched by destiny.' In reading the purely personal account of his youth and childhood, in his book, one is made constantly aware of an extraordinary personality imbued always with a missionary zeal. One feels also the suppressed anger of the young Robeson in the face of racial indignities inflicted on him and his people. Miss Seton has also made alive this great personality that came out as a great singer and actor. Robeson has definitely and indubitably established the greatness of Negro music and art. Before Robeson, Negro music was merely shrugged at and the theatre and films insisted on caricaturing the Negroes using them as 'minstrel comedians.' Robeson raised the Negro to an equal status in the theatre and partly in the film also. His portrayal of Othello in New York was a great triumph both personally and for the dignity of Negro art as a whole. Robeson's contribution to the dignity of the Negro as an artist can be testified by the address of a fellow Negro, Mr. Benjamin E. Marjesle, President of Morehouse College (Negro), on the occasion of the award to Robeson of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Human Letters in 1943. Part of his address goes thus:

"You have the courage to dignify and popularise the folksongs composed by the oppressed peoples of the earth. . . Your singing is a declaration of faith. You sing as if God Almighty sent you into the world to advocate the cause of the common man in song. . . You have the genius of touching the hearts of men, whether they walk the highway of kings or tread the lonely path of peasants. . ."


The book consists of six lectures delivered at the Sorbonne School of Economic and Social Development. One would, therefore, have expected the essays to be of a highly analytical nature. Instead, we find six very facile non-controversial essays on various topics pertaining with the Afro-Asian States. In fact, apart from the introductory chapter, the only state on which any serious reflection seems to have been made is India. Controversy and arguments are so far removed from Mr. Panikkar's thoughts that he blindly makes the following opening remark in his first essay: "Following the acquisition of independence, every State in Asia and Africa (except Libya) became a republic and opted for democracy." China is obviously included in this 'democratic entourage' and so are the military dictatorships of the Middle East. Frequent reference to China is made in the following pages, with no awareness of its real nature being revealed. For instance, in the third essay, which deals with economic problems, no distinction is made between democratic planning and totalitarian planning.

The first essay gives interesting, valuable and new information on the working of a political opposition along with discussion of basic democratic needs. According to Mr. Panikkar, three factors are essential for the working of a good democracy; (1) an independent opposition, (2) the association of the people with the Government at all levels and (3) the necessity of independent thinking connected with political problems. He also points to the necessity of getting a habit of political obedience, and the weaknesses inherent in the Asiatic States in the democratic field.

Unfortunately however, the other five essays are too generalised and problems are posed and then slurred over. This is very much apparent in the chapters on Economic Problem and Education.

Not a word is found about one of the major Afro-Asian problems, that of foreign interference and the result of outside pressures. One is left dissatisfied and wondering about so many real and untouched problems, such as militarism, 'guided democracy', national wealth, exploitation of economic resources (in countries other than India.) On the whole, one has rather a feeling of being let down. Mr. Panikkar should at least change the title of his book!
Commissions—And Omissions

That people should think of a judicial enquiry as a democratic solvent of some of the acts, of omission and commission, of the Administration in our present set-up is not merely natural; but it also shows a highly healthy regard that our people have for the rule of law. And it is uniquely significant in another sense also. In spite of having received several jolts of varying intensity by such acts of the Administration, the faith that the people have in the judiciary has not been shaken.

It is a matter of joy and satisfaction—almost of fulfilment—to find that this faith has not at all been misplaced. If the reports and findings of several such enquiry commissions, recently appointed for probing several incidents, were taken into consideration.

But the usefulness of such commissions is reduced almost to nullity by the shockingly perverse and callous attitude that the Administration, almost without exception, brings to bear towards such enquiries. Even more shocking is the consequent shaking and undermining of the faith in the rule of law. What ought to be delicately nurtured is callously treated, and on account of the false notions of prestige, just strangled.

Drama Without Plot

It is necessary to have a closer look at these happenings. What happens in these enquiries? First there is a nauseating exhibition of injured innocence. And almost simultaneously there is the discovery of plots—or as a publicist has aptly put it, a drama without plots. Imagination runs riot. The only maxim that seems to prevail is that "the more heinous the accusation against the people, the better." At certain places a new slant is added to a worn-out act, that is, of imposing conditions to instituting of a commission of enquiry. The Administration, by its very nature, seems to be allergic to have the glaring light of publicity being turned on it.

This allergy is carried to such a fantastic extent that the Administration even forgets that its unwillingness to face such a probe itself creates a deep suspicion in the minds of the people. Its good deeds are unhappily distorted because of this unwillingness. Needless to add that people begin smelling rats, and attribute this allergy to a sort of guilty-consciousness.

Then comes a moment when the Administration agrees to a probe. Two things may have happened before this. Firstly, the Administration may have been assured and reassured that nothing damaging can come out of such a probe. Secondly, altogether unpredictable pressures may have developed. Be that as it may. Though the spirit of the democratic way of life urges an administration to ensure the flow of free and full information, about its working, to the public, it is only with an air of injured innocence and a veneer of condescension that it agrees to institute an enquiry.

Wisdom Gagged

Such an enquiry commission has to be appointed now under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952. The people have been singularly fortunate that many a distinguished member of the highest State judiciary as also of the Supreme Court has readily agreed to act on such commissions. But it has been woefully found that the Act almost robs these learned people of their eminence, status and dignity. Even a casual perusal of some of the reports submitted by these helpless jurists will show how sensitive and almost hurt they happen to become on these commissions.

The every first thing that will strike anyone is that the gentleman sitting as the commission loses his status as a judge. He is rendered ineffective and powerless against the recalcitrant Administration, which immediately starts a game of "irresponsible co-operation" with him. On top of this he has absolutely no means of protection against an unscrupulous Press that is sold out to the minds of the Administration as also against the arrogant and amateur brass, that is in abundance in all walks of life, more especially in the ruling party.

Very recently, Shri Justice Kotwal expressed his doubts about any High Court agreeing to serve on any such commission in view of this lacuna in the law. The Commission of Inquiries Act of 1952 has, in a manner of speaking, taken away even the minimum of guarantees and sanctions that are absolutely necessary for the dignified conduct of the proceedings.

The other, more serious lacuna is that the findings of the commissions appointed under this Act are merely of fact. As if this were not enough the Administration can with impunity just not accept even such findings. In case of inescapable acceptance of some finding or findings, the corrective or deterrent effect of these is lost in the labyrinth of new enquiries at departmental or some such other level.

Government Apathetic

Time and again such lacunae have been brought to the notice of the powers that be. Even a faint inkling of an eagerness or anxiety to remove them has not so far been traced. Real politics as has come to be understood, prompts one to realise that it will be too much to expect a rectification in the approach and attitude that the Administration bears to bring on such a commissions.

However, unwelcome they be for the Administration, the commissions appointed under this Act have nevertheless provided a highly convenient and periodical letting off of the steam. The angry young men or the next generation, whatever you want to call them, dreaming and growing under the glorious democratic promises and guarantees—one would be tempted to say pseudo-guarantees—gathers some steam. Well, here is a let-out.

Just a let-out and nothing more. The present law does not provide—and it suits the convenience of the Administration—for any mandatory provisions to follow up the findings of the Commission. This in its turn has merely enabled the Administration to treat both the eminent and distinguished member of the commission and his findings with scant respect.

Ahmedabad Example

It will be pertinent to have a closer look at the behaviour pattern of the Administration when such a commission is appointed and during its working. It cannot, of course,
be said that what follows is something that happens uniformly or universally in all States and for all inquiries. What follows has the sanction of the first-hand knowledge of the working of the commission of inquiry into the police firings that took place in Ahmedabad in August 1958, which experience has shown that instead of helping the commission to arrive at the truth, the Administration all along actually hampers the process.

Everyone believed, and continues in the belief, that whatever happened in August 1958 was not something isolated. A thorough probe of it could only be had if there was a sufficiently large purview. The Administration thought otherwise and, working on a dubious thesis, tried to isolate what could not be in any way severed. The scope of the enquiry was narrowed down to the firings and the happenings on August 12, 13 and 14. But ab initio, very cleverly the dice was loaded against the people, or as somebody put it, against all save the framers.

The terms of reference presumed certain things about the subject-matter of the inquiry. But the presumption did not preclude the Administration from including insinuations of conspiracy or incitement, either direct or indirect, in the terms of reference. The cleverness and thoroughness with which the job

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was done and also carried on sub-sequently not merely amazed a lay-man, but to give it its due, it must be admitted, has shocked even the commission.

Farcical Co-operation

With all the show and fanfare of publicity — the photogenic grin included—about the democratic ac-ceptance of the principle of judicial enquiry, the administration indulges in such subterfuges simply because it has found out that the letter of the law permits it to do so with impunity.

When the commission is seized of the subject-matter, the Administration starts its game of “irresponsible co-operation”, of giving information in tiny inconsequential driblets and various other expedients which in no way can help the commission to arrive at the truth. The commission is made to grope in darkness.

The “irresponsible co-operation” may take several forms. The Ad-ministration, in spite of all show of co-operation, may just not help the commission in discovering “the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth”. There may be just suppression. When this is not wholly successful and inconvenient facts come out in spite of this, only some things may be admitted. The commission may desperately cry that somehow the truth does not come out. It may go on appealing for help. The Administration, not only the local officials but the entire ad-ministration, may go on being just impervious to the appeals.

The Administration has no par-tiality for any particular method. It is not that it has a flair only for *suppressio veri*. It can with a comparative ease and facility resort to *suggestio falsi*.

All along the Administration will insist on retaining, with an utter dis-regard to propriety or fairness that may seem to border on contempt, each and every one of the official who held charge on the relevant days of the incidents in the very positions.

**Specious Plea**

With a cool calculation, the Ad-ministration does admit at the outset certain facts and produce certain papers. This is a time-honoured trick. Everyone in the game knows this and would not easily be taken in by this. So, then when demand for real evidence is made, out comes the plea for protection, the plea for secrecy and a prethora of other pleas, including the oft-repeated plea of “not being in public interest”.

It will be worthwhile to note here that Bombay State, all along, has been taking refuge under a specious plea. In spite of repeated requests and even remittands from the com-mission the State does not care to file a statement of its own. The same strategy may not be followed everywhere and in every instance, but it is pretty common. When the State does not file a statement, the plea is of fairness and impartiality, but the result is a licence to it to change and amend its version on sequence and happenings, in ad-missions and other records, inventions and suppressions.

I have purposely refrained from quoting anything from any Kotwal Enquiry Report. But as it is necessary to fully understand this strategy of “deposing in driblets and douches”, this unfair, injudicious way in which vital information is dodged from the commission, I may be permitted to note here the manner in which the local officers and the Government gave information and deposed on oath in this case as an example.

**The Changing Story**

With the appointment of the Public Prosecutor, the Kotwal Com-mission requested the State Government to file a statement. The Government did not send a convincing reply. On the very first day, the Commission expressed its “dis-pleasure” at this reticence of the Government. The Public Prosecutor promised to convey this to it. At that very minute, he filed a written statement by the District Magistrate, which should contain all the information and informed the Commis-sion of the unwillingness of the Government to file any statement. Later, opening the case, he added something to the information con-tained in the written statement. The serious nature of this “something” should not be minimised for, for the first time, the story of “modified ammunition” was brought in.

In his oral deposition, the District Magistrate, however, denied any knowledge of this. He also pleaded ignorance of certain rules and sections of the Police Manual! Then came the D.I.G. and the C.I.D., who admitted having kept the District Magistrate in darkness about this modification on “humane considera-tions”. The Magistrate told also of certain meetings at Bombay with the Home Secretary, the Chief Mi-nister and other Ministers; but these were not even mentioned in the written statement.

The Home Secretary, coming almost at the end of the list of Gov-ernment witnesses, added something, which both the District Magistrate and the police had not mentioned. Finally, when the Commission called in the Chief Minister we learnt that both the suggestion and the decision, (known throughout the proceedings as the “alternate sugges-tion”) of first-permitting (or not stopping) the erection of the memo-rials and then removing them, had emanated from the Chief Minister, while all along an impression was sought to be created that, law and order being a local responsibility, the decision had been left with the local officials.

**Fooling Legislators**

It has also happened that things stoutly denied on the floor of the Legislature have been admitted in a graceless manner before the Com-mission. To cite two glaring exam-ples: the admission regarding vac-cating Police Chowkies and removal of telephones, and the non-rebuttal of cases of “suppressed firings”. Add to this the very curious ref-usals to call the persons admittedly injured in various firings. It will be clear the Administration did not even feel that onus of proof lay on its head to clear its position.

The crowning glory of the whole piece is when the Administration
just tries to walk away by merely informing the public that it does not agree with some of the findings, and self-righteously feels that by ordering departmental inquiries in cases of shootings that in the Commission's opinion were "unjustified" and "where excessive force was used", by mere penpushing, condemning and indemnifying the gross act of "modifying ammunition" that the Commission has held to be "improper and illegal", and by reminding the Commission that it has overstepped the limits that had been set for it, the entire thing can and is relegated to the limbo of history.

It is not my purpose here to dilate on the various findings, nor on the highly objectionable, and to my mind almost immoral, manner in which the Administration has dealt with them. The pick-and-choose investigations are ordered— all these for it, the entire thing can and is relegated to the limbo of history.

Identity of Pattern

It should be realised that the mere appointment and conduct of such inquiries cannot lead anyone anywhere. It seems to be deliberate overacting on the part of any Administration when it denies such an inquiry. With cynical and immoral attitude that the Administration brings to bear regarding such commissions even the worst exposure cannot upset their apple cart. Were it not alarming, it would certainly seem curious: I refer to the uniformity and singular identity of pattern that is discernible in the attitude of all administrations, regardless of their belonging to this or that party vis-a-vis the question of public enquiries.

But what should the people do? Nobody can presume to lay down the law. It is easier said than done that there should be no occasion necessitating appointment of such commissions. Living under the present dispensation, a proper judicial inquiry alone is a thoroughly reliable and trust-inspiring expedient in many an act of omission and commission.

That the Administration can maul it, ridicule it, and ignore it with impunity, is a curse that will have to be exorcised democratically. The half-heartedness in the law itself must be remedied. The commission should be clothed and armed with powers that can make the Administration realise that the stupidity, heartlessness, and unscrupulous of an irresponsible attitude will only harm itself and make it suspect in the eyes of the people.

Men of goodwill should see to it that mere official agreement or non-agreement with the findings of an enquiry is not permitted to write a "finis" to it. It should be realised that such happenings somehow acquire a historical setting, that they happen to be the culmination of a series of events which cannot merely be brushed aside. The "fact-finding" ought to lead to a soul-searching by all the parties. No one, treating these lightly, should be permitted, through niggardly and malevolent use of it, to shake the people's faith in the rule of law.

**Bombay P.S.P. Corporators Submit Resignations**

All the twenty-eight Praja Socialist members of the Bombay Municipal Corporation handed over their resignations to the Parliamentary Board of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti on August 12. This climaxed the controversy started by a resolution on Kerala moved in the Corporation by the Congress a few days ago. The Samiti had given a direction that the constituent units should defeat the resolution on the floor of the Corporation, after the Leader of the House had indicated the differences on the issue amongst the constituents of the majority block on the ground that the resolution was moved with the intention to break up the Samiti.

The General Council of the Bombay PSP pointed out in an unanimous resolution on July 26, the inconsistency between the present directive and the original stand of the Samiti which granted freedom to the constituent units on issues not directly connected with Samyukta Maharashtra.

Meanwhile, the situation changed, the President intervened in Kerala and the Congress resolution became obsolete. The Congress asked for permission to modify the resolution which the House denied. Seven PSP Corporators abstinced from voting. The Leader of the House Shri Donde, in pursuance of the directive of the Parliamentary Board of the Samiti, then suggested that the Corporation should pass on to the next item on the agenda. A point of order was raised, a ruling was withheld. However, Shri Donde, who was acting as leader of the PSP section and the Samiti Bloc in the Corporation resigned on the grounds that he did not enjoy the confidence of all the sections of the Samiti.

The Executive Committee of the Bombay PSP considered the situation obtaining in the Corporation at this stage and decided that the House should be allowed to discuss the resolution and suitable amendments should be moved to the resolution to bring it in line with the Party policies. This resolution was referred to the City Council which under the guidance of the General Secretary of the Party, Shri N. G. Goray, adopted an unanimous resolution reiterating its former stand of freedom of vote on matters not pertaining to Samyukta Maharashtra. It also directed the PSP Corporators to support the leader's proposal.

On August 10, the decision of the City Council was implemented and the PSP Corporators and later on, Shri Donde, were prevailed upon to withdraw their resignations. As these developments were taking...
They, therefore, submitted their resignations to the Central Parliamentary Board of the Samiti. The PSP considered the situation and decided to accept the challenge posed by Acharya Atre. They, therefore, submitted their resignations to the Central Parliamentary Board of the Samiti.

Following is the text of the City Council resolution and the letters accompanying the resolution:

"The City Council of the Praja Socialist Party (Bombay) resolves that the PSP members of the Bombay Municipal Corporation should support the proposal made by Acharya M. V. Donde, the leader of the PSP and Samiti Bloc in the Corporation to pass on to the next item on the agenda during the debate on Kerala resolution the letters accompanying the resolution as the said resolution has become obsolete.

"If, however, the original resolution on Kerala survives, the PSP members in the Corporation should move suitable amendments to the resolution so as to make it consistent with the policy of the PSP on Kerala situation. The City Council strongly feels that the mandate of the General Council and the Parliamentary Board of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti regarding the resolution on Kerala violates the previous resolution of the General Council of the S. M. Samiti dated June 8 which inter alia recognises the freedom of constituent parties of the Samiti on matters, which they consider as fundamental to their point of view and do not directly reflect on Samiti's programme and organisation.

"The Council wishes to make it explicit and clear that if the PSP refuses to recognise the fundamental freedom of the Constituents of the Samiti, the PSP will be free to exercise its freedom of action in regard to issues like Kerala in accordance with the declared policy of the PSP.

"The Council reiterates its loyalty to the ideal of Samyukta Maharashtra. As before, the PSP will be ever ready to be in the forefront of every effort for the achievement of our common goal."

The following is the text of the letter of resignation addressed by the twenty-eight PSP members of the Corporation to the Parliamentary Board of the Samiti:

"We are enclosing herewith a copy of the resolution passed by the City Council of the party on August 9, on the question of the attitude of the party on the Kerala resolution introduced in the Corporation.

"This attitude of the Party has been severely criticised by Acharya Atre, a member of the Parliamentary Board, through the columns of his daily Maratha. While the language of his criticism is undoubtedly indecent, we do not grudge Acharya Atre his right to the use of the language of his choice. But we most emphatically protest against the baseless allegation against the Party and its General Secretary of a secret conspiracy against the Samiti by joining hands with the Congress though the PSP Councillors were elected on the Samiti's ticket. We wish to bring to your notice that Acharya Atre has been for a long time indulging in this campaign of slander against the party, which is one of the major constituent units of the Samiti, with a view to prejudicing the mind of the public about the intentions of the party. We are sorry to note that the Parliamentary Board has so far failed to take any effective measures to restrain Acharya Atre from this campaign of vilification of the party.

"We firmly believe that such a malicious campaign against a major constituent unit of the Samiti like the PSP will definitely result in weakening the Samiti. In our opinion the only effective way to protest against the attacks by Acharya Atre and to prevent the ruination of the Samiti while doing our duty by the party and its policy, is to tender the resignation of our membership of the Corporation. We are, therefore, hereby submitting our resignations to the Parliamentary Board through Shri N. G. Goray, the General Secretary of the party.

"We wish to make it clear to the people of Maharashtra that though we are resigning from the Corporation, we shall, strive our best to remain in the vanguard of the struggle for the achievement of Samyukta Maharashtra."

IDIR'S DEATH

The following cable was sent to the Prime Minister of France by Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha on the death in prison under suspicious circumstances of AISSAT IDIR. Secretary General of the Algerian Union of Workers:

GRAVELY PERTURBED OVER FATE OF AISSAT IDIR WHO WAS DETAINED AFTER HE WAS DECLARED INNOCENT AND HAS NOW MET DEATH IN SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES.

GANGA SHARAN SINHA
CHAIRMAN PRAJA SOCIALIST
PARTY OF INDIA

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BOMBAY 12
Concern Over Food Front

The food policy of the Government of India is again in the melting pot. Shri Jain in his last speech from the Treasury Benches in the Lok Sabha as the Union Food Minister did not exaggerate when he said that the country was at the cross-roads as far as the food policy was concerned and unless a firm decision, one way or the other, taken in the near future the food situation might create anxieties and might seriously affect the successful implementation of the Plan.

Till now the people were under an impression that, as a result of the deliberations of the All-Party Food Committee at the Centre and the decisions of the National Development Council, a co-ordinated food policy was already evolved and the Union Food Ministry was devising the ways and means to implement this policy. It was therefor a rude shock to the people when the Union Food Minister complained that those who desired or agreed upon a food policy programme do not realise the full implication thereof and the result is mere enunciation of a slogan with no chance of its being translated into reality. Not only the Union Food Minister but even other senior Congressmen like Dr. Ram Subhag Singh averred on the floor of the Lok Sabha that there was no well-considered, co-ordinated and practical agriculture and price policy. We hear again and again these days that the Government of India is at last awakened to the crucial role of food production and prices in the development of our economy and yet both the spokesmen of the Government and of the ruling party tell us that no definite policy is so far evolved and that, as Dr. Singh put it, what passes for a policy is only a collection of various decisions taken from time to time.

This lack of seriousness in formulating a policy perhaps explains why the ruling party has still not grasped the inherent difficulties in evolving an adequate machinery for the implementation of the food policy. This difficulty arises from the distribution of powers and responsibilities regarding the formulation and implementation of the food policy. According to the present arrangement the Centre is responsible for feeding the deficit areas by holding stocks and making them available to these areas as and when the need arose. But it is for the States to distribute these supplies. The result is a continuous tension between the Union and the State Governments in the deficit areas, the latter making demands on the Centre which it cannot fulfil. One would have expected that as the same party is ruling at the Centre and in the States and as the food policy is devised after full consideration and concurrence of the Chief Ministers of the States there should not be any difficulty in the implementation; the experience has, however, shown that this is not the case.

Under the circumstances the country is anxious to hear about the new co-ordinated food policy which is promised by the Congress party within the next fortnight after the Chief Ministers have considered it in their meeting scheduled for September 5 and 6.
NOTES AND COMMENTS

C. P. I. Policies

FROM charges and counter-charges, arguments and their refutations, in the Kerala debate inside the Parliament and outside one thing clearly emerges: There was at least a section of people in Kerala who had decided to end the Red rule in Kerala and were determined not to rest till their goal was achieved. The Communist case is that "the agitators" were those who were affected by the "progressive" legislation of the Red Government in Kerala and that they did not deserve any sympathy or consideration from their Government. As Shri Dange put it in the Lok Sabha the Kerala Government was for a section of people whom they described as the toiling masses and not for the people of Kerala as a whole.

On their admission, therefore, the section left out of the protective umbrella of the Communist Government had either to accept all discriminations against them involved in this doctrine or to end the rule which equated the state with the toiling masses, toiling masses with the Communist Party and the Communist Party with the central leadership of that Party. The massive upsurge of the people of Kerala was thus neither communal nor the expression of the sense of frustration of the exploiting elements in the Communist Party and refused to accept its tutelage.

It has been suggested in some quarters that this being its proclaimed political theory, the Communist Party has no right to exist under the Indian Constitution which does not accept this doctrine, in fact categorically rejects it. This would, however, amount to a rather alarmist view of the situation. The charges against the Kerala Government while definitely point to a disregard for the constitutional guarantee of equality of protection to all the citizens do not amount to be a subversion of this constitutional guarantee. Under the Indian Constitution even the Communists have a right to propagate their views, approach the people with their programme, and fight for the grievances of the people in peaceful and constitutional way.

But there are other developments that cause some concern. The Chinese Government is definitely on the war path as far as the Indians in Tibet are concerned. Their life there has become very difficult and the protests of Indian Government against this treatment meted out to the Indian nationals remains unheeded. What is of interest in this connection is the ominous silence of the Communists in this matter. Shri Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, in an article in the New Age (monthly) has definitely instructed his Party comrades not to criticise any of the acts of the Communist Government anywhere in the world. The silence of the party comrades and the Communist Party units seems thus to be a definite policy of the Communist Party. One wonders if they will be patriotic enough to change this line in case the attitude of the Chinese Government towards India stiffened still further and involved the larger question of India's northern boundaries.

Co-operative Reform

A SEMINAR on co-operation recently held in Delhi under the auspices of the Indian Co-operative Union has highlighted some of the problems which the co-operative movement faces in India and has offered solutions for these problems.

In the report of the seminar which was presided over by Shri Jaiprakash Narayan, stress is laid in maintaining the voluntary character of the co-operation without which it is not possible to develop individual initiative, self-reliance and mutual aid. The principle of voluntary participation can be held only if the movement was left permanently in the hands of the people as against in those of the officialdom, influential cliques or private businessmen. This is a very important proposition and needs to be worked out in all its implications if a healthy co-operative movement is to be developed in the country.

The stranglehold of the outside interests can be decreased only if the principle of self-reliance is properly understood by the members. As the report of the seminar points out the concept of self-help should be better understood to mean that the members had to contribute to the maximum of their capacity both in money and in kind including physical labour. If this is done, reliance on the Government or private financiers will decrease to a considerable extent. Only then a self-reliant movement will gather momentum.

This does not mean that the Government will have no responsibility in encouraging or helping the co-operative movement. One of the important functions of co-operation is to help the weaker sections of the community. This means some help at least in initial stages. It is this financial help from the Government which opens the flood-gates of officialdom, political influences, cliques etc. The seminar has considered this aspect and has made a very valuable suggestion. The report says a Co-operative Grants Commission should be set up by the Union Government for providing funds and for development work. In this recommendation the seminar seems to have been guided by the arrangements made for giving grants to universities through the University Grants Commission, which is an autonomous body. A further suggestion has been made that the grants given by the Commission, together with the purposes for which they were given should be published in the gazette. This might keep the working and the decisions of the Commission before the public view and may help in reducing undesirable influences.

This by itself is not enough. It will be necessary to change the co-operative laws in such a way that the supervisory functions at present exercised by the Registrars and their departments are entirely vested in the unions. This would require a very healthy interest on the part of the members. But it is the very essence of self-reliance that such interest should be forthcoming: An experiment in this direction should prove useful and might give a healthy impetus which the movement is lacking at present.
APPROACH TO THIRD PLAN—II

To promote the achievement "of a socialistic pattern of society, the declared economic policy of the Congress, "reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power" was postulated as one of the four principal objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan. But this declaration was only a political stunt, as nothing substantial was proposed in the plan to promote the objective. Consequently inequalities in income and the concentration of economic power in the private sector of large-scale industries have continued to grow.

To promote the aforesaid objective, and thereby to ensure to the people economic equality and social justice, the Third Plan must provide for the ceiling on incomes and profits, nationalisation of banks and mineral resources, abolition of the managing agency system and the interlocking of directorates, and the establishment of bipartite production councils and works committees.

While the nationalisation of banks is necessary to control credit in national interests and to convert the entire credit system into a medium of economic development, the nationalisation of mineral resources is necessary to build up not only socialist economy but even a public sector free from the control of the private sector. While the abolition of the Managing Agency system and the interlocking of directorates will put an end to two important means whereby economic power is managed to be concentrated in the hands of a group of capitalists, the establishment of bipartite production councils and works committees will enable workers to share power in the management and control of industries.

Trade Unions

As in India the workers of most of the industrial concerns are divided in a number of trade unions, and the representative capacity of most of trade unions is disputable, workers’ representatives on production councils and works committees should be directly elected, except in a concern which has a single trade union with a substantial membership. As most of the working people are denied even the bare minimum of living, the progressive reduction in the inequalities of income is not possible unless some ceiling is imposed on profits and other incomes, and with the growth of economic development social security provisions are increased and lower earnings are upgraded without a corresponding increase at the higher levels.

Efficient Management

We must plan not only expansion but also economy and efficiency. Efficiency in administration, in particular, the efficient utilization of assets and resources, is an essential condition of the success of any plan. Inefficiency may reduce planning to mockery. That our economic development is being considerably undermined by inefficiency and corruption can hardly be disputed. As is pointed out by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, the Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University, "bad planning by the Planning Commission and inefficient execution by Central and State Governments were, between them, largely responsible for the exchange crisis" (Kalki, August 17, 1958).

The reckless manner in which import licences were issued in 1956-57 and public money is spent on plan projects, and the imprudent way in which the L.I.C. funds advanced to Mundras are glaring examples of the inefficiency and corruption that prevail in the administration of our economic affairs. These cases have considerably shaken people's confidence in both planning and the public sector, though they have also clearly demonstrated that neither the management of foreign exchange nor the industrial development of the country can be entrusted to the sweet will of Indian capitalists.

The extension of the public and co-operative sectors are both an economic and social necessity. Their success depends upon the organisational ability and the earnestness and honesty of those who are required to operate them. These qualities are to be cultivated in economic services. They are to be recruited with due regard to the candidates' knowledge of the subject concerned. Such of them as are concerned with the management of co-operative and agrarian sectors are to develop capacity to invoke enthusiastic voluntary co-operation of the people concerned and help them in organising democratic co-operative efforts. This is absolutely necessary to ensure success in efforts with regard to service co-operatives and co-operative farming.

C. D. Programme

The Community Development administration is to cast off its bureaucratic character; and its overhead charges are to be drastically curtailed. It must realise that its success consists in promoting a community sense in the people and in leading them to organise co-operatively Community Development projects. Village panchayats and district councils, which are made to languish by Congress Governments in a very undemocratic fashion, are to be reorganised and vitalised in the service of rural reconstruction.

Overlapping of administrative authorities are to be resolved and proper co-ordination between various Ministries are to be secured. The management of economic enterprises in the public sector is to be organised in semi-autonomous corporations. It is also to be "decentralised as much as possible, to the extent of being administered by several independent corporations instead of by a single corporation" except where there are special advantages in unitary control. (Arthur Lewis: The Principles of Economic Planning, p. 103.) A national food production council may also be set up to co-ordinate the work of implementing plans for food production. All this reorganisation is to be accomplished by the end of the Second Plan period.

The planning resources and their allocations is the most important part of planned economy. Its soundness lies in a proper co-ordination of a plan 'with resources as well as that of targets with allocations. "Investment must not be planned beyond the limits of the financial and physical resources that can be available, nor must targets be fanciful. Planners, who plan more than
financial and physical resources permit, and promise more than they can perform, throw everything out of gear and reduce planning to a farce. The mobilization of resources is by far the most difficult task in framing a plan, specially when resources are meagre while crying needs are almost infinite.

Finance is the weakest link of Indian economy. Our non-development expenditure is soaring high, our sterling balances are hardly sufficient as a currency reserve, our Rs. 500 crores during the Third Plan period, we are faced with considerable foreign exchange difficulties as well as with the inflationary impact of heavy deficit financing and there is a marked decrease in the rates of national savings and domestic capital investment. We are to find resources in the midst of these difficulties.

For this purpose we will have to begin with pruning and austerity. Non-development expenditure will have to be reduced to the minimum. The Government should by its own economies and austerity induce the people to regard austerity as an essential feature of the period of reconstruction. A ceiling on expenditure should be imposed and all income above the prescribed amount should be required to be compulsorily invested in development projects included in the plan. The gap between savings and investment is to be reduced and all proper steps are to be taken to secure the investment of hoarded wealth. Princes should specially be required to hand over their hoarded wealth including jewels, ornaments and heirlooms to the Reserve Bank for investment in the public sector.

All this will no doubt involve some hardship and pressure, but this will not be much as compared to the hardship of inflationary pressure of high deficit-financing. The Planning Commission, in its report on the Second Plan submitted to the National Development Council in May 1958, has rightly remarked that "deficit financing has now to be kept down to the minimum inescapable." Maintenance of a stable price-level, fair both to producers and consumers, is necessary for the success of the plan and this is not possible unless the inflationary impact of heavy deficit-financing is stopped.

**External Assistance**

With regard to foreign aid also we will have to be more careful than we had so far been. Many eminent economists like Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao are "not at all sure that we are doing the right thing by going in for foreign aid on a massive scale". They strongly feel "foreign loans will be necessary, but these should be obtained from Governments or international agencies and not ordinarily from private banks or firms; and the loans should be of a long-term character and not tied up either with purchases of specified goods or with purchases from specified countries. Where payment is made in rupees, care should be taken to see that the manner in which the rupees are utilised does not prevent the smooth development of a planned economy or of a socialist society in India." (V. K. R. V. Rao in *Kalki*, August 18, 1958.)

It is our duty to see that we do not obtain a foreign loan on conditions which are inconsistent with the building up of a socialist society in India. To avoid foreign aid on massive scale it would be necessary (1) to reduce the size of the Third Plan as far as it relates to projects with a large import component (Dr. Lokanathan in *Kalki*, July 20, 1958), (2) to reduce consumption of goods that can be exported with profit, and also reduce if not altogether give up, consumption of imported goods that are not essential for the masses. (V. K. R. V. Rao, *Op. cit.*)

**New Taxation**

Fresh draft on people's income through taxation will be necessary. But before new taxes are imposed it will be necessary to rationalise taxation structure and administration. In India the proportion of indirect taxes to the total taxes has considerably increased after independence. Indirect taxes on food and other essentials of life are causing considerable economic distress and hardship, and some relief in this direction is needed to tackle the acute problem of high prices. The impact of excise duties and sales taxes on trade and prices requires to be carefully examined.

The reimposition of income-tax on income of Rs. 3,000 per annum was hardly justified specially when money had lost its old value. The aggregate maximum rates of income-tax and surtax may be levied on incomes lower than those fixed for the purpose in the Indian Income Tax Act and higher taxation may be levied on incomes above Rs. 18,000 per year. Princes need not be exempted from the payment of taxes on their salannas and their property. Above all what is needed most is the proper control of the evasion of taxation. The State is robbed of much of its revenues through smuggling of dutiable goods and falsification of accounts.

**Rural Development**

In short, we should so plan our economy that it may be possible for us to march ahead almost simultaneously towards the development of productive capacity, expansion of production, full employment of man-power, equitable distribution of prosperity and the establishment of an equalitarian social order. For the purpose while high priorities are to be assigned to the development of human power, to the consolidation of old productive capacity and to the rationalisation in the management of both public and private enterprises, the development of agrarian economy must be recognised at par with the industrial development as one of the principal objectives of the plan and the public investment on agriculture and irrigation must not be less on industrial and mineral development.

Food self-sufficiency must be deemed the most important target of the Third Plan, and industries be required to help agriculture for the same through adequate provision of fertilizers and agricultural implements.
PERVERTED ATTITUDE OF C. P. I.

THE Communists, who at first held that interference by the Centre in Kerala would be unconstitutional, soon realised that Section 356 of the Constitution was quite clear: the President need not wait even for the report of the Governor to take action. When the Communists realised this they charged the President, in their latest party resolution, of having violated the spirit of the Constitution. I ask my Communist friends: When did they believe in spirit, human or divine?

They believe in only one kind of spirit and that is tody, whose tap roots in Kerala they have organised and provided with lethal weapons to go about. It is significant that the first police firing, in which the largest number of people were killed, took place in connection with the picketing of tody shops. This picketing involved no political question. The Communists talk of the Constitution. But in 1950, when the Constitution was framed, the Communist Party called upon the people “to fight this charter of slavery”. Under these circumstances, what did the Prime Minister's chariot, rath, that used to move two feet above the earth by this conspiracy come down to the earth and he has become a mere mortal. I wonder if the Communists ever considered anybody among the immortals. But it will do good to the soul of the Prime Minister to be brought down to the level of a mere man.

However, what are the facts? The Centre gave all help that was ever asked by the Kerala Government. The Defence Minister allowed them to use the army for the flag march which they ordered, simply to terrorise the people. Soldiers were posted to guard some installations of the Government of India, even though there was no danger that they would be attacked by anybody. The Communists say that the movement in Kerala was communal. Communialism means that one community wants to gain an undue advantage at the expense of another or at the expense of the nation. Another characteristic of communalism is that it divides the different communities, not unite them. It must therefore be a strange kind of communalism that instead of dividing the different communities in Kerala united them—the Hindus, the Christians and the Muslims. Even those whom the Communist Government had sought to divide—the Christians and the Nairs—were united by this movement.

Again, the Communists say that the agitation was engineered by the Congress. If it was so, it could not be communal. The Congress is not a communal body. As a matter of fact the Congress did not pull its weight in the agitation; not even the PSP. The agitation gained momentum when Shri Mannath Padmanabhan joined it. It was universally recognised as its leader. It is said that he is a Communist. May be, but this strange communalist was able to unite all political and religious groups under his leadership! And this leader had helped the Communists, as they themselves admit, at the last elections. Perhaps then he was not a communalist. It seems that the Communists by their actions turned a friend into an enemy.

The fact is that the agitation in Kerala was neither communal nor inspired by the Congress. It was the people's movement. The part of the Congress was emphasised by the Communists because the conduct of its governments elsewhere is amenable to criticism and it could be bullied by the threat held out by the Communists that they would create like agitations in other States.

Vested Interests

It is again said the movement was inspired by the vested interests. When the common people were with the Communists, how did the vested interests that are supposed to be against the common people succeed in bringing them into the movement? Also, the Communists did not talk of vested interests when they went down on their knees before Birla to put up some industry in Kerala.

It is testified by all who witnessed the movement in Kerala that it was a popular upsurge in which all communities, and men, women and even children, joined. Children too were arrested in many places. Even the Sarvodaya workers wanted the Kerala Government to quit. Last year, I attended a conference called by Acharya Vinoba. There he gave the example of Shri Kelappan and how with his Sarvodaya ideal of love he had been able to bring about an amicable solution of the students' trouble. I knew better, but
I did not like to disillusion a saint. If a saint loses his illusion he cannot possibly be effective.

Here is what Shri Kelappan said afterwards: "The two recent incidents in which I had a chance to intervene have taught me a great lesson. One has to be very cautious in dealing with a Government which has scant regard for justice. I am now posing to myself the question: was it not the fear of the spreading agitation that forced the Government to conclude the agreement? An important term in the agreement, that of instituting a judicial enquiry, has been dropped. The inference from this is clear—that the poor and unorganised sections will never receive justice. The result of this will be only the growth of ill-feeling and also the development of an organised struggle."

Conferences Useless

They promised a judicial enquiry and then they refused to carry out their promise. Then they talk of a conference of all parties. Conference with whom? With those who have often proved that they do not believe in conferences? For the Communists, conferences are a mere camouflage. They merely want to gain time. However, when the Catholics had earlier suggested a conference to resolve the education controversy the Communist Government did not agree and they said that the Act would be enforced.

The Sarvodaya people, who are not in politics, have passed a resolution demanding that the Communist Government must go. The labour unions, except that of the Communists, have also passed such a resolution. The lawyers' associations have passed similar resolutions. The lawyers, so far as law is concerned, are conservative in their attitude. Most of the municipalities and the panchayats have passed resolutions against the Communist Government. What greater proof can there be that the movement was a mass movement?

In their latest resolution the Communists hold that if their Government in Kerala had been allowed to run its full course, democracy would have been established everywhere in India. With a majority of two and 35 per cent votes the Communist Government was a democracy. But the Congress Governments with three-fourths and two-thirds majorities and 45 per cent votes were not democracies. Yes, people were really afraid that if the Communists held power in Kerala for the full term of five years there was a danger of the Communist kind of democracy being established elsewhere in India.

However, whatever was done in Kerala was in line with the Communist philosophy. From its inception the Communist Party of India has taken its lead in whatever they do from Marxist philosophy, as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin and by Russia. On that model they wanted to create the so-called dictatorship of the Communist Party. But they never realised that the Government in Kerala was not a sovereign government. It could not suppress other political parties. There has not been a single occasion when the Communists have not received their instructions from Russia and now also from China.

New Doctrines

What steps did they take to bring about this party dictatorship in Kerala? They enunciated a new labour policy wherein they said that "only the workers constitute the people." You and I are not the people! They said: "Therefore their (the workers') movement is the people's movement and hence any action against them will be anti-people in character." The workers may be right or wrong, they may demolish mills and factories, as they did in Russia during the revolution, but they are right and as they are the people they must be supported. Further, the new policy says and the Communists take pride in saying that the police "must not interfere with the workers." This is their conception of equality before the law, which is the fundamental principle of democracy. They proudly declare that they do not believe in the equality of law; and they talk of the Indian Constitution!

Here is another principle they enunciated: "If the majority of workers went outside, the management will not be allowed to run the industry, either by recruiting temporary hands or with the help of loyal workers." Mr. Dange has said that this is quite correct. So I am faithfully reporting them. Further they say: "The police will interfere only if the lives of the owners and the members of their family are in danger. Their property may be in danger, the manager's and the foreman's lives may be in danger, but the police will not interfere!"

Meddling with Justice

Further, the Communist Government interfered with the course of justice. On the floor of the Kerala Assembly, on July 5, 1958, the Government admitted that they had withdrawn 354 cases up to that time. How many more they have withdrawn afterwards we do not know. It was also admitted that most of these cases were against the Communist accused; some of them murder and dacoity cases. I can understand that these cases may have been instituted against the Communists by the former anti-Communist Government. But when their Government came to power they should have expected that justice will be done in such cases. Why did they not allow the courts to try the cases in the usual way?

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In 326 cases, where judgments had been delivered and fines imposed, the fines were either remitted or returned. Afterwards this has been a continuing process. Wherever Communists were charged with any offence the Government intervened. In this connection the remarks of Chief Justice Shri Sankara Menon are illuminating. They are before the public.

Shri Dange has said: "Yes; we want that there should be no interference by the police whenever there is labour trouble." But I know that whenever there was a labour dispute created by any organisation other than the Communists the police and the magistracy did interfere.

Further the Communists established cell courts. These and individual Communists issued orders how cases in courts should be conducted and tried. The Communist Government allowed tenants to take possession of private lands. Forest lands, which were public property, were also allowed to be occupied in the same way, without interference. This is their idea of equality before law!

Contracts were given to party men. When there was an enquiry about the Andhra rice deal, the Government did not accept the findings of the committee and no action was taken. The Government created co-operatives whose members were predominantly Communists. They were allowed to be occupied in the same way, without interference. This is their idea of equality before law!

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**Misquoting Statements**

How do the Communists defend themselves? I shall quote one instance of how they distort facts. The Kerala P. C. C. had submitted a memorandum against the Communist Ministry. The C.P.I. issued a rejoinder. On page 42 of the pamphlet is given a quotation from one of my articles. I said therein: "I am conscious of the fact that Congressmen do indulge in irregularities. There are instances where it is alleged that they have interfered with the administration, not excluding the police and the judiciary. Criminal cases are said to have been withdrawn in the instance of Congressmen. There have been political murders in Congress-rulled provinces. Congressmen try to do many things that are undemocratic to perpetuate Congress rule." This bare quotation torn out of context is given. What I had said thereafter is dropped.

I had said, "This is not the Congress policy of Congress Governments. Individuals for their benefit or of their relations and friends do these things." I have clearly said that when a Congressman interferes with the administration he has a "bad conscience". "But when the Communists do so, they have no bad conscience; they have a clear conscience; they are doing their duty, they are doing their dharma, according to Marx, as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin, and now that Stalin is historically liquilated, only by Lenin and the Communists there. The whole trouble is that their values are perverted. Whatever is right with Congressmen, however defective their conduct, is wrong with them. What is wrong in a democracy is right with them. Evil is their good". However, this is not the way to defend themselves by giving quotations out of context.

Mr. Dange told us that the people, the middle class and even some Congressmen were "uncomfortable". Yes, they were very uncomfortable at the things going on in Kerala under the Communist rule. They were afraid as to what would happen to their liberty and freedom if this disease spread. They were afraid that under the Communist Party's rule they would be suppressed, as were people in Russia and China. They were afraid of losing their liberties which they enjoy under our Constitution.

**Double Standards**

However, why should the Communists complain? What have they lost? After all, democracy means Government by the consent of the people. It is clear that the people had withdrawn this consent. But supposing there is some doubt about this, what is lost in making a fresh reference to the people? After all, a new election will be less costly and less troublesome than the agitation that was going on. And then, if the Communists come to power, of which they are sure, it will be a double triumph for them. I therefore wonder why they did not accept the advice of the Prime Minister whose home and foreign policies they have always supported. But the fact is that if he says anything that goes against them, they denounce him. They have a double standard of morality, one for themselves and another for their opponents.

They have another advantage. They can pose before the people as martyrs. Gandhiji said that if injustice is done and you suffer in silence it makes for your growth and advancement. But this advantage is lost if you begin to abuse and curse. People who curse cannot be martyrs. When Christ was put on the cross he did not curse his enemies. He blessed them. If the Communists had to appear as martyrs to their cause, then they were given an opportunity. They have lost it.

Another principle has been established. The movement of civil disobedience is recognised by the Congress which had repudiated it before. It was a method of righting wrongs which Gandhi gave the nation. It will remain. But it would be wrong for the Communists...
or the PSP to denounce civil disobedience. We have indulged in it often. It does not therefore lie in the mouth of the Communists to denounce the movement.

They could have achieved these three advantages—a mid-term election, the vindication of civil disobedience and the martyr's crown of thorns. With all those advantages, why are they crying? It is just like some members of a particular sex who would kick you and begin to cry themselves.

I am sure the House will agree with me that there was ample cause for Central intervention provided for in the Constitution. I am only sorry that the trouble was allowed to grow and the Centre did not intervene earlier. That is also the complaint of the Kerala people. We have to be careful lest we allow a proletarian dictatorship and a party dictatorship to be established here. That would be the end of our liberties.
TOWARDS THE THIRD PLAN

As per present anticipations it appears that the total real investment outlay of the Second Five-Year Plan would be about 80 per cent of the planned outlay. Most of the original agricultural targets (not the revised) may be realised. In view of delays, many of the heavy industry projects would be held over to completion during the Third Plan. Most of the industrial targets in respect of consumption goods may be realised, though only three-fourths of the targets in respect of intermediate materials like coal, cement and electricity may be fulfilled. National income at the end of the Second Plan may go up by about 18 per cent. At the end of the Second Plan it may be found that more foreign aid than had been bargained for had been obtained.

It would not be accurate to contend that the relative low achievement of the Second Plan was due to lack of foreign exchange. Internal savings, however, would not have come up to the expectations. One might take the view that no plan would tend to suffer in future on account of deficiency of foreign exchange provided internal savings of the required order could be mobilised. The basic strength or weakness of any planned effort is in the levels of and rates of increase in savings that can be obtained.

Technical Flaws

One might draw attention to a number of technical deficiencies that were revealed during the course of the working of the Second Plan.

(i) It is obvious that the technical requirements of foreign exchange for the investment effort contemplated was grossly under-estimated. The main reason for the mistake was that the same technical relationship that existed between investment of the First Plan and the foreign exchange requirements were assumed to hold true for the Second Plan too irrespective of the fact that the structure of the Second Plan was more import-oriented. A high priority for the expansion of the industrial base necessitates initially a high import component.

(ii) The financial estimates were based upon the assumption of constant prices. The impact of deficit financing upon the price trends was not taken into account. This has led to upward revisions in prices and costs and to the demand for wage increases.

(iii) The Second Plan under-estimated the food and raw material requirements of the levels of investment and maintenance visualised for the economy during the period. Hence the import requirements of food and raw materials have tended to go up.

(iv) The domestic planning targets of food production were substantially lower than what were necessary to meet the planned needs of employment and investment. Food targets were hastily revised upwards without bridging the income gap.

(v) The Second Plan over-estimated the savings ratio in real terms and an under-estimation of the capital coefficient. Similarly, targets of employment were over-estimated. The basic weakness here again has been the absence of adequate increases in food production. The level of food surplus is the primary factor in the expansion of employment capacity of the system.

(vi) The assumption in the strategy of the Plan that the required increase in consumption demands could be met through expansion of the output of small scale and cottage industry has not been realised. The effects of such a policy upon the development of exports was not noted; nor was the organizational capacity of the small industries to produce the required output increases given due attention to.

(vii) Rates of increases planned for a number of items of production were not in harmony with the rates of increase in the markets of the commodities (factory textiles and sugar).

(viii) The Planning Commission seriously under-estimated the importance to be given to the export industries.

(ix) The strategy of deficit finance was based upon the assumption that increased collection through taxes, loans and small savings would be flowing forth gradually. These assumptions have proved to be a technical mistake despite considerable increases in tax rates and the introduction of new forms of taxation.

 Authorities' Indifference

Most of the above deficiencies had been pointed out by some critics at least even at the time of the formulation of the Second Plan frame. If the authorities had given due attention to these criticisms and had subjected the various parts of the Plan to a detailed technical examination, much waste of time and resources could have been avoided. Even at this stage, is it not worth the nation's while to appoint a Commission to go into the question of the errors and deficiencies in the formulation of the Second Plan?

Anyway, discussions about the Third Plan would tend to go on, despite one possible danger that such discussions about the Third Plan may be resorted to as an escape from the difficulties confronting the completion of the revised Second Plan. It is necessary to take the public into full confidence about the latest facts and figures regarding the working of the economy. A few suggestions may be tendered in connection with the Third Plan.

The size of any plan in India will be conditioned largely by the availability of food surpluses. The expansion of agricultural production and productivity through appropriate investments, incentives and organizational measures should tend

* A revised version of the paper presented at the Seminar of the Research Students, Department of Economics, University of Bombay, in December 1958.
to get top priority in the structure of the Third Plan. It could be demonstrated that if we could increase food output 100 million tons by the end of the Third Plan, it may be possible to raise the ratio of investment to income to about 20 per cent and to obtain an increase in total national income of about 30 per cent.

The strategy in the Third Plan is to step up the rate of growth of food production substantially above the rate of population growth and to utilise the increased surpluses for sucking the surplus labour out of agriculture, trade and other allied fields. The released surplus labour would tend to be most utilised in construction project. This is so because one-third of India is at present consuming just about one meal per person per day. The production of one additional meal would enable the productive value of one worker's labour to be utilised in the construction projects.

Out-pacing Consumption

In the initial stages, it is therefore necessary that the rate of growth of output of productive consumer goods should proceed at a rate substantially faster than the rate at which population is rising. Most of the surplus labour thus available for employment will have to be again employed in expansion of agricultural production and productivity. Thus, the process tends to be cumulative. One of the quickest methods to improve the agricultural production and productivity would be through an increase in the extent of use of fertilizers and through minor irrigation, flood control and soil erosion projects which could be done through the development of extension services which carry knowledge of new methods to the farmers.

The Third Plan will, therefore, have to give top priority to the construction of a net-work of fertilizers projects as well as for a large number of water provision schemes. Initially, fertilisers could be imported. Technical factors necessitates the continuance of the pace of construction of a large number of major irrigation projects. The output of steel, cement, machine tools and constructional materials will have to be raised substantially in view of the demand for tools and materials as a result of the policy of large-scale expansion of productive employment in construction.

It may be worth the while to introduce a radical change in regard to the types of machines and tools that are manufactured in the country. It is suggested that the tools and implements should involve low capital cost, (from the point of users) and should be capable of being manufactured quickly. Most up-to-date machines and tools for construction are not necessary. It may be also worth the while to manufacture the necessary wage-goods in as quick a period as possible, in the process, utilising the existing capacity to the fullest extent.

The potential labour that could have been alternatively used in small-scale consumer goods units may as well be used in capital construction with the aid of simple tools and implements in enterprises scattered over the land. The export industry will have to obtain a high priority in the light of the growing imbalance between the demand for foreign exchange and its availability. It is suggested that relatively unessential consumer goods need not all be produced at this stage. This also implies the postponement of projects of residential, governmental and transport buildings.

A general suggestion in regard to the organizational changes would be that if the strategy as above is worked out one has to reconcile with radical changes in the rural sector. The average size of holdings would tend to go up in view of the transfer of surplus labour into capital construction and other projects. Such a change in the size of holdings can be visualised only provided agricultural production goes up at a fast rate and conditions are created whereby surplus labour could be transferred. If agricultural production does not rise at the required rate, then the introduction of organizational changes on the farms will become difficult; for, such changes will imply a large amount of unemployment.

False Presumption

The commonly held thesis that economic development in its initial stages implies industrialisation may not necessarily be true. In the earlier stages most of the surplus labour that is transferred would have to be employed in capital construction activities connected with agriculture. What is important is a rising proportion of investment to national income rather than a rise in the proportion of industrial output to total output.

A programme of rapid increase in agricultural production and large-scale transfer of surplus labour to-

(Continued on next page, Col. 2)
OVER a hundred of the strikers of the Kirloskar Oil Engines Limited of Poona peddled the 120 miles to Bombay on August 24 to place their grievances before the Chief Minister, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, and to register their protest against the violation by their employers of the Naini Tal Code of Conduct.

The workers, numbering 870, have been on strike since July 13, 1959 in pursuance of their demand that the outstanding points between the Management and the Union such as reclassification of certain workers and restoration of certain rates of production bonus be referred to private arbitration and that recognition be granted to the Union.

Violation of Code

In an earlier dispute, which was referred to the Industrial Tribunal for adjudication by the Government of Bombay, it was directed that the company should classify the workmen on the basis of conditions prescribed. Upon the re-classification of workmen after that Award, the workers contended that in respect of 120 workmen, the norms laid down by the Tribunal were not observed.

When during the negotiations, the company did not concede the demand of the workmen, the latter suggested in terms of the Naini Tal Code of Conduct that the issue be submitted to arbitration. Not only the company but even the Government of Bombay refused to take this proposal into consideration, and the Union did not get even an acknowledgment of its representation in this regard.

Breach of Award

The Tribunal had directed that the workers should be given four holidays with pay every year, two of them being on the Republic Day and Independence Day, the remaining two being left to the choice of the workmen. The workmen claimed that they should get the third on May Day. The company rejected this and required the workers to report to work on May Day.

Opposing the demand of the workmen for wage increases before the Industrial Tribunal, the company had shown that they had several schemes of production-bonus in operation, and that the workers' earnings thereunder were substantial. The Tribunal rejected the contention of the workers that these schemes benefited only a few higher-ups, and rejected the demand.

Almost immediately thereafter, the company started reducing the rates of the production-bonus and otherwise altering the schemes to the prejudice of the workmen. The company also refused to submit the issue of production-bonus to arbitration. The workers were, therefore, not left with any alternative but a strike.

The company immediately engaged the INTUC to start its own shop, and upon failure of that effort, openly engaged black-legs. The police force of the Government is functioning as an agent for the supply and protection of professional strike-breakers in their business acknowledged by law to be legitimate.

In spite of all these provocations, the strike is being conducted most peacefully and successfully.

The Chief Minister, as usual, expressed his inability to do anything at this stage. The workers, however, returned home with redoubled determination to carry on their struggle to success.
vestment. Even ideologically-inspired projects must be duly scrutinised as economic propositions and must pass the test of output at least in terms of social good and prosperity. Social objectives must be secured in a manner conducive to economic progress. Even sound economic objectives will entail considerable loss unless projects are properly managed with due attention to an adequate output.

"Planning is a serious business; what makes planning is not the targets, which merely express what we like to see happen, but the action that is taken to achieve targets." (A. Lewis, op. cit, p. 24) Thus, along with proper planning efficient execution of plan projects is very necessary. Efficiency depends as much on proper organisation and earnest efforts on the part of officials concerned as on "enlisting the pride and co-operation of all the workers in a business unit." (Arthur Lewis: op. cit, p. 98.)

While no planning is possible by exhortation alone, the invocation of enthusiasm and voluntary co-operation of the people is very necessary to ensure a significant success of a plan of national reconstruction.

A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing
-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER

ONLY THE VERY BEST FOR DOLLY! Nina loves to dress her Dolly with the whitest and brightest of clothes. How does Nina find so many lovely clothes for Dolly? She takes Sister's and Mummy's and, of course, her own. All washed white and bright with just a little SUNLIGHT.

Just look at all those clothes, sheets and towels! A lot of washing? Yes, but it's done with such a little SUNLIGHT. That creamy, extra lather washes so much and chases out every scrap of dirt without any beating! Make SUNLIGHT your soap for the washing!

SUNLIGHT SOAP WASHES WHITE AND BRIGHT

A product of Hindustan Lever Ltd.
The disclosures made by the Prime Minister regarding the happenings on our northern frontier from Ladakh to N.E.F.A. would sadden the heart of anyone who hoped for a warm feeling of friendship between India and China, both developing so far in their own way without any interference in the affairs of each other. As the Prime Minister rightly pointed out in the Rajya Sabha, the recent activities of the Chinese armed forces on our frontiers can hardly be described as very friendly. In this connection it is worth remembering that the Ladakh incidents took place some two years ago and, therefore, it is not possible even to interpret the Chinese actions as retaliatory measures provoked by the sympathy which the people and the Government of India expressed over the misfortune of Tibet and especially the welcome that the Dalai Lama was accorded in this land of the Buddha. These incidents, together with the happenings in Tibet, have therefore to be viewed as an integrated pattern, the objective of which can be anybody's guess. In such matters, however, our national interests demand that we should hope for the best, but at the same time be prepared for the worst.

The Prime Minister has made it quite clear that intrusions in N.E.F.A. by Chinese soldiers are a clear case of aggression. It is true that it is difficult to prevent completely all incursions over a frontier of 2,000 miles. But India would assuredly repulse any such intrusion and would not permit the redrawing of frontiers through armed intrusions.

Though it is difficult to believe that these incidents are the result of the mistake or over-enthusiasm of local officials, there is no need to take an alarmist view of the situation. It is sufficient to make it clear in unmistakable terms to all concerned that India will stand to a man against any attempt to violate its frontiers and will spare no sacrifice to uphold the prestige of the nation.

The silence of the Communist leaders and sympathisers and the equivocal statement issued by the Communist Party secretariat conform to the tradition of the Communist Party of India to remain steadfastly loyal to world communism even if that involves risks to the national interests of India. This may be compared with their outbursts against similar intrusions by Pakistan nationals and soldiers on the Indian territory. They seem to be more of a nature of protest against Pakistan for cashing their lot with the West than against the violation of Indian territory as such.

The National Executive of the P.S.P. has clearly defined the Party's position on this issue. "The Executive of the P.S.P." says the resolution passed by the National Executive on the subject, "are of the opinion that the present policy of the Peking Government is against the best traditions of the Chinese people and it has been undertaken without their consent." At the same time the resolution clearly states: "The probing claws of China will have to be twisted back and she should be made to realise that in the ultimate analysis democratic people would triumph over a monolithic Goliath." The Executive has also assured the people of India that at this moment of danger the P.S.P. will be at their command and would consider no sacrifice too big in the cause of defending our freedom.
Defence Ministry Crisis

The Prime Minister's statement on the situation arising out of the resignation of General Thimayya did not seem to satisfy fully either of the Houses of Parliament. The members were naturally perturbed over the differences, even if they be intangible and temperamental, between the civil authority and the military authority. To say this is not to question the obvious proposition that under our Constitution the civil authority is supreme. The interests of our nation or of any nation as a matter of fact also requires that there should be perfect understanding and accord between the civil and military authorities and this accord should not be allowed to be disturbed even on temperamental grounds.

It is not quite clear from the statement of the Prime Minister whether General Thimayya has mentioned any ground on which the General based his resignation. If these grounds are mentioned they could be a starting point from which the question of differences—temperamental or otherwise—might be tackled and some happy solution found.

Of course, this incident need not create an impression that there is any discontent in our armed forces as such. They are a fine disciplined lot, of which any country can be proud and some differences at the top need not disturb this general feature of our armed forces, which is quite in conformity with facts.

It is also necessary to emphasise that the civil authority must finally assume full responsibility for the administration of our armed forces, subject to definite powers and functions assigned by law to the army officers.

But having said all this it must still be maintained that all causes of function, even if they be due to trivial matters should be removed so that such incidents are avoided in future. The Prime Minister, in his statement, did not give any indication as to the steps he is taking to achieve this.

Members of Parliament were also perturbed over the fact that matters of such grave importance leaked out in the Press without the Government knowing how it did leak out. This by itself is a serious matter. Of late, one finds increasing leakages of this type and unless effective actions are taken in the matter it might create serious difficulties in certain circumstances. On the whole, the Government of India emerged very creditably out of the debate on this matter and members of all political parties are sorry that an incident of the sort should have occurred.

Under the conditions through which we are passing it is necessary that in crucial matters affecting the defence of our country there should be full accord among all political parties. No one would like to make any political capital out of such incidents. But it is the duty of the Opposition to impress upon the Government to deal with such matters impartially and in the best interest of the country and not to adopt a partisan attitude. In the short debate that followed the Prime Minister's statement in both the Houses, this was the main trend of the speeches of the Opposition members, excepting the Communist members who mustered all their support in favour of the Defence Minister.

Plan Resources

The latest review of the Second Plan resources and outlay, made by the Planning Commission, gives a detailed picture of the progress of the Plan so far and the possible developments during the final two years. While in the Introduction it has been stated that considering the over-all resource position a sizable cut on plan outlays even as compared to the revised target of Rs. 4,500 crores is demandable, in the Postscript we are informed that at the meeting of the National Development Council it was decided that efforts should be made to ensure that the total outlay for the Second Plan period did not fall below Rs. 4,500 crores. The Planning Commission, therefore, made a reprimand and came to the following comfortable conclusion: "Altogether, if we take the aggregate plan outlay for the first four years at Rs. 3,550 crores, the outlay for the five years will reach, if not exceed somewhat, the total of Rs. 4,500 crores envisaged by the National Development Council."

While one may congratulate the National Development Council for its success in compelling the statistics to behave, it is not possible to ignore the difficulties listed by the Planning Commission, experienced by both the Centre and the State, in mobilising the resources for the Plan. The actual performance during the Second Plan period will be known only after the period is over and the actuals are made available. In the meantime, however, consideration of the broad outlines of the Third Plan has already advanced sufficiently to indicate the problems the country will have to face during the Third Plan period. No firm indication regarding the proposed size of the Third Plan is still available, but it is obvious that it cannot be smaller than the Second Plan and perhaps will be much larger.

Therefore, if the difficulties in mobilisation of the resources are to be avoided, it is desirable that some principles should be laid down regarding the contributions which various sectors and classes in the community will be called upon to finance the economic development during the Third Plan period. This is necessary because no such plan is visible in the efforts made during the Second Plan period. Conflicting considerations of social justice and necessary incentives have governed the policy from time to time and there is a general feeling even in the highest quarters that the sum total of these policies is increasing hardship to the poor, for whose benefit the country has undertaken the planned development programmes, and increasing wealth to those who were supposed to bear greater sacrifices.

This is due not so much to any diabolical collusion between the vested interests and the Government as to the lack of clarity on the issues involved and their determination. The first task which the Government and Parliament will have to undertake is, therefore, a clear examination of these principles. If the goal is to raise the standard of life of the masses, sufficient income will have to be kept with the masses to make this rise possible. Otherwise the rise will be purely notional and will result in the transfer of the burden of development from those who can afford it to those who are incapable of doing so.
Peking Manoeuvres To Grab S.-E. Asia

THE National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party met in New Delhi on August 29 and 30 last, when it surveyed the national scene, specially the Chinese incursions into Indian territory.

Following are the resolutions adopted at the meeting:

CHINESE EXPANSIONISM

Emboldened by their success in destroying the autonomous State of Tibet and assured of the fact that for their misdeeds they are not answerable to any tribunal in the world, the Communist Government of China appears to have decided on a policy of expansion. That, after ruthlessly destroying Tibet the Chinese Government should turn against their friend, India, with whom they had declared their loyalty to the Panchsheel and who is still making sincere efforts to get China admitted to the U.N.O. is a measure of the cynical contempt with which they treat the noble concepts of friendship, toleration and co-existence. The National Executive of the PSP is of the opinion that the present policy of the Peking Government is against the best traditions of the Chinese people and it has been undertaken without their consent.

The developments on the northern borders of India stretching from NEFA to Ladakh seem to follow a long deliberate plan of action. When first it was brought to the notice of the Chinese Government that some of their maps have shown huge portions of Indian territories as their own, they tried to dismiss our protest as a mere academic exercise. Immediately after the destruction of Tibetan autonomy, however, the Peking Government threw out a suggestion that the MacMohan Line could not be considered as final. Then began a policy of expansion, covert as well as overt.

Trespassing Road

In Ladakh, taking advantage of the inaccessible regions, the Chinese have constructed a highway from Gartok to Yarkhand, slicing away hundreds of square miles of our territory. In Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan they have started a veiled campaign for a Himalayan Federation, appealing to the people of these areas on the basis of racial and cultural roots. In the NEFA area on the contrary they have resorted to open aggression. Thus the Chinese are using every instrument at their disposal to seek to corrode the traditional loyalty of the people and to chip away bits of our territory.

The result of the new Chinese policy is that our Himalayan border has become an active frontier which will have to be closely watched and guarded in the future. China evidently hopes that once it succeeds in breaking the morale of the Indian people defences of countries in the south and south-east would be greatly undermined. Therefore it is necessary to understand that in defending its border India is not only defending herself but the freedom and sovereignty of all South-East Asian nations. These implications of the Chinese strategy must be made known to our neighbouring nations and the closest bonds of friendship must be forged with them. The probing claws of China will have to be twisted back and she should be made to realise that in the ultimate analysis a democratic people would triumph over a monolithic Goliath.

The Executive welcomes the declaration of the Prime Minister to defend our borders and those of Sikkim and Bhutan and urges upon the Government to take firm measures that will make the Chinese vacate occupied areas of our country.

A new danger and a new challenge faces the Indian people. But only by facing such dangers and meeting such challenges does a nation develop its manhood and its personality. The Executive assures the people of India that at this moment of danger, the PSP will be at their command and, true to its role and tradition as a nationalist party, it will not consider any sacrifice too big in the cause of defending our freedom.

TRIBUTE TO KERALA

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party salutes the people of Kerala for the glorious struggle that they organised against Communist tyranny and pays its homage to the men and women who laid down their lives to liberate Kerala from the Red rule. The Executive extends respectful felicitations to the tens and thousands of brave women of Kerala whose devotion to the cause of freedom has brought lustre to our recent history. The political maturity, unity and determination of the people of Kerala exposed the true character of Communist Government, lifted Kerala above sectarian differences and vanquished an insolent regime. If Kerala witnessed the strange phenomenon of Communists coming to power through the ballot box it
has the unique distinction of humbling the Communists through popular upsurge.

The Executive is confident that the people in the rest of India, who followed the gallant struggle in Kerala with sympathy, have drawn the iron lessons about the real character and designs of the Communists. Their mask of democracy has been torn asunder.

In Kerala it was the common man, woman and child who by a determined act of will wrought the denial to Communist rule and created a new awareness of strength. The Executive is happy that the awakening in Kerala has brought about a grand rally of democratic forces in the State. The sacrifices of the people demand that this democratic unity be maintained and strengthened. The PSP pledges itself to uphold and deepen the unity that has been achieved. That is the rock on which the fabric of Kerala’s prosperity and liberty will be raised.

The Executive, fully confident in the strength and political understanding of the people of Kerala, looks forward with assurance to the

(Continued on page 6)
AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITIES

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ey institution of society grows out of its own peculiar soil and is nourished and nurtured by its own unique climate and environment. While borrowing has been a common means of social development, no borrowed institution can thrive unless it is properly acclimatized and integrated. The evolution of India’s social institutions has had a chequered history. Foreign invasions and administration have turned and twisted the native currents of development. But the hidden springs of Indian Life have been powerful enough to assert themselves and pierce through the over-lain layers of foreign institutions and ways of life.

Foreign Transplantations

The present political and administrative institutions of India are foreign transplantations. In planting these institutions (or their precursors) on Indian soil, the British paid no regard whatever to India’s own political patterns, ancient or contemporary. After the end of British rule, the fathers of the Indian Constitution, including the politicians and the experts, again paid no heed to India’s traditions and the deep-flowing springs of Indian Life.

Present Indian democracy is the product of the conflict between the politically and economically conscious elements in Indian society and British imperialism.

The Indian people, particularly the masses, did not struggle to establish the existing institutions of democracy though they did take part in the movement for national independence. Adult franchise, for instance, is not the result of the struggle of the masses for the precious right to vote. Vast numbers of them do not appreciate the value of that right nor understand how to use it. This makes democracy, based on adult franchise, unreal and insubstantial.

Was, or is, there an alternative? I am sure there is. And the extraordinary thing is that Gandhiji, the architect of our freedom, the Father of our Nation, had taken special pains to point out that alternative. But just as Indian history was neglected, so was Gandhiji’s clarion voice.

Ancient Village Communities

Every one has heard of the ancient village communities of India. True, there is not much known about them, but historians have collected enough information for us to realize how they constituted the most stable foundations of Indian society that withstood all upheavals. Dynasties rose and fell, wars were lost and won, invaders came and went away, but through every political turmoil the village community stood like a rock, carrying on its life and running its affairs in its appointed manner. Much that has remained in India of lasting value and merit is attributed by historians to this stability of Indian society provided by the ancient village organizations. The self-governing village communities were the foundation stones of ancient Indian polity. Their strength came from within and not from without. Their authority rested by a central government, but on the willing consent of the families that constituted them. The powers they wielded and the functions they performed were far wider than those of the village panchayats of today, which are mere empty shells as compared with their ancient predecessors. Professor Al-

JAYAPRakash Narayan

taker in his “State & Government In Ancient India” sums up the powers and functions of the ancient village communities in the following words:

Ancient Tradition

“They (i.e. the village communities) made effective arrangements for the defence of the community, collected the taxes of the Central Government and levied their own, settled village disputes, organised works of public utility and recreation, functioned as trustees and bankers, raised public organised schools, colleges and poor houses and arranged for their funds, and supervised the manifold religious and cultural activities of the temples. There can be no doubt that they exercised greater powers than those that are at present enjoyed by the local bodies in most countries, both of the east and of the west. They played an important and creditable part in defending the interests of the villagers and in promoting their material, moral and intellectual progress.”

When we look at the atomised, backward, listless villages of today, it seems incredible that there should have existed at one time such powerful village communities. This ancient tradition of democracy should have provided us with a far surer basis than anything we could borrow from elsewhere. Even what we ‘borrowed’ could be fitted properly into the body politic of the country only if it was built around the ancient tradition. It is true that our Constitution emphasises the programme of establishing village panchayats, as the lowest units of local self-govern. It is also true that in recent years State Governments, with the support and guidance of the Centre, have taken active steps to speed up this programme. But, as I have said just now, these newly formed panchayats are like empty shells. Whatever authority they have, has come to them from above, so that they represent more the intrusion of centralised power into the village than the flowering of Gandhi’s

Gram Rajya. How the atomised village of today that has no collective will of its own and is completely at the mercy of selfish and exploitative interests can be integrated into a real self-governing community and made into a stable foundation of Indian polity is to my mind the most important question of national re-construction.

To fulfil this task a revolution is needed in our thinking both about the village and the nature of human society.

Three Views

It is possible to discern three different views of the future of the Indian village. One regards the village as an out-dated institution that is condemned to eventual extinction. The second also regards it as out-dated, but realises that (a) agriculture must be carried on and (b) urbanization, no matter how rapid, cannot find room for every one in the town. Therefore, according to this view the village has to be preserved in order that food and certain essential raw materials for industry may be produced. This view is even generous enough to advocate the ‘development’ of the village. However, in this view the village continues to remain a junior partner and helper of the town which repre-

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particular provision, it should also be premature to estimate the effectiveness of the Code as a whole. The experience of the past year clearly indicates that these rules will not effectively solve the problems of recognition of trade unions, but will serve as a loophole for employers to avoid recognition of the trade unions."

The principle of granting certificates to trade unions as exclusive bargaining agents had been accepted in the majority of the countries the world over. There was a legislative provision in the Canadian Industrial Relations and Disputes Investigation Act which was notable in this regard.

"We construe this item in its broad aspects and understand that this Conference is not going into all the details and procedural forms of this item. But we should make it clear that considering that the sanction of such status to trade unions is a big landmark in the process of collective bargaining, we are of the opinion that the work of certification of negotiating agents should be left to a judicial authority such as a Labour Court, or Industrial Court or to a Board that many be created for this purpose. It should not in any case be left to any administrative authority."

Works Committees

Commenting on the Official Memorandum in regard to Works Committees, the HMS said: "It seems that the Government feels that Works Committees are essential and that, therefore, steps should be taken to ensure the satisfactory functioning of the Works Committees. There is no discussion about the functioning of the Works Committees in the private sector.

"The Government has not given relevant information or material which would throw light on the role that has been played by the Works Committees and whether they are fulfilling the functions that are entrusted to it under the statutory provisions. From the reports that we have received from our affiliates we find that the Works Committees have failed miserably in fulfilling their role. Therefore, appointment of a tripartite committee for drawing guiding principles relating to the position and functioning as suggested by Government of the Works Committees is not likely to be fruitful."

Direct Negotiations

The Government had suggested certain points for consideration as regards validity of agreements reached through direct negotiations between the parties. While doing this, the HMS said, the nature of industrial disputes as envisaged under the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act should be taken into account. An industrial dispute had been defined as "any dispute or difference between employers and employees, or between workmen and workmen, which is connected with the employment or with non-employment or the terms of employment or the conditions of labour, of any person." Therefore, every industrial dispute must necessarily be between an employer on the one hand and the workmen on the other. The trade union as such was not a party to it.

The role of a trade union in an industrial dispute was that of representing the workmen and, therefore, while considering the validity of agreements reached through direct negotiations between the parties, very careful thought had to be given. All sections of workmen might not be represented during such negotiations between the parties.

"The HMS, therefore, is of the opinion that a proposal regarding validity of agreements reached through direct negotiations between the parties may be accepted provided an effective procedure for determining the negotiating agents of the workers by a secret ballot is accepted and enforced. Such a right should be conferred only on negotiating agents who may be approved by an appropriate procedure that may be laid down for recognition of trade unions".

It would be fatal if such a right is allowed to any registered trade union whose status might not be clear and whose position was likely to be challenged, as had happened in certain industrial disputes. The Sabha, therefore, suggested the following points for incorporation in the Rules of the Industrial Disputes Act:

(1) Only an agreement which is concluded between the employer and a Registered Trade Union which has been given the certification as a negotiating agent, shall be registered by the registering authority. The registering authority shall also issue a certificate indicating the registration of the agreement. A copy of every such agreement shall be displayed at a convenient place for information and inspection by any workman concerned.

(Continued from page 4)

ASSAM, KASHMIR FLOODS

The National Executive notes with regret that this year's floods in Kashmir and Assam have severely affected the life of the people, bringing their economic life almost to the point of ruination. Apart from the toll of human lives, the floods have destroyed cattle, hearths and homes and standing crops.

Though the flood-affiliated people of Assam and Kashmir have shown commendable fortitude in facing the calamity, the National Executive is of the opinion that the people will not be able to rehabilitate themselves without liberal aid from the Government. As short-term measures of relief immediate remission of land revenue and suspension of collection of arrears if any, taccavi loans for buying agricultural implements and building houses need to be undertaken.

The Executive further appeals to the generous public to extend succour to the flood-affiliated people of Assam and Kashmir.

In the case of Assam and other States where floods are an annual ordeal long-term measures of the problem like river training, building of dams, must receive the urgent attention of the Government.

POLICE FIRINGS

The National Executive expresses its grave concern over the recent police firings in Mathura and Allahabad and demands that the State Government of Uttar Pradesh should order a judicial inquiry immediately into both the incidents.
H.M. S. Flays Government’s Evasive Labour Policy

THE Government desired to give all its serious thought only to legal, formal and procedural aspects of industrial relations and ignored the basic factors such as the wage policy, employment position, and price structure, said the Hind Mazdoor Sabha in its memorandum to the 17th Session of the tripartite Indian Labour Conference held recently at Madras. “The Government is more concerned with binding the working class to a complicated legal procedure and shows complete apathy towards issues of vital interest to the workers” the HMS stated.

These remarks were provoked by the failure of the Government to place on the agenda the issues of interim Awards by Wage Boards, extension of Employees’ State Insurance benefits to workers’ families, etc., despite the demand by the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

Discipline Code

The HMS stated in its memorandum that it was unable to accept the smug claim contained in the Central Government’s Memorandum that the Code of Conduct had perceptible influence on the trend of industrial relations, that the evaluation and implementation machinery at the Centre as well as in the States had been functioning effectively and that this had brought about elimination of a number of misuderstandings between employers and workers.

“The Government in its discussion over the subject of Code of Discipline has adopted a negative test for estimating effectiveness of this code on industrial relations. Any increase or decrease in the number of disputes is not a positive test. A positive test would be the effectiveness of certain key provisions of the code, such as recognition of trade unions, resort to voluntary arbitration, avoidance of needless litigation, ban on unilateral increase in work-loads, etc.”

Commenting on the attitude of the State Governments to this code, the memorandum said: “Some of the State Governments have shown complete apathy to this code and some have made it known in unequivocal terms that this code is not to their liking and that it is an unwanted baby from the Central Government landed in their laps.

“It would not be unjust to mention the attitude of the Bombay Government towards the code. The Bombay Labour Minister has clearly shown his total disregard for it. The conduct of the Bombay Government is one of avoidance and in every complaint of breach of the code brought to the notice of this Government an attempt is made to establish that it does not fit into the formal frame-work of the code. Efforts are made to isolate the spirit of the Code from its text and to impart an element of legalism to it.”

Public Sector

“The progress made by the Central Government in the application of the code to the public sector is also not encouraging. The Code was accepted by the HMS only after an undertaking given by the Labour Minister that the code would be applied to the public sector. The Government had convened a conference to consider this question. To our knowledge, no progress has been made in this direction and the Government has committed a breach of faith,” the HMS said.

The Government had observed that the evaluation and implementation machinery had been affective. In fact, there had been inordinate delay in establishing such machinery in several States. In certain States the Governments had opposed its establishment. Here again, mention must be made of the Bombay Government. Even at the Centre, the machinery was not very effective and there was considerable delay. The Central Evaluation and Implementation Committee had its only meeting in September 1958 and since then there had been no meeting.

“The nature and structure of the machinery set up in different States must be studied. By and large, it can be said that this machinery has been set up in such a manner that it loses its independence completely and functions more or less as a department of the Labour Department of the Government concerned.”

Recognition of Unions

The procedure proposed in the Kerala Industrial Relations Bill for certification of the negotiating agents was acceptable to the HMS. Although, Section 12 of this Bill, pertaining to certification of negotiating agents, was not acceptable in all its details, the basic idea that the bargaining status of trade unions should be decided by a secret ballot of the workers concerned was correct.

The Government contended that it was premature to attempt an estimate of the impact of this recommendation of the problem of recognition, and the extent to which the criteria in these recommendations were being adhered to. These were totally disregarded by the employers. Hardly any union had secured recognition in terms of these recommendations.

The HMS observed: “If the Ministry considers that it is premature to estimate the impact of this

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sents civilization, progress, modernity, science.

There is the third view that regards the village as the natural and sensible habitat of man and the primary unit of social organization. Man is a social animal and it is necessary for the full development of human nature that the primary community in which he lives is such that he is able to establish personal relationships and live his life in meaningful association with other members of the community. The large towns and cities are human jungles where impersonal relationships govern the life of the individual, who is compelled to quench his thirst for 'society' by forming such artificial things as clubs and similar other associations. In the city, neighbour does not know neighbour and there is no living together. Life is divided into compartments and like passengers on a railway train, men are thrown together with different men into different compartments of activity one after another: now into the factory, now into the big apartment house, now into the theatre and so on. This is not living together. This is not human society.

**Basic Values**

There is another vital consideration that I should like to stress in this connection. There are certain values of life which civilized man upholds and desires to make the basis of individual and social behaviour. Now, because man must live in society, it is reasonable to demand that at least the primary community in which he lives is such that it facilitates the practice of those values.

For instance, let us take the value of cooperation. It is universally agreed today that in this age when the means of destruction have acquired such overwhelming power, men must co-operate together in order to survive and enjoy the fruits of science. Even Russia and America are forced to think in terms of cooperation.

Now, if the human race has to develop co-operation within itself, it is necessary that man learns to live cooperatively in the community in which he lives. This is possible much better in the small community than in the human jungles that are the large towns and cities. True, there are all manner of cooperative societies in the cities of Europe and America. But surely they do not represent cooperative living. They again make compartments of life so that the individuals now cooperate as consumers and now as producers. Not only this sort of cooperation compartmentalises life, if also impersonalises it. The joy of cooperation is in the human relationship that is established between those who cooperate, rather than in the economic advantages it offers to the members of a cooperative society.

Thus, true cooperative living is possible only in a small community where personal relationships can be formed and life lived together. If I had more time I could have taken up other human values and shown how the small organic community is a far better nursery for them than the large agglomerations of inorganic individual men.

**Small Communities**

A serious objection might be raised to this whole way of thinking. The obvious trend all over the world, it might be pointed out, is towards urbanization and the extinction of the small community. This is undoubtedly so. In India too, urban population is growing at present at the rate of thirty-five lakhs every year. But I do not conceive of man as a helpless victim of fate or of the so-called forces of history. Man is endowed with reason and intelligence and he can order his life as he likes. There is nothing inherent in science that drives man to bundle together in huge, monstrous habitations. The drive towards cities has certain economic, social and political causes. These are not eternal and can be changed by conscious human effort.

There is no doubt that if the village remains as it is today, the trend of urbanization cannot be checked. But if it is accepted that human society must be constructed on the foundation of small primary communities, the village of today can be converted into places, attractive enough from every point of view for no one normally to wish to desert it. When Gandhiji said that if the Indian villages died, India would die, he made it emphatically clear that he was not thinking for a moment of preserving the villages as they are at present. They have indeed to be changed radically, but yet they will retain the characteristics of the small community that I have tried to describe before.

**Agro-Industrial Basis**

Life both in the city and village is at present unbalanced and unsatisfying. For a proper balance, agriculture and industry must be carried on together in an inter-dependent and complementary manner. They may be exceptions for reasons into which we need not go at present, but the predominant character of the primary communities must become agro-industrial. The present hiatus between town and village must go and an entirely new type of community must be created. The virtue of the Indian village is that it is a ready-made basis for the construction of the agro-industrial communities of the future. I might add that there need be no limit to the use of science in the agro-industrial communities, except the limits placed by the accepted human values. Science is often represented as an independent force of nature to which man must adjust himself. This appears to me to be wholly wrong. It is not who has to adjust himself to science, which has to be adjusted to human ends. Indeed, this is what is exactly happening, but the human ends are usually the unworthy ones. What I am pleading for is the application of science to worthy human ends.

**Arithmetical Concept**

Having talked at some length of the village as the foundation of Indian democracy, let me now turn to the consideration of the superstructure that must be raised above it.

(Continued on page 10)
Railwaymen's Efforts For Peace & Progress

The General Secretary of the All India Railwaymen’s Federation, Shri Peter Alvares, in his report to the annual convention of the Federation held in Bombay in the first week of last month, gave a bird’s eye-view of the developments that affected the railwaymen in particular, and the working class in general.

Following are some extracts from the report of Shri Alvares:

In the two years following the reconstitution of AIRF at the Poona Convention in 1957, many important developments have taken place both inside and outside the country. In the international sphere, the atmosphere of the cold war appears to have receded somewhat, though vast sums of money are still being spent to stockpile armaments, thus diverting precious resources from other fields of investment where they could have helped raise the standard of life of the people. And, if the space satellitisation programme has opened up new perspectives that defy the limits of conventional thinking, the only consolation is that the working class has played its part, even if insignificant, in its success. The progress of this programme has only emphasised the need of the world for a peace for reconstruction.

Homage to Africans

To the events in Africa we are drawn to by more than sentimental reasons. We have welcomed the emergence of Ghana, Malaya and Cyprus as independent nations. But our joy in this has been marred by the massacre of the brave Algerians (the Algerians claim that more than a million of their youth have been decimated) by the French, and by the resistance of the British to recognise the trend of events in Africa, and by the policy of Apartheid in South Africa. Railwaymen pay their homage to those brave Africans who have sacrificed their lives in their efforts to hold aloft the torch of human dignity, and send their greetings to those who still strive to end colonialism and strive for human equality.

Nearer home the emergence of a military dictatorship in Pakistan gave cause for anxiety for some time. The country welcomed the stand of the Government of India to give asylum to the Dalai Lama and the refugees from Tibet. We hope that this issue will be settled to the satisfaction of the Tibetan people.

In the country, the nation was bereaved by the death of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Railwaymen have cause to remember his interest in their problems as the President of the Indian National Congress, he intervened in 1946 to help bring about a settlement of a grave situation. That settlement brought about the first Pay Commission Report in 1947.

Many other important and crucial issues, some of which we inherited along with independence and others which arose later, remain with us defying solution. The AIRF hopes that with public co-operation the Government will be able to find acceptable and lasting solutions to them all. Their speedy solution will help release the people’s energies for harnessing to the tasks of reconstruction, and fortify the basis of democracy.

Plan Implementation

The people have been occupied with the progress of the Second Five-Year Plan. The period has been alternatively one of hope and disappointment, of enthusiasm and frustration, with immediate perspectives being often sacrificed to ultimate ends and objectives. The consequences have been sometimes disastrous.

Prices of essential commodities have spiralled up alarmingly. They have absolutely no relation to the dearness allowance now permitted. The result has been that real wages and the purchasing power of the working class have fallen considerably. The Government apparently is unable to check price spiralling. In June this year, the cost of living reached an all-time high. The Bombay working class consumers’ index (worked out for the textile industry) shot up from 406 to a peak level of 413. This latest index is 6 points above the last high, recorded in July 1958.

Scarcity of food and unemployment have naturally affected the country most, and in both these aspects of planning the position continues to grow increasingly critical. Since Independence, India has already imported more than 1,200 crores of rupees worth of grains. This year it is proposed to import another 4 million tons. The crisis in food is by no means of a temporary character. The Ford Foundation has assessed that by the end of the Third Plan (1961-1966) there will be an expected shortfall of about 28,000,000 tons in the overall target of 111,000,000 tons. The gravity of the situation will be apparent to all railwaymen. There is no short cut to prosperity, and before prosperity comes along with sufficiency of essential goods for everyone, it is necessary to share whatever one has.

Employment

It is this realisation that has inspired the Gaya branch of the Eastern Railwaymen’s Union to start a Sarvodaya Patra among railwaymen staying in the town of Gaya. The Sarvodaya Patra idea is a wholesome one, and is a type of constructive activity particularly suitable for railwaymen staying in colonies.

The problem of unemployment has grown equally critical. Excluding the educated unemployed, the total number of jobs needed to liquidate unemployment in the Second Plan is in the neighbourhood of 16 million. It is now estimated that not more than 8 million jobs will be created during this period, and therefore the backlog of unemployment at the end of the Second Plan will be about 8 million. The addition to the labour force in the period of the Third Plan is about 14 million; and if to this is added the number of 8 million of unemployed carried over from the Second Plan period, the total number of jobs required in the Third Plan period would be about 21 million. Estimates reveal that not more than 12 million jobs (at a hopeful estimate) could be provided in the Third Plan. Therefore at the beginning of 1967 there will be a labour force of about 9 millions to be provided for.

What has been stated above does not give a complete picture of the employment situation in the country. Recent statistics show that the country has considerable underemployment. According to these, daily, 20 millions have hardly an hour’s work; 27 millions have less than 2 hours’ work; 45 millions have less than 4 hours’ work.

Another survey showed that in a month, 30 millions were engaged in gainful occupations for 5 days, 40 millions for less than 10 days, 53 millions for less than 15 days, and 12...
millions seeking additional jobs and could serve 4 hours a day more.

Co-operative Farming

In the context of a severe situation created by the lack of sufficient food and the scarcity of jobs for those who qualify for them, railwaymen must actively co-operate to help production and to lessen the burden placed by economic inequalities. The AIRF, therefore, welcomes the decision of the Government on co-operative farming and the imposition of a ceiling on land-holdings. If the ceiling on incomes from the agricultural sector are meant to help bring about an egalitarian society and provide more opportunities for those who do not have the means of subsistence then it is equally relevant that this limitation on incomes is imposed in the industrial and urban sector also. In both the sectors there is an urgent necessity to set right the imbalances, and any effort in one direction alone, leaving the urban sector free to spiral towards relatively unlimited incomes, will perpetuate the distinction between the rural and urban sections of our people. It is a fallacy to equate incentive in the industrial sphere with freedom from curbs on income.

Railwaymen cannot afford to be indifferent to the main trends of economic policy in the country and, therefore, it is necessary to consider in what manner they can help the situation. The Bhoodan movement has mooted the idea that there should be an economic share-out, implying that one person should not claim or retain more than one's means of livelihood. Railwaymen are relatively secure in their employment, and many of them have lands in their possession. It would be an act of patriotic and national gesture if such railwaymen who have lands in their possession will donate them either to the Bhoodan movement, or to the Government to help in the movement for co-operative farming. Such a gesture from railwaymen, and from the leading section of the working class, would create a suitable climate in the country that would encourage similar land contributions from other sections.

Co-operation

Co-operative effort among railwaymen is as old as their trade unions. Railwaymen have run and managed with exemplary efficiency co-operative institutions. It is not merely in the sphere of credit institutions that they have been successful. In all parts of the country they are associated with insurance societies and canteens. It is significant that, in some cases where the Railway Administration managed the canteens at a considerable loss, railwaymen have without any assistance taken them over and shown how they could be run with a profit.

It is in the sphere of co-operation that railwaymen can make notable contributions to the economy of the country and the AIRF recommends to its affiliates to accept the offer of the Minister for Railways for the stitching of uniforms through co-operatives, formed by the families of railwaymen resident in colonies. In addition to the means of supplementing incomes, this offer will help promote the spirit and endeavour of co-operation.

Crisis in Character

While in the present state of organisation, we may not be able to play any determinable role in the economy of the country, yet there remains an aspect of our national life that we can help to improve: the crisis in the country is as much one of character as of an economic kind. In our public and institutional life there is a marked absence of that spirit and purpose that carries a nation through crisis. This malaise has affected every section of our activity, and organised trade unionism has not escaped it. A lot of opportunism and a certain amount of graft has crept into our realtions.

This has no doubt been aggravated by trade union rivalry, and the desperate need to get "herd membership" through patronage and the baht of personal privileges. It is unfortunate that in some cases the officers of the Administration have lent their support to group rivalries. If this situation is permitted to go unchecked then the whole trade union movement will go into disrepute. The trade union movement is the one weapon of the working class for their progress. It has to grow in stature and come to be an accepted part of our economic and institutional life. It is therefore in the interest of railwaymen themselves to bring back the work of the trade union movement to its former prestige and win back the confidence of the general public.

There are hopeful signs for the affiliates and office-bearers of the AIRF have felt a keen responsibility in this, and are making serious efforts in this direction.

(Continued from page 8)

The concept of State that we have adopted in our country is what Salvador de Madariaga, the Spanish political philosopher, has variously described as arithmetical, mineral or inorganic. The State is conceived of as an 'arithmetical sum of individuals'. Every adult citizen has his individual vote and the arithmetic of these votes, sometimes very complicated by electoral laws and party systems, governs the functioning of the State.

This is contrary to the nature of human society and the social nature of man.

According to this view the State is an integration of political institutions. The primary political institution is naturally the primary community, the village, with its appropriate political organs, including a council. The village council would deal with all local matters and would possess the maximum power and initiative in regard to them.

It would be natural for a number of these villages or municipal councils to be integrated together in an area council covering a large or small area as the circumstances might dictate. These area councils would be concerned with the local problems of their area and would be fully competent to deal with them.

The area councils will have to be integrated into a district council and so on till we reach the national Parliament, which will be the integration of the State Assemblies.

It would be wrong to think that this view of the democratic structure merely replaces the present system of direct elections with indirect elections. It is not a question of a system of election. It is rather a question of the conception of human life and human society. It is only this conception that explains why we must build up from the village, why the village itself should undergo a radical transformation if it has to be made the foundation of our democracy, and why not individual voters but living communities and their upward integration, should constitute the State. I am convinced that if the present structure is maintained, not only would the village wither away and become even more shadowy, but our democracy too would remain suspended in the air without roots in the soil and in the life of the people.

(Courtesy: All-India Radio)
Bombay P.S.P. Rally Against Chinese Aggression

THE Praja Socialist Party, Bombay, organised a protest demonstration on August 31 last in Bombay against Chinese aggression on Indian territory. The demonstrators marched to the Chinese Consulate-General to present the envoy with a memorandum condemning Chinese policies of aggrandisement and expansion.

The thousand-strong procession of the paraders, headed by Shri M. R. Dandavate, and other leaders, braving the monsoon down-pour, marched along the two-mile-odd route from the Fort to the Consulate-General shouting slogans like, “Chou En-lai Murdabad!”, “Let Indian Communists speak!” and “Why is Krishna Menon Mum?”

Kumari Deutschkron Inge, Secretary of the Women’s Section of the German Socialist Democratic Party, now on a tour of India, was one of the processionists. She recalled how millions of Germans were languishing in slavery, both inside and outside prisons, as a result of Communist imperialism.

As the Consulate-General kept its gates closed, the memorandum could not be handed over, and Shri Dandavate, who read out the protest, observed that the attitude was typical of the undemocratic Communist outlook.

Following is from the text of the memorandum addressed to the Chinese Consul General:

“Sir—The news about the Chinese aggression on the Indian territory and on the border States, which has been confirmed by the categorical announcement by the Prime Minister of India on the floor of Lok Sabha, has given a rude shock to the nationalist aspirations of the Indian people.

“Through these acts of aggression, your Government has committed a cold-blooded murder of Panchashela and has falsified her profession of peaceful co-existence. Instead of striving to strengthen the ancient bonds of cultural unity and friendship that existed between India and China, your Government has only sown the seeds of ill-will between the two nations.

“Through this memorandum we record our strong protest against the Chinese aggression on the Indian territory and request you to convey to your Government our solemn resolve to resist every aggression on the integrity and sovereignty of India. Let it be remembered by your Government that free and democratic India recognises freedom as the highest and noblest value of life and no efforts or sacrifices will be spared in defence of our freedom.”

P.S.P. Wins Battle For Freedom Of Vote In Samiti

SHRI N. G. Goray, General Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party and Chairman of the Maharashtra branch of the party, submitted the resignations of 28 P.S.P. members from the Bombay Municipal Corporation to the Central Parliamentary Board of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti at its meeting held on July 30 last. The resignations were in connection with the Kerala resolution episode in the Corporation and the allegations levelled against the P.S.P. by Acharya Atre, the Editor of “Maratha” and a member of the Parliamentary Board of the Samiti.

Its General Council had its marathon session on August 20 and 21 to consider the situation arising out of the demand of the P.S.P. for freedom of vote in the Corporation on issues, like Kerala, which were unrelated to the policy and programme of the Samiti. Shri Goray put forward the P.S.P. point of view calmly and yet firmly in the Council meeting and made it clear that those who were trying to throttle the voice of P.S.P. and others, determined to vote in the Corporation according to their convictions, were doing disservice to the Samiti by raising an unnecessary controversy. The representatives of the P.S.P. in the Council were vigilant enough to defend the policy of the party unanimously approved by the General Council of the Bombay P.S.P. and supported by the Standing Committee of the Maharashtra P.S.P.

After prolonged discussion in the General Council, the Samiti decided to grant freedom of vote to the constituents of the Samiti on the Kerala resolution in the Bombay Corporation. It was further decided that if any such issue came up in the Corporation in the future the Parliamentary Board should discuss the matter and take a decision on merits.

At the General Council meeting the members of the Council expressed the view that the P.S.P.'s loyalty to the Samiti and its objectives was above suspicion and no aspersions should be cast on the bona fides of the P.S.P. and its Councillors then withdrew the resignations.
The dress of the people...

Costumes, whether they are for occasions or for daily wear vary all over the world. Climatic conditions, natural materials available, religious demands and individual ingenuity are some of the factors that determine the dress of a people.

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EDITORIAL

CHINESE AFFRONT AGAINST INDIA’S GOODWILL

The latest reply of Shri Chou En-lai to Prime Minister Nehru more than confirms the general impression created by the White Paper, issued by the Government of India on diplomatic documents exchanged between India and China since 1954, that China has scant regard for the goodwill of India as she would repudiate the MacMahon line, the international frontier between India and Tibet. While in his reply in January 1959, the Chinese Premier had stated that the border between India and China had never been formally delimited and that the MacMahon line had never been accepted by the Chinese Government, in the latest communication China has gone a step further and accused Indian troops of provocation along the northern border, which was well-defined and was not only upheld by international treaties but was once proposed to be recognised as such by the Chinese leader himself.

While repudiating the earlier position accepted by himself in his January letter, the Chinese Premier had at least suggested fresh survey and consultations. And in March the Prime Minister of India suggested that the position about the northern border between India and China as it was neither side should try to take unilateral action in exercise of what it conceived to be its right. Not replying to this suggestion for nearly six months, China indulged in clear acts of aggression as the Chinese soldiers forcibly occupied parts of Indian territories. To add insult to injury, the Chinese Premier has now levelled counter-charges against New Delhi to confuse and hoodwink world opinion. No self-respecting nation would ever brook such affront or agree to such aggression on its territory and violation of its integrity, whatever the cost.

The question now is: What next? India has repeatedly protested strongly against these violations; but these protests are met either by rude silence or aggressive rejoinders. The Indian Prime Minister has made it clear that India considers the Chinese frontier violations as aggression and that India is determined to defend its frontiers, while at the same time being prepared to have talks with China by conciliatory or mediatory processes to make minor border adjustments. He was, however, silent about what the Government proposed to do regarding the pockets which have been forcibly occupied by the Chinese soldiers and which China declines to vacate. Shri Chagla, the Indian Ambassador to the United States, declared in Washington recently that “we are going to take back the posts that the Chinese Communists have occupied.” This categorical statement seems to sum up the position of the Government of India on this point, and in this, the Government has the whole-hearted backing of the entire nation.

No one on the Indian side wants to disrupt the friendly relations existing between India and China for centuries. The Prime Minister also might, perhaps, be right in believing that China too would not like to risk hostilities with India over territories which have not any specific value for her. Be it as it may, India’s position has been made abundantly clear by Shri Chagla when he said, “We have no objection to forget the Communist troops if the occasion arises.”
EARLIER Press Reports had held out hopes that the National Development Council would come to some definite conclusions regarding the various issues mentioned in the Union food policy and that a clear picture of the shape of things to come would be available at the end of its meeting. This hope has been belied and the food policy remains as indeterminate as ever. This is very unfortunate in view of the clear warning given by the ex-Food Minister, Shri A. P. Jain, in his valedictory speech in the Lok Sabha as Food Minister.

In that speech, Shri Jain had raised very important issues, which must be determined one way or the other if a clear food policy for the country is to emerge. He had told the Lok Sabha that price control measures had failed and that suppliers were openly charging prices higher than those prescribed by the Government. He had held the fiscal and credit policies of the Government responsible for that. As these policies cannot be substantially modified in view of the need for resources required for the development of the economy, it was expected that the N. D. C. would work out a detailed machinery for holding the price line. The communiqué issued at the end of the N. D. C. meeting, however, merely states that the need for holding the price line was recognised. What is the use of recognising the need when on Government's own admission it is not in a position to fulfil the need?

The same blurred picture remains unchanged regarding the policy on State trading. All that the communiqué says is that no radical change in the policy is contemplated. But what exactly is the present policy? The State trading was introduced with a view to hold the price line. It was argued by the then Food Minister that there were enough stocks of foodgrains in the country but the wholesale merchants were indulging in an anti-social activities like hoarding and speculation and this was responsible for the food shortage experienced in some parts of the country. The State trading was an answer to this difficulty.

Later on, it transpired that the Food Ministry, because of the reports of expert teams that had investigated the problem on sample basis, had come to the conclusion that the producers and not the wholesale merchants were responsible for holding foodgrains. This was hotly challenged by members of the Parliament during the food debate. The country does not know what is the position of the Union Food Ministry on this issue at the present moment. If it considered that the producers are responsible, obviously, compulsory procurement and not socialisation of wholesale trade is the answer. If it thinks that its original reading, holding the wholesalers responsible, was correct, then State trading is more urgent in deficit areas than in surplus areas. And yet, as the communiqué points out, only the spokesmen of the surplus areas were in favour of State trading.

The same ambiguity is noticeable on the issue of the Zonal system, where the matter is left to the parties concerned including, of course, the Union Food Ministry.

It is quite obvious that the N. D. C. has decided to agree to disagree on various issues involved, hoping that they would solve themselves somehow.

Congress Plan Report

THE much-publicised report of the Planning Subcommittee of the Congress on the broad pattern of the Third Five-Year Plan has been published. Many of the recommendations made by this Committee follow the general line of official thinking on the subject and as such contain no new material. Nor are there any indications in the press summary of the report regarding departures from the existing policies and programmes for having a stronger grip on the various economic trends which at times go out of control both of the public as well as of the private sector and make planned development difficult.

Even the statistics available regarding the developments during the Second Plan period, incomplete and inadequate as they are, make it abundantly clear that neither the market prices nor the planning authorities have a sufficient hold on economic trends to guide them in desired channels. There is ample evidence to suggest that many a time, market prices and planning endeavours tend to cancel one another and the result is fitful change, resulting in windfall profits for the few and avoidable hardship for a vast majority of the population. Till we succeed in providing an effective machinery for minimising these defects, no plan, however sound in principle, can yield the desired results.

The objectives of the Third Plan, defined by the report, are the same as listed in the Planning Commission's Report on the Second Plan—a sizable increase in the national income, rapid industrialisation with emphasis on basic industries, reduction of inequalities and expansion of employment opportunities. It is, however, obvious that the progress of the Second Plan shows no sign of achieving these objectives in a measure sufficient to justify their elevation to the status of the objectives of the Plan. It is, therefore, pertinent to ask what special measures are suggested whereby these objectives can be pursued with greater success during the Third Plan period. The only answer which the report gives is the suggestion for the expansion of the public sector. This answer is hardly adequate. It is necessary to examine more critically the fiscal and the credit policies pursued during the Second Plan period which resulted in the objectives not being realised to the extent envisaged by the framers of the Plan. It is necessary to inquire, especially, whether the rupees pumped into the community were drawn towards a class or sector where they became idle or created positive mischief through upward pressure on the prices; and if so, what precautions can be taken to see that this happens to a lesser extent during the Third Plan period. If the report of the Sub-Committee is any indication of the official thinking on the Third Plan, it can only be described as cavalier.
A Light On The March
By Jayanti Dalal

This has a very strong impression on me. From what could be gleaned from a distance, one felt about Gandhiji that he was to an extent an agrahii; I do not 'mean in the proselitising manner, but still insistent. Vinobaji seems to have taken the persistence part of it, but with that he has perfected the technique of being an agrahii. 

I do not know whether it is the faith in and conception of Man's dignity that has made him that. I can only express my firm belief that it is not at all any sort of defence mechanism.

On Friday, September 11, Acharya Vinoba Bhave was 65. While paying its tribute to this illustrious son of India and leader of humanity on the occasion, JANATA publishes the account of a recent interview with the Acharya, which throws light on the way in which he is bringing about his silent, basic revolution in society.

Nearing 5-30. I begin talking. A very curious expectancy and something that I could not explain to myself, is there. I must admit that there has been a mental rehearsal. But as always happens, there is a great difference between a rehearsal and a performance. When it comes to that, this man has perhaps the most uncanny way of fusing off your cues. But on top of that, he has an unlimited capacity to hear. You talk and he hears. But his silence is most eloquent. It clips away your ebullience, mere verbiage. And, either the supremely self-confident or the completely dehydrated only cannot feel a sort of a restraint. It is not the restraint or extortion, that is more of a cautious nature before someone very clever, cleverer than one's own self. On the contrary, it is the sort of awareness of honesty of purpose, truthfulness, and a feeling of oneness. His very silence, as a matter of course, takes away what can be termed overstatement.

But, all of a sudden, you are made aware that you are being weighed; being measured. You undergo a sort of an inward struggle. The inborn arrogance, the innate feeling and desire to assert oneself and one's superiority does prevail. But only for a moment. Almost the next second the realization comes up: You have to shed your complexes. Do not for a moment think that this is merely a part of the game. This is not part of an adventure of some souvenir harvesting. This is something unique, something that cannot be fixed in the straight-jacket of adjectives.

Issues Simplified
And he is watching you. He has seen through the struggle that is going on within you. Even in that luminous darkness you can see an entirely venomless curving of the lip, that can go by the name of a faint smile. And that is the minute which not merely restores but enhances your confidence. Then perhaps he speaks. And I for one must admit that even in the very first sentence he states your case in a much better, more cogent and rational — morally rational — way than you yourself. You feel that after all you need not have gone through the torture. The issues are fairly simple.

It is at this point that, almost like a revelation, the thought comes to you how sharp an understatement could be. It is not that he is not given to using adjectives. But he is no spend-thrift. And what is more, every word seems to have been weighed, and if I could use

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By Jayanti Dalai

Photographs fail to convey the veri-to Acharya Vinoba Bhave isthatthe shaped nose do, at times, when very square-cut beard and peculiarly closely seen, make a very strong im-similitude of his personality: the pression and someway make one walking with Vinobaji and doing uneasy. When I say uneasy it is in no derogatory sense. Somehow No nonsense.

Photographs, do convey a warning: early morning hours. The Camp bell rang. That was the sign that this could be arranged when he was having his padayatra in the darkness could be! And still, how ever, how luminous darkness also is! That must be a spot where the fire-fly goes extinct; the lantern mostly does not.

— but with this difference: the fire-fly — thing likethe itinerary of a fire-fly but with this difference: the wick-lighthad to jump a pot-hole. fire-fly goes extinct; the lantern mostly does not.

One could say that it was some — but with this difference: the wick-lighthad to jump a pot-hole.

One could say that it was some — but with this difference: the wick-lighthad to jump a pot-hole.

thing that I could not explain to But, al ROUTY, you are made aware that you are being weighed;
the phrase, it has been bathed. You are every minute made aware that usage of language is not to be lowered to sabre-rattling. It cannot and should not be divorced in any manner from a verified and rectified feeling.

I would give here only one example. I was talking to him about the feeling that the Gujerati-speaking people were smarting under, the feeling of being considered as a group belonging to a sort of a second-grade citizenship in this vast land. And I alluded to certain remarks that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had made at the Hyderabad session of the AICC. He said they were unfortunate. I must admit that under other circumstances, if it had come from some one else, this could not have satisfied me in the least. But the unostensible, quiet, sincere way in which he uttered this remark made me realise that there was an amount of bitterness in my heart—a load which should not be there.

(Continued on page 6)
Some Problems Of Railway Employees

The first serious effort made by the Railway Board to take up a responsibility in the discharge of a public responsibility in the last two years was in regard to the spate of accidents that occurred in the Railways in 1957. The AIRF felt that a mere expression of grief over the loss of lives and damage to property was insufficient; specific responsibility would have to be shouldered in eliminating the accidents creating a sense of confidence in railway travel. With this in view, the AIRF wrote to the Minister for Railways suggesting a Tripartite Conference of the representatives of the Ministry, the public and railwaymen’s organisations in order to discuss problems pertaining to safety in railway travel. Unfortunately there was no response from the Ministry to this suggestion, even though the AIRF declared that it did not seek to evade the responsibility that may be attributed to it because of the fault of the railwaymen.

The Railway Board, nevertheless, kept on taking severe measures against railwaymen on the ground that vigilance was slack and human failure was the cause of many of these accidents. But on the other hand, it circulated a memorandum to Parliament analysing the causes of accidents in the Railways, giving comparative statistics of accidents in railways in other countries and assuring Parliament that the increase in accidents was not disproportionate to the increase in traffic and was not of an alarming proportion. These two attitudes brought out the contradiction in the attitude of the Board.

Unity Among Workers

In the course of the tour of the General Secretary, many representations in respect of failure of engines and rolling stock were made to him. It was made out that many of the failures were due to lack of spare parts or insufficient time for repairs, and that the Administration had forced the workmen to carry out repairs without adequate spare parts and on an improvised basis. If in such cases failure occurred the workmen were taken to task.

The AIRF must now evolve a procedure for the protection of such workmen by educating them into lodging a formal protest with the authority in charge, complaining against the compulsion to carry out the repairs with inadequate materials, and then proceed to carry out the orders given out to him. Such a procedure would afford him some protection in case of failure later on.

Much of the difficulty in these matters could have been avoided if there was organisational unity among railwaymen.

Soon after the re-organisation of the AIRF, and at the suggestion of the Prime Minister and the Minister for Railways, a Joint Committee of the NFIR (National Federation of Indian Railwaymen) and the AIRF was set up to draw up a programme to bring about organisational unity among railwaymen. The Minister for Railways personally helped in this process by appointing an adjudicator in any dispute in respect of unity and also placed the service of the Deputy Chief Commissioner of Labour, Ministry of Labour and Employment, to help the process further.

The history of the efforts at unity is now on record for all to see. It is sufficient to mention here that the Arbitrator gave his Award that it was the NFIR that was responsible for the breakdown of the unity talks.

NFIR’s “No” to Co-operation

The AIRF, still committed, as a matter of policy and in the national interest, to have unity among railwaymen and it has informed the Government that it is prepared at any time to resume negotiations for this unity. But it has to be noted that the split is not a mere accident or confined to the ranks of railwaymen alone. It appears to be the policy of the INTUC to split up national organisations of Central Government employees, and this policy has been approved at their Jamshedpur meeting. It is noteworthy that after this meeting, the INTUC split up the All-India Civil Defence Employees’ Federation (whose President was a member of the Bengal Branch of the INTUC) and started a rival Federation under the Presidentship of Shri Khandubhai Desai.

Nevertheless, with faith in the men, the AIRF further pursued the matter and requested the President of the NFIR to at least combine in a co-ordinated effort on certain specific issues. The AIRF invited the NFIR to a joint effort to demand the withdrawal of the Railway Service Conduct Rules, and also suggested that the P. N. M. Meetings that are held between the Railway Board and the Federation, should be jointly attended by delegations of both the Federations, even though on separate agenda. It has to be reported with regret that there has been no response from the NFIR to the invitation to co-operate even on this restricted basis.

The Class IV Staff Promotion Committee Report was submitted by the Committee to Government late last year. The Railway Board have not passed orders for its complete implementation, but orders are being issued on specific items as and when the Board take decisions thereon. There is a resolution at this conference on what the Federation would desire in respect of the implementation of this Committee’s Report.

Sankar Saran Award

Justice Shri Sankar Saran, who was appointed Tribunal to give his award on certain issues arising out of the Central Pay Commission’s Report, submitted his award to Government early this year. These issues were referred to him in 1953 when Shri Guruswami, the General Secretary of the then AIRF, drew up a comprehensive memorandum for submission to this tribunal.

In a statement issued to the Press, the Railway Board announced that it would withhold its orders on this award as the issues were linked up with those that are now before the Pay Commission. The AIRF has represented to the Railway Board that this withholding of orders is not justified, as the issues of upgrading, etc., referred to in the award are matters that have been dealt with previously and do not concern the pay structure as such. They do not impinge upon the authority of the Pay Commission. The Railway Board have taken similar action in case of other categories also.

Pay Commission

Almost simultaneously with the re-organisation of the AIRF in
August, 1957, the Government announced the personnel of the Second Pay Commission, but with far more restrictive terms than those of the First Pay Commission.

Both the AIRF and its affiliated unions submitted comprehensive memoranda to the Pay Commission and these were followed up by discussions between the office-bearers of the AIRF, and separately with those of the affiliated unions.

At the suggestion of the AIRF, the Pay Commission interviewed actual representatives of each category and about 350 representatives of Class III categories assembled in Delhi in November 1958, drew up separate memoranda for each category and their elected representatives discussed them with the Pay Commission. Similarly also, 400 representatives of the Class IV category met the Pay Commission in December 1958.

Victimisation

Very early during the stage of reorganisation in 1957, the AIRF discussed with the Minister for Railways the cases of victimisation of railwaymen and asked for their reconsideration and reinstatement. The Minister for Railways made an offer to the General Secretary of the AIRF that he would reconsider any cases that the General Secretary would refer to him after personal satisfaction in regard to their merits. This offer excluded the cases of railwaymen removed on charges of corruption.

The General Secretary referred a few cases under this proposal and stressed the case of Shri Vasist Bhattacharya, who was removed from service from the North-Eastern Railway for being involved in what is now known as “leachi” case at Muzaffarpur. In addition to the reference by the General Secretary, the case of Shri Bhattacharya had the merit that he was acquitted of all charges in an appellate court. Shri Bhattacharya has not been reinstated in service as yet, and it is understood that orders have been passed now to re-employ him on the basis of his last drawn pay and to transfer him to another Railway. This action of the Railway Board contravenes the offer made to the General Secretary; for so long as Shri Bhattacharya is not restored back to his original appointment and arrears of his salaries not paid to him, a large element of “victimization” still remains for removal.

In this connection, it is significant to state the cases of 10 other railwaymen involved in this case. All of them were dismissed from service under Section 1700(1)-RI of the Establishment Code, which means dismissal from service on conviction by a court of law. The AIRF represented that since these railwaymen were acquitted on appeal, the dismissal is malafide and therefore they should be restored in their original employment. Certain other types of cases that were referred by the AIRF were turned down because the Railway Board argued that it was unable to review these without special concurrence of the Minister for Home Affairs, Government of India.

The Dreadful Transfers

The number of transfers that have been ordered has been on the increase, and these transfers are in addition to those recommended by the Railway Corruption Enquiry Committee. There is a large number of victimisation cases that are all passed off as transfers for the convenience of the administration. The phrase “convenience of administration” has been used to evade a liability imposed upon the administration by a policy of the Railway Minister, who had stated many years ago that transfers would be cut down to the absolute minimum. The experience of recent months is otherwise. Transfers play havoc in the lives of railwaymen as living conditions change, and scarcity of quarters does not permit of any accommodation. The studies of school-going children are interrupted. These transfers become the more dreadful when they take place from one language region to another. This convention must take note of this evasive but severe form of punishment.

Punishments of Double Nature

The AIRF had various occasions during which to draw the attention of the Railway Board to the character of the punishment meted out to railwaymen; in particular the AIRF drew the attention of the Board to a policy laid down by the Estimates Committee of Parliament, which stated punishment should be more in the nature of a corrective than vindictive. It is unfortunate that the Board has not reviewed any of the cases submitted to it and the recommendations of the Estimates Committee did not find ready response.

(To be concluded)

He was certainly not an apologist, because the very next question he asked me, as I remember it very well, was: “Why are you against the bilingual? Is it because it is an unmitigated evil or because of the manner in which it was brought about?”

I do not think I will at all be in a position to describe how happy and light as wind I felt. For the greater part of the three years (of the bilingual controversy) nobody had asked me this question and how much did I love that someone should understand this! And how shrewdly it had been posed? He was simply telling me through the question that if it was political motives that had driven me or people like me to this agitation, then there will not be any sort of vasana-moksha for us. And in the heat and the rough and tumble of an agitation, he was enquiring whether we had at all thought that there was a moral side to it and that no decision can be forced down the throats of people with the help of bullets and bayonets.

Turn In Conversation

I replied: I was drawn in this agitation because of the rough and highly improper manner in which the decision was arrived at and forced. But two years’ experience has convinced me that the bilingual itself is an unmitigated evil. This was a sincere reply and it seems that in a way that was the last probe in that process of measuring up. From then on it was he who talked and I that was at the listening end. I have no authority to publicise this. But I felt that I had made the grade.

If I have to sum up my impressions of Vinobaji, I would say that he is the most integrated personality that I have come across. The last impression that he creates and sustains is that for himself he has arrived at certain conclusions that are absolutely basic. Whenever he replies to any query, one feels that mutually the problem posed and the basic tenet are cross-tested. The reply is bound to seem to—and in fact it does—emanate from that basic belief. But do not be under an illusion. The basic belief is also in the crucible every minute.

For me it was an education to have the good fortune to be near Vinobaji.
Democratic Socialism Under Changing East-West Strategy

by Kumari Stojakovic

A PART from the general strengthening of socialist forces throughout the world, the post-War period also brought about the affirmation of the West European social democratic parties, which became important political factors. With the exception of France and Italy, where the Communist parties wielded the strongest influence upon the working-class movement, this position belongs to the social democratic parties in the other countries of Western Europe.

For many years, already, the social democrats have taken part in the Government of these countries (as in Austria, Norway, Sweden and Denmark) or represent the leading Opposition parties (as in Great Britain, West Germany, Belgium and Holland).

The political significance of these parties is enhanced by the fact that Europe is still invested with a vital, if no longer decisive, role in crucial international issues. It should also be borne in mind that two of the "Big Four" (France and Great Britain) belong to Western Europe, nor should the ever-growing economic and political role of West Germany be overlooked. These circumstances point to the importance of the West European social democratic parties as political factors in the settlement of international issues.

East-West Relations

To put the matter simply, the problem of East-West relations is one of the fundamental issues of today. The existing blocs have given rise to definite bloc conceptions. As the Communist parties are the ruling political power in the Eastern countries and the same applies to the bourgeois parties in most Western countries, the advocates of simplicity tend to identify the Eastern world with communism and the Western with capitalism.

Owing to definite political reasons, which mainly stem from their affiliations with the anti-Communist current within working-class movement, the social democratic parties have essentially accepted the course charted by the Western bloc in the sphere of international relations. Anti-communism is the fundamental link between these parties and the bourgeois forces within the Western bloc. It also constitutes the starting point of the policies pursued by the leadership of the social democratic parties.

Generally speaking, it was such a position of the West European social democratic parties that prevented them from making any objective and vital contribution to the settlement of the major international problems. Where individual problems were concerned, these parties did not contribute notably to the preservation of peace (the attitude, for instance of the British Labour Party problems. Needless to say, this refers to all Western social democratic parties in general and does not mean that at certain junctures, as during the Suez crisis) and the settlement of crucial international issues (as the latest plan of the German Social Democratic Party for the settlement of the Berlin problem and the unification of Germany). On the other hand, the policy pursued by some social democratic parties led to the aggravation of world tension (as the French Socialists' attitude towards Suez).

Consequently, when considering the influence exerted by these parties on the settlement of international problems, it is necessary to examine both their general and individual attitudes.

Varying Attitudes

It is precisely the different attitude of these parties concerning the settlement of some major international issues that prevented their common affirmation as a prime factor which would be invested with a positive and decisive influence on the settlement of these problems. Apart from its general negative effect, this circumstance also weak-
ened the position of the individual parties in their respective countries.

As the responsible Eastern and Western statesmen have obviously begun to adopt a more realistic approach to some current international problems of late, which has led to the Foreign Ministers’ conference in Geneva and the opening up of distinct prospects for a summit meeting, the leaders of the West European social democratic parties have, in a certain sense, been placed in an awkward position; for the prime difference and distinguishing feature between them and the bourgeois forces lay mainly in their persistent demand for negotiations with the East.

Now, those attitudes on which the social democrats built up their political prestige among the electorates of their countries—namely, talks with the East, promotion of economic and cultural exchanges with these countries, the abandonment of all projects for the “liberation” of the East European countries by force etc., have been appropriated by the ruling bourgeois parties in the West.

Dissidents Grow

Moreover, by their lack of initiative in the national and international spheres, the leaders of the social democratic parties are furnishing increasingly convincing arguments for various Left-wing forces within their own ranks which denounce them for their ineptitude and inability to cope with the present situation. These tendencies have been particularly evident of late and have acquired various forms, such as the recent meeting of Nenni, Mendes-France and Bevan for example, the creation of the Left-wing Socialist Union in France, the activities of the Leftist groups within the Labour Party, and the appearance of organized groups such as the “Orientering” in Norway and the “Victory for Socialism” faction in the Labour Party.

The latest demand advanced by some trade unions that the Labour Party revise its attitude on nuclear armament, the recent Congress of the Belgian Socialists at which the attitude of the Left wing were adopted as the basis of the new party programme, and the appearance of the Larsen Party in Denmark (which is attracting an ever-growing number of Communist Party dissidents and those who are dissatisfied with the policy pursued by the social democrats) also deserve particular mention in this context.

Consequently, the official leaderships of the European social democratic parties are threatened both by the Rightist and Leftist forces within their own ranks. This is why extremely lively activity among their official representatives has been noted of late.

In this connection, the recent activities of the British Labour Party members and German Social Democrats, who have advanced several proposals and sent special delegations to many European countries including the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia—a delegation also visited Yugoslavia a short time ago—might be mentioned. At the same time, the British Labour Party has made demarches and has announced the visit of Gaitskill and Bevan to the Soviet Union.

Top-Level Parleys

Several important meetings have been held between the most responsible leaders of the European social democratic parties during the past two months. The special Political Sub-Committee of the Socialist International, which was formed for the purpose of co-ordinating and harmonizing attitudes on the problems of East-West relations, European security and German unification, convened in Copenhagen. Soon after this meeting, the leaders of the foremost European social democratic parties gathered in Stockholm for the celebration of the seventieth anniversary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party. They met again in London a few days later at the session of the Bureau of the Socialist International.

These meetings were patentely aimed at co-ordinating the attitudes of the European social democrats on international problems or, in other words, at smoothening out the existing differences of view. Judging by the communiques issued after these meetings, it is unlikely that this objective was accomplished.

Two Instances

The differences of view were particularly evident in connection with the German problem and the Common Market. While the British Labour Party and the German Social Democrats endorsed the “disengagement” scheme and the adoption of the Raptazki Plan as the basis of East-West negotiations, the French and Dutch socialists opposed disengagement and conditioned the settlement of the German problem by “free elections”.

As far as the Common Market is concerned, the parties of the countries which acceded to this organization adopted a positive attitude towards it, while the others, parti- (Continued on page 10)
**H. M. S. Plea For Efficient Arbitration Machinery**

"The recent happenings in the Hind Cycles will clearly establish that the difficulty standing in the way of reference of disputes to voluntary arbitration is the refusal of the employers to approach this machinery. In this case, the company had accepted voluntary arbitration in writing and then suddenly it went back on the decision and refused to refer the dispute to this machinery. What has been done by the Central Labour Minister when approached by the union concerned and by the HMS?

"The HMS does not, therefore, agree with the observation of the Government that workers hesitate to have recourse to arbitration. The workers have scrupulously made attempts to persuade the employers to accept arbitration. The entire responsibility for the failure of this machinery lies, firstly, on the employers and secondly, on the Government."

The suggestion made by the Government of Madhya Pradesh about replacing the Industrial Court by an Arbitration Board was more progressive than the existing structure of industrial adjudication under the Industrial Disputes Act. The Sabha supported this proposal and suggested that approach to this machinery should be direct and it should not be left to the discretion of the Government.

**Model Principles**

If labour was ordinarily not to resort to direct action in the form of strikes, if the Government accepted the importance of adjudication in maintaining industrial peace and if the Government also accepted the principle that adjudication was to be granted when all other avenues of settling disputes had been fully explored, then it was not proper to subject any reference of an industrial dispute to the Industrial Tribunals to any set of so-called model principles, which allowed virtually unlimited discretion to the Government."

"So long as State Governments and the Union Government take the attitude of wholesale and indiscriminate hostility to all strikes by workers, it would be unjust to refuse reference of their disputes to adjudication at the sole discretion of the Government especially when some of the proposed principles will, in effect, enable the Government to sit in judgment on the merits of the workers' demand even before the Tribunal can do so," the HMS said.

It was also possible that these model principles might bring about a distinction between disputes in major and important industries or sectors and those in smaller ones or less important disputes. "As Prof. Richardson suggests, the result will be that the workmen who have adequate bargaining strength will be compulsorily hauled before the Tribunals, while those with inadequate bargaining strength will be left to the mercy of the employers without any protection of the Law." (Draft principles)

"It would be worthwhile to consider the draft of model principles for reference of disputes to adjudication. It is divided into three parts, viz. Individual Disputes, Collective Disputes and Factors to be Taken into Account in Ordering Adjudication."

If we consider the principles pertaining to individual disputes it would be clear that these principles vest almost unlimited discretion in administrative authority.

"It is stated in the Official Memorandum that for referring individual disputes, there has to be a prima facie case of victimisation or unfair labour practice, that the Standing Orders enforced must not have been properly followed or that the..."
principles of natural justice must not have been followed and the Conciliation Machinery must have reported that injustice has been done to workmen. Who will decide whether there is a prima facie case, etc.? The decision lies with the Conciliation Officer or other officers of the Labour Department. In view of the past experience as regards the independence and calibre of these officers the HMS opposes such discretion being conferred on administrative officers."

The proposed principles pertaining to individual disputes also stated that where the workmen had committed a serious breach of the Code of Discipline, adjudication might ordinarily be refused. What would be the position, where the employer had committed such serious breach? Would the Government in such cases be bound to refer the dispute to adjudication? The Official Memorandum was conspicuously silent on this aspect, which made one feel that the Government was more concerned with putting fetters on labour and allowing the employers unfettered freedom.

"The principles pertaining to collective disputes are similar in their essential ingredients. We are vehemently opposed to point No. 3 in Part B, which states that the demand relating to claim of wages for the period of strike may not ordinarily be referred to adjudication. On the contrary, it is essential that such a demand should be referred to adjudication, because it is absolutely necessary to know who is responsible for the strike, and what role was played by both the parties in such a strike."

The Sabha was also concerned over the factors mentioned in Section II of Appendix III to the Official Memorandum which are to be taken into account in ordering adjudication. These factors had to be ultimately considered by the Government and they allowed unlimited discretion to the Government. As stated above, the HMS was opposed to allowing any discretion to the Government in matters of adjudication owing to its past experience that State Governments did not use such discretion in an impartial manner.

The suggestion of the Government about revival of the Labour Appellate Tribunal was acceptable to the Hind Mazdoor Sabha. In what form this machinery should be brought into operation was a question of detail. "We are not in favour of allowing appeals to the Supreme Court. This view is based on the role that adjudication machinery has to play in maintaining industrial peace in this country and on the human aspect of industrial disputes.

"We broadly favour establishment of a Permanent Court of Industrial Arbitration having appellate jurisdiction. Such Court should be presided over by experienced and trained personnel with adequate continuity of service, security of tenure and a proper status and prestige, similar to that of members of the higher courts in the country. We are completely in agreement with the recommendations of Prof. Richardson pertaining to the personnel and establishment of such a Permanent Court."

The HMS, however, urged that the revival of the Labour Appellate Tribunal in any form must also provide for quick disposal of appeals. "We are in favour of providing for a separate machinery for dealing with individual dismissals, discharges, etc. Such machinery should be in the nature of Labour Courts. There must be provision for direct approach to the machinery by the certified negotiating agent of workmen and no direct approach by an individual workman should be permitted, except where no representa-

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America's Broken Mainspring—I

by Adlai E. Stevenson

It is impossible to spend weeks travelling around the Soviet Union as I did last summer without taking away an overwhelming impression of thrust and purpose in most aspects of Soviet life. The revolutionary ardour has cooled with time, but even the very pragmatic political leaders seem to believe profoundly in the truth of their way of life, and they are quietly confident that it will sweep the world in time. I think they sincerely believe that their methods, their aspirations, their dreams, make up the final truth about the nature of man and society; that collective man in the collective state, is the ultimate unfolding of human destiny, the end of history, the "far off divine event" for which mankind has been in long travail, the vision of "all things made new" that has haunted men's minds ever since Christianity thrust into human thought the intoxicating ideal of a perfected humanity.

From this conviction, if I have not overstated it, flow two consequences. The first is that no effort, no dedication, no sacrifice is too great that may help to realise the Communist Party's goals in Soviet society. The second is that no corner of humanity can be a matter of indifference to the Communists, because the whole human race is destined to become one of communist brotherhood.

A Vast Powerhouse

These are not abstract generalisations. Russia is a vast powerhouse of energy harnessed to the communal task of building the Soviet dream. The thrust of economic growth which adds a nine or ten per cent increase each year to industrial expansion is one aspect of this energy. The vast sums available for science and research are another. The self-discipline and long hours put in by school children to train themselves as the scientists, technicians, administrators, and linguists of the new world order are perhaps the most significant measure of the resources of energy, work, and skill upon which Soviet leaders hope to draw.

The energy, the drive, the dedication in the U.S.S.R. spill over into international affairs. In part, of course, this is the restless concern which all imperial powers must exercise, especially when the peoples they control are as restive and unreliable as the captive peoples in Russia's European empire. But Communist activity, planning, and efforts in trade and aid are not confined to areas of Communist control. They are worldwide, and there is no corner of the earth's surface which they think too insignificant for their attention. While trade missions are busy in Latin America trading Soviet machinery and oil for coffee and wool, academic representatives are touring West Africa, Arab and Asian students are being trained in Moscow, technical advisers dispatched to India and Burma and Indonesia, and the glossy flood of propaganda depicting the Soviet millennium of bumper harvests and happy workers is pumped out all round the world.

A Correct Estimate

There is a phrase of the late Dr. A. Powell Davies' that stays in my mind. I do not know when I have heard a more terse and pregnant summing up of our predicament. "The world," he said, "is now too dangerous for anything but the truth, too small for anything but brotherhood." This I believe to be in broad measure a correct estimate of the condition of human society, which is now capable, with a few hydrogen bombs, of extinguishing itself. Today we can all be killed by the same bombs or atomic fallout. In that sense we have a desperate physical solidarity. But moral and social solidarity in the family of man is still to be found.

Not so long ago I visited Dr. Albert Schweitzer in his primitive jungle hospital in French Equatorial Africa, and he told me he considered this the most dangerous period in history, not just modern history, but all human history. Why? Because, he said, heretofore nature has controlled man, but now man has learned to control elemental forces—he has learned to control himself.

Many of us seem to rely on some mythical God-given superiority of the white Western world to save us. And my concern is that there is evidence that the Communists accept the reality of the human condition more than we do.

This article, adapted from Shri Stevenson's recent Powell Davies Memorial Lecture and reproduced here by the courtesy of "The Progressive" is a compelling examination of the collective conscience of the American people.
All posts that were surrendered were from the upper categories.

The AIRF wrote to the Board asking for the statistics of such posts surrendered or left vacant, or proportion reduced. The AIRF termed the effects of the proposals as "concealed retrenchment".

While the above paragraphs enumerate some of the problems that faced railwaymen during these past two years there are other issues that must find reference if the picture of our responsibilities has to be complete. In order to help the AIRF play its part to the full, and in all aspects of our work, the AIRF renewed its former affiliation to the International Transport Workers’ Federation (ITF).

Bro. Becu, the General Secretary of the ITF, visited India sometime back, and some office-bearers and members of the AIRF who were in Bombay met him and discussed many problems.

Co-ordination

Because of the increase in the aggregate of issues common to the interests of all Central Government employees, for example, recognition of unions, service conduct rules, pension scheme, pay commission, etc., it has become necessary to co-ordinate the efforts of all organisations of Central Government employees. The AIRF has, for this purpose, proposed the setting up of such a committee, and its main constituents may be the Confederation of Central Government Employees, the All-India Civil Defence Employees’ Federation, and the AIRF.

With an enormous increase in the amount of trade union work and the need for specialisation in the different responsibilities that trade unions are called upon to shoulder, the need was felt to make a beginning with the scientific training of trade union personnel. Many unions had undertaken this training programme in a haphazard manner, but the first co-ordinated effort was made by the Western Railway Employees’ Union and the (Central) National Railway Mazdoor Union.

The Ministry of Labour had also invited the AIRF to suggest some names for the course of “Teacher Administrators”.

Foreign Visits

Two invitations were received by the AIRF to send delegations to the May Day celebrations at Peking and Moscow. Both these invitations came from the Railway Workers’ Organisations in those countries. The Government of India did not permit the one-on-one delegation to Peking, as it argued that, since it was a goodwill mission, the purpose would be served by the four other central trade union organisations. After much negotiations, however, in June-July 1959, a six-man delegation was permitted to go to Moscow.

There must now be a policy for the acceptance of foreign invitations. It is not in consonance with the dignity of the AIRF to accept invitations from the foreign countries but not to reciprocate them. It must be our endeavour to offer those countries that we visit, invitations to visit our country.

At the request of many members of Parliament, the AIRF prepared a note on the industrial relations so that the members could be briefed in advance on the main issues.

The note that was circulated was helpful in raising a debate on many important issues. The note was confined to labour problems only, though the members had asked for a more comprehensive note dealing with the financial aspect and the works’ programme under the Plan. It is regretted that the AIRF was not organised for this purpose.

Office of the AIRF

The office of the AIRF worked under severe handicaps. This naturally led to a curtailment of resources originally planned. Nevertheless the office was able to maintain contacts with railwaymen through the tours of the President and the General Secretary and also through circulars.

The office has to be organised to include select personnel for research, chasing orders to ensure implementation and spread the spirit and organisation for constructive work.

(Concluded)
INDIA'S STAND

REPORTS from London indicate that the Soviet Government may be willing to use their good offices in resolving the Sino-Indian border disputes. There seems to be some truth in these reports as till now Soviet leaders scrupulously avoided taking any side on this thorny issue. The Lok Sabha has endorsed the Government of India's dual policy of readiness to negotiate any minor adjustment on India's northern border and a firm determination to defend the integrity of the Indian territory. In spite of bellicose speeches, the Standing Committee of the National Peoples' Congress of China has also adopted a resolution expressing the belief that "through the friendly efforts of their Government and the peoples the two countries (China and India) will certainly be able to achieve a reasonable solution of their differences on the boundary question.”

Before any negotiations are undertaken, however, certain conditions have to be fulfilled and the scope of these negotiations has also to be clearly defined. No negotiation would bear any fruits unless the status quo ante is restored and the Indian territories occupied by the Chinese military personnel are vacated. The Chinese Government have repeatedly assured India that they have no desire to change the existing boundaries through force. This assurance is violated on the ground that the territories recently occupied by the Chinese military personnel belonged to China.

This would amount to prejudging the whole issue and no negotiations can succeed under such an atmosphere. The Government of India have offered not to send their military and civil personnel in the disputed area and the Chinese Government should do likewise.

It is also necessary to clearly define the scope of these negotiations. The whole boundary question cannot be opened because as the Indian Prime Minister in his letter to Premier Chou En-lai stated that there are no doubts in Indian mind regarding the northern boundaries of India. These boundaries are defined by long usage, in international treaties and are justified on considerations of material alignments. MacMahon Line determines a part of this frontier, international treaties and usage the rest. Premier Chou En-lai accepted these boundaries in his conversation with Shri Nehru, the record of which exists and the extract from which when communicated to Premier Chou En-lai has not been denied by him. India cannot accept the boundary as defined in the Chinese maps the authenticity for which was never claimed by the present Chinese Government till recently. As Shri Nehru has rightly pointed out India cannot make the gift of the Himalayas to China.

The negotiations can, therefore, be only regarding minor adjustments—a mile or two on this side or that. Nothing more can be acceptable to India. The boundaries now subsisting between India and China follow the natural
West Bengal Unrest

The uprariose scenes in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly in which abuse, shoes, walking sticks and microphones were hurled at one another by the members are an indication of the prevailing sense of resentment in that State at the failure of the Government to make foodgrains available to the people at reasonable prices. The Communists are openly boasting of averting Kerala in the streets of Calcutta and their well-laid plans to stir up trouble must be an aggravating circumstance in the situation. But that is not the root cause of the trouble, which is likely to dog the West Bengal Government till the new harvest arrives in the markets and prices come down. In the meantime it will be unwise to be passive spectators in the tragedy. Passivity or repression on the part of the Government would give the troublemakers ideal opportunities to inflame the public opinion. All possible steps should be taken to avoid this.

It cannot be said that the State or the Union Government has done all it could to deal with the difficult situation. It is admitted that West Bengal's foodgrain production in the current year is nine-lakh tons less than the normal consumption there. This deficit must be made good. The Centre has been able to allot only four-lakh tons against this estimated deficit of nine-lakh tons. The zonal system makes it difficult for the foodgrains to move into the West Bengal markets. There is an explanation for the Centre's inability to allot more food to West Bengal—namely, paucity of stocks with the Centre. It may also be considered necessary to continue the zonal system in order to regulate the movement of the foodgrains so that the hardship of one region remains localised and does not disturb the markets all over the country. But, ultimately, the Central pool, the zonal system and other paraphernalia of the Food Ministry are meant to deal with the food situation as and when it deteriorates. If they fail to do so the whole raison d'être of the Union Food Ministry disappears and the huge expenditure involved in maintaining that Ministry becomes waste. Till now the Union Food Ministry has not shown any impressive results. This has led to the resignation of the Food Ministers one after another—the situation remaining practically the same in spite of these resignations. This clearly shows that there is something fundamentally wrong in the arrangements to deal with the food situation in the country.

In spite of this obvious failure, however, the Food Ministries at the Centre and in the States continue at their old game. At first, they refuse to recognise that the food situation is serious at all—trying to throw the blame on the Opposition parties for the discontent of the people. When the situation becomes too serious to be ignored, they begin to blame each other absolving themselves of all the responsibility. Year after year, this drama goes on, but no relief is available to the people concerned.

The West Bengal developments have followed this pattern. At the present stage the Union and the State Governments are busy blaming each other for the acute situation in the State. The Opposition parties have made certain concrete suggestions to bring down the prices and to see that the available foodgrains are distributed equitably. But the West Bengal Government is now so afraid of imposing the necessary controls even for a short period that it finds satisfaction in throwing the whole blame on the Centre and pleading its own inability to do anything in the matter. This attitude of the West Bengal Government is sure to come under heavy fire when the food situation is discussed by the Legislative Assembly.

Red Somersault

It is not difficult to assess the significance of the article by Shri B. T. Ranadive in the September issue of the New Age, in which he has indirectly questioned the assumptions of the Amritsar Thesis regarding the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. As it is usual with the Communists—whenever they want to change their line they always accuse their opponents of betraying some principle or another as if that can ever be a sufficient excuse for changing their own line, in this case for forsaking their own supposed faith in a peaceful transition. This time taking advantage of the misguided appraisal of some armchair theoreticians, they could understand what was involved in the "Quit Government" movement in Kerala. Shri Ranadive is trying to argue that as the Opposition parties in Kerala have shown a "lack of faith" in constitutional means, the Communists are entitled to revise the assumptions underlying the Amritsar Thesis.

What Shri Ranadive conveniently expects the public to forget is that Communists have lost no opportunity after passing the Amritsar Thesis to whip up movements all over the country, in States where they were not in power, which were in no way different from the Kerala movement. To argue that the objectives of these movements were to redress a particular grievance, while that of the Kerala movement was to compel a Government to quit, is to betray complete ignorance of our parliamentary democracy. In this form of Government, the Government in power is in duty bound to resign if through any means it is forced to change any policy which it considers fundamental. The reversal of a policy through agitation is, therefore, tantamount to forcing the Government to quit. The difference pointed out by the Communists and the apologists on their behalf is, therefore, of no great significance.

At any rate, the present article of Shri Ranadive has nothing to do with this problem at all. The Communists had come to power in Kerala on majority votes and because of the misguided support of some sections of the people, who were thoroughly disillusioned in a short time. They had hoped for a split in the Opposition parties in Kerala after the President's Rule was established there. But this hope is dashed to the ground. The Communists are, therefore, quite certain in their mind that their bluff of having been accepted by the people of Kerala as the first "Peoples' Government" in the State is sure to be called off in the next general election in the State. They have to prepare from now on for that eventuality and that can be done only if they are to declare, here and now, that the grapes are sour and they do not want them. This is the only plausible explanation of Shri Ranadive's adventure in self-criticism.
Nehru May Leave Nation In Lurch

The nation-wide indignation against Chinese military incursions into India has had immediate repercussions on China's Communist imperialists. Baring a small section, Parliament, Press and people condemned the Chinese as clearly as they voiced their determination to defend India's territorial integrity. This proves what a Himalayan blunder Prime Minister Nehru advised by his Defence Minister, committed by his hush-hush policy with regard to China, whereas aggression anywhere else in the world always provoked an immediate denunciation by him. Had Parliament been taken into confidence at the earliest stage, China would have been contained long ago.

It is amazing that even the President and his Cabinet colleagues minus one were kept in the dark by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister distrusts his own people, while reposing a pathetic faith in the Chinese Communist leaders. Parliamentary democracy is limping into its inevitable denouement in our country.

Even prior to signing the Panchashheel Agreement with Shri Chou En-lai in 1954, Shri Nehru had received information from a leading representative of Jammu and Kashmir State that China had occupied a bit of Ladakh. As a matter of fact, soon after Sinkiang became "closed territory" and India's Agent in Kashgar was withdrawn at the behest of China, circa 1952, Chinese penetration into Ladakh began.

Supine Policy

The mental approach responsible for the five-year-long veil of secrecy persists, and unless the nation is vigilant, territorial concessions will, in the name of Panchashheel and Sino-Indian friendship be made to China on the basis of the woolly formula "a mile here, a mile there, a mountain peak here, and a grassless hillock there". How can this formula be valid if you stick to the "watershed" of the Himalayan ridge? I am afraid China will emerge as the beneficiary of the frontier settlement after protracted conferences, and the MacMahon line will be replaced by the Nehru-Chou line, or may be, the Mao-Menon line — the latter has a closer sonic affinity to the original, hasn't it?

China refrains, and will refuse, to vacate the Indian territory she has already occupied in Ladakh and NEFA regions. That is the price the Indian nation will have to pay for the supine policy of the Prime Minister. He has sown the wind, and his successors must reap the whirlwind, if those successors turn out to be other than the Communist Party of India.

by
H. V. Kamath

China is convinced that neither India nor the rest of the world will go to war for the liberation of the Indian territory she has occupied. So she will stay put, and the status quo ante will not be restored. She has rejected Shri Nehru's proposal for the neutralization of Longju. What next? Of course, parley with the aggressor on his own terms!

Other Measures

Is there no other course open to us? Can't India refuse to negotiate until the aggression is vacated, and meanwhile can't the Bandung nations exert concerted non-military pressure—I am loth to use the word "sanctions" — against China? If China is intransigent during negotiations, will Shri Nehru still follow his "double" policy—is it "double" or "dual" (double-talk, double-link?) towards Chinese aggression? Surely, aggression against India can be dealt with under the United Nations Charter!

Our Trade Agents at Yatung, Cyantso and Gartok are subjected to such harassment and indignities that I am afraid they will shortly be compelled to close down. Cannot India deal on a reciprocal basis with China's Trade Agents at Kalimpong, Calcutta and New Delhi? I know that the Chinese Trade Agency at Kalimpong works behind closed doors and locked gates, and it is widely believed in Kalimpong that it is a centre of espionage. I personally know that it has a first rate Intelligence Service.

It is an amazing spectacle, seldom seen in mature and responsible

statecraft, that in this hour of looming danger on the frontier, so many Senior Cabinet Ministers, namely the Foreign Minister, the Defence Minister, "de jure" and "de facto", and Finance Minister, should be out of the country, and the Home Minister keep watch from his sickbed.

Such absentee Government at this juncture exhibits, at best a cavalier, casual attitude towards the conduct of national affairs and, at worst, the Devil-may-care attitude of those who see the crash coming, are powerless to avert it and feel that they are on the way out.

Doomed Policies

The Government's foreign and defence policies, not to speak of the food policy, have been an ignominious failure, in that they have failed to serve and promote national interests. Democratic practice demands that the Prime Minister should have tendered at least a token resignation of his Cabinet, called upon the Congress Parliamentary Party to elect a Leader anew.

Addressing the U.S. House of Representatives in 1949, Shri Nehru said: "When freedom is menaced, or justice threatened, or when aggression takes place, we cannot and shall not be neutral." Is aggression against India excluded?

I have learnt from a source close to the CPI that China has been entreated to stay her hand till at least the Kerala elections are over. We may therefore expect a lull, but it will be deceptive.

Bhutan is the weakest link in the Himalayan chain. Premier Jigme Dorji may be a good man, but I wish he were a good democrat too. Bhutan is more backward and less developed than Sikkim. Indians can travel freely in Sikkim, but not in Bhutan. Anti-Indian feeling is strong in Bhutan, and China is using both blandishment and threats in Bhutan. If India fails to "grapple Bhutan to her heart with hooks of steel and gold" and China's pull becomes irresistible, in India in a position to prevent Bhutan from asserting its independence and sovereignty?

Sikkim should enjoy, more internal autonomy and steps should also be taken to train a people's militia
to assist in border defence. Chinese troops, equipped with tanks and bull-dozers are poised on the borders of Sikkim and Bhutan. Barri
cadess have been erected on the Tibet side of Nathu La. If Bhutan breaks away, can Sikkim be far behind?

**Defence Urgencies**

The Pandra ('fifteen') Mile check-
post on the Nathu La-Gangtok Road, and the Customs checkpoint at Teesta on the Gangtok-West Bengal Road should be strengthened and vigilance tightened up, so as to ensure that no undesirable persons cross over in the guise of pilgrims or traders, and no Chinese dollars are smuggled from Tibet into Calcutta to swell China's actions in NEFA.

China's plan is to communicate South and South-East Asia under her hegemony or leadership. Asian nations must awaken to this new peril, Communist China's expansionist drive, and act in unison.

Along with ethnic propaganda as well as economic and trade baits, the agents of China are whipping up anti-Indian and pro-China feel ings on the frontier. The vast mass of poor hill people are told that they have nothing to fear from China who will employ them all, and on much higher wages too.

There is a vague notion that the relations between Russia and China are not as cordial as they were a couple of years ago, but it would be unwise to rely on this so-called rift. China with her 650 million people mobilized by a totalitarian Communist regime is determined to forge ahead in Asia, and despite appearances to the contrary, USSR and China will, in a world conflict, stand side by side.

In the course of my 40-minute interview with His Holiness the Dalai Lama on September 6, he told me that he himself had proposed land, educational and other social reforms as far back as 1954, but the Chinese authorities had turned down his proposals. The Dalai Lama is of the view that Chinese aggression on our frontier is intentional and deliberate.

We stand for peace, but not peace at any price. We desire friendship, but not friendship at all costs. We seek peace with freedom and justice, and friendship with equality and honour. God save India!

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**National Service For Youth**

The second meeting of the
Executive Committee of the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development was held recently in New Delhi. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and Shrimati Raksha Saran, President, All-India Women's Conference, also participated in the meeting as special in
vites. As Shrimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, the President of the Association, could not attend the meeting due to illness, the business of the meeting was conducted under the chairmanship of Shri Anna
seheb-Sahasrabudhe.

The meeting discussed various questions concerning rural develop-
ment, particularly problems relating to Panchayats, the Govern-
ment's proposed scheme of national service for students and the supple-
mentary credit programme, and the holding of a seminar by the Association.

The Executive Committee ap-
pointed a Sub-Committee to study the scheme of national service for youth prepared by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, and the working of similar pro-
grammaes in other countries, particu-
larly in Yugoslavia and Israel. The Sub-Committee is headed by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and in-
cludes Shri Annasheb Sahasrabudhe, Professor N. D. Godbole of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust, Shri Shaligram Pathik of the Mass Educa-
sion Society, and the General Secretary of the Association, Shri Dharampal.

The first meeting of the Sub-
Committee is expected to be held at the end of September in Bombay.

**J. P.'s Suggestion**

Regarding the formulation of a programme of national service for the youth in India, Shri Jayapra-
kash Narayan observed that nearly ten years ago he had made a sug-
 gestion that all students after Matriculation and every Matriculate youth should undergo one year's national service training. He fur-
ther felt that such a scheme in this country should imply both service as well as training, so that the youth are trained in useful socio-economic activities.

As an instance, Jayaprakashji sug-
gested that such national service schemes could concentrate, say, for five years, on making our rural areas clean and hygienic, and teach general sanitation to the villagers.

The meeting welcomed the scheme of setting up of Panchayat's Samitis in Rajasthan and other States. It decided to study the working of these newly set-up Samitis and to disseminate their experiences to the members of the Association as well as the general public.

The meeting generally welcomed the proposed scheme of supple-
mentary credit and was of the opinion that urgent attention should be given to rural credit, especially to small farmers. It was also of the view that besides the present sources of institutional credit, other channels for rural finance needed immediate exploration.

**Research Work**

The Executive Committee decided that the Association should under-
take research studies. The first two studies to be undertaken are:

1. Research and investigation into the causes of prevailing inertia, particularly amongst the rural popu-
lation of India.

2. A study in the traditional forms of co-operation which existed in various parts of the country; and how best these could be reviewed and adopted in the present condi-
tions leading to the growth of a sound and live co-operative move-
ment.

As a preliminary step the Asso-
ciation has sought opinion from various bodies on this issue.

At this meeting it was decided to con
vene a seminar, sometime in January 1960, to discuss various problems on "Approaches to Rural Development". Shri Sahasrabudhe, on behalf of the Akhil Bharat Sarva
Seva Sangh, extended an invitation to the Association to hold the semi-
ar at Sevagram. The seminar is expected to last four to five days.

**Origin of AVARD**

The Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (AVARD) was formed last year with the support of well-known voluntary organisations engaged in rural development in the country. Today, it has a membership of over 30 such organisations, including several Rural Institutes and training institutions.
I BELIEVE we have had enough of adjustment, conformity, easy options, and the least common denominator in our system. We need instead to see the “pursuit of happiness” in terms which are historically proven and psychologically correct.

The dreary failure in history of all classes committed to pleasure and profit alone, the vacuity and misery accompanying the sole pursuit of ease—the collapse of the French aristocracy, the corruption of imperial Rome, the decline and fall of the resplendent Manchus—all these facts of history do not lose their point because the pleasures of today are mass pleasures and no longer the enjoyments of an elite. If we become a nation of Bourbons, numbers won’t save us. We shall go their way. Vacuity and indifference are not redeemed by the fact that everyone can share in them. They merely restrict the circle from which regeneration can come.

I say this in no Puritan or pleasure-hating spirit. On the contrary, there is no boredom or misery to equal the pursuit of distraction alone. We do not slip into happiness. It is strenuously sought and earned. A nation glued to the television screen is not simply at a loss before the iron pioneers of the new collective society; it isn’t even having a good time. No society has ever spent as much as we do not drink and tranquillizers. Can one argue that this is evidence of universal fun?

Real Nature of Freedom

Perhaps the misunderstanding of the true nature of happiness and of the conditions of its pursuit is simply an aspect of something else—our misunderstanding of the real nature of freedom. I recall the words of the wise Judge Learned Hand, who warned us that freedom would not survive in our Constitution if it had already died in the hearts of the people. We shall not have a free society unless we have free men.

How often do we reflect upon what this inner freedom entails? “Give me the man,” cries Hamlet, “who is not passion’s slave”. But this is what we, in danger of becoming, slaves to a tyranny more intimate and inescapable than any Stalin or Mao Tse-tung could impose. We can be made slaves simply by the clutter and complexity of modern living—which notoriously leaves no time for serious thought and offers every means of distinction so that we can avoid such thought. Between aircraft that take us everywhere more rapidly, newspapers that grow in weight and coverage, news that flashes round the globe, ceaseless and competitive entertainment, fashions that change from sack to trapeze and back again, we can fill up every “unforgiving minute” with enough trash and preoccupation to still forever the deeper voices of the soul. Like Mathew Arnold, we can

“... see all sights from pole to pole,
And glance and nod and bustle by,
And never once possess our soul
Before we die.”

How are we to defend freedom if, for the tyranny of external control, we substitute the clattering, cluttering tyranny of internal aimlessness and fuss? This freedom for our souls, freedom at the profoundest level of our being, is not a gift to us by our contemporary way of life. On the contrary, much of this life is a direct conspiracy against it. And if we cannot—by a certain discipline, by readiness for reflection and quiet, by determination to do the difficult and aim at a lasting good—rediscover the real purpose and direction of our existence, we shall not be free. Our society will not be free. And between a chaotic, selfish, indifferent, commercial society and the iron discipline of the Communist world, I would not like to predict the outcome. Outer tyranny with purpose may well triumph over the inner, purposeless tyranny of a confused and aimless way of life.

New Motive Needed

I doubt if any society in history has faced so great a moral challenge as ours, or needed more desperately to draw on the deepest source of courage and responsibility. Ours is the first human community in which resources are so abundant that almost no policies lie beyond our capacity for purely physical reasons. What we decide to do, we can do. The inhibitions of poverty—lack of power—do not hold us back. We can accomplish what we aim at. Thus, perhaps for the first time in the world, choice, not means, ends, or instruments, are decisive.

Then again we have proved—drably and dangerously—over the last decade that defensiveness is not a sufficient reason for action. All the policies we have pursued in self-defence, have left us still on the defensive. But if we do not act from fear, we must find some other motivation. In free society there is no other alternative but to tap the vigour, faith, and imagination of the people themselves. We must find out once more who we are, as the psychologists say.

But perhaps the most urgent reason why the quality of our moral response has become the decisive issue in politics is quite simply that most of the major problems of our day present themselves in moral terms, and are probably insoluble without some stirring of generosity, some measure of vision. Let me give you three instances.

Alert Conscience

*In the wealthiest nation in the world, at least five million families still live in squalid but remediable poverty. They are a minority. They don’t have the votes to force the issue of their misfortune into the front rank of public issues. They depend, for remedies, upon the alert conscience of the majority. But how do we keep the conscience sensitive and alert? By concentrating on our own concerns and adding the dishwasher to the television set to the air conditioner? By griping over taxes and attacking that great bogey we call “the welfare state”? By closing our minds every time our shiny car takes us through a slum? No—we shall have the dedication and drive to wipe poverty out of this rich land only if the well-to-do majority of today do not repeat the selfish indifference which, in many communities, has been the epitaph of yesterday’s wealthy elite. *Take the issue of the right and status of our coloured citizens. This is our small share of a worldwide problem. The four hundred
years' dominance of men of white skin is ending. The vast coloured majority of mankind are seeking the opportunity and the respect which white people have been lucky enough to enjoy for so long—sometimes at the coloured people's expense. But, within this world-wide crisis, we in America, with our coloured minority, have a major role to play—for good or evil. "The unfinished work" which Lincoln left us, of creating a society in which all men can hold up their heads as equals and self-respecting citizens, can never be accomplished unless there are enough white men and women who resist in the core of their being the moral evil of treating any of God's children as essentially inferior.

Red's Horizon

* Nor is this simply a question of our own national community. I come back to the painful fact that the Communists show a world-wide concern which is largely lacking among the men of the West. The whole human race is their horizon. Their "brotherhood" is materialist, collectivist, atheist, and we dislike it, but it embraces everybody, and it is the framework of policies which take the missionaries of their new order to the ends of the earth. We have no corresponding commitment to our fellowmen. For hundreds of years, we have preached the Christian promise of brotherhood, or we can imprison our concerns and the limitation of a narrow nationhood. This is the dimension of our crisis.

We are in the Atlantic world, 16 per cent of the world's peoples consuming 70 per cent of the world's wealth. We cannot be indifferent to the moral implications of this gap. I do not know how we can gain a new perspective about the narrow world of plenty and poverty in which we live unless moral insights of justice and compassion stir us to understand the privileged position in which we live.

We are not going to be stirred to action by our own needs. We are the cushioned, protected, fortunate minority. It is not the measure of our morals or the lesson of our history to be spurred on only by fear of Russian encroachments. What we have done has largely had this motivation, and it has left us on the defensive. Our hope is to accept the implications of our own faith, make concrete the image of brotherhood which we profess, and set to work to express our dedication in whatever effort or sacrifice the world's needs may dictate. And, if we must always think in terms of contest with the Soviets, the ability to create the good life for the greatest number will be decisive.

The True Crisis

This age has been defined in many ways—as a time of conflict in ideology, as a period of revolution in science, as an era when at last the means lie at hand to free mankind from the ancient shackles of pain and hunger. It is all these things—but I believe the true crisis of our time lies at a deeper level. We have indeed conquered means and resources unknown to earlier ages. We have had thrown open to us frontiers of choice which would leave earlier ages stupefied by their scale and scope.

But all this freedom and elbow room only thrust onto us with more force the fundamental issue of the faith that is in us. We can use our wealth and capacity for some vision of truth, some ideal of brotherhood, or we can imprison ourselves within the selfishness of our concerns and the limitations of a narrow nationhood. This is the dimension of our crisis.

You may argue that these qualities—of dedication and selflessness—are pretty remote from the realities of politics. They are all very well for private life, but what part can they play in the rough and tumble of partisanship, of primaries, conventions, and election campaigns? Ambition, drive, material interests, political skills, the art of manoeuvre—all these, you say, have their part, but do not let us pretend that the democratic process is primarily a school of virtue or an arena of moral combat.

And yet, I wonder. It has been the view of great philosophers and great statesmen that our system of free government depends in the first instance upon the virtue of its citizens. Montesquieu made virtue of the condition of republican government; Washington declared that it could not survive without it. We have had 175 years of it since their time, and no one can deny that the system has survived a remarkable amount of skullduggery. In fact, it is probably a tougher system than its founders imagined. Yet, I believe they are right. For no democratic system can survive without at least a large and active leaven of citizen in whom dedication and selflessness are not confined to private life but are the fundamental principles of their activity in the public sphere.

Disinterested Reform

Naked interest and naked ambition will carry a lot of people naturally and inevitably into politics. We do not need societies for the promotion of lobbies. Interests, good and bad, will promote themselves. Nor, in any generation do we lack politicians whose only principle of action is the advancement of their own career—the starry-eyed opportunist and all the other eager men in a hurry to the top. But into what state must politics degenerate if that is all we find active in the political arena? That and sectional interest played upon by personal ambitions? There have been such periods—the Roaring Nineties, the time from Harding to the Wall Street crash—but our democratic system survived because such epochs were followed and cleansed by periods of disinterested reform.

But there has never been any disinterested reformers. And here we come to the essential contribution made by dedication and selflessness to the public good. No one ever did any good in politics without readiness for endless hard work—for the grinding, boring, tedious work, as well as the glamorous, high sounding, headline hitting work. The painstaking hours collecting the facts, the hours in committee and conference, the hours in persuasion and argument, the hours of defeat and disappointment, the hours of disgust and revulsion at the darker sides of human behaviour—these cannot be supported without energy and devotion. No reforms come easy; even the most obvious will have its entrenched enemies. Each one is carried to us on the bent and weary backs of patient, dedicated men and women.

Extra Dimension

They are not only dedicated in their readiness to give energy and hard work to the cause; they must also have sufficiently clear sight and open minds and hearts to see the need for reform in the first place. But clear sight and an open heart for others needs is again something that hardly "comes naturally". We (Continued on page 8)
Platform Of The Party

The first conference of the Congress Socialist Party, the nucleus of socialistic political organisation in the country, met in Bombay in October 1934. The conference formulated the following as the Party’s aims and objectives:

Object: The object of the Party shall be the achievement of complete independence in the sense of separation from the British Empire and the establishment of a Socialist society.

Membership: The Party shall consist of members of the Indian National Congress who are also members of a Provincial Congress Socialist Party affiliated to the Party, provided that they are not members (a) of any communal organisation, or (b) of any other political organisation whose objects and programmes are in the opinion of the Party inconsistent with its own.

Programme objective:

1. Transfer of all power to the producing masses.
2. Development of the economic life of the country to be planned and controlled by the State.
3. Socialisation of key and principal industries (e.g., steel, cotton, jute, railways, shipping, plantations, mines), banks, insurance and public utilities with a view to the progressive socialisation of all the instruments of production, distribution and exchange.
4. State monopoly of foreign trade.
5. Organisation of co-operatives for production, distribution, and credit in the unsocialised sector of economic life.

Peasant Uplift

6. Elimination of princes and landlords and all other classes of exploiters, without compensation.
7. Re-distribution of land to peasants.
8. The State to encourage and promote co-operative and collective farming.
9. Liquidation of debts owing by peasants and workers.
10. Recognition of the rights to work or maintenance by the State.
11. “To everyone according to his needs” to be the basis ultimately of distribution of economic goods.

Socialist workers and others interested in the Socialist movement in India will be interested to review the original documents which constituted landmarks in the progress of the movement, which this year celebrates its Silver Jubilee. JANATA is publishing, beginning with this issue, some of these in a series, “Historic Documents”.

Economic

1. Control and supervision by the state of industries subsidised or otherwise protected.
2. Control by State of banking, key industries and ownership of mineral resources.
4. Full State control over exchange and currency.
5. Control of usury, direct and indirect.
6. A steeply graduated tax on all incomes, including net incomes from economic and political struggles of peasants and workers and intensify the class struggle of the masses and of creating a powerful mass movement for the achievement of independence and Socialism.

Immediate Demands

Political

1. Freedom of speech and of the Press.
2. Freedom of association and combination.
3. Repeal of all anti-national and anti-labour laws.
4. Reinstatement of all farmers and tenants deprived of their lands owing to their participation in the movement of national independence.
5. Release of all political prisoners and prisoners detained without trial and withdrawal of all orders of extermination and internment or restraint on political grounds.
6. Free and compulsory primary education and liquidation of adult illiteracy.
7. Drastic reduction by at least 50 per cent of the military expenditure of the Government of India.
8. Regulation and control of religious endowments.

Economic

1. Control and supervision by the state of industries subsidised or otherwise protected.
2. Control by State of banking, key industries and ownership of mineral resources.
4. Full State control over exchange and currency.
5. Control of usury, direct and indirect.
6. A steeply graduated tax on all incomes, including net incomes from
agriculture, above a fixed minimum.

Concerning Labour
1. Freedom of labour from serfdom and conditions bordering on serfdom.
2. The right to form unions, to strike and picket.
3. Compulsory recognition of union by employers.
4. Living wage: a 40-hour week and healthy quarters and conditions of work.
5. Insurance against unemployment, sickness, accident, old age etc.
6. One month's leave every year with full pay to all workers and two months leave with full pay to women workers during maternity.
7. Prohibition against employment of children of school going age in factories, and women and of children under sixteen in underground mining.
8. Equal wages for equal work.

Agrarian
1. Elimination of landlordism in zamindari and talukdari areas without compensation.
2. Encouragement of co-operative farming.
3. Liquidation of debts owed by workers and peasants.
4. Liquidation of arrears of rent.
5. Complete exemption from rents and taxes of all peasants with un-economic holdings.
6. Reduction of rent and land revenue by at least 50 per cent.
7. Abolition and penalisation of all feudal and semi-feudal levies on the peasantry.
8. Penalisation of illegal exaction of rent or money decrees of homestead, agricultural resources and that portion of a peasant's holding which is just sufficient to maintain an average peasant family.

Flood Relief Appeal

(Continued from page 6)

have so many needs of our own—our families, our jobs, our homes, our fortunes, our prospects. We are hemmed in with needs and interests, weighty, urgent, honourable, human needs and interests, even if they are exclusively our own. It takes an extra dimension of vision to see beyond our inner circle of interest. Most people, most of the time, do not possess it—which is one reason why self-regarding interests make up so much of the stuff of politics. And this, I suppose, is why the men and women of genuine, imperturbable public spirit seems so few and far between.

I sometimes think there is a danger of this element of vision vanishing almost wholly from our political life. In the main we are so comfortable; so many evils of the past have shrunk in size and almost out of sight. At the same time, people marry much younger, have larger families, and are profoundly involved in earning a living, making careers and safeguarding the future of their children. It is more difficult, they say, to give time to public affairs when private life is so urgent and absorbing.

Yet is it, I wonder, more urgent and absorbing than a hundred years ago when young men not only married young, had large families and built up careers, but also opened up the new frontiers, created new cities from the wilderness, and gave to new states and communities the framework of active political life?

If one reads the life of young Abe...
S.P.D. Prepares Germany For Next Elections

The next general election in West Germany is not due till 1961, but the Social Democrats have already decided on an all-out drive. A special committee has been set up by the S.P.D. Executive, whose members enjoy a high standing and great popularity: Carlo Schmid, who recently was the Party's candidate for the office of Federal President and who is mentioned as its candidate for the premiership; the two best-known Mayors, Willi Brandt of Berlin and Max Brauer of Hamburg; K. A. Zinn, the Prime Minister of Hesse; the S.P.D.'s defence expert, Fritz Erler; and its economic expert, Heinrich Deist.

The Party's Chairman, Erich Ollenhauer, will preside over the group's deliberations, but he himself has publicly renounced all intention of aspiring after governmental office.

Victory in Jamaica

Norman Manley's People's National Party gained a great victory in the recent general election in Jamaica. It was returned to power with a majority of eleven seats in the new 45-member House of Representatives. Previously it had but a majority of four in the 32-member Council.

This strengthening of the democratic socialist forces is important not only for Jamaica but for the future of the West Indian Federation, which under a Labour Government will soon attain full independence. Only these forces can cement the political and administrative unity the Federation needs in the face of many conflicting interests and difficulties.

Swiss Socialists and Atom

The Swiss Social Democratic Party, like the British, has its "anti-nuclear" wing which has agitated in favour of an absolute prohibition now and for all times of atomic weapons within the Swiss borders. Controversy on this issue led to a special Party congress last year. With a large majority, the congress rejected the demand for prohibition and decided to sponsor the inclusion in the Federal Constitution of an article which would make it obligatory to consult the people on any decision regarding atomic weapons.

The Party has now collected the necessary signatures for an initiative (request for a referendum).

FROM MANY LANDS

by Mary Saran

aiming at such a constitutional provision. The anti-nuclear movement had done the same before for an initiative on their own lines. The collectors of signatures in both cases had to admit that the electorate in general did not seem very much interested. However, the Government does not at the moment seem inclined to give way to requests of the military for nuclear equipment of the army.

Vienna Festival

The Vienna Press, with few exceptions, observed a self-imposed silence on the proceedings of the Communist-sponsored World Youth Festival held in August in the Austrian capital. This has helped the police to keep down the number of unpleasant incidents. But what of the counter-propaganda of the West? Was it effective? It is difficult to assess the effect on Communists of watching life in a free and beautiful city, or of the many meetings, discussions and encounters into which delegates were drawn despite the organisers' efforts to isolate them.

Socialist commentators have criticised the propaganda of those inspired by a purely anti-Communist attitude. This was often harmful, they believe, in particular in dealing with participants from Africa and Asia, many of whom were by no means Communists. The Austrian Socialist Youth and the Socialist Youth International were happy to have the support of prominent Asian socialists present in Vienna on their return from the Hamburg Congress of the Socialist International.

An appeal as much opposed to Communist as to Western imperialist oppression, and positively advocating a humanist, democratic socialism, had most to offer to the searching and thoughtful type of delegate.

SOME LATEST PUBLICATIONS

Kerala Crusade Against Communism A Pictorial Survey, with a foreword by Dr. K. B. Menon and 86 pictures depicting the mass upsurge in Kerala. Printed on art paper, size 10" x 7"

Report of the Fourth P. S. P. National Conference held at Poona. Pages 139

Studies In Asian Socialism by Asoka Mehta (Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan) pages 241.

Terror & Misrule in Kerala by Prof. Mukut Behari Lal, pages 23

Democratic Socialism vs. Communism in India by Prof. Mukut Behari Lal, pages 17

 Communist Rule In Kerala by Jitendra Singh (Published by Diwanchand Indian Information Service, New Delhi) pages 136

The Tragedy of Tibet Speeches and statements of Jayaprakash Narayan

Samajwad aur Janasanskriti (Hindi) by Acharya Narendra Deva

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ON THE P.S.P. FRONT

‘HANDS-OFF DAY’ OBSERVED

Meetings and demonstrations were held all over Assam during the fortnight under the auspices of the Praja Socialist Party to protest against the unprovoked Chinese aggression of Indian territory. Such meetings were held at Jorhat, Tezpur, Nowgong, Karimganj, Gauhati and Nalbari, besides some other places.

Resolutions demanding the immediate removal of Shri V. K. Krishna Menon from the Union Cabinet were also passed by these meetings. The anti-national role of the Communist Party in India was strongly condemned by the speakers who addressed the gatherings.

The PSP of Assam, declared September 9 last as the “Hands-Off Day”, when most of these meetings and demonstrations were held. But that was only the beginning and the series of meetings have been continuing to be held throughout the State, in both urban and rural areas.

One such largely attended public meeting was held in Gauhati a few days back with Prof. Promode Burman, the Parliamentary Secretary of PSP, Assam, in the chair. Those who addressed the meeting included Shri Hareswar Goswami, Chairman of the State PSP and Leader of the Opposition in the Assam Assembly, Shri Biswas Goswami, Provincial Secretary, Shri Subodh Roy, Provincial Joint Secretary and Prof. Kalipada Sen, Provincial Treasurer.

While condemning the Chinese aggression, the speakers said that China had thrown Panchasheel to the winds and her imperialistic designs had been exposed to all patriotic Indians. They wanted the Government of India to take adequate military measures to drive out the Communist intruders and defend India’s northern borders. They were further of the view that any negotiation with the Chinese on the border issue must be preceded by vacation of the aggression.

Brandishing the C.P.I. as the fifth column in the country, the speakers warned the people to be cautious about it so that the freedom of India may not be endangered.

A resolution of this meeting condemned the appeasement policy of the Indian Government with respect to Communist China and urged upon the former to change it forthwith and take a very strong attitude against the aggressors. It further called upon the patriotic people of India to be ready for undergoing any sacrifice in order to defend the country and drive out the intruders.

Earlier, a procession of members of the Assam Petroleum Workers’ Union and the Kamrup Mill Mazdoor Sangh paraded the streets of the town raising slogans condemning the Chinese act of aggression and role of the C. P. I. and expressing determination to defend the motherland at any cost.

PUNJAB AFFAIRS

The Executive of the Punjab Praja Socialist Party met at Phagwara on September 13 under the chairmanship of Shri S. Harbhajan Singh, Chairman. Shri Prem Bhasin, Joint Secretary, All India P. S. P., Sarvashri Somprakash Shaida, Mangat Rai, Jaswant Singh, Babu Nand, Khushpaul Singh, Ved Vyas, Shankar Lall, Charan Dass Gai and Kesar Singh (members of the Executive) attended. Pandit Satara Lall and Sarvashri Teja Singh Tiwana, Balbir Singh Mann, Bipin Mehta, Hari Dutt, Ramji Verma and Pratap Singh Dhillon were present as special invitees.

The Executive devoted much of its time to organisational matters and took important decisions to strengthen the Party in the State. It was decided to hold the next annual conference of the Party in the last week of December, 1959.

According to the programme, the elections of the delegates to the Silver Jubilee Session of the P.S.P. scheduled to be held at Bombay in the first week of November, will be completed by the October 11 while the new elections at the local and district level, as well as of the delegates to the provincial conference, are to be completed by November 30.

(Continued on page 11, Col. 3)
Switzerland: 
God's Own Country 
by Nripendranath Ghosh

The Como-Chiasso border is more than a frontier between two countries. Here all that is tumultuous ends, all that is stable begins. Italians create statues by the millions. The Swiss are content with one — Mont Blanc. On any given political issue the ancient Latin blood will boil; they will march, demonstrate and, more often than not, have a bit of street fight. The Swiss will act. A small country like Switzerland took in Hungarian refugees by thousands.

England may be the most stable democracy on earth, the United States the most powerful and India — the largest; but Switzerland is THE greatest democracy in the most perfect sense of the term. We often boast of "oriental politeness." I think we will stop that nonsense on visiting this little country.

Switzerland is the world's bank vault. Their currency is overbacked. While elsewhere the political forces are happy in perpetuating the conflict, the Swiss parties look for the solution, solve the problem in a most business-like manner and get on with the job. I have never seen or heard of strikes in the Swiss universities. Universities to them are sacred places. Teachers and professors to the are objects of reverence.

Women's Position

Women do not vote. In a nation-wide referendum, they denied themselves the right to do so. They had a Swiss answer for the occasion: "We women are more useful at home than in the Parliament. Politics is complicated enough without us adding fresh complications to it."

In the Parliament, the Social Democratic Party is the strongest, but they do not command the majority because of an alliance between the Conservative and the Liberal Parties. The man who leads the Social Democrats is a priest-turned-politician, Herr Humbolt Droz. Herr Droz is a self-effacing man who never seeks publicity. I have never seen his photo in any foreign paper. He is a pacifist and has much in common with Mahatma Gandhi.

The Swiss are not herrenvolks. But their politics at the dirtiest level is cleaner than that of any other country at the cleanest. There has never been a political scandal. They do not make "human sacrifice" during the ritual called election. The Swiss don't want to save the world, but are always prepared to give refuge to the persecuted. Lenin and Mazzini both found refuge in Switzerland. The Algerian rebels have one of their European headquarters in Switzerland.

A high ranking police officer because of his French ancestry was supplying the French Government secret reports on the Egyptian Embassy. He was exposed and committed suicide before he could be brought to trial. The Swiss police may have their individual sympathies but they never let it interfere with their duties. They are neutral. They say, "We have got to watch everyday to see who hates whom."

Every Swiss of military age has to perform military duties and go through a refresher course. Every week-end you can see them with their rifles cycling along to the rifle range. They have a very efficient air force but they are also aware of the fact that their siding with any bloc will not make a great deal of difference in actual conflict. They hope that some day other countries will see the wisdom of their policy of non-involvement. But they — like us — do not jaw about it. To the Swiss people, noisy political activities is not only wastage of energy but also primitivism. They have got a point there; for one can be very primitive in a very modern way.

Switzerland made me jealous. While we talk and fight, they act and prosper.

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that the magistracy and the police did not rise to the occasion and that the situation was allowed to deteriorate by the defaulting officers.

A P.S.P. delegation consisting of Shrimati Rajendra Kumari and Sarvashri Zargam Haider and Surath Bahadur Shah, members of the State Assembly, and Sarvashri Chandra Shekhar and Om Prakash (Secretary and Joint Secretary of the State respectively along with Prof. Hari) visited Laharpur last month. The delegation made an on-the-spot enquiry.

The delegation, while noting with gratification that some persons of both the communities were interested in creating an atmosphere of peace and goodwill, demanded a judicial enquiry of the incident after immediate transfer of the officers concerned in order to facilitate an impartial probe.
A GREAT ASIAN

THE assassination of the Ceylonese Premier, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, removes from the world scene a prominent patriot, a renowned socialist and above all a great Asian. We still cherish and recall with pride the memory of his visit to our country two years ago, to participate in the Asian Socialist Conference. His message of cheer and hope to the Asian countries and the reminder to them that their salvation lay in pursuing the path of democratic socialism is still ringing in our ears. He laboured all his life to serve his country, to bring freedom to it, and in the post-freedom era, to build for socialism with zeal, perseverance and indomitable courage.

Ceylon was naturally looking to his able guidance for many more years to come; and it was hoped that he would succeed in solving the many intricate problems facing that country, small in size but great in its resolve to retain its freedom and to build for democracy and socialism. It is a grievous loss not only to Ceylon but to all Asia and the cause of freedom and democracy the world over. We share that loss and offer our respectful homage to the great Asian and our heartfelt sympathy to his family and the Ceylonese people.

The fact that even when so grievously hurt and struggling with death he could recommend compassion to the misguided assassin reveals his greatness and the magnanimity of his heart. There can be few parallels to it.

The tragedy brings to mind similar ones in the recent past in our neighbouring countries. Saung, the leader of the A.F.P.F.L. of Burma was assassinated. He was followed by the first Premier of Pakistan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, and later by another popular leader of that country, Dr. Khan Sabeb. The tragic end of Mr. Bandaranaike has added one more figure to that shocking list.

The assassination of Mr. Bandaranaike is but another portent of a political malaise from which the newly-liberated countries of the East suffer. The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, has said that such a thing is not likely to happen in our country. While all Indians would like to share that hope, most of them cannot help being reminded, on the eve of the 90th birthday of the Father of the Nation, that we lost him 11 years ago in similar circumstances. A life more precious than that of any Premier anywhere in the world was brought to an end by the bullets of a fanatic. While feeling genuinely grief-stricken over the loss of another great Asian, it would be well to give serious thought to the urgent need of creating conditions in which political assassinations will things of the past.
International Socialist Youth Hostel

When students come to Britain from abroad they must either live in hostels or find private lodgings. The hostels are generally specialised, occupied by students from a particular country or belonging to a particular race. Lodgings are not always to be found easily by Asian, African or Caribbean students because of colour prejudice, and the rents are often more than students can afford to pay.

The hostels are mostly good and there are certain advantages in their racial segregation. Students coming to a new country often like to live with people from their homeland. Their first political interest is centered there. They form groups which carry on their national struggles in London. But there are also disadvantages in segregated hostels. Students who come to London do not want only to learn law, medicine or engineering. They also want to widen their experience by learning about the life of other people and to do this they must mix.

In principle it is important to discourage racial segregation. It has been a future of colonial administration to which Asians and Africans have always objected: the separate racial locations in the towns, the White Highlands limited to Europeans in Kenya, the reserves in Central and South Africa to which Africans are restricted. The claim for human equality demands inter-racial integration and co-operation.

There are few hostels in London where men and women of all races live together and one of these is the Yusuf Meherali Hostel in North Paddington, not far from Notting Hill where the recent racial disturbances took place. Named after one of the pioneers of socialism in India, a dedicated prophet of international equality and brotherhood this hostel has been opened as a joint effort by the British and Indian socialists. The Labour Party is one of the co-sponsors and the British Trade Unions have assisted. British socialist students at the Universities co-operate and the Indian Socialist Group in London participates enthusiastically.

The hostel has an Indian warden. Active in administration is the British-Asian and Overseas Socialist Fellowship, an organisation devoted to the purpose of demonstrating inter-racial socialist solidarity.

In this hostel young men and women of all races—Asian, African, Caribbean, European and British—live as one happy family. The students say they learn almost as much from each other as they learn from their colleges. A Malayan will talk on problems relating to his country. A South African girl, whose brother was one of the Treason Trial prisoners, describes the humiliations of Apartheid and tells of the inspiring resistance of Africans, Indians and other Coloureds. West Africans discuss the problems of Ghana and Nigeria and a West Indian recounts the difficulties of federation in his island thousands of miles apart. British students and workers (for the hostel residents are not limited to students) debate whether the Labour Party will win the General Election.

Simple Living

The residents live simply, sleeping two to a room and cooking their own food at a row of stoves in a well-equipped kitchen. They have a large lounge with comfortable settees, a television set, piano and billiard table. There are also shower baths. Because life is simple and there is no profit motive charges are low.

We hope that this will be the first of many hostels spread through the towns of Britain. They can become centres of a new world in miniature with young people of all races living together in equality, co-operation and comradeship.

The hostels are being established by the Home and Overseas Hostels Society. The Warden of the Yusuf Meherali Hostel at 31, Kilburn Park Road, London, N.W. 6. (Kilburn 1501) will be pleased to hear from all who are interested.
Labour Party Election Manifesto

The British General Election will be held on October 8. The Labour Party has already issued its Election Manifesto. Following are the Manifesto sections dealing with international issues:

Who goes to Summit?
All our hopes of building a decent, happy society at home are vain without peace abroad. Our very existence depends on ending the nuclear arms race. This summer a new opportunity has come for breaking the East-West deadlock. There is now every chance of the Summit Conference, for which Labour has pressed for two long years.

It seems to us that there are three tests to which anyone who claims to represent Britain at the Summit should be prepared to submit himself:
1. Has he proved beyond doubt that he believes in promoting the rule of law in international relations, and that he rejects as obsolete the resort to violence in order to achieve his ends?
2. Can he show by his actions that he will make Britain the leader in securing a disarmament agreement?
3. Has he faced, in a way that will gain the confidence of Asia and Africa, the problem of a world divided between rich and poor nations, subject and free peoples?

Rule of Law and the U.N.
The Tories pay lip-service to the rule of law but ignore it whenever it seems to conflict with their interests. That is the lesson of Suez. Ignoring an overwhelming vote by the United Nations Assembly, they put Britain into a hopeless military venture which split the Commonwealth and all but destroyed the Anglo-American alliance. The Suez gamble was not only a crime, it was an act of folly, hopelessly misjudged both in planning and expenditure committed by no fewer than seven Tory Defence Ministers in eight years. We have vigorously opposed the Government's dangerously one-sided reliance on nuclear weapons; and we urged that highly trained well-paid regular forces should be substituted for conscripts.

The Arms Race
In the field of disarmament, Labour has set the pace. We led the demand for an end to all nuclear tests; after years of delay the tests are now temporarily suspended, and we declare that, even if other countries break the truce, we would not start our tests again but would immediately convene a new conference. This year we have taken the lead on another urgent problem—the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. We have put forward the only concrete proposals designed to stop this dangerous development and so to leave the way open to world-wide disarmament, which is our paramount objective.

We have proposed a comprehensive disarmament treaty which would reduce arms, manpower and military expenditure, destroy all stocks of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, abolish all chemical and biological weapons, and provide new safeguards against surprise attack.

In contrast, the Tory record has been negative and, sometimes, obstructive. They opposed a disarmament agreement unless it was tied to the settlement of political problems. They opposed a nuclear test agreement unless it was part of a general disarmament agreement. They opposed the suspension of tests when Russia offered to stop her own. They opposed Labour's proposals for disarmament in Europe. They opposed a Summit Conference. Only with a change of American policy and in time for a General Election in Britain has Mr. Macmillan emerged as a sponsor of a Summit Conference.

Two Worlds
Two worlds, one white, well-fed and free, the other coloured, hungry and struggling for equality, cannot live side by side in friendship. In their attitude to the Colonial and ex-Colonial peoples of Asia and Africa the Labour and Tory records stand in sharp contrast.

No action of the Attlee Government evoked greater enthusiasm than the freeing of nearly 500 million people in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. The transformation of the old British Empire into the first inter-racial Commonwealth of free nations was the supreme achievement of the Labour Government.

What of the Tory record? In Cyprus foolish words and stubborn refusal to face facts led to disturbance and bloodshed and, in the end, the Government had to agree to a settlement that could have been obtained years earlier. An opportunity to integrate Malta into the United Kingdom was thrown away. In Kenya eleven African prisoners were beaten to death. Above all, the Tories ignored Labour's solemn warnings that nine-tenths of the peoples of Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia opposed the Federation which the Tories were forcing on them. The Government's warnings to South Africa's Devlin Commission exposed the tragic folly of Tory policy. Mr. Macmillan rejected its findings. After this, how can the peoples of Africa and Asia trust a Tory Government?

Today the future of Africa is poised as perilously as that of India in 1945. The only British Government which can regain the con-
Confidence of Africans is a Government wholeheartedly committed to three principles of the Labour Party's colonial policy: first, that the peoples still under colonial rule have as much right as we have to be governed by consent; secondly, that "one man, one vote" applies in all parts of the world; thirdly, that racial discrimination must be abolished.

War against Want
Labour has always recognised that even if the East-West differences were ended the West is still present with an immense challenge—the poverty of two-thirds of the world's people. This is a challenge the Tories have never really faced. We believed in extending the Socialist concept of the Welfare State to all the peoples of the world. This is why we have solemnly pledged ourselves to devote an average of 1 per cent of our national income each year to helping the underdeveloped areas.

Like our other social and economic policies, this pledge is based on (Continued on page 9)

A little SUNLIGHT does a lot of washing
-thanks to its EXTRA LATHER
RE-THINKING SOCIALISM-I

by Jules Moch

WITH the prodigious acceleration of technical progress that has radically transformed the social structure of the State, many of the former theses of Socialism have to some extent become outdated.

Our opponents, the sincere disciples of "economic liberalism", cannot deny the gradual disappearance of the basic features of early capitalism. The complexity of industrial processes, the division and automation of labour, the need for mass production and, therefore, for almost limitless increased productivity and a corresponding reduction in cost prices, have engendered what might be called "capitalist social ownership". It is social ownership because it goes far beyond the means of one man or one family. Hence the appeal to numberless share-holders or bondholders, often people of modest means, sometimes employees of the enterprise, some of them owners, others creditors, but all of them deprived of real rights.

But it is capitalist ownership nevertheless, the aim of common action being the distribution of dividends to a large group and special advantages for the directors of the company or its subsidiaries, rather than satisfaction of the needs of the community.

Thus capitalism has evolved towards a complex form that denies its basic foundations: free competition—and therefore also free trade—the law of supply and demand, non-interference by the State, no economic planning other than that which results from competition and automatic regulation of the market.

Far too much of the criticism of the capitalism system raised by Socialists today is aimed at the system as it used to be instead of attacking its present reality. This is a tactical error by which our opponents benefit.

These to be Reviewed

Some of our comrades still speak of the "pauperisation of the masses", of the trend towards reducing wages to the level strictly necessary for reproduction of the species. This thesis was valid at the beginning of the machine age, when large masses of workers were concentrated around powerful and costly steam engines without, at first, any great increase in production. Today, this thesis is out-dated. Factory rationalisation, the utilisation of new forms of power have permitted productivity to be multiplied and cost prices to be reduced: an American woman worker in 1959 owns only household equipment but has a choice of clothing—made of synthetic fibres, it is true—that a French queen of the 18th century would have envied.

Similarly, the thesis of the "proletarisation of the middle classes", an initial consequence of the process of concentration, seems outdated since the individual—and no longer collective—petrol- or electric-driven engine has permitted and caused the rebirth of a modern artisans' class. Within this class, neither the employer nor his two or three "partners" acquire a proletarian "class consciousness"; the former because he owns the machines and works for his own account—or believes this is so, even when he is financially tied to a big trust; the latter because they aspire to follow his example by buying a few machine tools on credit which will allow them to set themselves up on their own. The motorcar industry and the hosiery industry are typical examples of the present relative deconcentration.

Furthermore, the extraordinary proliferation of what Fourastié and other modern economists call the "tertiary sector", that of services and intermediaries, is likewise opposed to "proletarisation", at least in the sense in which Marx understood the term. The tertiary sector today employs 60 per cent the working population in the United States, as against 15 per cent in 1820, whereas the agricultural population in the same period has gone down from 73 to 16 per cent following the increase in output, and the wage-earners in industry, who numbered but 12 per cent in 1820, numbered a third of the population a century later, only to be less than a quarter today.

Cyclical Crises

I have also to admit that the classical theory of the cyclical crises of capitalism has become incorrect, a theory that I defended thirty years ago. The last crisis to deserve this epithet was the one that ravaged American recessions of 1949, 1953 not end in France until the beginning of 1936. Such a crisis has not recurred for thirty years. For the American recessions of 1949, 1953 and 1958 had by no means the same characteristics of generality and universality, of length and incoherence.

The advance of economic theory, the invention of electronic machinery which makes possible the detection of future economic trends, State intervention—normal in a "social-capitalist" system—have restricted the damage done by economic crises and shortened their length. The more the electronic study of economic data is improved, the less such recessions will have the fatal and destructive nature described by classical Marxists.

I admit to myself that the thesis according to which the capitalist, by taking "surplus value" from the wage-earners, produces more than they can buy and also more than the beneficiaries of this surplus value wish to acquire, is false today. From this the Marxists of the last generation deduced the "inviability" of the capitalist system which, to dispose of its surplus, is forced to conquer outside markets and become economic imperialism or colonialism and consequently cause wars or expeditions overseas.

This thesis is no longer correct today because first Taylorisation, then rationalisation, follower by automatisation, combined with the multiplication of available power, have permitted reductions in cost prices and thus mass sales on an enlarged home market with better chances of profits than existed erstwhile in distant countries whose customs barriers had to be forced or the territory conquered.
Even if the internal market cannot absorb all the increased production, a new safety-valve has been adapted to the old capitalist machine which helps to avoid explosive crises: aid to underdeveloped countries. Nobody any longer contests its use: aid to underdeveloped countries.

This aid allows the disposal, with or without economic or political strings, at a loss or even free of charge, of surpluses that cannot be absorbed by the home market. It therefore regulates the internal functioning of capitalism, with the State compensating the producers for their losses while at the same time, still very partially and very archaically, remedying the unbalances that will be formidable in the future—between the third of the world that is modernised and the two-thirds that are under-equipped.

Ownership Rights

Let us go further. I have maintained for ten years that legal ownership rights and actual control are becoming more and more divorced. The shareholders of the big limited companies are theoretically their owners. But their ancient right has broken up into three elements. Profits, formerly inseparable from ownership, still to an extent revert to the shareholders; but the greater part of the gross profits escape them. They are shared out between the State, in the shape of taxation that is increasing, with the years; the consumers or users, the indirect beneficiaries of the profits that are re-invested, of the "self-financing" of modernisation which allows reductions in sales prices; finally, the members of the boards of directors, who receive percentages and attendance fees over and above their dividends, and technocrats who share in the profits—generally a small proportion—or reap hidden profits by means of trading with subsidiary companies or firms of suppliers in which they have a direct or indirect interest.

The power given by deciding how to intervene on the market, as that which results from contracts with suppliers, rests solely with the directors who represent an infinitesimal minority among the shareholders. The power derived from the social laws, and especially in the social codes, exercises by their trade unions or their shop stewards also affect the working of the business more than a vote, even if it is a mass vote, of shareholders at an annual meeting.

With these considerations in mind let us consider the failure of nationalisation, not indeed in the technical field nor often in the financial one, but on the social plane: the workers in the nationalised enterprises—in East and West alike—do not feel that they do participate directly in management, except in Yugoslavia and in certain kinds of Israeli companies; they consider themselves employees of an unknown employer against whom they frequently have recourse to strike in countries where strikes are permitted.

Socialists' Problem

In the West this nationalisation, which affects in all a few tenths of world production, has created a "State capitalism" that has no connection with socialisation. In the USSR one cannot speak of "State capitalism" since overall nationalisation has not left in being any characteristic of a capitalist market. But one can no more liken it to socialisation, because of the lack of an appreciable share by the workers in management and especially because of the lack of freedom. The system thus instituted can be described as a "social bureaucracy" or an all-powerful state; it does not resemble any, even modified, form of Socialism.

It follows from this brief analysis that, for Socialists, the problem of nationalisation is set. Should we proceed with it? If so, for what reasons and on what bases? Should we alter what already exists? If so, in what way? What about real workers' participation in the management of the enterprise, at least in the competitive sector? The administration of a public service sets problems that are even more complex. Failing workers' control or joint management in the private sector, what about profit sharing?

On all these questions there is a need to think out our ideas anew.

Such re-thinking is also essential in face of the system that covers over a third of the world, in forms that are more heterogeneous than is commonly thought, from China to the USSR, from the USSR to Poland and, particularly to Yugoslavia. On the problems concerning these enormous fields we have little to offer intellectually. We too often content ourselves with an over-simplified and foolish anti-Bolshevism; we refuse to recognise the considerable material advance that has been made because it has been achieved by immoral, sometimes bestial, means.

Yet we must not close our eyes to the speedier raising of living standards than in the West that has resulted from tyrannic industrialisation and dictatorialeconomic planning; and we must see whether, in the countries that are already economically and politically evolved, the same result cannot be achieved without the same oppression.

How to "re-think"

From the above considerations—and many others—follows the first essential question: what is Socialism today?

Socialism to me means critical assessment and will: critical assessment of society, as it exists on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and the will to act in order to transform the one in which we live. Let us accept this rather summary definition and see what difficulties it implies.

To assess critically the nature of society presupposes a profound knowledge of its reality in 1959, not its previous development. The first difficulty here is this: there do not exist two categories, the capitalist and Communist state, if they are classed according to the juridical and political system, or the industrialised and the under-developed state, if we take as a basis the (Continued on page 11)
NORDIC LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Social Democratic parties of the five Nordic countries—Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden—have closer links than any other group within the Socialist International. It is significant that they agreed to joint representation on the International’s Bureau—others, for instance the parties of Benelux, would not consider such an arrangement at all. These links have existed since 1870 and they extend to the trade union movements as well. At present Labour is in power in all these countries except Finland.

It is quite astonishing how varied and frequent the common activities of these movements are and how much they mean to each of them. A joint committee organises regular meetings at different levels for mutual consultation on current problems of the Labour movement, on questions that will come up at the U.N. or perhaps the Nordic Council or in European assemblies. Educational gatherings, occasionally larger conferences, take place.

This year an especially large conference has been convened to meet in September in Malmo to bring together several hundreds of party and trade union delegates, as well as a much larger number for a public rally. Lately, the question of the Free Trade Area of the “Outer Seven” has been much to the fore. The establishment of the Common Market of the six continental countries has strengthened the feelings of an economic community of interest between the Nordic countries.

Veteran Socialist

The leader of the Italian delegation to the International Socialist Congress in Hamburg in July was Angelica Balabanoff, an exile first from Bolshevik Russia (she knew Lenin well), then from Fascist Italy (she had been young Mussolini’s teacher). At an age which her friends estimate at about 90, Angelica has few among her younger compatriots who can measure up to her in political keenness and alertness, shrewdness of observation and dogged determination to go on playing a part on the socialist stage. She goes on addressing meetings, writing on questions of socialism, and pursuing her world-wide interests (languages are no obstacle to her).

On the vexed problem of socialist unity in Italy, Angelica has been one of the chief warners on Saragat’s side against accepting at their face value the Nenni Party’s assurances of its new independence of the communists. The real test, she and others have maintained, must lie in the severance of that party’s still continuing co-operation with the Communists in three important practical fields: the trade unions, the co-operative movement and municipal policy. There is no sign of any decisive move in that direction; the influence of the pro-Communist wing in the Nenni Party, though it is in a minority, seems too strongly entrenched.

Malaise about Algeria

The Labour movement’s conscience is extremely troubled about Algeria. Numerous protests have been raised—by national trade unions as well as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—against torture and maltreatment of prisoners in Algeria, and lately in particular against the murder of the trade unionist Aissat Idir.

Many socialist parties have also joined in this protest. The German young Socialists, who had invited thirty-six young Moroccans and Tunisians to be their guests in Germany after they had attended the Communist youth festival in Vienna, found that confidence was established only when the latter discovered that German socialist opinion was critical of French policy towards Algeria, including the policy carried out under a Socialist Prime Minister.

FROM MANY LANDS

by

Mary Saran

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YOU: Is that why DALDA is good for us?

NUTRITIONIST: There are other reasons, too. For instance, fats provide energy. Two and a half times more than what you get from wheat or rice.

WE: This is important, for without fats we would have to eat vast quantities of wheat or rice to get the same energy. And what with the pressure on food grains in India...

NUTRITIONIST: That apart, food tastes better and keeps longer. Fats help give you that satisfied feeling without overburdening your digestion. Body fats also protect delicate organs from injury.

WE: By and large, the Indian diet is fat-deficient...

YOU: Who said we don't get enough fats?

WE: Well, perhaps you do. But a lot depends on the kind of fats you eat. Especially, when there are so many fats and oils of doubtful purity in the market. It is notorious how much adulteration of ghee and edible oil goes on in the country.

NUTRITIONIST: That reminds me of a recent occurrence in Bengal, where mustard oil was adulterated with the highly poisonous argemone oil.

WE: And how many of us can afford to buy pure ghee? Even supposing we could get pure vegetable oils—would that be sufficiently nourishing?

NUTRITIONIST: Vegetable oils have as much energy value as fats like ghee and DALDA Vanaspati. But they do not contain essential vitamins A and D.

WE: And you can't do without the nourishment you get from these vitamins.

NUTRITIONIST: Investigation into Nightblindness and Rickets shows that they are caused by a lack of vitamin A and D, respectively. These diseases are widespread in India.

YOU: Can't we get these vitamins from any other source?

WE: But why supplement your diet with expensive foods containing vitamins when you can get them in DALDA? Seven hundred International Units of Vitamins A and 56 IU of Vitamin D are added to every ounce of DALDA.

NUTRITIONIST: Vitamin A protects the eyes, the skin, and keeps you healthy. Vitamin D helps grow strong bones and healthy teeth.

YOU: But aren't these vitamins destroyed in cooking?

WE: Vitamins are better retained by DALDA than by any other cooking medium during cooking. Moreover, DALDA comes to you in sealed tins, so the danger of these vitamins being lost due to oxidation is very limited.

YOU: That's something I didn't know...

WE: So you see why DALDA is a source of protective food?

YOU: Well, to be honest, you didn't really have to convince me. You see, I use DALDA anyway; but you certainly have informed me.

WE: Millions of others like you buy DALDA—and have done so for 30 years. Their experience has shown that DALDA is more than a cooking medium—that it is a food.
Party's Nature, Task & Programme

At the Second Annual Conference of the Congress Socialist Party held at Meerut on January 20, 1936, was adopted the following statement clarifying the Party's nature, task and programme:

The Origin

The Congress Socialist Party grew out of the experience of the last two national struggles. It was formed at the end of the last Civil Disobedience Movement by such Congressmen as came to believe that a new orientation of the national movement had become necessary; a re-definition of its objectives and a revision of its methods. The initiative in this direction could be taken only by those who had a theoretical grasp of the forces of our present society. These naturally were those Congressmen who had come under the influence of, and had accepted, Marxian Socialism. It was natural, therefore, that the organization that sprang up to meet the needs of the situation took the description: "Socialist." The word "Congress" prefixed to "Socialist" only signified the organic relationship—past, present and future—of the organization with the national movement.

The socialist forces that were already in existence in the country were completely out of touch with the Congress and had no influence on the national movement. Therefore, there did not take place, as otherwise there would have, a fusion of the emerging Congress Socialist Party with the groups previously existing. Given the adoption of correct and sensible tactics by all the parties concerned, there is every likelihood of such a fusion taking place at a later stage.

The Task

The immediate task before us is to develop the national movement into a real anti-imperialist movement—a movement aiming at freedom from foreign power and the native system of exploitation. For this it is necessary to wean the anti-imperialist elements in the Congress away from its present bourgeois leadership and to bring them under the leadership of revolutionary socialism. This task can be accomplished only if there is within the Congress an organized body of Marxian socialists. In other words, our Party alone can, in the present conditions, perform this task. The strengthening and clarification of the anti-imperialist forces in the Congress depends largely on the strength and activity of our Party. For fulfilling the Party's task it will also be necessary to co-ordinate all the other anti-imperialist forces in the country.

The Work

Consistent with its task, the Party should take only an anti-imperialist stand on Congress platforms. We should not in this connection make the mistake of placing a full socialist programme before the Congress. An anti-imperialist programme should be evolved for this purpose. It suits the needs of workers, peasants and the lower middle classes. It being the task of the Party to bring the anti-imperialist elements under its ideological influence, it is necessary for us to be as tactful as possible. We should on no account alienate these elements by intolerance and impatience. The Congress constructive programme should not be obstructed or interfered with. It should, however, be scientifically criticised and exposed.

In Congress elections, we should not show keenness to "capture" committees and offices nor should we form alliances with politically undesirable groups for purpose.

The Programme

This does not mean that the Party shall not carry on socialist propaganda from its own platform. It must continue to do so—and do it more systematically and vigorously.

It follows that the Party's own programme must be a Marxist one; otherwise, the Party will fail to fulfill the task and leadership. Marxism alone can guide the anti-imperialist forces to their ultimate destiny. Party members must, therefore, fully understand the technique of revolution, the theory and practice of the class struggle, the nature of the state and the processes leading to the socialist society.

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BRITISH ELECTION

Countries practising parliamentary democracy based on adult franchise have always looked to the general elections for the Mother of Parliaments with great interest. We in India have been doing so for two additional reasons, namely, our long association with Britain and the fact that our own parliamentary system is based on the British model.

The General Election that will take place in Britain on October 8 now promises to be more interesting than it did when the campaign began two weeks ago. What was expected to be a quiet election with a low poll is likely to become one of the most noisy and boisterous elections in British history. What was considered to be an easy victory for the Conservatives is no more going to be so and the possibility of Labour doing the trick and "sacking Mac" is not now ruled out.

Painful Spectacle

What is however painful is that from the latest reports it appears that both sides have taken to mud-slinging and have been indulging in it to their hearts' content. "Everything is fair in love and war" may be a well-known dictum and Truth may have' always been the first victim in a war, but must it be so even in the changed conditions of today and when more civilised methods of contest are available? Particularly painful is the fact that responsible parties in a politically mature country and at a time when it is so well stabilised after the war, and people to whom others look up to for guidance, should think it necessary to indulge in base forms of electioneering. But perhaps the Conservatives are forced to it because Labour is giving them an unexpectedly tough battle. Labour had to embark on intense electioneering for it was being taken for granted that they had no chance of winning.

It is indeed hazardous to risk a forecast and more so when the pollsters well-known for their claims for accuracy are themselves in the danger of losing a good part of their reputation, thanks to the revelation by the Weekly "Observer" that different public opinion polls are run by the same agency and with the help of the same staff working for all of them. The dispute and controversy over it apart, the fact cannot be denied that opinion is fast changing and a Labour victory which was considered to be quite remote at the start is not now considered out of the bounds of possibility. It may come as welcome surprise at the end.

Labour deserves credit for its fine rally and the manner in which it has proved its organising ability. The fact that they have made the Conservatives nervous and run for votes weeks before the actual day of poll proves that there is more fight in Labour than their rivals credited them with.

As is usual with the British elections for quite some time now the results in nearly 500 out of the 630 constituencies are more or less known before-hand. These sets are likely to be divided equally between the two main rivals. The fight really lies in the 140 marginal constituencies. It is the effort to win a majority of these that will decide the fate of this election and whether Gaitskell will be enabled to go to the Summit Conference which is sure to be held or it is Mac who will get the chance.

The fact that both sides are making a supreme effort to have a record poll and a better one than there was in 1955 shows that they cannot afford to take things for granted. The original plan of the Conservatives to have a low poll and in fact to work for it is understandable for a low poll always helps them. Since the reverse is true for the opposite party which is Labour in this case it goes to show that a maxim that a heavy poll helps the progressives is still considered to be correct.

But apart from the size of the poll, the larger number of candidates this time—1,536 for the 630 seats as against 1,409 four years ago—is likely to disturb many a calculation. This increase is due to the fact that the Liberals who are trying to stage a come back at least in the sense that they hope to bag a sizable number of seats have put up as many as 217 candidates. Many of these 200 and odd Liberal contestants are in the marginal constituencies and even though they may not be able to win the seats for their own Party the possibility of their disturbing the chances in some cases of a Conservative and in some other that of a Labour Party candidate cannot be ruled out. It is quite likely that this might ultimately affect the whole election.

We in India can understand this kind of upsets on account of our experience in Kerala in the last General Election. The Communists could bag a majority of seats in that election with only 35 per cent. votes because the remaining votes were split on account of triangular contests. The great lesson that has to be learnt from the British election as well as from our own limited experience is that in a set-up of single member constituencies what really works as a sound proposition is the two-party system and a straight fight between two candidates. The fact that even with over 200 Liberal candidates, the number of contestants for a total of 630 seats is not more than 1,536 indicates that in more than half or nearly two-thirds of the constituencies it will be a straight fight. This is the main lesson that parties interested in the proper development of democratic and parliamentary institutions in India should learn from the British election. To avoid triangular contests in as many areas and constituencies as possible is a sure way of keeping out parties which would like to seek power even with a fraction of popular support.

Lesson Learnt

That the lesson has been at least partly learnt by democratic parties is evident from the fact that in the coming mid-term general election in Kerala, efforts are being made to avoid the splitting of the democratic vote and to prevent the Communists from taking advantage of a split vote as they did in the last general election.

The fact that for the election to the British Parliament the British Communists Party is not putting up more than 18 candidates is a proof of the poor support that party has in one of the best developed democratic countries of the world. It also indicates that they did not find any insurser ready to insure their deposits this time as they could during the 1950 election. It also means that they have probably lost the claim to any time on the B.B.C. The voice of Communism will not be heard in Britain through the B.B.C. for the Communists have failed to qualify themselves to be heard.
To The Shame Of Asians
by Nripendranath Ghosh

BANDARANAIKE has been murdered, and it is not the first time in Asia that the most important man of the country has been disposed of with the help of bullets. The whole of Asia should hang its head in shame. Instead—to judge from the reactions among the Asians in London—the effect has been nil.

I will quote one instance. On Saturday, (September 26,) I went to a meeting of an Indian language literary society which was being held in the ultra-modern Gandhi Hall. I saw the dismal sight of few dozen Indians bickering in the most uncouth manner as to who should be the office-bearers of the Society! Not one of them—some sporting the blazers of Oxford and Cambridge—ever mentioned the assassination of Bandaranaike, which has shaken the Himalayas. The very same society was to entertain the Indian public in the same place with music, the star artist being a somewhat famous film musician who recently arrived in England. I hope history finds some forgiveness for us.

The irony of all these political murders is that they have all taken place after the countries in question have become free. I refuse to believe that the last attempt at political assassination has been made in Asia. Our generation is leaving a dangerous heritage behind us for the coming one.

Western Publicity

What we Asians do not know, and perhaps do not care, is that every single act of intolerance committed anywhere in Asia is widely reported in all the European and American journals. I remember seeing a six-minute news-reel in Berlin on a fracas that occurred in the Japanese Diet. When the lights went on, an elderly German asked me, "Japanese?" I answered, "Yes". I know I lied. I know that I do not even remotely look like a Japanese. But I could not bring myself to seek refuge in the fact that I am an Indian.

After the recent food riots in Calcutta, which were adequately covered by the European Press, came a staggering blow. This was in the form of proceedings of a particularly noisy day in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. Every bad language used on the floor was devotedly reported, even the colour of every shoe that was hurled. The picture of a police constable who died during the preceding riots, with his slit throat, illustrated the report.

What all these honourable members of the State Legislature do not understand is that we Asians are living on handouts from America and Europe. Call it aid, loan, anything you like. This shameful fact alone should make us behave in a more dignified manner.

Most of the political parties of Asia hold out hopes of Utopia to their respective flocks. When they come to power through the ballot boxes they face the disillusioned masses. By that time, some other set of leaders egg the masses on to dethrone these in power. Unknown to these leaders, one in saffron robe goes berserk. He picks up a .45. Another one in dhoti and punjabi gets a Webley six-shooter. Somebody else in loosely fitted jellaba and kafie packs a Luger automatic; another a Sten gun. A king, a saint, a general and a Prime Minister—all hit the ground. Politicians go about their old business of promising Utopia once the party in power is overthrown. The infernal process keeps repeating itself. Fifty years hence, future Asians will wonder if their predecessors were not adults from neck down.

(Continued from page 6)

average standard of living or, what comes more or less to the same the amount of mechanical power used per head of the population.

The variety of judicial systems is considerable. In the camp of the 'people's democracies' the Soviet system (which is itself constantly changing) is not exactly the same as that of Bulgaria, or of Poland. It differs from the Chinese system and even more so from the Yugoslav which, in the rural field, resembles to a certain extent, some features of the non-Communist State of Israel. Hundreds of experiments, sometimes divergent, have been attempted which it is essential to know if we do not wish to restrict ourselves to a moral judgment regarding the need for individual freedom, but wish to make a complete assessment, that is to say, judge the moral, political and technical aspects of society.

The Other Camp

Likewise, in the capitalist camp, there are many differences between the democracies influenced by long periods in power of Socialists who are moderate rather than revolutionary, such as, for instance, the Scandinavian States, these model States of co-operation, or Great Britain with its nationalisation in the form of public corporations and its strong trade unions, and other systems in which, as in America, the trusts have maintained indisputable influence.

Between all these States, which have common political characteristics, and the often authoritarian and under-developed republics of the Latin American continent, which are trying to escape from the hold of foreign capital; between these two groups and the feudal nations of the Middle East or those of Africa and the Far East which have not yet been "run in" by long-standing independence; between all the abovementioned States and the State of Israel with its very special social problems and its original solutions which form a bridge between capitalism on the one hand, and Socialism, trade unionism and co-operation on the other—what differences there are not only in technical development but also in the political system and in human behaviour!

It is to all these problems that I hope our Study Group will devote itself. The conclusion will no doubt be that, if certain ethical aims of Socialism can be universal in character, most of the other doctrinal elements vary not only according to the period—which excludes rigid dogmas—but also according to the country concerned. If the doctrine is therefore based on an analysis of the facts it cannot constitute a uniform, permanent and universal whole; only doctrinaires wearing blinkers confuse a human doctrine with a revealed dogma.

(To be concluded)
The dress of the people...

Costumes, whether they are for occasions or for daily wear vary all over the world. Climatic conditions, natural materials available, religious demands and individual ingenuity are some of the factors that determine the dress of a people.

Many varied costumes are worn in India but different costumes need different qualities of cloth. The Mafatlal Group of Mills manufactures a wide range of cloth for everyday use in all parts of the country.

Women from different parts of the country wear the saree in their own special way. The pretty Maharashtrian women of Western India for instance, wear a nine yard saree, like a dhoti, taken between the legs and tucked in at the back.

MAFATLAL GROUP OF MILLS

MAFATLAL'S other interests include Sugar and Dyestuffs

MAFATLAL HOUSE, BACKBAY RECLAMATION, BOMBAY I.

CLOTH FOR THE NATION

Edited by Rohit Dave and Published by G. G. Parikh, at National House, Tulloch Road, Bombay 1, and Printed by him for the Praja Socialist Party at the Mouj Printing Bureau, Khatau Wadi, Girgaon Bombay 4.
Red Perverse Attitude

The refusal of the Communist bloc in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti to agree to condemn Chinese incursions across India's northern borders as "acts of aggression" till they were finally forced to do so under pressure from other constituents of the Samiti highlights the true character of this party in unmistakable terms. And if the report regarding Shri Dange's low estimation of India's capacity to resist aggression from China is correct, it further underlines the attitude which the Communist Party is likely to adopt in case the relations between India and China deteriorate. Full publicity needs to be given to the Communist Party's stand on this issue as it exposes its real character. The need for all Indians to understand the implications of the Communist thinking cannot be overstressed.

There is nothing new in the Communist stand on this issue. It is the declared policy of the Communist Party of India not to enter into public debate with any Communist Party in the world, whatever be the consequences of this policy for the country whose citizens they claim to be. To them, the interests of World Communism and Communist Party any where far outweigh any interest of India, however precious that may be. Because the Chinese Communist Government has declared that the McMahon Line is not acceptable to China, the Communist Party of India has "advised" the Government of India to keep an open mind on the subject and to remember that this Line was the heritage of the past. It is difficult to appreciate on what grounds the Chinese Government proposes to define this Line or for that matter on what grounds the suzerainty over Tibet was claimed by them except on their own heritage from the reactionary past as they themselves describe their history before the advent of the Communist rule.

But such logic does not appeal to our revolutionary Reds who are well-versed in dialectics which under their interpretation transforms the Communist black into white and Indian white into black. It is, therefore, not difficult for them to declare brazen-facedly that Communist China can never commit aggression. By implication, therefore, any claim that China may make on Indian territory should be ipso facto declared as just and any attempt by India to dispute the Chinese claim should be characterised as expansionism and war-mongering. Considerations of Truth cannot have much importance for people who have such a perverse view of affairs which vitally affect the interests of our motherland.

It is the sacred duty of all the democratic forces in the country to expose this dangerous propaganda of the Communist Party and to warn the people against it. The citizens of India will fight as one man to resist any attempt to violate the integrity of our territory and will not tolerate any attempt by any group in India to confuse the public mind on such vital issues.
CRISIS BREWING IN C.P.I.

The Executive Committee of the National General Council of the Communist Party of India recently met at Calcutta and adopted a resolution which as the Prime Minister Nehru has rightly pointed out is ‘an extraordinary resolution for any organisation, even for the Communist Party, to pass in India.’ This resolution has precipitated a grave crisis in the Communist Party of India.

‘Link’, a weekly News Magazine published from New Delhi is known for its authenticity of news about the Communist Party since ‘Link’ is a strong-link between the Communists and their fellow-travellers. This news magazine has published the following report about the proceedings of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the National General Council in its issue of 2nd October:

The resolution adopted at the extended meeting of the National Executive of the Communist Party of India at Calcutta last week on the Sino-Indian border dispute is considered a “stop-gap” arrangement by the dominant section of the Party’s leadership. The second-rank leadership is pressing for a firm declaration of support to the MacMahon line and is likely to gain its point at the meeting of the 101-member General Council in the first week of November.

Majority View

Even at the Calcutta meeting, the majority of those present (a substantial section of the members of the Executive and almost all the State Secretaries who were there by invitation but had no voting rights), with trade union boss Shri S. A. Dange, Kerala leader Shri M. N. Govindan Nair and Secretariat member, Dr. Z. A. Ahmed acting as their spokesmen, wanted a categorical declaration by the party that the MacMahon line formed the historical, and also natural and geographical boundary between India and China and should constitute the basis for negotiations between the two countries, and that any violation of the line would be resisted by the Indian people. Secretariat member Shri B. T. Ranadive had submitted a note on these lines.

Shri S. A. Dange in his two-hour speech criticised the secretariat for its “meaningless” statement (‘Link,’ Sept. 20), castigated the weekly ‘New Age’ for deleting from his Lok Sabha speech statements supporting the MacMahon line, lashed out at Bengal Communists for their “childish” behaviour, and urged the Party to behave in a “responsible manner”. He was supported by all State secretaries, particularly Shri K. S. Shukla (U.P.), Shri Yogendra Sharma (Bihar), Shri Khandekar (M.P.), Shri H. K. Vyas (Rajasthan), Shri Sanzgiri (Maharashtra).

The diehard section led by internationalist Shri P. C. Joshi, West Bengal leader Jyoti Basu and Apdhra Party bureaucrat Basavapunia, characterised the MacMahon line as an imperialist creation, said that those who were by it suffered from “Bourgeois nationalism” and dubbed one of the Secretariat Members a “Nehru agent” for advocating the majority line.

General Secretary Ajoy Ghosh, fresh from Moscow, expressed his agreement with the majority view but pleaded for a “cautious” approach. His speech showed that he was afraid of the consequences of adopting either of the clear-cut lines advocated by the two sections—in case Shri Joshi’s “internationalist” line was adopted the party, besides giving encouragement to ‘Great Nation’ chauvinist trends in the international Communist movement (by succumbing to the Chinese pressure), would also cut itself off from the notional sentiment and pave the way for reactionary forces to come to the top in the country; in case the Dange-Ahmed line was taken the party would be faced with an offensive from the Chinese Communists of the type the Yugoslavs had been facing for two years, with the difference that the Indian Party might be split.

Samiti Resolution

The crisis revealed by the above report from ‘Link’ is likely to be aggravated by the recent resolution on Chinese Aggression passed by the Parliamentary Board of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti of which the Communist Party is an important constituent. The Calcutta resolution of the C.P.I. refused to accept the MacMahon Line. The resolution refrained from characterising, the Chinese activity on the border as aggression. Contrary to this line, under heavy pressure from the constituents of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and faced with the danger of total isolation in Maharashtra the representatives of the Communist Party ultimately agreed to support the resolution of the Samiti which says:

“The Samiti firmly holds that the MacMahon Line provides the natural boundary line of our long drawn frontiers and should be accepted as a basis for delimitation of the exact realignment whether it has not been clearly defined so far.

The Samiti emphatically declares its unflinching adherence to the Government of India and to Prime Minister Nehru in their efforts at peaceful settlement of the dispute. The Samiti also stands behind the Prime Minister and the Government of India in defence of the honour and territorial integrity against aggression or coercion.”

The support given to the above resolution by the representatives of the Communist Party on the Samiti has brought about a straight clash between the Central Executive of the C.P.I. and the Maharashtra branch of the Party. It is to be seen how the crisis is resolved. Whether the dissidents would succeed in changing the All-India line of the Communist Party or whether they would face disciplinary action is the question which time alone can reply.

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**Communist Canker In Samiti**

The communists must quit the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti if it was to function as a democratic opposition to the Congress in the proposed new Maharashtra State, declared Shri S. M. Joshi, General Secretary of the Samiti, presiding over a mass meeting under the auspices of the Bombay Praja Socialist Party in Bombay on October 1. The Samiti had all along stood for democratic socialism and its demand for Samyukta Maharashtra was for the creation of a constituent unit of the Indian Union. Their loyalty to the nation must have precedence over everything else, he stated.

The Samiti Secretary said that he always believed that multiplicity of parties in India was detrimental to the successful functioning of democracy in the country. He, therefore, wished that the Samiti should continue even after Maharashtra was formed. But that pre-supposed that all the constituents of the Samiti were national in their outlook and believed in democracy.

He stated that the policy of the Communist Party of India, as adumbrated in the Calcutta resolution of its Central Executive on Chinese aggression across India's northern border, had revealed once again its anti-national character. That Party had adopted the policy to subserve the interests of international Communism, he remarked.

Shri Joshi condemned as "high treason" the Communist Party's campaign against officers of the Indian defence forces, including the Chief of Staff of the Indian Army, and said that the Communist campaign was calculated to sow seeds of discord in the ranks of the defence forces and undermine the people's faith in the integrity of the officers and men of the armed forces. If it was tolerated, it might pave the way for a civil war in India, Shri Joshi warned.

**Statement**

In a statement issued on the occasion, Shri Joshi said that ever since the formation of the Samiti, he had declined to speak from a party platform. It was "a self-imposed ordinance". As he was the General Secretary of a multi-party united front, he did not want to participate in Party activities. But on account of the "anti-national" policy of the Samiti's important constituent, the Communist Party, that organisation could not express its opinion on the Chinese aggression, as it had been the policy of the Samiti to express views on issues only when there was unanimity among the constituents on them. But on an issue which involved the security of the nation, neither he nor the Samiti could keep silent.

Following is from Shri Joshi's statement:

> Ever since I accepted the responsibility of the office of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, I scrupulously avoided addressing any meetings from my Party platform. Being the General Secretary of the Samiti, I accepted this self-denying ordinance. I do not know whether others agree with me and I have found that some colleagues holding important offices in the Samiti have not imposed this restriction on themselves. Whatever that may be, I still believe that such office-holders have to work for the greatest common measure of agreement between the different constituents of the Samiti. The party interest sometimes may not coincide with the interests of the Samiti. This does not mean that one has then to sacrifice the principles for which his party stands. For example, I have never compromised and shall never comprise on the basic principles for which the PSP stands.

In spite of this, I have agreed to preside over today's meeting held under the auspices of the PSP. This decision I have taken after careful consideration of the situation. I find today that, in the Samiti, an agreement on a very vital and crucial issue of national importance has become impossible. From several quarters, enquiries are made as to why the Samiti is keeping mum over the issue of Chinese aggression. Criticism even from the Press is mounting. It is openly propagandised in the Samiti that the policy of the Communist Party, that organisation which has adopted the policy of the Central Executive is, to say the least, anti-national and dictated from outside.

Apart from this policy, I am very much distressed and perturbed over the propaganda against the Chief of Army Staff and some of his colleagues whose names are not mentioned. It is openly propagandised in the Communist and pro-Communist Press that the Chief of the Army Staff, Gen. Thimayya, is a stooge of Western capitalists and this his resignation was a part of a strategy of the reactionaries. This propaganda amounts to high treason insofar as it is sowing seeds of disruption in the Army and consequential civil war. As far as I am concerned, I would like to condemn this with all the strength that I could command.

There are people who ask me as to the future of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti. As an ardent democrat, under the constitution that we have, I do believe that a strong Opposition to the ruling party...
is in the nature of built-in-strength for a democratic system. But it is so only if the Opposition is democratic. The Samiti cannot claim to be a democratic Opposition so long as one of its important constituents is indulging in anti-national activities and carrying on propaganda that is likely to cause disruption in the Army.

**Failure to Learn**

The Communist Party of India has come out in its true colours once again. They opposed the national movement in 1930, abused and condemned our national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Netaji Bose and Jayaprakashji as agents of imperialism in the freedom movement of 1942. They worked in alliance with the foreign Government to smash the freedom movement of the people of India. During the last few years, it was hoped that the Communists might learn from the mistakes and would become a national party in the real sense of the term. But on the Chinese aggression issue they have once again betrayed themselves as agents of a foreign power, defending China and criticising our national policy.

If the Samiti is to thrive as a really effective democratic Opposition, it could not do so without the Communists as one of the important constituents. I am not one of those who would plead for the outlawing of the Communist Party. I would only appeal to all democratic and national forces to work hard and make the ignorant people conscious, so that the Communists are isolated in a democratic manner from the main current of our national life. If the Samiti is not functioning effectively, it is for this reason and all those who want it to become a democratic Opposition, must give thought to the issues that I have stated. As the General Secretary of the Samiti, I say with confidence that no anti-national and disruptive elements will be tolerated to use to goodwill of the Samiti for their nefarious ends.

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**Indian Students In London**

**by Surendra Mohan**

The small group of Indian socialist youth, composed mainly of students, once again displayed its keen awareness of political events at home when, on September 5, it organised a meeting to condemn Chinese aggression on the Indian border.

It demanded the Indian Government should safeguard her territorial integrity by all possible means. This meeting, and a demonstration organised by the Indian students on September 7, expressed the anxiety that the Indians in England felt for India. The Indian Socialist Group has always been in the vanguard of Indian students' activities.

The Group was organised in 1948 to create a forum of self-help for the Indian students living here and coming from home. It also sought to propagate socialist ideals among them. And, in doing so, it became, quite naturally, an effective outpost and embassy of the Indian Socialist movement and the Praja Socialist Party.

**Some Activities**

These three aspects of the Group's activities can be evidenced from the slightest contact with it. In cooperation with the Labour Party, British, Asian and Overseas Socialist Fellowship (an association of Labour Party workers and socialists from overseas), the ISG was instrumental in establishing three hostels for students and young tourists. The hostels provide residence to people of all nationalities and races and are managed by the active workers of the ISG, in cooperation with the Labour movement. In this tremendous achievement, the Labour Party and its workers have been of invaluable assistance. The hostels are named after Harold Laski, Sane Guruji and Yusuf Meherally.

These hostels have in a way also become the fulcrum of the political activity of the Group, the International Union of Socialist Youth and the National Association of Labour Student Organisations. The Group holds its meetings, discusses problems of socialist interest and on occasions of importance, organises public functions. During the Goa struggle, the Group was always active; and its protest march drew attention from several responsible quarters. It has kept many young men politically active and helped them attain a broad vision. At least a dozen of its old members are now active in the PSP at home. Thanks to contact with the group, many Indian students in London have developed an interest in socialist thought.

**Labour Party Link**

The Group is indirectly affiliated to the Labour Party and helps the Party during elections and on other occasions. It helps reason hundreds of Indian voters. Its affiliation to the International Union of Socialist Youth has been extremely valuable to the Socialists in India and abroad. While it would have been very difficult for an Indian comrade to go from here to attend IUSY meetings, the existence of the Group made it possible for the Indian socialist point of view to be adequately represented in these meetings and seminars. Thus, a very valuable contact was formed and retained between the International Socialist youth movement and the Indian Socialist movement. The Indian socialist point of view obtained an excellent vehicle of publicity through the Indian Socialist Group.

In the end, a short reference to those efforts built this Group may not be out of place. The names of comrades Nath Pai and Ram Pande deserve outstanding mention. And, if the present organisers, Ness Bhathena, who is the General Secretary and the three wardens, Govind Walawalkar, V. R. Kuppuswami and Dinanath Prasad, I can only speak with some partiality. But, it is a much larger group of comrades who have co-operated not in organising meetings alone, but in scrubbing the floors also, which deserves whatever credit one may like to give to the Group. Yet, one would be guilty of a grave omission if a reference were not made in this context, to the guiding interest evinced by British Labourites like Donald Chesworth, Ian Campbell and John Clark who have helped the Group in growing into a movement and establishing its own institutions, the three useful youth hostels.
At the third annual conference of the Congress Socialist Party, which met at Faizpur on December 23 and 24, 1936, a resolution embodying the Party's Strategy of Anti-Imperialist Struggle was adopted.

The resolution said:

The present thesis is an extension of the Meerut Thesis adopted by the Conference of the (Congress Socialist) Party at its last session. While it reiterates the earlier thesis, it seeks to incorporate the experiences of the past year and to take into account the development of the anti-imperialist movement that has taken place in the intervening period.

United National Front

The chief task facing us and all other anti-imperialists is the creation of a powerful national front against imperialism. This is not a task that has to be begun anew. The struggle against imperialism is on and has been on for many years past. It has now to be widened, integrated and raised to a higher stage of intensity.

While the working class and the peasantry had led and is leading today important militant struggles against imperialism, the main organised expression of the anti-imperialist movement has been the Indian National Congress. But as is evident it has not yet become an adequately consistent and effective anti-imperialist force. It does not yet embrace the broadest possible sector of the masses, whether organised or unorganised, and still stands aloof from their day-to-day struggle for the satisfaction of their pressing immediate needs.

It is the task of all anti-imperialists in the country to bring together and unite all anti-imperialist sectors and to build up a mighty front against imperialism, including the broadest possible sector of the masses. It is clear that in our attempt to do so it is the Congress that we must take as the basis and starting point, and we must attempt to make it an all-embracing united front against imperialism. The Congress has already succeeded to a large extent in uniting wide forces of the Indian people for the national struggle and remains today the principal existing mass organisation of diverse elements seeking national liberation. It is for us now to find means to assist and extend that unity to a still wider front. This task, though being a single whole, can be divided for the purpose of elucidation into three main parts: our work within the Congress; our work among the masses outside the Congress; the task of integrating the anti-imperialist struggle outside and inside the Congress and consolidating the leadership of the anti-imperialist and Left forces.

This thesis is mainly concerned with the elaboration of this triple task.

Work Within the Congress

The Congress is organized at present on the basis of individual membership. Its members come mainly from the peasantry and the middle class. Most of these members do not take any active part in the anti-imperialist movement, and simply meet once a year to elect their delegates and representatives. The Congress Committees too do not have any day-to-day programme of work. They have usually no contacts with the organizations of peasants and workers and do not take any appreciable part in their day-to-day struggles. The only contact they could have had with the masses, apart from the fact that it has not calculated to develop mass struggle, was through the "constructive programme". But this programme too is not in the hands of the Congress Committee but of autonomous associations like the A.I.S.A., A.I.V.I.A., etc. The form of open struggle—disobedience of specific laws—that the Congress has so far used does not give the masses wide scope for participation. It is not in fact a form of mass struggle which can only develop out of the day-to-day struggle against exploitation and oppression.

The reason for this is that while the Congress is a mass organization, its leadership is predominantly bourgeois. This leadership is unable to develop within the framework of its conceptions and interests the struggle of the mass to a higher level. But it should be kept in view that the Congress leadership is no longer undivided. Recently, a conscious Left has been forming within the Congress and this development is reflecting itself in the leadership also in which a sharp division is taking place. But as yet the Left is largely ineffective and the effective leadership is in the hands of the Right. This should not be understood to mean that the class composition of the Right is itself bourgeois. A part of it is undoubtedly so. But on the whole it is petty-bourgeois, under dominance of bourgeois interests and bound by the limitations of the Indian bourgeoisie.

This analysis of the character of the Congress defines our task within it. In the words of the Meerut Thesis it is to "mean the anti-imperialist elements in the Congress away from its present bourgeois leadership and to bring them under the influence of revolutionary socialism". The present thesis must further elucidate this.

The Meerut Thesis conceives of the task in too narrow a manner. Our task within the Congress is not only to wean away the anti-imperialist elements from the bourgeois leadership but so to develop and broaden the Congress as to transform it into a powerful anti-imperialist front. The problem is not only one of change of leadership. It requires a complete reorganization of the Congress—a building up of the Congress from the bottom upwards. As it has already been pointed out, this cannot be done by confining our activities to the Congress alone. Here, however, let us see what we have to do within the Congress. Taking the organizational aspect first, we should work for the democratization of its constitution so as to give more initiative to the primary members and Committees and should endeavour to enlarge the membership and extend the organizations of the Congress further and make them active and alive. We should further try to bring the masses into the Congress by securing their representation in the Committees of the latter. Till this is done we should build up a close link between such organizations and Congress Committees for the purpose of joint work.

Alternative Programme

As for the programme of the Congress, we should so shape it that it comes actively to develop the struggle
of the masses taking their immediate demands as its basis. The formation of peasants' and workers' unions and active support to the struggle conducted by them should be kept in the forefront of this programme. In all other possible ways also, working on the principles laid down above, we should endeavour to provide Congress Committees with a programme of day-to-day work among the masses.

We should endeavour to rally the rank and file of the Congress workers around this alternative programme. The political backwardness of the rank and file is due to their lack of contact with the economic struggle of the masses. Propaganda alone will not radicalise them. They must be drawn into the peasant and labour movements so that they may realise that our programme is a more dynamic one and will raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a higher pitch.

The Meerut Thesis declared that we have to bring the anti-imperialist movement under the leadership of revolutionary socialism. It is necessary to further elucidate this. The anti-imperialist struggle in India is a multi-class struggle of the peasantry, working class and middle class. The working class in India, though organizationally weak and politically not sufficiently conscious of its role, is nonetheless potentially the most revolutionary class. But the struggle of the Indian masses for freedom will not reach its objective unless the working class is in the vanguard of that struggle. Therefore, it is our task as Socialists to see that it assumes its historic role in the national movement. The leadership of revolutionary socialism can mean nothing else.

Work Outside the Congress

The anti-imperialist struggle cannot be separated from the day-to-day struggle of the masses. The development of the latter is the basis for a successful fight against imperialism. Therefore, our foremost task outside the Congress is to develop independent organizations of the peasants and workers, and of other exploited sections of the people.

Besides these class organizations we would also attempt to organise the youth of the country so as to mobilise the most active elements of the lower middle class.

We should not be content with the formation of these separate organizations. We should try to harness them in the anti-imperialist front. These organizations while functioning independently and carrying on their own programme should be linked up with the Congress Committees and there should be joint action as often as possible. This should ultimately lead, as already pointed out, to the masses mobilised in these organisations entering the Congress through collective representation. Thus will the Congress become a wide national front against imperialism. This transformation is bound to change the entire structure and leadership of the Congress which will be composed of the strongly welded alliance of the various anti-imperialist classes, organized and unorganized.

Consolidation of Socialist Forces

In the conditions of India, the conscious leadership of the anti-imperialist movement falls on the Socialist forces. These forces are unfortunately still divided. The Party from the beginning has stood for unity in the Socialist ranks.

It is of the utmost importance that in the Congress the mass movement outside, in all spheres of anti-imperialist activity, a united lead is given. If Socialists speak with a divided voice there will be utter confusion and it will only retard the national struggle.

Till such unity is arrived at, the minimum that is necessary is agreement on the immediate tasks and line of action. On the basis of this agreement the various socialist groups should work together till the time we are in a position to form a united party.

Apart from unity or agreement among Socialist ranks, it is necessary that the forces of the Left are also consolidated and an understanding developed within the leadership. The Party should continue its efforts in this direction.

Organization of Party

Our Party has generally grown in the last year. In certain provinces there has been a set-back, and the growth has not been uniform everywhere. While there are parties with a membership of hundreds, certain other parties, also quite active, have not enlarged their organization beyond a few scores of members. It is obvious that the line of development and the scope of organization have not clearly been laid down. Without prejudice to the Marxist basis of our Party, it is necessary to enlarge the membership of the Party so as to include a wider section of Congress workers and conscious elements active in the labour, peasant and other movements.
**Chinese Challenge Calls For Greater National Endeavour**

It is obvious China is exerting pressure on India and that pressure is likely to be maintained, and probably increased. The implications of these developments have to be studied from various aspects. I would like to confine my attention, on this occasion, only to one of them: economic.

China's economic advance has been faster than that of India's. While absolute figures are important, it is necessary to note that China's population is 50 per cent larger than India's and perhaps the rate of increase there is also higher (2 to 2.2 per cent a year) than in India (1.4 to 1.7 per cent). Per capita comparisons, therefore, may not be as disadvantageous to India as absolute figures. But in terms of defence potentials, the absolute figures have greater relevance.

In order to gain perspective, it would be useful to extend the comparison over a period of years; due to lack of data the recent years, however, may have to be excluded. This fact of steady acceleration in China's advance is vital, whatever one may think of the claims and climb-downs on the "Great Leap Forward".

**Production Figures**

In 1952, the per capita agricultural production was about 15 per cent higher in China than in India. In non-agricultural production India had an advantage of 10 per cent per person. Between 1952 and 1958, the gross national production increased in India by 20.3 per cent; in China by 73.2 per cent. At the beginning (i.e., in 1950), the average level of household consumption was 10 to 15 per cent lower than in India.

The gross investment ratios were close to the same level in 1950; thereafter they increased about three times as fast in China. Thanks to the greater expansion in China, the real level of gross investment in 1957-58 was about five times what it was in 1950; in India it was about twice. As a result, in spite of the higher rate of investment, levels of living in China forged ahead of India.

Production of foodgrains increased between 1951-58 in India from 56 million tons to 72.5 million tons; in China from 193.2 to 225 million tons. In cotton, the increases in the same period in the two countries were from 500,000 to 825,000 tons, and from 1,014,300 to 2,500,000 tons, respectively. Aggregate industrial production increased between 1952 and 1958 by 37 per cent in India and 188 per cent in China. In steel, cement, textiles and electric power, China that was behind India in 1950, had forged far ahead. In coal and fertilisers, China maintained and then increased its lead.

**Industrialisation**

In site of the increase in agricultural production, the share of agriculture in China's national income has gone down, that is, China has become relatively industrialised. Over the entire period 1950-58, China allocated at least 40 per cent of the expansion of the gross output to investment; in India the parallel figure of marginal propensity to save was 20 per cent.

Prof. Wilfred Malenbaum, who has recently made a study of the problem, asks the question as to what explains the underlying contrast in performance and sets out the answer as follows:

**Ratio between gross investment and the increase in gross production**

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<td>1950-57</td>
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<td>Pre-First Plan</td>
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<td>Post-First Plan</td>
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For the period as a whole, China seems to have generated a unit of gross-income flows with a little more than the gross investment that was applied in India. For the period as a whole, 55 per cent of the difference in the rate of growth in the two countries can be attributed to the greater efficiency with which the Chinese apply investment; 45 per cent is attributable to the more rapid rate of expansion in investment.

Chinese investment is not just ample, but it is more efficient—as a study of the sectoral capital co-efficient shows. The Chinese have undertaken because of their organisational effectiveness; that is our Achilles heel.

The Chinese have concentrated more on physical production than on services. While we allocate between 46 to 49 per cent of gross investment to transport, communications, social services, etc., China's pattern keeps that percentage between 28 and 37. But in training of key personnel, China is ahead of India: it is training up nearly twice the number of engineers and one and half times the doctors per million persons in the population compared to India.

**Government Revenue**

The Government absorbs nearly 25 per cent of the national income in China as against less than 10 per cent in India. In India the tax burden for agriculture is roughly 20 per cent of all taxes; in China it is three times that. The public sector enterprises are a source of considerable income in China. The Government of India, currently responsible for nearly 40 per cent of total investment in the country, is heavily dependent on outside, non-governmental sources of investment finance than is the Government in China, which is responsible for more than 80 per cent of total investment in that country.

The recent developments require us to assess the above figures. The margin in economic strength and industrial weight between India and China is increasing from year to year. Not only the absolute figures are increasing disproportionately, but also the per capita figures. Such a development, in the changing context, constitutes a threat not only to the security of India but to her democratic fabric.

Against China's determination, India has been trusting and easy-going. We can continue like that only at our peril.

The threat to our frontiers need not lead to the emergence of a war psychosis. There, Prime Minister Nehru is unerringly correct.
RE-THINKING SOCIALISM-II

If Socialism, restricted to a period and a society, means an assessment of this society and the will to transform it, it thereby expresses a conception of present man and of what it hopes to see him become. It is, therefore, at least as much as a political doctrine, ethics in action. In my view this is the first characteristic which is common to all aspects of Socialism.

Secondly, Socialism rests on observation and, therefore, utilises many of the sciences: economics and econometrics, sociology, history, psychology, even technology, etc. In fact, without these how can one interpret facts correctly, deduce from them the laws that, in a given civilisation, constitute a coherent body of doctrine?

Uniform Ethical Basis

Thus, behind the diversity of conclusions, there are uniform moral principles and common methods of observations. This is what, after a century, remains substantially of Marx's analyses. Often I have been asked: "Are you cordial or are you not, a Marxist?" I have always replied that I am neither for nor against Marxism, just as I am neither for nor against algebra. Both are not ends in themselves but means of solving problems which otherwise would remain unsolved or require much too much time to be resolved.

But to show only the "scientific" aspect of Socialism has always appeared to me as a misreading of the limits of science. Science, like the computer with its perforated cards or the electronic machine, answers the questions we put to it or defines possibilities of action, means of solving problems. But, like those machines, it is incapable of choosing among the questions to be asked and, even more so, among the paths it traces to apply different solutions.

It is here that centenary Marxist thought, fossilised by its disciples, seems to differ most sharply from that of many contemporary Socialists. Many of the latter, in fact, deny the possibility of defining a "trend of history" to which we have but to rally. It is not true—life shows this—that there exists an inevitability of evolution of society which is unrelentingly imposed on it by its "economic substructure", by the system of ownership of the means of production. That this influence the political superstructure is quite obvious: the situation of a people is not the same when all the industries are under common ownership or when they belong to shareholders; when they are harmoniously developed and provide everybody with normal work or when their insufficiency leave the majority of a rural or nomadic population under-nourished.

by
Jules Moch

Deviations of History

Yet it appears to me that to deduce from this influence of economics on politics a strict determinism in the transformation of society is to put logic to absurdity. History may at any moment deviate; a society may develop either in the former direction, or in reverse, when it does not remain fixed in the status quo. Examples abound on both sides of the Iron Curtain: renunciation, at least provisionally, of the cult of the personality, partial independence of the kolkhoz farmers as regards their plots, the 1956 French Constitution compared with the series of former ones, are but a few examples of reversals of this kind.

Even supposing a single new State were scientifically possible at a given time, the fact that it is new does not mean that it is better. It is our duty to choose, to avoid "conforming" to what is new as much as to the status quo.

In the end, history is at least partly what man makes it; it is not dictated by a "metaphysical fate". I can imagine the cursing of die-hard Marxists on reading these lines. But is there one amongst them who could maintain that Italy from 1920 until the war, Germany and the world from 1933 to 1945, America in 1932, France in 1958, the USSR before and after 1953 did not see their destinies changed by Mussolini, Hitler, Roosevelt, de Gaulle, Stalin and Khruschev? Who could maintain that the New Deal would have seen the light of day if the out-going President Hoover had been re-elected instead of Roosevelt; that this economic revolution was inevitably germinating, even without the Democrats' victory; that the Fourth Republic would most likely have perished if de Gaulle, eighteen years earlier, had not been able to save the honour of France in London?

Of course, our analysis of society and our will to transform it cannot result from an a priori doctrine that expresses an "absolute truth" common to all times and all countries. Of course, this analysis and this will are not independent of all pre-existing doctrines, of all previous conceptions of the social, just or useful. To judge is to compare. To wish to transform is to attempt to achieve a state of affairs that is considered preferable to the status quo.

Here we must avoid two perils. The one is that we deny the need to proceed from the previous doctrinal basis and allow old data to remain implicit instead of siting and criticising them as our analysis proceeds. The other danger is that, having elucidated these data, we attribute to them an absolute value, make them intangible, protect them against all criticism. The former leads either to confusion by opportunists between a doctrine and an immediate programme or electoral propaganda, or to the building by neophytes of a "Socialism for individual use" which ignores everything that remains valid from the teachings of the past.

Method of Analysis

A sound method for the work of our Study Group seems the following: first formulate and analyse the whole of the concrete data and abstract ideas that constitute the "former doctrine", the legacy of the past, the basic conceptions provisionally assumed to be necessary; then compare constantly all this with experience; clarify it and criticise it at each stage of thought; correct it or even revise it completely when the analysis demands it, always ready to retract your steps all the way or part of the way.

It is a lengthy and difficult method. For we must not only sift out the data of experience but evaluate them with the will to change their future development. Knowledging, analysing, enumerating, classi-
flying, is relatively easy. But evaluating and deciding to change the course of events presupposes, over and above the knowledge that is necessary for simple observation, the ascertainment of factors unsuspected at the beginning. Our study then turns to the human aspect of the problems. Unexpected consequences appear; decisions that at first seemed imperative become unacceptable. Furthermore, frequently we do not find the solution which is wholly suitable. We are faced with the choice between different possibilities, each offering advantages and disadvantages; a deeper insight might alter the relative weight of one and another.

**Metaphysical Change**

For a living doctrine has some of the characteristics of political science in which there is never an absolute. Only metaphysics place all that is good on one side and all that is bad on the other: modern Socialism could only be metaphysical by disowning itself.

A critical study of society therefore is concerned simultaneously with the values of knowledge and with moral values. Psychology, particularly mass psychology, has its place here as much as economic science.

The reactions of the individual no doubt count for little as a general rule. It is a question of large masses of human beings. Their behaviour can be measured by statistics which establish, between their actions and their reactions, connections that are just as rigid as the laws of physics.

There is, however, an essential difference between the behaviour of a mass of human beings and that of, say, liquids formed in molecules: the latter are all interchangeable, whereas the former are not. We cannot neglect the action of certain individuals in the mass of human beings, of those who influence or lead their fellow-men, of those who dispose of that new weapon, scientifically designed propaganda, which is sometimes pushed to "brainwashing" from birth to death. After the lessons of Hitler, the Russians and the Chinese, not to mention "psychological warfare", we cannot underestimate the influence of these weapons.

**Doctrine & Programme**

Understood in this manner, to bring up-to-date our doctrine becomes a need everywhere. Even the most traditionalist of the old Socialist parties feel this need. Those of Federal Germany and Austria have just published the results too much so, perhaps—from their of their remaining, far removed—Marxism of old. Similar work is under way in Belgium.

The Communist League of Yugoslavia has worked out an original and voluminous body of theoretical thought based on its most recent experiences, that is extremely instructive, although some of its points seem to me to be rather tinged with Utopia. The British Labour Party has renovated its programme which, however, it distinguishes inadequately from a doctrine.

Yet this distinction, in my opinion, is essential. In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about the three tasks of our Party: studies for immediate application, the elaboration of a short-term programme and the drawing up of a doctrine.

The first is the task of the National Study Commission which Gaziér has animated for a long time and whose many specialized sections have provided parliamentarians with very useful documentation. This task must be pursued all the more energetically since the Party has gone over to the Opposition. From these various sections must come the counter-proposals to the governmental texts.

A very different task is that of the Study Group on Doctrine which is to work out the philosophical, moral and technical foundations of Socialism.

And we must not confuse doctrine and programme either. A doctrine is an edifice, not permanent admitted, but lasting; a programme outlines a series of immediate or short-term demands. The latter takes account of the contingencies of the moment; the former is not tied to such momentary needs. We must be loyal to the doctrine, but deduce from it programmes adapted to the circumstances. A party without a doctrine sinks into opportunism: a party without a programme turns into a chapel. Two different parties can conclude a pact for united action if they reach agreement on a short-term programme. They will not achieve organic unity unless not only their programmes, but also their doctrines are identical. The role of the recently founded Study Group on Doctrine is thus clearly defined in relation to the Party's other study groups.

**Earlier Group**

May I finally recall an antecedent: twenty-five years ago, with a few friends I founded another study centre that we called the Union of Socialist Technicians. It was a great success. Its aim was neither to rethink our doctrine—this need had not then been felt—nor to work out an immediate programme; it was to draw up a hypothesis: "What would a Socialist government do today?" The idea had been launched at a big meeting under the chairmanship of Leon Blum during which a number of speakers had outlined how hypothetically they would run a ministry. This was in 1934.

The Union of Socialist Technicians began its work. It had first-rate comrades in its midst, some of whom today hold very high positions in the fields of administration, finance or industry. We worked out and turned over to Leon Blum a whole series of proposals, some of which, when he had revised and amended them, became those Bills which his Government, two years later, presented in great bursts to the 1936 Chamber of Deputies: the question of nationalisation of the Bank of France and of the armaments factories, collective agreements, the 40-hour week, paid holidays, were considered. None of us knew whether this work would prove of use, nor when, but a great deal of preparatory work was thus achieved, and our efforts were not in vain.

May the efforts of our present Study Group on Doctrine likewise prepare the doctrinal renaissance of French Socialism.

(Continued)

(Continued from page 7)

is, however, difficult to understand is why he does not want to develop a defence psychology in the country. The threat can, and needs be used to achieve national cohesion and spur national endeavour.

Confronted by aggressive foot-treads along our traditional ramparts, the nation would be willing to bear additional sacrifices. As Mr. Rostow recently showed in his brilliant articles in The Economist, a country is able to achieve "take-off" easily in the context of a threat to national security. Perhaps China's aggressiveness is a necessary dimen-
sion of its “Great Leap Forward”. By tuning up India’s will, our Third Plan can find favourable taxiing ground for the “take-off”.

China’s preparations proceed fast. China would like to trade in time for a while to gain space later. Talking while preparing can help China. Talking, while relaxing, can prove fatal to India.

We need a new determination in many directions of life. In economic endeavour, the Chinese lessons have to be learnt. Not only our investment effort has to be on a bigger scale than before—a larger Plan—but we need to improve strikingly our efficiency, our mode and tempo of work. And here the nation awaits for a new standard from the Government itself.

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CHINA'S SOUTHWARD PUSH

WHEN the sub-continent of India was part of the British empire, no very serious attention was ever paid to the Himalayan frontier. "The Frontier" always meant the north-western border beyond the Indus, across which had come all the great historic overland invasions of India from Darius to the Moguls. Here there were passes giving relatively easy access from Iran and Central Asia to the Indo-Gangetic plain. But the huge range of the Himalayas, extending from Kashmir to the northern tip of Burma, seemed to provide a perfect natural frontier which was also a virtually impassable barrier against invasion, and in any case the neighbour beyond the watershed of the mountains was only the pacific monk-ruled country of Tibet, which could not be a cause of alarm to anyone. Tibet had been, certainly, since 1720 a part of the Chinese empire, but China had been in decline during the later part of the nineteenth century and was further weakened by civil wars after the fall of the monarchy in 1911; the authority of Peking in Tibet, which had been only shadowy from about 1850 onward, disappeared altogether in 1912, when the Tibetans rebelled and drove out the small Chinese garrisons stationed in the country.

According to the version of history now officially adopted by China, British policy was directed towards disrupting the Chinese empire and separating the Tibetans from their Chinese "motherland". In fact, however, the military expedition to Tibet in 1904, which is supposed to have been the outcome of this policy, was ultimately due to the refusal of the Tibetans to carry out a trade agreement concluded by Britain with the government of China; whatever may be thought of the British action in coercing Tibet, it was not for the purpose of terminating Chinese rule there, but to enforce a treaty with China on a people whom China could not control.

The Simla Conference

The British government had no desire to extend British administration beyond the Himalayas, nor did it care whether Tibet was independent or subject to China as long as there was a definite political authority with which to deal in any disputes that might arise. When, therefore, the Tibetans themselves threw off the Chinese yoke in 1912, Britain endeavoured to clarify the situation on the northern borders of India by inviting Chinese and Tibetan representatives to Simla and trying to negotiate a tritartite agreement on jurisdictions. The British formula, designed to placate China while recognising the fact of Tibetan independence, was that the region known as Outer Tibet, including Lhasa, should be an autonomous state under "suzerainty" of China, while Inner Tibet, to the east of it, should remain under Chinese administration, but with ecclesiastical rights reserved to the Dalai Lama. At the same time the British proposed that the frontier of India with Tibet to the north of Assam—which had never previously been defined—should follow what has since been known as the McMahon Line, from the name of the British representative who drafted it. On the basis of these proposals a treaty was concluded and initialed in July 1914; Britain and Tibet subsequently ratified it and accepted it as binding, but the Chinese government repudiated its representative at the Simla conference and refused to ratify.

The absence of Chinese consent made no difference at the time, because the Chinese had meanwhile been driven out, not only from Outer Tibet, but from most of Inner Tibet as well, so that the only de facto authority to the north of the McMahon Line was Tibetan, and there were no Chinese anywhere near it. Moreover, it was in any case hardly a frontier in the ordinary sense, for the forest-club slopes and foothills on the southern side of the Himalayas to the east of Bhutan were occupied by primitive tribes, who had always hitherto been independent in their mountain homes; they formed a buffer zone between Assam and Tibet, and only the requirements of modern political geography and international law, which do not recognize mere tribal areas as "sovereign", compelled the government of Delhi to seek a definition of the international boundary. To the end of the period of British rule in India there was no trouble over the McMahon Line; the Tibetans accepted it, and the Chinese were in no position to do anything about it. But by clinging to the formula of Tibetan autonomy under Chinese 'suzerainty' instead of according to Tibet a de jure recognition of sovereignty corresponding to its de facto independence, Britain left the Chinese with a legal case for reopening the question of the McMahon Line if ever they should succeed in reimposing their rule in Tibet. If Tibet had been recognized as an independent state and admitted to the United Nations, the Chinese invasion of 1951 would have been a clear act of aggression; as it was, the Indian government under Shri Nehru, inheriting the British diplomatic position on Tibet, was constrained to admit the Tibet a part of China and that Indian frontiers with Tibet were frontiers of China.

Indian Concern

In spite of its desire to maintain friendly relations with China, the Indian government several years ago began to show concern at the circulation in China of maps showing an area of more than 20,000 square miles south of the McMahon Line as Chinese territory. To Indian protests the Chinese Communist government at first made the excuse that these maps had been printed under the Kuomintang regime and that there had not been time to change them. As time passed, however, and no corrections were made, it became clear that Peking was holding its territorial claims in reserve to be put forward at a convenient moment. An opportunity was finally created after the campaign against the Khamba rebels in the region north of the McMahon Line had led to the concentration of strong formations of Chinese troops near the frontier, while Indian political reactions to the brutal suppression by the Chinese of Tibetan national resistance to their rule had caused a sharp deterioration in Indian-Chinese relations. Chinese troops crossed the McMahon Line at
established by custom and usage. Informed of what was going on; it seems more likely that the intense desire of Shri Nehru and his Defence Minister, Shri Krishna Menon, to preserve friendship with China caused them to turn a blind eye to a Chinese encroachment into a wild mountainous area of sight of the Indian public; Shri Nehru declared and concealment became impossible when Indian troops were attacked, as at Longju.

The challenge to the boundary of Ladakh was of indefinite scope, and to judge from speeches made by Chinese officials in Lhasa, was a preliminary to a claim to the whole of Ladakh as a part of Tibet. This irredentist doctrine claims as belonging to the “Chinese motherland” not only Tibet in the narrow sense, but all the areas to the west and south inhabited by people of Tibetan stock professing Lamaist Buddhism—that is to say, Ladakh, the Tibetan-inhabited parts of Nepal, and the two Himalayan states of Sikkim and Bhutan.

Ladakh, formerly a detached Tibetan kingdom, was conquered by the Dogras of Kashmir in the nineteenth century, and now belongs to India by virtue of the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union. Nepal is today internationally recognized as a sovereign state, but it would certainly receive Indian support in any frontier dispute with China. India is responsible by treaty for the defence of Sikkim, and during the recent crisis declared that it would also protect Bhutan against external aggression, though no formal defence agreement as yet exists.

National Chauvinism

It remains to ask why the Chinese have been so recklessly antagonising Indian national sentiment by these claims and encroachments. The main reason is undoubtedly that the Chinese Communists base their power on national chauvinism as much as on their social doctrine, and it is especially necessary for them to beat the patriotic drum when the Chinese people are feeling the strain of the party’s economic policies. The reconquest of Tibet was for the Chinese the recovery of a portion of “China” lost through imperialist intrigues; it involves also the revision of frontiers to which China has never given its formal consent. In view of Tibetan turbulence, moreover, it is necessary to round off the reconquest of Tibet by incorporating as far as possible all ethnically Tibetan areas which can be foci of continuing national resistance. It all this means a quarrel with India, Peking does not greatly care, for in Chinese Communist eyes the Indians have already been guilty of impertinent behaviour by criticizing Chinese actions in Tibet, and it is doubtful considered that they are militarily incapable of an effective defence of their northern frontiers—at least as long as their main strategic dispositions are directed against Pakistan. A measure of restraint, however, appears to have been imposed on China by the refusal of the Soviet Union to support an anti-Indian policy, and the Chinese, without renouncing their far-reaching claims, may refrain for the time being from further military action in the frontier areas. The initial Chinese demands are now on record as a basis for diplomatic pressure.
The Rural People

A NEW drive for decentralising the administration was launched on October 2, with a view to giving a chance to the people of India to shape their own destinies with the help of local resources over the disposal of which they have a greater control. This approach is a departure from the community development approach where the officials were mainly responsible for determining the needs of the area under their charge and the people were asked to co-operate with the officials in fulfilling these needs. Frictions arose between the people and the officials, regarding the priorities; people wanting the schemes that would bring immediate economic results and the officials looking forward to the long-term needs. The result was frustration all round. Some attempts were made to distinguish between felt needs and desirable needs and to find ways and means to turn desirable needs into felt needs. All this, however, did not prove of any avail. It is good that the Government has at least decided to try a fresh approach whereby the responsibility is thrown entirely on the shoulders of the people themselves.

This approach has also its own difficulties, though it is certainly superior to the one attempted so far. These difficulties mainly arise from the stratification of rural population based mainly on land holdings. Because of feudal relationships existing till now in these areas the land-holders have a very strategic position in these communities. Administration in rural areas is also manned by people from this strata or persons depending on this strata. With the powers now conferred on Panchayats and co-operatives, if these are manned by the people coming from the richer strata, there are dangers of further exploitation of the rural people. These dangers have to be guarded against. The best way to do so is to watch the situation carefully and to apply correctives when the situation arises. The people with a genuine desire to serve the rural areas can also be of much help provided they approach problems in all humility and do not seek directly or indirectly to impose their own views and values on unwilling people.

The real salvation of the rural people ultimately lies with themselves. As long as they do not develop a democratic spirit, become conscious of their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society they will have to depend on some one to safeguard their interests. To educate the common man in democratic spirit and to make him imbibe democratic values is thus the chief task before social reformers in these areas. Shri Nehru's suggestion that the people of rural areas should establish a school, a service co-operative and a panchayat in each village would go a long way in ushering in a truly democratic set up in these areas. Rural education has to be devised with a view to making villages self-reliant and self-confident zealous of their
democratic rights and conscious of their responsibilities as citizens of India. If such an education is strengthened by developing democratic institutions in the country-side, a revolution in the life of the rural people would be achieved and peace and prosperity of the nation as a whole will be strengthened.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The L. I. C. Report

The annual accounts of the Life Insurance Corporation of India for the year 1958 just released show a considerable progress achieved during the year. There has been an increase of 20.4 per cent in the proposed business and 21.7 per cent in the completed business during the year under review. The premium increase for the year amounted to Rs. 73.08 crores. The business is expanding steadily under the nationalised life insurance bedevilling the expectations of those who believed that the public sector will not be able to manage life insurance with any degree of success. The rate of interest realised on mean life insurance fund after deduction of tax at source and taking into account the refund of income tax is likely to approach the rate last year though in the account the rate is stated to be 3.52 per cent per annum as against 3.74 per cent per annum during the previous accounting period, this fall being accounted for by the considerable sum of refund of tax relating to the year which has not yet been received.

With the steady expansion of life insurance business new responsibilities accrue to the Corporation which it will have to discharge in a manner whereby not only the interests of the policy holders but also the interests of the Corporation as a whole are adequately safeguarded and furthered. The last curtain has been rung down on the Mundhra deal and the time has now come for the Corporation and the Government to frame a comprehensive policy of investment that would serve the objectives of sound investment by a Corporation working in the public sector.

Here enumeration of objectives for this purpose would not be enough. Priorities will have to be fixed among these objectives. The Third Plan is going to make maximum demand on the internal resources of the country and the Life Insurance Corporation will have to play a leading role in the mobilisation and proper channelising of these resources.

The Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation threw some light both on the programme of future expansion as well as on the channels in which the Corporation proposed to invest its funds. Thus he disclosed at a press conference in New Delhi that the pilot scheme of Janata policies introduced some time ago was being reviewed with a view to cutting down the expense rates and also bringing down the rate at which this class of policy lapsed. The Corporation is also following an aggressive policy regarding the foreign business competing with a fair degree of sources of success with other firms in foreign countries.

All these are healthy signs and bespeaks well of the Management of the Corporation. The public would, however, expect the Corporation to break new grounds both regarding the programme for attracting more business and the new avenues of investment. The Corporation is now old enough and has gathered sufficient experience to think more creatively and to show way to the other insurance firms still in the private houses. Then alone can the nationalisation of life insurance be fully justified.

The British General Election

In spite of the attempts of some of the Russian commentators to interpret the results of the British General Election as the triumph of the foreign policy pursued by the Conservative Party in recent months the indications are that the main considerations before the British voters were regarding the internal economic policies presented to them by the Conservative Party and the Labour Party respectively. We have thus a valuable case study of the behaviour of a community under the spell of full employment and rising prosperity. It is significant that at least 40 per cent of the working class have voted Conservative. It was the Labour Government in 1945 that initiated welfare measures which ensured rapid economic rehabilitation, rising employment and bridging of the gap of income disparities. These measures were so successful that even the Tory Government had to continue them and a doctrine of New Capitalism was developed. It seems the British public is satisfied with these experiments and does not want any radical change thereon.

But it would not be proper to interpret this as a vote against socialism. It would be more correct to say that because even the Tories are forced to accept some of the principles of socialism that they have succeeded in retaining and increasing their majority in three successive General Elections. It is very significant that the Labour programme of still further industrial expansion was not rejected as being doctrinaire but was rejected as being impracticable. These results also show that if the Government is able to deliver goods and ensure continuous rise in production and national income equitably distributed the average citizen does not grudge paying the bill necessary for this advancement. The Labour Party's attack on the Purchase Tax on necessities does not seem to have made much impression on the British citizen enjoying a high degree of prosperity.

Some attempts are made to draw lessons from the British General Elections for the Indian policy makers. This is not legitimate. The conditions in India and in the United Kingdom differ materially. While we are not able to find employment for the new entrants to the labour market year by year, in Great Britain there is full employment. While income gaps are still not bridged in India and according to some indications are actually widening, the fruits of prosperity in Great Britain are more evenly distributed and even those in the lowest income group are the inheritors of this prosperity. Till these conditions are reached in India it is necessary for the State to actually participate in the economic development and placing all the key sectors strictly under the regulation and control of the State as represented by the various agencies down to the lowest level of village panchayats and co-operative
THE majority group in the anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFFFL) is led by the Socialist Party of Burma. Even after the split in the AFFFL last year, we could have stayed in the Government if only we had been willing to accept certain compromises. But we were concerned to bring about a clear political decision rather than hold on to government office. To compromise would have meant yielding to the Communists, with consequences that might have been fatal. We reject any political deals with the Burmese Communists, even for a limited period. U Nu and the minority which separated from us have favoured such deals.

Sudden Support of the Communists

It is true that for many years U Nu as head of the Government supported a policy of fighting the Communist rebels. Why then this sudden support of the Communists? U Nu saw that his influence in the AFFFL was dwindling. This organisation was developing from a national resistance movement into a political force. After ten years of national freedom movement into a political force. After ten years of national independence this was inevitable, and indeed we see the same kind of development in virtually every other part of South-East Asia. In the course of this development there had to be eventually a parting of the ways, in other words, ideological clarification became necessary. In order to retain power U Nu asked the Communist rebels, whom we had been fighting in a prolonged and bitter war, to participate in our democracy with equal rights. This was the real cause of the split in the AFFFL.

While 80 of the 120 AFFFL Members of Parliament remained on our side, 40 went with U Nu. Unfortunately, we were not quite strong enough in Parliament to prevail against the front U Nu had formed with the Communists and the so-called Independents who sided with them.

* Former Deputy Prime Minister, Executive Member of the Burmese Socialist Party, Chairman of the Anti-Colonial Bureau of the Asian Socialist Conference.

The manoeuvres of U Nu, who was wooing the Communists and the "Independents", led to unrest in the rebels. Thus, in the end U Nu was forced to cede power to the army in order to prevent armed revolt and upheaval. The six-month limit first set for the military regime had subsequently to be extended to twelve months in order to safeguard security and public order in the country. This was done with the agreement of Parliament. Elections will be held in March 1960 unless unforeseen incidents occur. After the elections it is envisaged that Burma will return to normal democratic parliamentary conditions.

These statements were made in an interview in Bonn by the leader of the Asian Socialist Delegation to the Hamburg Congress of the Socialist International, who visited other parts of West Germany after the Congress.

In our opinion the election result is not in doubt. The people realise now that U Nu is co-operating with the Communists who not only have kept the country in a state of unrest and hampered economic progress, but who have made it impossible for the people in the northern parts of our country to live in peace and even compelled many thousands of them to become refugees. After these experiences, the Burmese people will not fall for any Communist solution. Our group, which calls itself the "stable" as against U Nu's "pure" AFFFL, reckons with an election victory and a mandate to form the next government.

Land Nationalisation

What, then, is our programme? We intend to proceed with land nationalisation. So far, owing to the rebels' activities and lack of tools and machines, we have been able to extend this process over only half of the country. Each farmer, under our programme, will have his own piece of land which may be passed on to his heirs but must not be sold. The state retains the control over this land. The Burmese people accept this principle which they consider to be in accordance with the Buddhist doctrine which says that the land, like the air, should not be anybody's private property but should only be entrusted to those who work it. Owners whose land is taken over by the State—only those with more than 20 hectare are affected—will receive compensation amounting to twelve times their annual tax.

At the same time we shall continue to democratise our society, to decentralise power for the benefit of the regions. The central government's main function will then be to link and to encourage the smaller democratically governed regions.

Increased industrialisation and social improvements, especially as regards the public health services which we introduced several years ago, also belong to our programme.

As regards our relations with China, they are good despite some frontier incidents in which there was even some shooting. These frontier disputes have not yet been settled. It is a complicated matter since our frontier with China is 1,000 miles long and goes largely across jungle. For this very reason we are trying to improve our relations with China, which does not rule out our firm rejection of the Chinese Communist system. This rejection, however, will not prevent the establishment of friendly contacts between our two countries. Our firm attitude towards Communism will make it clear to our great neighbour that we are not willing to submit to China's will.

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SOCIALISM AND NATIONAL STRUGGLE

[Resolutions adopted at the Third Annual Conference of the All India Congress Socialist Party at Falspur on December 23, 24, 25 1936]

WAR RESISTANCE

This Conference emphasizes that the struggle of the Indian people for independence is a part of the basis and world-wide conflict of the two mighty forces. On one side are the forces of exploitation and enslavement, barbarian and oppression—the forces of imperialism and Fascism. On the other are the millions of the colonial peoples, the working masses of the Imperialist States and the free peoples of the Workers' Fatherland—the forces of National Liberation, Social Revolution and Socialist Democracy.

This Conference declares the solidarity of the Indian people with the enslaved of the world, whether of the colonies or of the so-called "Sovereign" States and with the free peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Faced by the rising tide of working-class and national forces and unable to solve its contradictions, Imperialism is taking shelter in Fascism and is launching an armed offensive against the forces of Progress and Democracy.

This offensive is responsible today in Spain for an open Civil War in which the neighbouring Fascist Powers are shamelessly and in contravention of International Law, aiding the reactionary forces against the Government freely elected by the people of Spain.

The jealousies and antagonisms between rival imperialisms and the desire to destroy the only Workers' State are heading the nations towards another World War, which is brought nearer by the feverish military preparations of the Powers.

India must inevitably be dragged into such a war in order to serve British Imperial interests.

This Conference welcomes the decision of the Lucknow Session of the Congress against the participation of India in such a War and appeals to the Congress to prepare the people for the crisis and in particular to issue the call to refuse to volunteer or serve in the War, to make financial contributions or to subscribe to war loans.

This Conference feels that the Indian people must now prepare for this crisis with a view to utilise it for securing their freedom and striking a blow for peace and progress.

2. BOYCOTT OF CORONATION

The Conference having noted the proposal to bring the new King of England on a visit to this country in the course of the coming year and to crown him on Indian soil is of the opinion that such a proposal is designed to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism over the people of this country by stimulating a misguided sentiment of "loyalty" among them, by rallying the reactionary and anti-national forces in the country and by attempting to bolster up the tottering prestige of the foreign bureaucracy.

The Conference pledge as it is to Complete Independence involving separation from the British Empire and in order to foil this Imperialist design, should it be persisted in appeals to the Nation to boycott the Coronation and all other functions connected with the King's visit and urges upon the Congress to issue the call for such a boycott.

3. GENERAL STRIKE

In order to demonstrate effectively the will of the Indian people to resist the imposition of the unwanted Constitution and as an earnest of their determination to launch a powerful mass movement for its destruction, the Conference issues a call for a nationwide-hartal or general strike on the day on which the Constitution is to be inaugurated and urges upon the Congress and other organizations of workers and peasants to take the lead in the matter and make the hartal effective.

4. SOCIALISM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

In view of the fact that considerable confusion exists in the country on the question of the relation of the struggle for the National Independence and Socialism, this Conference declares that though the immediate objective of the mass struggle in India is the achievement of complete National Independence and the capture of the power to the masses, the servile role of Indian Big Business, the chronic crisis of capitalism, the desire to destroy the only Workers' State are heading the nations towards another World War and increasing pauperization of the people and the role that the workers, peasants and middle classes of India must for these reasons play in the struggle for national emancipation are bound to give the national revolution a socialist orientation.

It is the opinion of this Conference, therefore, that any attempt to drive a hard and fast demarcation between the National and the Socialist revolutions in India is wrong in principle and misleading and that the spread of Socialist consciousness and organization among the masses not only does not weaken the movement for genuine national independence but strengthen it and is therefore one of the basic tasks of our Party.

5. Constitution and Elections

This Conference reaffirms unequivocal opposition of the Congress Socialist Party to the new Constitution and its determination to work for the wrecking of that Constitution. This Conference asserts that no Constitution will be acceptable to the people except one framed by the Constituent Assembly freely elected by them by adult franchise. This Conference declares that revolutionary parliamentarianism is an integral part of the struggle for national freedom. For opposition to Imperialism on the parliamentary front to be effective, it must be backed up by mass action.

The Conference while welcoming the robust and militant tone of the Congress Election Manifesto and pledging its whole-hearted support to the Congress in the election campaign feels that the Manifesto should voice more completely the immediate economic needs and demands of the peasants, workers and other exploited sections of the people.

The Conference further feels that the Manifesto should contain a categorical declaration that Congressmen elected to the Legislatures will in no circumstances accept ministerial offices or otherwise take or share responsibility in carrying on the foreign administration
in this country and the repression and exploitation of the people which the system necessitates. It therefore appeals to the Congress at its Faizpur Session to amend the Manifesto on these lines.

The Conference deplores the action of the Congress Parliamentary Committee to several provinces in refusing the candidatures of some Socialists, Radicals and Trade Union and peasant workers and in adopting others not noted for active work or sacrifice in the National Movement.

This Conference is of opinion that these Congress Parliamentary Committees have in some cases violated the spirit of the Congress Election Manifesto by such nominations.

This Conference is of opinion, that the Election Campaign provides an opportunity to approach large
masses of people and feels that the members of the Party should utilise it by taking active part in the Election campaign in support of the Congress candidates and at the same time expressing their point of view and explaining to the electorate the effectiveness of revolutionary parliamentary tactics. The Congress Committees should, wherever possible form local joint campaign committees with organizations of peasants and workers.

The Conference appeals to the people to vote for Congress candidates and return them in overwhelming majorities so as to enable them to give effect to the declared object of the Congress to end the unwanted constitution.

ON THE P.S.P. FRONT

Present Discontent In Mysore

THE Karnataka Provincial Praja Socialist Party met in Bangalore on September 26 and 27 last. The conference passed a number of resolutions on the problems affecting the people, in particular of Mysore State.

The following are the resolutions, which were approved unanimously, after discussion from various angles:

Anatomy of Present Discontent

This Provincial Conference of the Mysore Praja Socialist Party views with a sense of alarm and grief the developing crises through which the people of Mysore are passing in various spheres, political, economic, educational and—not excluding—psychological and cultural fields. There have been recurring crises of distress or frustration in the past but they were all of specific nature, mostly isolated and confined to particular fields and not all-pervading in their effects. But the present crisis is a universal one and multidimensional in its character and its impact on the very existence of the common people is beyond all description. This can truly be characterised as “a crisis in living”.

This crisis has been rendered all the more poignant by the fact that it was not the outcome of any natural catastrophe as that it was the result of gross misrule and misapplication of socio-economic tenets. The standards of administration in the State have touched the lowest level and the enormous power given to the officials under the new legislation, statutory rules and regulations, has only tended to extend and deepen their misgovernment. People who are described as the sole masters in our democracy are now helpless before official tyranny. No work is or can be done for the people without some mode of bribery to the officials or without pressure from some influential quarters.

Since sometime past, the food and fuel problem in the State has assumed serious proportions. The food-grain prices have touched a new high persisting in their tendency to pave further upward. Thousands of common men and women are in a state of acute distress without any capacity to pay such high prices or without any hope of adequate supply. All the attempts of the Government so far made to solve this great crisis have only proved to be an experiment in failure.

The employment situation in the State has also taken a serious turn. Schemes or projects which have large employment potential are not undertaken. Even some of the existing industries are closed for want of Government help or for want of timely decision, causing thereby unemployment to many labourers. The condition of the educated unemployed is far deplorable and the Government of the State is paying little attention to their problem.

In the educational field, besides increasing cost of education for the children, their prospects for getting admission to the educational institutions are becoming very dim and black. Pressure groups and communal cells have been formed, corruption and bribery as well as nepotism have increased, and a state of chance is ruling in the matter of providing seats for our boys and girls. The Government of the State seems to have no ideas of the exact educational requirements of the people, which can be had only by proper appraisal, and by evolving a plan at least for a decade or two.

Congress Nepotism

It is unfortunate that the developmental activities of the State are not carried on with a view to achieve results, but with a view largely to consolidate and sustain the ruling party men in power and to provide means of livelihood to the members belonging to the Congress Party. Boards and Committees set up for various purposes at State, district, taluk and Block Development levels are manned by the members of the Congress Party or their henchmen. Permits, contracts, licences and official aid and loans are given to people to benefit individual Congressmen. Even the Co-operative field is vitiated by undesirable political influences.

It is regrettable that the judiciary in the State is not allowed to function independently, its judgments and decisions are not respected by the executive. The transfer, recruitment and service conditions of the Judges are all controlled by the executive and the independence of the judiciary only in name. Besides, the law and order machinery is employed to harass and brow-beat to Opposition parties.

The unique factor in the present situation is that we are greatly misgoverned for more than a decade; and the present crisis is the direct result of this misgovernment. The disease has become so chronic that soft remedies will not be able to save the situation or bring relief to the masses. Therefore this Conference calls upon the people of Mysore State to free themselves from thraldom of the smug complacency and inertia and render all help to the Praja Socialist Party in its task to achieve the end of the present misrule.

Further it is resolved that the Party Executive shall collect matter and frame a charge-sheet against the Government and if after three months of the presentation of the charge-sheet the Government does not set right things, the Party shall launch a mass movement.

FOOD CRISIS

This Conference of the Praja Socialist Party views with grave concern the alarming rise in food-grain prices since some time past, causing thereby enormous suffering to the middle and toiling classes. It is unfortunate that the State Government does not know its own mind in regard to the foodgrain policy. Otherwise, the contradictions in the policy cannot possibly be explained.
It is our view that any food policy, if it is to succeed at all, should be based on the three cardinal tenets, viz. increased production, rational procurement, and effective distribution at fair prices. Each is complementary to the other. Mere holding of a buffer stock and opening of a few fair prices depots will not solve the problem; and fixation of prices is meaningless if other factors are not taken into consideration.

The present policy of the Government has failed because agriculture has received only a subordinate position in their scheme. Production is not appreciably increased though there is scope for it, and the present production is not rationally marketed and distributed. The land reform which is one of the most important means through which agriculture can be put on a scientific basis is deliberately delayed or is allowed to undergo distortion.

**Steps Expedient**

The conference is of the view that Mysore State need not remain deficit in the matter of food, but can be made self-sufficient well in time if measures are taken in military thoroughness. Speedy land reform, effective utilisation of available power and water resources, and their expansion cultivation of all fallow arable land, adoption of improved techniques of agriculture on a large scale, and encouragement of co-operative farming and marketing are some of the measures which have to be undertaken with zeal and in all seriousness. Besides, food and agriculture should not be made the individual responsibility of only a Minister, but of the entire Cabinet.

With a view to relieving the present distress, the Conference calls upon the Government to subsidise the sale of foodgrains, to remove all taxes on the sale and movement of foodgrains within the State, to start community kitchens in labour areas to cater cheap food for the people, to remove bottle-necks in the inter-district transit of foodgrains and to start a large network of food depots all over the State. Further the Conference calls upon the Government to set up an All-Party Food Council immediately with a member of the Opposition as its chairman to render advise to the Ministry from time to time.

If steps are not taken in this direction well in time, the Praja Socialist Party will have no other alternative except to call on the people of the State to launch direct struggle against the Government to realise its objective.

This Conference resolves that famine conditions prevailing in Chitaldroog, Bellary and Bijapur districts, especially in the taluks of Molakalmur, Chakkare, Hiriyur and Chitaldooorga are serious and urges the Government to take immediate relief measures.

This Conference is of the opinion that as Kannada, the language of the people in the State, has developed well during the last few years, it will be improper to employ English still as the language of the Government Departments. Therefore it urges upon the Government to accept and adopt Kannada as the official language for all the Departments in future.

**CHINA'S AGGRESSION**

This Conference of the Praja Socialist Party of Mysore State takes this opportunity to warn our people against the danger to our territorial integrity and national sovereignty of India from aggressive imperialist China in the north and asks them to be prepared to answer the call of our motherland to defend her legitimate interests in any grave emergency.

It wishes to express its regret for the failure of the Government of India in not taking Parliament and the people into its confidence in the past although there had been attacks on the Indian border by Chinese troops.

Further, this Conference strongly condemns the anti-national policy of the Indian Communists in this matter and their betrayal of the motherland.

It is equally regrettable that, when imperialist China is still overlooking a few border pockets of our territory in the north and north-eastern Himalayan region, and when she has included a few portions of our territory in her maps and persists in claiming them, the Government of India has never ceased to champion the cause of this aggressor in the United Nations Assembly. At the present juncture, attitude of the Government of India cannot be said to be an act of nobility but can only be described as an act of imbecility. Therefore, this Conference calls upon the Government of India to state categorically that China is an aggressor, and also calls upon her to stop her good offices at the U.N. on the behalf of China till China withdraws from her present expansionist move against India.

**TIBET ISSUE IN UNITED NATIONS**

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party deplores the non-participation of Indian delegation on the question of inscribing the Tibetan issue on the agenda of the United Nations. The resolution sponsored by Ireland and Malaya raises the question of violation of human rights in Tibet on which surely no civilised nation would abstain. The Executive regrets to point out non-participation by the Indian delegation. It does not represent the opinion of the Indian Nation. The Executive is surprised at the argument advanced by the leader of the Indian delegation that discussion of Tibet would mean involvement in the cold war. The Executive would like to point out that Tibetan people are victims of a shooting war, and our own country faces aggression from China. Though the Executive has always supported admission of People's China in UNO, in its opinion its absence cannot be pleaded as an excuse for dropping the Tibetan issue. The negative stand taken by the Indian delegation runs counter to the policy adopted by the Government of India on the issue of the violation of human rights in South Africa and elsewhere. If the safeguarding of human rights anywhere, particularly affecting the personality of a small nation, is subordinated to claims of diplomacy and power politics, civilisation will be a casualty.

The deplorable attitude of the Government has brought wavering in the ranks of Asian nations and weakened the cause of the Tibetan people who have received massive sympathy from the peoples of Asia.

The Executive hopes that the Indian delegation will be instructed to support the resolution when it comes up before the U.N. General Assembly.

(Resolution adopted at the meeting of the National Executive of the P.S.P. in Bombay on 13-10-1959).
Civic Programme Of P.S.P.
In Uttar Pradesh

A 25-point programme for civic amenities was released recently by the Praja Socialist Party of U.P., which said that the corporations "should mainly devote themselves to health, nursery and primary education, sanitation, lighting arrangements, water supply, proper housing arrangements and general cultural uplift of the people". The programme was released in the form of an election manifesto for the Lucknow corporation elections.

It said: "The PSP is conscious of certain special problems of each city. They cannot be incorporated in this manifesto. The party assures citizens that local problems will be solved in consonance with popular sentiment."

The following are the points from the manifesto:

**Health**: Priority for drainage and general sanitation; modern scientific latrines and urinals to be constructed in sufficient numbers to check general insanitation; public bathrooms, specially for lower income group to be constructed. Special arrangements for women, demolition of slums and construction of cheap and healthy houses in their place; a small dispensary in every ward as soon as possible. Medicines will be distributed through mobile hospitals till these dispensaries are built. The convalescents of TB, jaundice and other such diseases to be rehabilitated in centres for the purpose; maternity centres in sufficient number; effective check on adulteration of foodstuffs; and free ambulance services to take patients to hospitals without delay.

**Education**: Efforts to be made for healthy growth of poor children through nursery education and other measures; standard of primary education to be raised; better school buildings, more comfortable sitting arrangements and other facilities to be provided so that children may get education in more pleasant atmosphere. Primary education to be free and compulsory; better pay-scales for teachers; training in crafts to be encouraged; arrangements for social morality and democratic citizenship; at least one reading room and one cultural centre to be established in every ward. These centres to be provided with cheap radio sets and other healthy recreation facilities.

**Light**: Municipalisation of private electric companies in four cities of Agra, Allahabad, Varanasi and Lucknow to be demanded and transfer of KESA to Kanpur Corporation will also be demanded. This will provide cheap electric supply to the consumer and will add to the finances of the concerned corporations; arrangements to be made for electrifying dark streets.

**Other Facilities**: Gradual night shelters scheme for homeless labourers to be introduced; lower income group municipal employees to be given help for the construction of cheap houses; in every ward at least one children park to be established. Gymnasiums for young boys and men to be constructed.

**Taxation and Sources of Income**: Houses with rental value of Rs. 15 per month to be immune from house tax; houses without water taps to be free from water tax; demand to be made with the Government to condone all debts that have been incurred due to maladministration of the bureaucratic regime; bus services under municipal limits should be handed over to the corporation so that its income may be utilised for introducing greater civic amenities; the State Government to be pressed to divert all income from entertainment tax, one-fourth of the sales tax and a portion of petrol and motor tax to the municipalities.

**Vital Role**

Releasing the manifesto Shri Udit Narayan Sharma, Chairman, UP Praja Socialist Party, said: "As the primary institution of democratic administration the local bodies have to play a very vital role in the political life of our country. Given proper scope for free functioning, these nurseries of civic life may educate people for shouldering responsibilities of a democratic life. Only from here the people can learn to exercise their rights and discharge their duties."

Shri Sharma added: "It is true that complicated political problems are not dealt with by local bodies and contested on major political issues. We, as a party of democracy and socialism enter into these elections with moderate but solemn promises as such the present corporation eles to serve the people."

**Calcutta Socialists to Celebrate the Silver Jubilee**

1934 is a memorable year in the history of the Socialist Movement in India. During the last 25 years, the movement has grown extensively, has made Socialism a national aspiration and has embraced different streams of national struggle in its onward march.

The struggle for Socialism is by no means over. Each advance made by the socialist forces has been followed by fresh attempts on the part of the vested interests and the propertied classes to consolidate their forces for the preservation of the capitalist order.

The Praja Socialist Party has taken the initiative in celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the Socialist Movement in India. In Calcutta, a committee has been formed for the purpose with Shri Phani Das as Convenor with its office at C/11, College Street Market, Calcutta-12. We request all parties and individuals to make the efforts of the Committee a success.

**Programme**

A. (i) Symposium on Socialist Movement.
   (ii) Exhibition.
   (iii) Cultural function.
   (iv) Public Meeting.
B. Collection of Funds for Flood Relief.

* Function will be held by the last week of October.

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Discipline Code For Political Parties

The Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh recently met at Pathankot in the presence of Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

The Sangh has approached all political parties in the country to agree amongst themselves upon a code of democratic behaviour in order to check the growing spirit of violence and lawlessness in the country.

The Sangh shares, "The Sarva Seva Sangh shares the anxiety that is widely felt about the growing spirit of violence and lawlessness in the country. While the Sangh believes that the basic approach to the problem of violence in human society is to attack the roots of violence as the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement is trying to do. It feels at the same time that even immediate causes that contribute to public disorder should be attempted to be remedied.

"There are many reasons for the present situation in the country, but the Sangh hopes that it will be agreed that the conflict between political parties and the partisan heat and tension that are created have contributed to it in no small measure.

"Under Acharya Vinoba Bhave's inspiration and guidance the Sangh has been placing before the country the twin programmes of Shanti Sena and Sarvodaya Patra to deal with situations of civil disturbance. But in the case of the disturbance that is generated by the conflict of political parties, the Sangh feels strongly that the parties themselves can contribute a great deal if they agree amongst themselves upon a code of democratic behaviour.

Programme

"In this belief the Sangh feels that the following should be the minimum to which the parties ought to agree:

1. Political parties shall not use violent techniques to achieve their objectives.

2. If any person or group belonging to a political party indulges in violence, the party concerned shall condemn the action and restrain its own members.

3. The Government shall try its best to avoid recourse to firing by the police or military in connection with public agitations. If on any occasion the Government is compelled to resort to firing, a judicial inquiry should be ordered as a matter of course.

4. Political parties shall not set up candidates in the elections to village panchayats and co-operatives, and shall restrain their members from making personal or partisan use of them.

5. Political parties shall not exploit educational institutions for furthering their political objectives.

6. Political parties shall not exploit students for agitational and partisan ends or divide the student community into partisan organizations.

7. In view of certain recent political developments the parties should also come to an understanding regarding the limits to the forms and methods of public agitation consistent with the basic principles of democracy."

Executive Members

The Sangh's newly elected President, Shri Vallabhbhswamy, announced the following names as of the Executive Committee of the Sangh for 1959-60:


Shanti-Sena Mandal

At a meeting of the general body of the Sangh, Acharya Vinoba Bhave announced the setting up of an All-India Shanti-Sena Mandal consisting of the following members:


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The foundations of the democratic socialist movement were laid with the formation of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934 as an integral part of the progressive nationalist movement. Nurtured by the sacrifice of thousands of young and old, the movement soon gathered momentum. Its organisational expression changed from time to time; born with the nomenclature of the Congress Socialist Party, it grew into the Socialist Party and later, in its final stage of organisational evolution as a broad-based party of democracy and socialism, into the Praja Socialist Party. It had many vicissitudes during its process of growth, but the mainstream of the socialist movement in the country remained unbroken.

The Praja Socialist Party has zealously preserved the rich nationalist heritage of the socialist movement. A doughty champion of the workers and peasants, the party has been in the vanguard of every struggle for an improvement in their lot. A constructive critic of State policies, the party has been in the thick of agitation against attempted inroads into the constitutional liberty of the people, against repression and exploitation of the masses, against party and governmental tyranny and for the assertion of individual freedom and political liberty. Simultaneously, it has striven to fight totalitarian trends, from the right as well as the extreme left, by educating the people to be forewarned against the dangers from both. It has asserted itself in every sphere of public welfare, particularly on the food front, by exposing the weaknesses of official policies through constitutional channels. The role played by the PSP in the movement for the liberation of the Portuguese possessions, its unequivocal stand on the issue of States reorganisation, its uncompromising attitude against Chinese invasion of Tibet and more recently, against the Chinese intrusions into India’s northern borders—these symbolise the nationalist aspirations of the party.

Politically the most advanced, ever willing to shed doctrinaire politics and assimilate the new ideas in social, economic and political thinking; intellectually the most rich, with some of the best thinkers of the country at its service; and democratically the most broad-based, the Praja Socialist Party today is a vital force in the country’s politics. In the 25 years the socialist movement has grown vastly, has made socialism a national ideology and permeated its ideas and vision through the political fabric of the country.

The socialist movement today has great opportunities. At the same time the interests affected by the march of socialist forces are rallying together to challenge the manifest destiny of our people. Such a concatenation of circumstances demands unity, drive and organisational effort. The filling up of these disiderata is the summon of history.

The Praja Socialist Party will hold its National Conference in Bombay from November 5 to 9, 1959 to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Democratic Socialist Movement in India.

‘Yusuf Meherally Nagar’

The conference will be held in a specious pandal erected on the George High School ground at Dadar (Central Railway). The venue will be named after Yusuf Meherally in memory of late Yusuf Meherally, the first socialist Mayor of Bombay and a valiant fighter of the freedom movement.

Delegates and Member Visitors

The number of delegates for the Silver Jubilee Conference is 1,365 representing 2,72,558 primary members of the PSP enrolled during this year. The Conference will be attended by about 3,000 member-visitors from different parts of the country.

Distinguished Socialist Leaders from Abroad

Distinguished Socialist leaders like Albert Carthy, General Secretary of the Socialist International, U. Kyaw Neyin, former Deputy Prime Minister of Burma, U Hla Aung, Secretary of the Asian Socialist Conference, Moshe Shertett, former Prime Minister of Israel and representatives of the Socialist Movement of Yugoslavia, Italy, Nepal, Japan, Canada, Malaya are expected to attend the Conference.

A colourful exhibition depicting pictorially the development of the Democratic Socialist Movement in India in the past 25 years will be organized at the venue of the Conference.

On 8th November 1959 a massive procession will be organised from the Conference pandal culminating in a big mass rally at Shivaji Park.

The artists of the Rashtra Seval Dal and other cultural organisations will stage a cultural programme on 7th November 1959.

The Party will publish a Souvenir on the occasion of the Conference containing contributions from eminent socialist thinkers. It will also contain brief history and development of the Party since 1934.

A brisk preparation of the Silver Jubilee Conference under the guidance of the Preparatory Committee with Shri M. Harris as its Chairman, are going on.

Gauhati Parade

THE Gauhati Praja Socialist Party organised a demonstration some time back at Gauhati to draw the attention of the Government and the State Legislature to the hardship of the people. They urged cheaper food, timely flood relief, speedy land reforms and adequate employment.

The procession was twice prevented by the police from reaching the Assembly Building from different routes. Finally, Shri Harishwar Goswami, State PSP Chairman, and others addressed the processionists and the assembled people explaining the purpose of the rally. Speakers on the occasion also criticised the State Government’s “disciplinary” measures against its 5,000 employees.

Later, a deputation of the processionists waited on the Chief Minister, Shri Chalhias and submitted to him a detailed memorandum on the people's grievances.
The proof of the pudding...

We discuss with you, the doctor and the nutritionist some points that may have occurred to you about DALDA Vanaspati.

YOU: ... so when my wife suggested DALDA for sukhi sabzi, I said: 'Surely it's good for fried things only?' I thought it was probably the economy of DALDA that was weighing with her; or perhaps she was passing on a neighbour's notion. But she said, 'Why shouldn't we use it for all our cooking? Everybody seems to be doing it.' Now this was news to me.

WE: Why? With every year that goes by, more and more people are cooking with DALDA. They begin by using it for frying, as you do. But gradually they see no reason why it shouldn't be used for a wide range of dishes.

YOU: But is DALDA really good for one?

DOCTOR: As an energy source, it's as good as any. DALDA Vanaspati is a vegetable fat. The energy it provides is equal to 255 calories per ounce. This is as much as you get from anything else that you can use for cooking.

NUTRITIONIST: It's two and a half times what wheat or rice can give.

YOU: Well, may be it's rich with energy, but what else does it contain?

NUTRITIONIST: Virtually the only other ingredient is vitamins.

YOU: Vitamins?

WE: Seven hundred International Units of Vitamin A go into every ounce plus 56 IU of Vitamin D.

DOCTOR: Those are the vitamins that help keep your eyes, skin, teeth and bones healthy.

WE: And DALDA, like all vanaspati, retains its vitamins unusually well during cooking—better than any other cooking medium you can name.

NUTRITIONIST: All of which makes DALDA a rich source of vitamins and energy. To my mind, that's a nourishing food.

YOU: But my family has always believed that things made in a factory are ... well ...

DOCTOR: Not as good as natural products? Doctors would differ with you. Modern treatment of diseases, for instance, would come to a dead stop without synthetic drugs. What you would call 'artificial' drugs. But they have been found to be cheaper ...

YOU: Ah yes, cheaper ...

DOCTOR: And not just cheaper—but every bit as effective as the natural product. So I don't see how one can consider something 'inferior' merely because it comes from a factory. Especially if it must also conform to Government specifications.

YOU: Is DALDA Vanaspati made to such specifications?

WE: Yes. It must meet definite standards set by Government. And if you need still further reassurance of its goodness ... look how widely it is used!

YOU: Well, there I must agree.

WE: Today, it enters 2 million homes a year. And people have been cooking with DALDA Vanaspati in India for nearly 30 years now. The Armed Forces, schools and hospitals all over India—vanaspati is used by them all.

DOCTOR: If it wasn't good, I should have my waiting-room pretty full, don't you think?

WE: The final test of a product's goodness is probably large-scale use of it over a substantial period of time. If it wins out after that (as DALDA has) ... well ... 'the proof of the pudding is in the eating,' isn't it?
**EDITORIAL**

**A FULL CYCLE**

This issue of Janata is mainly meant to be a curtain-raiser to the forthcoming Conference of the Praja Socialist Party, when the Socialist Movement in India will celebrate its Silver Jubilee.

In twenty-five years we seem to have travelled a full circle: in 1934 we moved forward to Socialism because we felt that the national movement would fail to evoke and enlist the interest and allegiance of the toiling millions unless it accepted the new orientation. The arc of nationalism needed to be completed by socialist awareness. In 1959 we believe that Socialism must receive the support of awakened nationalism if it is to achieve its efflorescence. Nationalism is the final touch-stone that separates Socialist gold from the Communist dross.

Fortunately, the Indian Socialists, unlike their European confreres, had never allowed any antagonism to develop between Nationalism and Socialism. Marx’s famous observation, “Workers have no fatherland”, we always understood as a tragic distortion to be corrected and not a condition to exult over.

In social and economic programme, the ultimate objectives have received a new radiance: liberty and equality. With the rest of the world we too have travelled through the vale of tears, and these objectives have a poignant attraction and urgency. Recently in Kerala, our comrades shed their blood, embraced death, to testify to the overarching urge for liberty. The blood-sprinkled flag we dip in their memory has added lustre because of their faith.

The old omnibus programme—“nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange”—has suffered obsolence. It no longer inspires us. We realise that it is the planning and phasing of development that is meaningful, not vague, distant goals. The Fabian advice of “step by step, and slice by slice” improvement has added sanction to us in affirmation, “One step at a time for me.”

PROMISE OF PROGRESS

One of the interesting features of the Silver Jubilee Conference was the presence on the dais of persons who had ceased their connections with the Praja Socialist Party, but who were among the founders of the Congress Socialist Party 25 years ago. Shri Shantilal Shah, the present Labour Minister of the Government of Bombay, Shri...
EDITORIAL

Task Before Nation

O n the historic occasion of the PSP meeting in its Silver Jubilee Conference, Janata recalls with pride and gratitude the contribution of all the members of the Party to the Indian independence movement and to the efforts at establishing a socialist order in the country. It pays its homage to all those who laid down their lives in these struggles.

The Conference is held at a time when a new situation has arisen in the country which challenges both the independence of the nation as well as the attempts at establishing a socialist order. This challenge can only be met through a determined effort at building the economic as well as military potential in the country and by bold steps to establish a social order satisfying the needs and aspirations of the vast masses of our motherland.

The Communist Party of India has once more exposed its extra-territorial loyalties and even at this critical juncture has chosen to indulge in excuses for and prevarications on aggression against our soil. It is now recognised on all hands that through its repeated betrayals of the nation the Communist Party has put itself outside the pale of contact or operation by the patriotic forces in the country.

The Conference will have to take into consideration the emerging danger of consolidation of forces that challenge socialism and disrupt the path-breaking policies that the Party has pioneered for a quarter of a century. A stirring call should be given to all the Party members and units by the Conference to accept this challenge and develop pressures in the country to end all policies of vacillation and for the adoption of firm policies of national unity, strengthening the economy of the country and bringing about rapid social changes.

As the draft resolution on the national situation adopted by the National Executive of the Party points out, the present challenge "can only be met by total mobilisation of the people". The delegates would do well to remember that all the Party members and units of the Conference should be in favour of the weaker elements of the community. The Party should be loyal to the programme of the peasant and the worker.

The Praja Socialist Party has a very heavy responsibility to discharge at this critical juncture. The ruling party is suffering from a number of hardships created by its own policies in the past and the Communist Party has proved itself thoroughly unworthy of any confidence or reliance in the present situation. The Praja Socialist Party, unhindered by any inhibitions, and with a record of national service that can speak for itself will have to play the part worthy of itself. The resolution on "Task before the Party" should form the bedrock of actions all over the country in the coming months.

Queer Logic

A SPOKESMAN of the Swatantra Party has taken objection to the contention of Shri Asoka Mehta that regulation and control of profits and dividends is a logical corollary to the demand that in the interests of rapid development of the country, we will have to postpone for some time the provision of a living wage to our workers. The spokesman admits that a living wage is not immediately a feasible proposition, but challenges the necessity of putting limitations on the gains and privileges of the industrialists which he says is a negative policy. Unfortunately, this is not as isolated argument but is quite in line with the general policy adopted by the Swatantra Party. One would have expected that a party led and inspired by Shri Rajaji would at least be more logical and would fight curbs on individual freedom whenever found.

The Swatantra Party should be loyal to the promise made in its declaration of policy that State interference should be in favour of the weaker elements of the community. But it is advocating quite the reverse. It wants the privileges and gains of the few to be scrupulously guarded against interference from the State, but is willing to accept in the name of economic development any curb that may be suggested against the vast majority of the Indian people. The inconsistency is apparent when it objects to the Congress majority in the legislature as the compression of the ignorance and inexperience of the Indian masses and characterises it as brute majority. But it is prepared to accept the brute power of the chosen few over the corporate sector, over the community as a whole and even over the social and political life of the community. Such an attitude exposes the claims of a party to fight for the freedom and dignity of the individual.

Soviet Economy

I N a speech to women farm workers from the Rayazan region Mr. Khrushchev poured ridicule on some Russians who went abroad and saw "only the superficial glitter" their eyes "growing round with admiration". He added: "I have also seen many cars in gay colours. But we cannot be impressed by such things!"

In spite of this categorical assertion, however, there are reasons to believe that his recent visit to USA has considerably impressed him with the high standard of living enjoyed by the Americans. He has declared that the Soviet Union would be able to absorb the goods (from military to peaceful production) made in the U.S. thus admitting that the Soviet Union today does not produce all the consumer goods which the Soviet citizen wants and is able to purchase.

This is also clear from the new Soviet decree calling on industry to increase production of consumer goods conforming to the tastes and requirements of the
The decree prescribes that by the end of 1961, production of television sets, refrigerators, washing machines and other goods should be more than 120 per cent higher than in 1958. Not only is the quantity of the consumer goods to be considerably increased but their quality has also to be improved. "Pravada" has come out with strong criticism against some party and economic authorities who did not attach necessary importance to the production of varied and cheap goods. It revealed that old-fashioned sewing machines made by a Moscow factory did not satisfy the buyers and the Saraton refrigerator plant was in no hurry to replace its old-fashioned production with a new model.

Of course, what the paper conveniently ignored was the fact that any change of model requires the rearrangement of the plant and also new capital. Unless the Soviet planners decide to make the necessary capital available, the old-fashioned models would continue. This fact has been recognised by the Soviet Government which has advised State banks to advance loans to the factories for their modernisation programmes and for acquiring equipment. Whatever be the source of inspiration for this sudden awareness on the need for passing on the benefits of technological advances to the common man, the new turn in the economic policy of the U.S.S.R. will definitely help in raising the standard of life of the Soviet citizens. Given the will, the Soviet economy is today quite capable of delivering the goods.

'GRAVER DANGERS FROM WITHIN'

(Continued from page 1)

Purshottam Tricundas, Shri Mahadev Singh and others were among them.

Great Strides Made

Just as promised by Shri Asoka Mehta at the time of the last convention of the Party in Poona in 1958, it was easy to see at the Conference that great strides had been made in revitalising the Party.

Another feature of the convention was the fact that for the first time in the traditions of Indian political parties, the Praja Socialist Party published this year verbatim report of its previous Convention proceedings.

The open session started with a welcome speech by Shri M. Harris, Chairman of the Reception Committee. Shri Harris traced the modest beginning of the Party 25 years ago in Bombay and recalled the association with it of several veterans who were present and also of those who were not. He referred to the wishful thinking of critics who were hoping that the Party would be written off, and to how the inherent vitality of the Party prevented the fulfilment of their wishes.

Shri Harris also welcomed the recent decisions of the Government and the ruling party to reopen the bilingual Bombay question and commented: "This proves that we have a really working democratic system in our country, wherein it is possible to commit mistakes but such mistakes can be and have to be rectified when public opinion asserts itself as it did in this case."

Shri Harris also drew the attention of the delegates to the fact that...
ing the past 25 years and pointed out how right from the early days, the Communist Party of India had tried to infiltrate and neutralise the Praja Socialist Party. He clearly delineated the fundamental differences between the Praja Socialist Party and the Communist Party of India, for example, in such issues as the freedom movement in India, the slavish and blind support to the Soviet Communist Party, the attitude of the Communists to peasantry, the Communist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat as compared to the Socialists, the attitude of the Communists towards the Indian people as a federation of nationalities and the lack of national sentiments or patriotism among the Communists.

The Chairman then traced the Party’s relations with the Congress over the years, the factors that led to the Party breaking away from it and starting on its own with its own distinct identity after freedom, the merger of the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party, the setbacks it suffered in the sad demise of such great leaders as Acharya Narendra Deva, Shri Sarangadhar Das, the relinquishing.

(Continued on page 10)

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**P.S.P.’s AWARENESS OF PRIORITIES**

It has been an eventful 25 years, years of struggle, heartbreaks, frustrations, and sometimes a few satisfying rewards.

This has been the record—a record of projections of personalities, human weaknesses and heroism. May be at times, a record of lot of petty squabbles, but also of intense human qualities.

During the years, there were angry prophets, who were a part of the family who predicted its downfall and ruin, a bleak future, a paralysis which would become incurable and must result in the demise of the party. But the angry prophets were wrong. They became angrier over the non-fulfilment of their wishes and their wishful thinking.

The opposing political parties, too, wished for a paralysis and demise of the party. Having wished so, they tried to encourage the process by inviting the party to merge with them. There was no logic for the P.S.P.’s existence, they said, as P.S.P.’s ideology and programme were no different from theirs.

**What Makes the P.S.P. Tick?**

This was the swan song of Congress Party brasses. To them P.S.P.’s chances for thriving in India were as bright as “ice in a furnace”, as they had no new ideology or programme to offer as a better and more meaningful choice for the people.

The Communists made furious attempts to pressurise the P.S.P. into a defensive party. The united fronts in West Bengal and Maharashtra were used as instruments of terrific pressure on the P.S.P., but Kerala showed up their sinister face behind the “Amritsar thesis” mask. It was not a “paralysed” party that found courage to expose the Communists in Kerala, West Bengal and in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti. It was not the men and leaders of a “paralysed” party who first brought to the limelight in India the sinister developments in our Himalayan borders, which were kept out from public knowledge by a Panchshila whose ruins were visible along the northern borders.

What makes the P.S.P. tick? Why is it that with such pressures and unfavourable spells the party has retained its vitality, initiative and liveliness? Is it because of

its economic policies, is it because of democratic Socialism as an ideological appeal? Is it because of its foreign policy that the party continues to hold its own and get stronger?

As a friend of the P.S.P. it seems to me it is due to none of these questions primarily. Nor is the P.S.P.’s strength sustained by the eminence of an outstanding leadership. On the contrary, the P.S.P. has had the biggest “casualties” in the matter of “outstanding leadership personalities”. In fact, one of the important factors that went to nurture the wishful thinking for the party’s mythical paralysis and hoped-for demise, was this high rate of “casualties” among the leadership. What with the exodus of leaders into “militant socialism” on the one hand, “party-less democracy” on the other and the Amritsar thesis of “democratic Communism” on the third, these birds of ill-omen had already written the obituaries, but were dismayed at the party’s continuing vitality.

**Reappraisal Needed**

What has made the party thrive? It is here that a certain amount of reappraisal becomes necessary. This reappraisal is more possible, and easier of doing in the P.S.P., than perhaps in any other party now. For one thing, the P.S.P. has a very first-rate calibre of rank and file not unduly overawed by any personality cults of the “big leader”, and for another, in its entire record, the P.S.P. has not developed as much “vested interest rigidity” in its thinking as in other parties. During its years of activity, it has organically developed new perspectives and is capable of developing real courage, which is so necessary, to cast off shackles of entrenched positions maintained merely for the purposes of prestige and face.

In this reappraisal, I believe, the significant factor to be reckoned with is an assessment of what has made the party go in spite of so
many set-backs which would have been disastrous to other parties. It is not exactly the party's goal of democratic Socialism which has made the party a continuing success. It is not the magic of its leaders' personalities. I believe that the basic secret of the party's success is its intensely democratic content, its humanness in its ranks, its lack of rigidity and its colourfully intelligent rank and file who can be intimidated only at the leaders' own peril. Briefly, it is, as in the good old saying: There are "damned good men in the party" and the fact that they are good and true men makes the party what it is. Should the P.S.P. leaders or rank and file make the facile assumptions that the abstractions of socialist prescriptions or the cocksure economic sophistries of the party theoreticians are keeping the party strong, the party will be in for an unpleasant disillusionment as the Congress and the British Labour Party.

A Fine Record of Efficiency

But the P.S.P. has a leadership and rank and file capable of pragmatic evaluations of reality. The P.S.P. has the capacity to realise that economic programmes and solutions under socialism are matters of social engineering and that in a situation where cherished democratic values are threatened, the priority always ought to be for a defence of those values and not the false vested interests at the cost of democratic values. It has learned to emphasise on the priority of values before functional programmes in spheres of economic activity, as a result of hard and practical experience. For instance, in its brief functioning as a party in power in Kerala, the P.S.P. established a very fine record for efficiency and honesty, unmatched by any. It obtained grudging admiration from the very same Congress Party in Kerala which so frantically worked for the downfall of the P.S.P. Ministry. During the recent upheavals in Kerala, while the Communists were militantly mobilising public opinion in the rest of India against the anti-Communist upsurge in Kerala, it was the P.S.P. which bore the brunt of defending the democratic fight. The Congress Party found itself weak and ineffective and was relying for its defence on Shri Nehru and the Union Government. As a party, the Congress could not match the Communist organisational apparatus.

A Rich Future

Similarly, in the recent case of Communist aggression, it was the P.S.P. which took the initiative in alerting the country to the real threats posed not only by the Chinese, but even more, by the complacency of our lotus-eating Panchshila peddlers whose well-meaning chantings had brought the country to a state of anxious inertia. These developments and activities have trained the P.S.P. to determine spontaneously what constitutes the most important things in terms of priorities and values.

On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Convention of the P.S.P. in Bombay, it makes one feel happy that the P.S.P. is organically evolving itself into a great democratic party in India with a rich future.

**Announcement:**

The next issue of **JANATA** will be a SPECIAL NUMBER ON THE SILVER JUBILEE CONFERENCE of the Praja Socialist Party now being held. BOOK YOUR COPY NOW

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SUPREMACY OF POPULAR WILL

In the long history of Asia, the arrival of Marco Polo and Vasco da Gama in the 15th century marks the beginning of an era that came to a close after the end of the Second World War. It was an era of subjugation, humiliation and exploitation. The era finally came to an end; but it left behind a legacy of a multitude of socio-economic problems. To name a few: low living standards, high percentage of illiteracy, high mortality rate and an inertia which made a break-through, though not impossible, at least an uphill task. The people of this vast region, who had successfully thrown off the yoke of Europe were impatient of the life of squalor and misery to which they had been condemned by centuries of foreign rule. This impatience with the present lot and the expectation of a better future posed a series of problems for the leaders of New Asia - leaders who had risen to power on the wave of an upsurge of nationalism.

The expectations had to be fulfilled; because the masses had political power. Failure to fulfill them involved the loss of that political power. The alternative to the fulfillment of these expectations was to deprive the masses of their political power. This is the genesis of the establishment of political dictatorships in many a country of Asia. It is true that most of these dictatorships have the semblance of popular support. This the dictatorships have been able to create by their lavish promises of more efficient administration and immediate improvement in the standards of living. Disillusionment may lead in course of time to the withdrawal of the popular support, but not necessarily to the dethronement of dictatorships.

India and China have reacted differently to this situation. Faced with more or less similar problems, they are attempting to solve them in diametrically opposite ways. India has chosen the democratic way, the essence of which is change with the consent of the concerned. This involves an inevitable slowing down of the process of change. It is true things have moved in India at a pace slower than what is otherwise inevitable, due to the checks and breaks which democracy applies— and not always rationally. With this slowness is to be contrasted the sovereignty the people in India retain and the liberty they continue to enjoy.

Expansionist Trouble

China is experimenting with a totalitarianism informed with a social purpose. There is a direction in which its rulers want the people to go; but the people are not free to decide either the direction or the pace of the economic change. The ability for total mobilisation of resources— both human and material— with enforced absence of opposition makes for an accelerated tempo of change. But what a heavy price, in liberty and human dignity, for the dubious prospect of a quicker achievement of higher living standards! Universally cherished values have to be discarded!

It has to be accepted that China has made quicker progress than India in the volume of industrial and agricultural production. Whether this has been reflected in higher living standards for her people or has served as an accretion to her military power is a different question. The competition between these two ways of life has existed all these years. China has added the military element to this competition by her unconcealed expansionist move against her southern neighbours. Shall India, Burma, Nepal and other Asian countries divert their limited resources to their defence effort and thus slow down the pace of their economic development or concentrate on economic development and leave their frontiers vulnerable?

To accomplish both these tasks at the same time means additional burdens and hardships for the people of this country. Whereas under totalitarianism additional burdens can be easily imposed, in a democracy they inevitably generate pressures and conflicts. The voluntary, though critical, acceptance of these burdens shows the value of free people attaches to the preservation of its way of life. It would be suicidal to ignore the military threat; but it must be pointed out that it is primarily aimed at undermining the ability of the democratic way of life to fulfill the expectations of the people. It is here that socialism, with its egalitarian approach and equality of opportunities and equitable sharing of burdens, can evoke the necessary response for a total effort from the people. The additional burdens which the developing crisis will inevitably impose need to be equitably distributed if they are not to break the back of the nation. Waste, inefficiency and corruption will have to be ruthlessly eradicated. The corollary to our resolve to meet China's threat is to rouse the nation to a high pitch of dedicated effort. But can we escape accepting the corollary? The only alternative would be the collapse of the democratic way of life.

With this fuller understanding of the Chinese threat, the Praja Socialist Party has appealed to the people and the Government to rise to the occasion and make that supreme effort. To the extent we succeed in evoking a creative response to this appeal, depends the future of our democratic way of life.

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If the Vanaspati Industry were to close down and there were no DALDA, the immediate effect would be a serious scarcity of hard fats—fats like vanaspati and ghee which don’t melt at room temperatures.

**ECONOMIST:** A scarcity of about three lakh tons at once—four times that in 15 years.

**YOU:** So...?

**ECONOMIST:** So this would obviously mean shortages. Ghee, the traditional hard fat, will be unable to make good the shortfall. It has never been able to meet its own growing demand—let alone the extra demand for vanaspati. Historically speaking, there has been only a marginal increase in ghee production in the past 20 years, considering the increase in population.

**WE:** And that is precisely why DALDA Vanaspati came into the market 30 years ago and has stayed there.

**ECONOMIST:** Looking a little into the future, the supply of ghee is expected to rise by about 20% in the next 5–10 years. But the demand for it would have increased by more than that. Meanwhile, the demand for vanaspati could easily double.

**YOU:** But I can’t see why the demand for vanaspati should increase.

**ECONOMIST:** Firstly, because of the increase in population. Secondly, because of the rise in National Income. As incomes grow, more and more hard fat tends to be consumed. Forty percent of the American diet, for instance, consists of fat.

**WE:** Another thing. Without DALDA Vanaspati in the shops the price of ghee will go up to prohibitive levels. Few will be able to afford it. So, a great many people will have to do with a lot less of fat.

**ECONOMIST:** And our diet is already deficient in fat. We take, on an average, only 1 of our nutritional requirements of it.

**WE:** What about adulteration? It’s a common practice as it is. And it will grow—with all its harmful effects on health.

**ECONOMIST:** That apart, fat scarcity would divert a great deal of available milk to the production of cooking fat. This, in a country already short of milk, where malnutrition among children is a grave problem.

**YOU:** Aren’t you dramatizing it a little... we could use liquid oils, you know!

**WE:** Of course, we could. But then think of the changes in eating habits—in cooking methods and the taste of foods in hard fat areas like the Punjab, for instance. It would mean getting used to strange tasting, unappetising foods, having to forego meals cooked in traditional ways. And foods such as cakes and biscuits cannot be made without hard fats like DALDA. More important, people all over will need extra vitamins to supplement their diet.

**YOU:** Why vitamins?

**WE:** Well, because liquid edible oils don’t contain vitamins A and D—DALDA Vanaspati does. DALDA consists of partially hydrogenated pure vegetable oils, fortified with 700 International Units of Vitamin A and 56 IU of Vitamin D. These vitamins protect the skin and eyes, and build strong bones and healthy teeth. They are essential for health, growth and protection from disease. As a source of energy, DALDA is 2½ times better than wheat or rice. Moreover, it is hygienically pure, deodorised, of uniformly high quality—yet so economical in use! It isn’t often that you get these qualities in liquid oils—they certainly never contain vitamins.

**YOU:** That’s perhaps why the demand for DALDA is going up more sharply than that for liquid oils.

**ECONOMIST:** A final point. Without the Vanaspati Industry, thousands of people would be without a means of livelihood. And the National Income would be less by some crores of rupees.

**YOU:** And I’d be without my DALDA! We’ve been using it for years. I knew it was a food, but I didn’t know that it played quite so important a part in the Economy and food habits of the people.
LIMITS OF LIBERTY

IN a recent (October 18, 1959) recorded television programme in the United States, Shri Krishna Menon is reported to have declared: "If our people want Communism, that's their business. If through the parliamentary process, they returned a Communist Government, then unless we sacrificed the parliamentary system, we would have to accept that.

Whatever one may think of this statement, there can be very little doubt that if a Communist Government were accepted, not in a particular State but at the Centre, this would mark the end of the parliamentary system in this country. Thus, if Shri Menon's proposition is right, we are placed on the horns of a dilemma; for, in the assumed circumstances, the parliamentary system will be as good as sacrificed whether we accept a Communist Government or refuse to accept it. But this is a false dilemma. It issues from confusion regarding the ultimate grounds of democratic justice and liberty.

Rule of Reciprocity

It may help to clarify the nature of this confusion if we briefly direct attention to the rule of reciprocity which is the foundation of the democratic way of life.

It is a commonplace of political philosophy that an individual who is not prepared to respect the rights of other individuals loses his moral claim to these rights. There is, for instance, no right more fundamental than the right to life. If this right were unconditional, capital punishment would have had no place in a democratic society. But it is generally recognised that one's right to life is conditional upon one's preparedness to respect the same right in others. In maintaining this view, one is not necessarily opposing abolition of capital punishment. One is only arguing that if a person guilty of wilful murder is still allowed to live, this must be as a matter of grace. Such grace often tempers and beautifies justice and is the mark of a cultured society; but it is not inherent in justice, which is based on the rule of reciprocity rather than of grace. A murderer cannot morally claim to be allowed to live. Nor, for the matter, can a person whose intention to murder is palpable, claim the right to free movement in the execution of his designs.

In this form, the principle stated above may appear so obvious and unexceptionable as hardly to call for reiteration. Yet an important extension of this principle does not seem to have received much attention in this country. The question has sometimes been raised as to whether a democratic society can, consistently with its principles, deprive a party of dictatorship of the right to come to power through free elections. There should not be much doubt about the answer to this question. If a party, which is known to have every intention of putting an end to the democratic rights of other parties, is still allowed to function in full enjoyment of these same rights, this must be as a matter of grace or favour, which a democratic society can withdraw at will without offending against its basic principles.

It is no answer to this line of reasoning to point out that the fundamental security of a democratic society lies in the positive loyalty of the people to democracy. Unquestionably, this is so; and every effort should be made to bring them this positive loyalty. Indeed, this should be the main concern of the democrat. But the strengthening of democratic tradition can only be achieved over a long period. Meanwhile, one need not adopt the purist position that in a period of exceptional stress it is better to allow democracy to sink than to save it with restrictive measures which democrats will prefer to withdraw in more normal times.

The question may be raised as to how to decide if a party really believes in dictatorship. The determination of all such questions may be left to the care of impartial judiciary as a democratic society can possibly devise. In the case of the Communist Party of India, the main line of argument of its critics would, presumably, be that this party has clearly and repeatedly declared that it considers the system of dictatorship as functioning in the Soviet Union and China, where political opposition to the established government is not tolerated, as a 'higher' form of democracy, so that it is difficult to believe that if it had the power it would rest content with the inferior form which is parliamentary democracy. Whether this line of argument, and the supporting evidence, is conclusive or not, the appropriate judicial authority should decide.

The Difference

A common doubt often raised in this connection can be stated thus. If democrats deprive their opponents who believe in dictatorship of the right to win power through free elections, what difference is left then between democracy and dictatorship? The difference is, of course, that a democratic party would always allow rival democratic parties to function, while a party of dictatorship would tolerate neither rival parties of dictatorship nor rival democrats. More fundamentally, democratic ethics, and the limits to liberty which it permits, are derived from certain rules of justice and reciprocity; the ethics of dictatorship, on the other hand, rests on a theory of force.

Nor is there any more substance in the objection that so long as we speak in the name of democracy, we cannot deny the people the right to choose dictatorship. The right to freedom of choice is subject to one overriding constraint: it excludes the right to extinguish all freedom of choice. The right to freedom of choice cannot, in any case, be invoked by today's electorate to deprive tomorrow's electorate has no less claim to this right than today's. A democratic society is free to choose its own way of life, but it enjoys this right only on condition that it leave people equally free in future to change whatever way of life may be chosen today. In a democracy people should be free even to make mistakes, but there can be no right to one crowning mistake which puts an end to all further rights to mistakes and corrections thereof. Even democratic societies need to be protected against sudden fits of a mania for suicide.
of all party activities by leaders like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, Shri Achyut Patwardhan, the split caused by Dr. Lohia and his group of followers.

The Chairman detailed the significance of the Kerala developments under a Communist regime.

Shri Sinha welcomed the victorious emergence of the Nepali Congress as the ruling Party in Nepal after the first democratic elections in its history. He pointed out the serious threat to the independence and integrity of India and the Himalayan States by the Chinese Communists after their conquest of Tibet.

He welcomed the radical improvements in the relations between India and Pakistan particularly so in the context of threats from Communist China. He stressed:

"The developments on our Himalayan frontiers have once again brought to the fore the danger to our independence from the existence of parties and individuals owing extra-territorial loyalties, who have no faith in nationalism and who view with unconcern the aggression that is being committed by China."

Along with such serious external problems facing the nation, Shri Sinha also drew pointed attention to the serious internal problems facing the country, particularly in the matter of food production and rising prices.

The Chairman's address indicated that the preoccupation of the Conference would be on the following questions: (1) India and the Chinese aggression, (2) Party policy as a result of the splitting up of bilingual Bombay State, (3) Kerala, (4) Food situation, and (5) National situation.

After the Chairman's address, the fraternal delegates addressed the gathering. On behalf of the Asian Socialist Conference, U Hla Aung conveyed greetings to the Party.

Mr. Albert Carthy, Secretary-General of the Socialist International, greeted the Conference on behalf of his organisation. He congratulated the PSP Members of Parliament for their initiative in upholding the cause of the Tibetan people when their freedom and independence were violently suppressed by the Chinese Communists. He felt that the voice of the PSP more correctly reflected the voice of the Indian people. He expressed great admiration for Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's orientation to the peasants' problem in India. While conceding that the Indian people lived in a "bullock cart" economy in this atomic age with only their labour as capital, he strongly refuted suggestions that the people in under-developed countries were mentally backward.

Fraternal Greetings

The Yugoslav delegate pointed out how under Socialism, Yugoslavia had made rapid economic strides. "Your independence fight was not merely for national independence, but for a most just social order. Thus the Socialist movement in India gave new perspectives to the national liberation struggle. Twenty-five years ago, only a few had socialist ideas, but today these socialist ideas have been accepted on a large scale." He pointed that it was the Praja Socialist Party which had done the maximum to make the people of India know about the achievements of the people of Yugoslavia.

The delegate from the International Union of Socialist Youth, while greeting the Convention, commented that only the PSP could be considered competent to establish a real democratic socialist society in India. He pointed out that any party which fraternised with the Communists and capitalists alternatively could not solve the problems of India.

The personal representative of the Dalai Lama also addressed the convention and conveyed a personal message of the Dalai Lama, thanking the Praja Socialist Party for its consistent and unwavering support to the people of Tibet in the face of repression from the Chinese Communists.

The Canadian delegate also addressed the convention. He said that while the United States won its independence after a violent revolution, Canada, like India, obtained its freedom in a non-violent manner. He also stated that Canada had an impressive record like India on questions of racial discrimination and pointed out how in every U.N. debate on racial questions, Canada always voted with India and often against the U.K. and the U.S.

After messages of greetings from organisations and individuals had been read, the Chairman placed the resolutions on the sad death of Mr. Bandaranaike and some party comrades during the past few months. The resolutions were passed, all standing.

The inaugural convention set the pace for serious confabulations during the next few days on important questions by the delegates. On the occasion of the inauguration of the Silver Jubilee Conference, a new sense of maturity, resulting through hard and realistic experiences of the past action-packed years, was clearly discernible among all the delegates. With this new sense of pragmatic awareness of the need to consolidate the unwavering idealism of the rank and file, the Conference is bound to be a milestone in the history of the Praja Socialist Party.
THE BRITISH VOTER'S PREFERENCE

The great debate on the election results in Britain has begun. It was not the overwhelming defeat of Labour that the hostile press at home and abroad depicted. Many Socialist parties would consider themselves very fortunate to poll more than 44 per cent of the vote, and the 12 million people who voted for the Labour Party still represent almost half of the electorate and a power in the country. Yet it would be senseless to deny that the victory of the Conservatives, (with increased margins in each of three successive elections) was a heavy blow for Labour.

What are the causes? This question is all the more burning for the Labour movement since it will hardly be possible to find a scapegoat. In the past few years, the Party had tackled its problems with energy: the renewal of its programme in accordance with the requirements of the second half of the 20th century; the solution of the leadership problem; the improvement of the Party's finance and organisation; the modernisation of its propaganda.

Election Campaign

The success of this rethinking and renewal was clearly demonstrated in the election campaign which was so excellent that in the very last minute the possibility of a Labour victory appeared on the horizon. Gaitskell showed himself a leader with very great qualities; members and supporters rallied to the election work with an enthusiasm that recalled the days of 1945; the party machine worked effectively; Labour's publicity, especially its television programmes, surpassed all expectation. And yet, in many places more Labour than Tory supporters stayed at home on election day; and Labour was not able to make an impression in those circles on whom a swing in its favour depended. Quite apart from the increase in the Liberal vote (to what extent this harmed Labour more than the Conservatives remains to be examined) the Conservative propaganda must be mentioned here whose impact, except in areas with unemployment, was far-reaching. "You have never had it so good," and "Life is better with the Conservatives—don't let Labour ruin it"—this was the simple appeal to the immediate material interest and to fear of any change. This fear had been instilled and magnified by years of Tory propaganda, aided by millions of pounds from industry; fear of a return to rationing and austerity; of nationalisation and an increase in state bureaucracy; of the influence of the trade unions, pictured as an economically retrograde force and discredited by strikes; of the lack of stable leadership as a result of internal quarrels in the Labour camp.

A New Image

It is true that in the election campaign the new "image" of the Labour Party became more visible, the image of a modern, economically forward-looking, humane and socially responsible party, undogmatic and yet bound by principles, but two or three weeks could not do the job. They were not enough to counter the effects of years of counter-propaganda, unscrupulously exploiting the self-interest of people and every difficulty in the Socialist ranks.

The debate and the process of self-examination has begun. The problems put into relief by the elections must be more deeply examined. But it would be fatal if this process failed to take the positive steps that brought progress in recent years and without which the Party might well have suffered a far worse set-back, as a basis. A return to the fruitless and frustrating quarrels between "Right" and "Left," about "full Socialism" and nationalisation would really endanger the future of the Party and the cause of democratic Socialism.

On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Conference JANATA has decided to offer a special concession in the annual subscription rates with a reduction of Rs. 4. Those who want to avail of this offer should post the form printed at right before November 30, 1959.

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The dress of the people...

Costumes, whether they are for occasions or for daily wear, vary all over the world. Climatic conditions, natural materials available, religious demands and individual ingenuity are some of the factors that determine the dress of a people.

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Women from different parts of the country wear the saree in their own special way. The pretty Maharashtrian women of Western India, for instance, wear a nine-yard saree, like a dhoti, taken between the legs and tucked in at the back.
TRIUMPHANT JUBILEE SESSION
ENDS ON NOTE OF OPTIMISM

(Specially written for JANATA by S. R. Mohan Das and S. V. Raju)

The historic silver jubilee session of the Praja Socialist Party ended in Bombay on November 9 on a note of optimism. The 900 odd delegates who attended the momentous session dispersed with complete confidence in the strength of the party to fulfil its destiny of establishing democratic socialism in the country.

The conference was a success in every aspect. The deliberations were held in an atmosphere of cordiality. Discussions were free and frank. The resolutions passed reflected the awareness of the party to the tasks facing it in the path of national reconstruction.

The jubilee session received tremendous response from the people of Bombay. A rally organised during the session was one of the biggest ever witnessed in the city. The views expressed by various speakers and leaders at the conference on the grave crisis facing the country today as a result of the Chinese aggression against our northern borders truly reflected the thinking of the vast masses of India. The demand made by the conference for effective action on the part of the Government of India to meet the Chinese threat was in effect the demand of the entire country.

The election of Shri Asoka Mehta as Chairman of the Party was received with thundering applause by the delegates.

The resolution on Chinese aggression was moved by Shri H. V. Kamath and seconded by Shri Nath Pai. In his speech Shri H. V. Kamath said:

"Before moving the resolution we should pay homage to the comrades in our frontiers who fell dead fighting the Chinese aggressors. The military occupation of a major portion of Ladakh by the Chinese is the direct result of India’s capitula-

In a stirring speech on the resolution on “National Situation”, Shri Asoka Mehta stressed the need for a new approach among the rank and file of the PSP to the problems facing the party and the country. To the right is seen a section of the party’s leaders and fraternal delegates on the bedecked dais.
EDITORIAL

NEW INSPIRATION

As the record number of the delegates that attended the P.S.P. Silver Jubilee Conference return to their respective fields of activity they go with their hearts warmed by the vitality of the Party, which is now poised for playing its crucial role in the affairs of our country. The resolutions passed at the Conference gave a balanced and mature expression to the deep-felt wishes of the people roused to the sense of the enormity of the problems facing them—social, economic and political—particularly by the sudden appearance of the Red Dragon on our northern frontier. The enthusiastic reception accorded to the delegates of the Conference by the politically conscious city of Bombay bears testimony to the dissatisfaction of the people at the way in which the Government of India has tried to solve these problems. Naturally, the people look up to the Praja Socialist Party to provide the alternate leadership that will steer clear of the mistakes committed by the Congress Party and rouse and channel the creative energies of the people of India through formulation of policies more acceptable to them.

The Party has, thus, a very heavy responsibility to discharge at this crucial phase in the history of Independent India. It can do this only if it weaves itself organically into the broad fabric of the Indian society vitalising the masses of the people through generation of a sense of effective participation in the affairs of the nation and getting itself refreshed by the stream of the massive energy thus released. The resolution on the Text in the resolution adopted at the Conference gives a balanced and mature expression to the deep-felt wishes of the people roused to the sense of the enormity of the problems facing them—social, economic and political. Naturally, the people look up to the Praja Socialist Party to provide the alternate leadership that will steer clear of the mistakes committed by the Congress Party and rouse and channel the creative energies of the people of India through formulation of policies more acceptable to them.

Before the Party has shown the way by which this can be successfully achieved. The Praja Socialist Party, says the resolution, “must, therefore, during the next year work with zeal and devotion in different sectors of our national life in such a way that the people’s will to overcome difficulties in an organised, co-operative and constructive manner is strengthened.” The resolution goes on to lay down concrete tasks to be undertaken and fulfilled by the Party units in the rural sector, in the trade union field, in the urban sector, among women and among educated youths, etc., and above all in the organisational work of the Party itself. The tasks have been formulated realistically with past experience as a guide to what is possible with limited resources, and, of course, with the vivid realisation of the supreme need of the hour.

The Conference unanimously elected Shri Asoka Mehta as the Chairman when Shri Ganga Saran Sinha decided to lay down the reins after four years of dedicated service, during which period he weaved the various strands in the Party into a happy family pattern. The Silver Jubilee Conference of the Party was a palpable demonstration of the skill and patience with which he had infused new life into the Party bereaved by the death of Acharya Narendra Deva.

The new Chairman of the Party has already promised to tour the whole country with a view to helping the Party units to prepare themselves for fulfilling the tasks assigned to them. With such a favourable climate for the growth of the Party as is now existing in the country and with the dedicated leadership at the helm of affairs, there is no reason why the pride of democratic socialism should not blossom in all its splendour during the coming year. As the resolution puts: “Let a hundred torches be lit from the torch that was brought here from Nasik and in their turn let them be taken to the remotest part of our land so that every village, nay, every home, will have its own sacred flame of the new faith”.

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National Executive

The National Conference elected Shri Asoka Mehta as Chairman and Shri N. G. Goray as Secretary of the National Executive.


The newly-elected National Executive met on the November 10, and appointed Shri Prem Bhasin and Shri K. K. Menon as Joint Secretaries.

Government Apathy

Our Government has taken a very jocular attitude, on this issue of Chinese aggression. At the time when the Prime Minister condemned and rightly so, the glo-French attack on Suez three years ago, at that very time the Prime Minister was aware that the Chinese had committed aggression in Ladakh and had occupied militarily Ladakh. You and I and the Indian people were kept in the dark. The Prime Minister seemed to repose a pathetic trust in the Chinese Prime Minister and not on the Indian people, for which he should be censured. If the Indian people had been taken into confidence at that time, Chinese would have been contained. Today we are almost helpless, and in the latest press conference of his Shri Nehru seems to be quiet clear.

Shri Nehru says he has no guarantee that the Himalayan frontiers will be defended. The Prime Minister got information three or four years ago (my information is, soon after Panchshila which Acharya Kripalani described in Parliament as conceived in sin, China started infiltration after closing up Sinkiang) that our agent in Sinkiang was withdrawn at the behest of China and all these three or four years our time has been wasted. Even after he got the information the military was not posted on the frontier.

When I was at Nathu La Pass, the most-used pass between Sikkim and Tibet, the Chinese troops had reached the border of Nepal and were sniping at Tibetan refugees. Even at this time there was no army post on the frontier. What was the Government doing all these three years? I personally think that in a democratic country where democratic traditions are strong, the Prime Minister in this eventuality should have tendered of his own accord a written resignation of his Cabinet and asked his own party to elect a new leader. That was not done. We cannot force him to do it. We can only suggest.

Our Defence Minister cast unworthy aspersions on the Opposition. He has spent 30 years of his life in England. Instead of expressing sorrow over our martyrs in NEFA and Ladakh, he has charged the Opposition with exploiting the situation. Most disgraceful, unworthy and dastardly of all, he is sitting now in New York. An absentee Defence Minister should not return to India, but stay on in New York or London, whichever place is congenial to him. (Exclamations of “Moscow or Peking” from the audience.)

Secret Intentions

It is also significant that although the Soviet Union has categorically, in so many words, admitted and supported the claim of India to Jammu and Kashmir, China up to date has never done so. That shows the secret intentions of China because they had an eye on Ladakh all the time.

Inside the country I am glad to say but for a small section, the whole nation is united to defend the motherland, against aggression and in the wide world today it is a matter of shame the only supporter of Chinese aggression is not Russia, not Yugoslavia, not any country but the Communist Party of India. In 1942, it was the same Indian Communist Party which traduced Gandhi, Subhas and Jayaprakash as enemy agents, qustilings and traitors of India. To theft the imperialist war overnight became a ‘people’s war’, at the behest of Russia, and today they are siding with China and refusing even to admit the fact of aggression. I have known some of these comrades. They do not believe this news. Their role is anti-national, anti-freedom, anti-Indian.

I think Chinese will release the prisoners captured in Ladakh on the 14th of this month as a gift. Shri Nehru has accepted the humiliating conditions of the Chinese in handing over the prisoners to us. The Chinese say that no Indian patrol can go armed. Mind you this in our territory that they are putting such a demand and Shri Nehru has accepted these humiliating conditions.

No free country worth its name or...
its soul can accept such conditions that its own soldiers shall go unarmed in its own territory. But we accept because our Prime Minister has implicitly accepted the Chinese claim.

To inspire public confidence was not his duty, it was the duty of the Pressmen, he said when they questioned him at his recent Press conference. He has asked us not to get excited, worked up, be calm and cool. He says, 'What do you want me to do? Do you want me to dance as in a circus?' We do not want you to dance, Shri Nehru, but we want our army to go there. We want you to prepare the people psychologically in this country. We say it is you the Prime Minister who is corroding the will of the people here. We do not want an aggressive war, but if China by its ultimatum wants us to fight, we shall fight. Today we need the spirit of Gandhi and Subhas.

Alternative to Cowardice

Gandhiji said:

'I do believe that there is a choice between cowardice and violence, I would not advice violence . . . I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour. I would risk violence a thousand times rather than the emasculation of a whole race. I don't say "eschew violence" in your dealings with robbers or with nations that may invade India.'

After Shri Kamath's speech, Shri Nath Pai seconded the resolution. He drew the attention of the delegates to the seriousness of the Chinese threat when he pointed out that China has been claiming 1/30th of the total area of India. Shri Pai also pointed out that even the Soviet Union had accepted the MacMahon Line, and seemed to disapprove China's action—which is Frankenstein with Stalin's feathers. He said Nehru's policy was alarming as it was weak-kneed.

The resolution was then thrown open for debate on proposed amendments.

One of the amendments, moved by Shri Sunil Das, accepted by the mover of the resolution was a fuller definition of India's frontier than Macmahon Line, as the major portion of India's frontiers was not adequately covered by the MacMahon Line.

Every delegate wholeheartedly supported the resolution and most of them actually wanted a resolution in stronger terms. A majority of the delegates strongly denounced India's Defence Minister Shri V. K. Krishna Menon as a pro-Communist, and demanded his dismissal from the Cabinet. Sarvashri Nikhil Ghatak, Mukherjee, Kashikant Mitra, Sibnath Banerjee, Vasant Sathe, D. M. Vagal, Keshav Prasad Singh spoke on the resolution.

Shri Amul Desai pointed out that Shri Krishna Menon was not only a threat to India's security in military terms but also on political levels. He pointed out that he had gradually been filling up the Congress Party with fellow-travellers as important members of this ruling party organisation.

"Not only has Krishna Menon captured the ears of Nehru but has successfully created an encirclement of Nehru with fellow-travellers of the Communist Party. Let us not face China with a pro-Chinese Defence Minister. Fifty-five per cent of our budget is spent on Defence, which is Krishna Menon's Ministry. Krishna Menon is the counterpart of Chou En-lai in this country. Let us fight traitors within the country along with fighting Chinese aggression. Let us boycott every Communist in this country. Let them drink Chinese water. Just as we called for a successful boycott of British goods during the freedom movement let us organise a social boycott of all Communists in this country," he said.

Another delegate drew attention to the disturbing developments in the border Himalayan kingdoms like Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim which have shown nervousness in siding with India. Shri Ramsharm (Rajasthan) suggested that a Defence Council be formed where all political parties will be represented.

In a brief reply, Shri Kamath said that he also felt that Shri V. K. Krishna Menon should not remain the Defence Minister. But he appealed to the delegates to withdraw their amendments demanding Shri Menon's resignation or dismissal. He said: 'Let us not spoil the solemnity of the resolution. Let us not immortalise him by referring to him in the resolution. We shall demand his resignation or dismissal in Parlia---

ment.' He also asked them to withdraw the amendment demanding the Prime Minister's resignation.

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION ON KERALA

The resolution on Kerala was moved by Shri Basawan Singh and seconded by Shri Madhu Dandawate. Not many amendments were moved on this resolution and this indicated more or less unanimity of the rank and file on the resolution.

In a powerful speech, Shri Dandawate pointed out that the PSP policy of Kerala was an integral part of the party's policy and attitude towards the communists.

There could be no logic in a thesis which talked of parliamentary democracy in India and accepted dictatorship abroad. He detailed numerous instances of Communist subversion of democracy during the regime in Kerala and pointed out how all democratic forces, whatever differences, had to come together in the objective situation obtaining there.

Dealing with the Muslim League in Kerala, Shri Dandawate pointed out that historically and organisationally the Muslim League of Kerala had nothing to do with the All India Muslim League led by the late Jinnah. The Muslim League of Kerala had gone on record opposing the two-nation theory in these days. He drew the attention of...
On the left is seen the entrance to Meherally Nagar, the venue of the conference. Some of the fraternal delegates and leaders can be seen on the right.

Delegates to the fact that the Communist party had always supported partition of India in those days.

Kerala Betrayal

Delegates who had tabled amendments felt that the resolution was not satisfactory in some respects. One delegate felt that the resolution gave a blank cheque to the National Executive. It was pointed out that the Congress Party in Kerala had betrayed the PSP Ministry in that State and as such a considerable amount of caution ought to be exercised in dealing with the Congress and the Muslim League. The delegate also stated that the Gaya thesis of the party was not being observed in regard to Kerala. Another delegate feared that the Kerala resolution, which might perhaps be valid for a peculiar situation in Kerala, might be used as a model to emulate in other parts of India where such peculiar conditions as in Kerala did not exist.

After the mover stated that Shri Madhu Dandawate had extensively covered every aspect of the Kerala problem there was no need to give a reply to the debate. The Chairman inquired if any of the amendments were being withdrawn. All but two were withdrawn and the two amendments lost heavily when put to the vote.

The entire resolution was passed with only one dissenting vote.

(Please see page 22)
Chairman Calls For Disciplined Effort

Shri Ganga Saran Sinha, the Party Chairman, in his address, said:

Honoured Guests and Comrades,

Today when we have completed one phase of our journey and are starting on another, it is our first duty to offer our respectful homage to all those leaders and comrades who considered no sacrifice too great in furthering the cause of Socialism and who unfortunately are no more with us. Among these, the names of Acharya Narendra Deva and Yusuf Meherally will always be an unfailing source of inspiration to us. From Sane Guruji we shall continue to draw inspiration and strength. Chhotubhai Purani, Satyavati Devi, Abul Hayat Chand—their courage and bravery were such as to enthuse even the most disheartened. Sarangdhar Babu, though old in age, was ever young in spirit, and his ideas and outlook were always fresh. He stood steadfast and firm by his convictions. These are but a few names. If we unroll our memory, the record would include countless names who have contributed their best to the growth of the Socialist movement. On behalf of you all, and on my own, I offer them our homage as an expression of our loyalty, respect and gratitude.

I sincerely thank all those individuals and parties who have sent me messages for the success of our deliberations here. I am particularly thankful to all those who have reciprocated our invitation by being present here. The messages and the presence of these friends not merely gladden our hearts but also inspire us in our endeavours to build a strong Socialist movement in our country. I am sure that in these days of revolutionary change their good wishes and advice will help us to chalk out our future course of action and also in achieving our objective. I hope and wish that their goodwill and friendship will be available to us always. Once again, I heartily thank them all.

Look Back At Our Past

When we are assembled here in this Conference to celebrate the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Socialist Movement in our country it is but natural that we should look back at our past. Such an examination will help us to know our shortcomings and also to determine our future course.

The Socialist movement in India was born out of our freedom struggle. While keeping before their minds the achievement of Socialism as the final goal, the Socialists nevertheless realised that for a country that was not independent the achievement of national independence should receive the first priority. It was their belief that Socialism could be achieved only in a free country and that therefore for a subject country like India the attainment of national freedom was an essential, nay, first step towards Socialism. They therefore plunged themselves, heart and soul, into the freedom struggle and were always in the vanguard of the movement, along with the national leaders. Again, it was on account of their belief in the priority of national freedom that in the Kisan Sabhas that they had formed they made it a condition that these should accept the political leadership of the Indian National Congress.

The Culmination

But at the same time they propagated socialist ideas and also worked for the creation of socialist forces in the country. It was their sincere belief that both the movement for freedom as well as the creation of socialist forces in the country were inseparable, and that national independence would be incomplete without Socialism. Socialism was to them the logical culmination of the freedom movement. They also believed that in order to step up the pace of the freedom struggle, and also to strengthen it, it was necessary to inter-connect the struggle for freedom with the struggle of the peasants and workers to better their economic condition. Thus, while accepting the priority of achievement of national freedom, they felt that in order to make the freedom movement all-enveloping and to draw all sections of the vast masses of India into it, it was necessary that a blue-print of a Socialist India should be kept before the people. But this was not acceptable to the leadership as well as the major section of the Congress. And so, after the movement of 1930, the Socialists who had taken part in the struggle set about forming Socialist groups in the different provinces.

The Communist Party had already been organised in India, long before the democratic socialist elements of the country began to organise themselves. Many of the important personalities in the democratic Socialist movement were Marxists. The Socialists were also greatly influenced by the Russian evolution and Lenin's writings. Yet they did not join the Communists because of their fundamental differences with them. They formed a separate Socialist Party inside the Congress.

The Differences

The first difference between the Socialist and the Communists arose out of the latter's attitude towards the freedom movement. The Communists not only opposed the non-co-operation movements of 1930 to 1932 but even tried to impede and obstruct them. The Socialist considered this action of the Communists as not only anti-national but also un-Marxian and against the interests of Socialism. As already mentioned, the Socialists believed that Socialism could be achieved only in a free country and that for the independence of India all the anti-imperialist and national forces should come together under one united front. In their opinion the Indian National Congress was such a united front against imperialism, and that only under the leadership of Gandhi could the people be led to wage a successful struggle. They therefore considered the malignancy by Communists of Gandhi as an agent of British capitalism always ready to come to terms with the imperialists as not only reactionary but also anti-national.

The second difference was on account of the fact that Indian Communists were slavishly and blindly supporting the policy and methods of the Russian Communist Party. The Indian Communists regarded...
Stalin as the greatest interpreter and practitioner of Marxism. The Socialists on the other hand felt that Stalin, instead of following the principles of Socialism, had established his personal dictatorship in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat and was ruling according to his whims. He was in fact distorting, destroying Socialism instead of strengthening it.

The third difference related to the policy of Stalin and the Russian Communist Party towards the peasants. Forcible collectivisation of lands was considered right by the Indian Communists whereas the Socialists considered it utterly wrong. The Socialists considered the oppression of the peasantry as tyranny pure and simple. The peasant, in their opinion, also belonged to the toiling classes. In a socialist society his interests were also to be looked after, just as much as that of the industrial worker. In the opinion of the Socialists, the peasant also had an important part in building a socialist society.

The fourth difference was: whereas the Indian Communists considered the political system obtaining in Russia as the correct representation of Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, even those Socialists who considered themselves Marxists believed that the “Paris Commune” represented the true Marxist concept. Whereas the Indian Communists believed in the dictatorship of a single party, (that of the Communist party), the Socialists believed in the multi-party dictatorship of all the toiling masses and emphasised the need for democracy in the organisation and functioning of various political parties.

Soviet Fatherland

The fifth difference was on account of the fact that the Indian Communists considered Soviet Russia as the fatherland of all the workers and peasants in the world and therefore of the Indian workers and peasants as well. Accordingly, the Indian Communists were not only prepared to carry out the directives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but were, and are, prepared to sacrifice the interests of India in order to serve the interests of their Russian Fatherland. The Socialists considered all this wrong. For them the interests of the working classes of India were interwoven with the welfare of India as a whole.

The sixth difference was that whereas the Communists regarded India as a federation of multi-lingual nations on the Soviet pattern the Socialists regarded India as one nation, though the people spoke different languages, and therefore they regarded it as their duty to foster and strengthen the national sentiment. In Communist ideology and practice ther is no room for nationalism or patriotism.

The Communists of every country always follow the policy dictated by their International. They are also ready to change their policy, without caring for the special circumstances or needs of their country, if the International so orders. Thus in 1928 it was the policy of the Communist International to dub as bourgeois all the nationalist forces in subject countries which were fighting for their freedom. The Indian National Congress was thus a bourgeois organisation and Gandhiji a British agent. It was this policy of the Communist International which forced the Indian Communists to leave the Congress in 1928, to oppose the civil disobedience campaigns of 1930 and 1932 and to say that the workers should not take part in the struggle for freedom. The Socialist, on the other hand, will never be prepared to work as a branch of an alien organisation, nor will they carry out the orders of an outside organisation, as the Indian Communists did and are doing.

Whereas the Indian Communists approved and supported Stalin’s action of liquidating his political opponents and his colleagues as well who happened to differ with him, the Socialists condemned it. There were also differences between the Socialists and Communists in the matter of the internal functioning of political parties. There are many other differences also, but there is no need here to enumerate all these. Suffice it to say that because of all these reasons the Socialists formed a separate party of their own.
If in 1932 the civil disobedience campaign had not been started and if the Socialists who had taken part in it were not clamped in jail, in all probability an all-India Socialist Party would have been formed in 1932 itself, two years earlier than it was actually founded. In 1934 when the movement was stopped and the Socialists came out of the jails, they met in Patna under the presidency of Acharya Narendra Deva and the foundation for an all-India Socialist Party was laid. There were two reasons why Patna was chosen as the venue for this conference. The first was that the A.I.C.C. was meeting at Patna and so all the important workers from the different provinces were sure to come there. The second reason was that in Bihar a Socialist Party had already been formed in 1931 and at this time it was the best organised of all the socialist groups in the country and had undertaken to make arrangements for the conference. The first was that the A.I.C.C. was meeting at Patna and so all the important workers from the different provinces were sure to come there. The second reason was that in Bihar a Socialist Party had already been formed in 1931 and at this time it was the best organised of all the socialist groups in the country and had undertaken to make arrangements for the conference.

Party Foundation

When the C.S.P. was organised in 1934 the Communists called it "the left manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie" and also as 'Social Fascists', and openly condemned it. And soon, between the Socialists and Communists a heated controversy began on the fundamental doctrines and principles of Socialism. Each considered its own policy and methods as advancing the cause of socialism and that of the other as reactionary. At about this time the Communist International realised its mistake—might be due to the triumph of Nazism under Hitler and the consequent fear of Russia of danger from Germany. The Communist International now gave the call to all Communists to join united front with middle classes, liberals and socialists, so that the danger from Nazism could be resisted. There was a somersault in the policy of the Indian Communists also and they were now not only talking of joining a united front with the CSP with it had only very recently called a party of "Social Fascists", but also expressed their eagerness to become members of the CSP. The Socialists, believing in the honesty of the Communists and in their protestations about leftist unity, not only admitted them as members of the CSP but also put them in important positions at all levels of its organisation, including membership of the Central Executive as well as the Joint Secretariate of the CSP.

Here it has to be remembered that in 1935 the Communist Party of India was not a legal party and so it could not function openly. Now by entering the CSP they could function freely and openly through its platform which they exploited to the fullest extent. This period of united front lasted for five years. But all throughout this period there were controversies between the Socialists and Communists regarding doctrine, ideology, etc. The Communists who had joined the CSP utilised the opportunity to strengthen their party. From the very platform of the CSP they condemned the CSP's policy and spoke in praise of communist ideology and doctrine. They tried to win away young members of the CSP and to turn them into Communists. Likewise, they formed factions inside the CSP to strengthen their influence. In this period of the united front, apart from the other controversies, the Communists raised a controversy about the very nature and character of the CSP itself. Whereas the Socialists regarded the CSP as a Socialist Party the Communists began refusing to consider it as a party in the full sense of term. They said that the CSP was only a united front of all leftists. They were not prepared to consider any other party except theirs as either Marxist or Socialist.

The Socialists were also extremely annoyed at the way the Communists were functioning. With the Socialist leaders they talked of working together but before the rank and file of the Party they used to criticise and condemn the leadership of the CSP. Their ultimate aim was to capture the CSP by infiltrating into it, by establishing contacts with the rank and file and trying to turn them into Communists and by creating feuds in the leadership.

The War Years

Because of all this, relations between the Socialists and Communists were not happy even during the period of united front. The Socialists emphasised the moral and democratic aspects of Socialism. They declared that humanity and revolutionary morality were the very life-breath of socialism. In their view socialism was essentially a democratic process and that democracy should be extended to all walks of life instead of being curtailed.

When the Second World War broke but in 1939 both the Congress and the CSP were opposed to giving any help to the British Government in their war efforts. The Communists also adopted a similar attitude in the beginning. In fact they went a step further and talked of starting an agitation against the British. Once again Gandhiji and the CSP were dubbed as reactionaries. The CSP was always of the view that a national movement could be started only under the leadership of Gandhiji. But when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941 the war that was so far an imperialist war was turned into a "People's War" by the Communists, and they declared that the British Government should be supported in every possible way in their war efforts. They were now released by the British so that they could campaign in support of the war efforts.

In 1942 Gandhiji started the "Quit India" movement. The CSP was wholeheartedly with this movement. When Gandhiji and other national leaders were arrested, the burden of organising the movement fell on the CSP leaders. They carried on a magnificent fight though they had to face Government repression as well as treachery on the part of the Communists.

During this five years of united front the Communists were able to reap many benefits. They were able to gain entry into many new fields and class organisations. Even though their own party was illegal, under the shelter of the CSP they were able to work as they desired. They gained many opportunities, instruments and men to do propaganda and strengthen their party by being members of the CSP. But the conduct of the Communists was such that the Socialists were forced to take disciplinary action against them. The Communists were criticising the policy and the leadership of the CSP and also trying to wreck the party from within, even those Communists who were occupying responsible positions in the CSP. In 1940 they were expelled from the CSP.

Thus ended the period of united
Widening of Gulf

Though the situation in the country changed consequent on the end of the war and the achievement of independence, the old differences between the Socialists and the Communists continued. In fact the gulf between them widened. The differences that separated democratic Socialists from totalitarian Communists especially in their picture of a socialist society and how it could be brought into being came out in sharp relief and also became clearer to the people. It is true that notwithstanding all this there were recently electoral adjustments between the Socialists and the Communists. But it has to be remembered that this was only a temporary expedient. The Socialists sincerely believed that multi-lateral contests had to be avoided if a strong opposition was to be built in the country and the authoritarianism of the Congress was to be checked. But this phase is also now over.

After the non-co-operation movement of 1930 some Congress leaders also began to think of the necessity for keeping before the people the blueprint of an independent India. Accordingly in 1931, at the Karachi session of th Congress, a resolution on fundamental rights was adopted. This however did not wholly satisfy the Socialists. They stressed the importance of building class organisations so that the pace of freedom could be quickened. But the Congress leaders would not admit this need or Importance. Nor were Congress leaders prepared to commit themselves to the abolition of zamindari and Princely States, or the redistribution of land, or even a declaration in broad terms on economic policy or the political set-up after independence. The Socialists again wanted that a clear picture of the economic and political system of Independent India should be given to the people and at their conference in Patna they placed a 15-point programme for the country. They framed a charter of immediate demand and a course of action for achieving the same. Many of the Congress leaders fought shy of such a clear-cut programme. But there were some in the Congress who, though not members of the CSP, were in agreement with its objectives and also supported it.

Even while engaged in the fight for freedom the Socialists began organising class organisations of kisans and workers; they formed kisan sabhas and trade unions, established youth and students organisations, organised camps and lecture series, published pamphlets and magazines to propagate socialist ideas, fought for the just demands of workers and peasants. They tried to bring about unity in the kisan movement and with this end in view admitted in their kisan organisations even those who differed with them on other matters. They also tried to bring about unity in the trade union movement by bringing all the trade unions under one all India organisation. They also mobilised the kisans and workers in support of the Congress candidates in the 1937 elections in order to defeat the candidates supporting British imperialists, the zamindars and capitalists. Though some Socialists stood as candidates and were elected to the provincial councils they refused to become ministers or to join the government. They considered that the mobilisation of the people for independence was more important and so their attention was wholly devoted to this work.

Congressmen's Apathy

Some Congressmen had tended to place sole reliance on parliamentary methods since 1934. This tendency became more widespread after 1937. Congressmen were becoming indifferent to the masses and to mass action. The CSP on the other hand emphasised the need and importance of organising the masses and of launching mass actions. It was opposed to any sort of co-operation with the imperialists and directed its units to work with all anti-imperialist forces as well as strengthen them. On account of all this the CSP was considered a radical and progressive group and the people placed their hopes on it.

The conference at Patna in 1934, at which the Congress Socialist Party was formed, resolved that membership of the Congress was compulsory for membership of the CSP. An organisation committee with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan as the General Secretary was formed and regional Secretaries were also appointed. In the succeeding months efforts were made to organise Party units in the different parts of the country and in October 1934 the First All-India Conference of the CSP was
A section of the 900 odd delegates that attended the session captured in an attentive mood during the proceedings.

held at Bombay at which representatives from 13 provinces were present. The Second Conference was held at Meerut in 1936. At this Conference the CSP declared that it was a Marxian Socialist Party and also adopted a thesis.

The Third Conference held at Faizpur towards the end of 1936 reiterated the Meerut Thesis and also tried to make it more detailed and comprehensive. Decisions were taken at this conference to strengthen the anti-imperialist front and also as regards the policy and programme of the Socialists both inside and outside the Congress. These documents are popularly known as the Meerut and Faizpur theses respectively. Socialists did their utmost to educate and prepare public opinion against imperialism and in favour of Socialism. The CSP had so vehemently opposed the extension of any support to the British in their war efforts that many of its prominent members were put under detention, even before the Individual Disobedience movement had started. Again in 1945, when all the Congress leaders and workers were released, the Congress Socialists continued to languish in prisons or had to remain underground. They were released only after the formation of Congress ministries in 1946.

After the Congress ministries had been formed and while negotiations with the British were going on, Congressmen objected to the use of the word "Congress" by the CSP. On the other hand, many members of the CSP were dissatisfied with the record of Congress work and felt unhappy over the association of the CSP with it. They felt that the obligation to accept the membership of the Congress was an unnecessary restriction and that this should be got rid of. Some well-wishers of the CSP inside the Congress also advised that the word "Congress" be dropped. Accordingly at the conference held at Kanpur the word "Congress" was dropped and the obligation to accept Congress membership was also waived. The CSP now came to be known as the Socialist Party and all organisational links with the Congress were severed. Only such members of the Socialist Party as continued to remain members of the Congress individually had any obligations towards the Congress as its members. This was an important landmark in the history of the Party.

Country's Partition

Though Gandhi and a good number of Congressmen were opposed to partition of the country, the country was nevertheless partitioned because the majority in the Congress had been won over to this idea and they accepted the partition of the country as inevitable. The Socialists were opposed to partition.

Soon after Gandhi’s death in 1948, the AJCC decided that those who were members of other political parties, having a separate constitution and membership, could not continue to remain as members of the Congress. The intention behind the resolution was clear. The resolution was directed against the members of the Socialist Party who were holding important and responsible posts in the Congress. As a result of this, the Socialist Party in its conference held at Nasik in March 1948 decided that all its members should leave the Congress. The Socialist Party was now to function as a full-fledged, independent political party.

The Socialist Party was originally conceived as a party of active workers and its organisational framework and constitution were so framed as to suit this need. Every member of the Party had to satisfy certain minimum conditions such as devoting certain minimum hours every week for Party work and active participation on at least one front of the Party. An applicant for membership of the Party could be admitted only on the recommendation of a Scrutiny Committee which used to go into the record of work of the applicant. In 1949, the Congress membership was thrown open to the masses. Provision for three categories of membership was made—ordinary, active and affiliated. It was also decided to give representation to class organisations.

The Bolshevik Leninist Party of
India (who were till now affiliated to the Fourth International) and a large section of the Revolutionary Socialist Party also now joined our Party.

A large number of Congressmen had become dissatisfied with the policy and functioning of the Congress after independence. On the eve of the general elections in 1952 they left the Congress and formed the Mazdoor Praja Party under the leadership of Acharya Kripalani, and they contested the elections on their own. Therefore, in the general elections a large number of parties were ranged against each other and the Congress, though it polled only a minority vote, nevertheless managed to have its candidates returned in large numbers, because the opposition votes were split up. After the elections, the Socialist Party, the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party and the Forward Bloc realised the need for the consolidation of anti-Congress democratic socialist forces. This realisation led the Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party to first work together in Parliament and later to merge together and form the Praja Socialist Party.

Forward Bloc Emergence

Delegates will remember that different groups of Congressmen had left the Congress at different times because of their dissatisfaction with Congress policy. Thus, in 1939, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had formed the Forward Bloc. Netaji, in his presidential address at Haripura, had made an appreciative reference to the CSP and also his pleasure at its formation. After independence the Forward Bloc had split up into many groups. But when the Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party merged together to become the Praja Socialist Party in 1952, the Subhasist section of the Forward Bloc decided to join the PSP.

The Praja Socialist Party incorporated the constructive programme of Gandhiji into its programme, emphasised the decentralisation of political and economic powers, advocated prohibition and stressed the importance of cottage industries.

Consolidation of democratic socialist forces at home was paralleled on the international plane by the formation of the Asian Socialist Conference at a conference of Asian Socialist Parties held at Rangoon in January 1953. The Praja Socialist along with the Socialist Parties of Burma and Indonesia was one of the sponsors of the Asian Socialist Conference and played an important role in its formation and development.

Some time after the formation of the Praja Socialist Party, a series of internal crises developed in the Party. Some left the Party alleging certain imaginary differences; some were misled to desert the Party; some others left because of differences of a personal nature. Some people magnified minor differences and raised unnecessary and avoidable controversies. Some others, blinded by their ambition, maligned the motives of their colleagues and also questioned their honesty and integrity and thus tried to disrupt the Party. The Party somehow tided over these difficulties without coming to great harm. But it suffered another setback in 1956, in the death of Acharya Narendra Deva, who had piloted the Party through its difficult days. Soon after Shri Jayaprakash Narayan also announced his resignation from the primary membership of the Party so that he could give his whole attention to the Bhooman movement and also shun party politics. With all these setbacks, it is a matter of gratification that the Party faced the situation with fortitude and determination and today faces the future with confidence and courage. This is due to the abiding faith that the Party workers have in the destiny of their Party and the selfless dedication and single-minded devotion with which they carry on the work of the Party.

Asian Conference

During this difficult period the Party played host to the Second Convention of the Asian Socialist Conference held at Bombay in November, 1956. The Party had to face the second general elections also when it had not fully recovered from the setbacks created by the internal crises. Though the results were nothing spectacular yet it gave conclusive proof of the inherent vitality of the Party.

We have also made great efforts to bring about the unity of all socialist forces in the country. Success has not attended these efforts, but we have not lost hope. The doors of the Party are open to all democratic socialists and we earnestly appeal to all of them to join us in the task of building a democratic socialist India.

By this time the work of the reorganisation of provinces on linguistic basis was taken up. Both the Congress as well as the Socialist Party had advocated the reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis and had organised their own Party units on the linguistic basis. The British Government also had taken certain steps to form provinces on the basis of language. But in 1956, though a decision to form States on a linguistic basis was made regarding all other language groups, yet in the case of Maharashtra and Gujarat the policy of the formation of States on a linguistic basis was not implemented and they were forced to remain in the bilingual State of Bombay. The Praja Socialist Party opposed this decision and its branches in Maharashtra and Gujarat have voiced the feelings of the people in both regions for separate States. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Congress has at last realised the wisdom of splitting up the State of Bombay to form the unilingual States of Maharashtra and Gujarat.

The Praja Socialist Party not only welcomes this step but also expresses its great pleasure at this fulfilment of the long-cherished desire of the people of these two regions.

Kerela Affairs

In the 1957 elections the Congress did not get absolute majorities in the Orissa and Kerala legislatures. In Orissa however the Congress was the biggest single party and it formed the government with the support of the Jharkhand Party. Tacit support given by the Communist Party also helped the Congress Government to remain in office for quite some time. In spite of all this the Congress Government there was not stable and the Congress was ultimately forced to enter into a ministry coalition with the Gantarana Parishad, the second largest party in the Orissa legislature. This is a new experiment in that the Congress Party has for the first time formed a coalition government with another party. The coalition government now enjoys a huge majority in the House.

In Kerala too no party obtained an absolute majority. The Communist Party however was the largest single party and it formed the gov-
APPEAL TO YOUTH TO ENROL AS VOLUNTEERS

THE Samajwadi Yuvak Sabha met in its annual conference on November 10 in Bombay. It was attended by about 50 delegates from all over the country.

Representatives of the International Union of Socialist Youth and Vietnam Socialist Party from abroad and the All India Youth Congress Catholic University of Federation and World Assembly of Youth from within India attended the Conference as observers and conveyed the good wishes of their organisations.

Inaugurating the Conference, Shri Nath Pai, M.P., stated that the country was faced with external aggression across the northern borders and the internal crises were also assuming wider dimensions. "The youth will have to face these challenges by raising the morale and awakening the consciousness of the masses," he said.

He wanted the delegates to bear in mind the meagre resources at their disposal and suggested an appropriate approach towards the task of building up an all-India organisation.

In her Presidential address, Shrimati Anutai Limaye emphasised the necessity of the participation of the youth in the politics of the country. She observed that the S.Y.S. should pay adequate attention to reconstrucational activities. She traced the history of the R.S.D. for the benefit of the delegates and exhaustively dealt with the deteriorating conditions of the youth.

Shri Surendra Mohan read out the messages from different national and international organisations.

Among others who addressed the inaugural session were Sarvashri Kurt Rasmussen of the I.U.S.Y., Krishnaswamy of the WAY, Bhatia of the Bombay Youth. Congress, Reginate Soares of the All-India Catholic University Federation and Vu Ngoc Vy, the Deputy Secretary-General of the Vietnam Socialist Party.

The actual business of the conference began with the reading out of the Convener's report by Shri Surendra Mohan. A lively discussion followed, in which a number of delegates participated.

After the report was adopted, the conference split itself up into two panels: one to chalk out the student policy and the youth policy in general, and a second one to draft the constitution and explore ways and means of building up the organisations. Although the panels deliberated in great detail and that their reports were finally drafted, they not be formally adopted for want of time. But the delegates derived greater pleasure from the fact that the SYS had for the first time a formal Constitution.

Aggression Denounced

A resolution denouncing the recent Chinese aggression across the North and north-east borders of India was moved by Shri Kundu from Orissa and seconded by Shri Parimal Das from Delhi and unanimously adopted. The resolution gave a call to the youth to enrol themselves as volunteers for defending the country at any time if situation so arose.

In the evening, a Youth Rally was organised. The rally was well attended. It was addressed by Sarvashri Asoka Mehta, Nath Pai, Albert Carthy and Shivaji Patil. Shri Nas Dengle of the RSD precided on the occasion. After the speeches, SYS members from Bombay, with the help of outside members, staged a cultural programme.

Finally, after the rally was over, the Conference met once again. At the elections which were held, H. Kishore Singh of Bihar was Chairman, Shri Rajendra Sharma Vice-Chairman, Shri Surendra Mohan as the General Secretary was chosen.

The list of members and office-bearers of the Executive is as follows:

Sarvashri Hari Kishore Singh (Bihar); Surendra Mohan (Punjab); Rajwant Singh (U.P.); Vijay Pratap Singh (Bihar); Pradeep Kumar Bose (Bengal); Kundu (Orissa); Rajendra Sharma (Rajasthan); Sathish Kumari and Shrimati Sarala Madhav (UP).
RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY JUBILEE SESSION

Co-operation With Congress Ruled Out

NATIONAL SITUATION

THE National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party views with concern the developments in the political situation in and around India. The developments demand a frank reappraisal and a new earnestness among the people.

The Conference realises that socially erosive forces that have compassed the destruction of democracy in neighbouring countries are not absent in India and only through devoted labours can the ramparts of liberty be held.

The Conference welcomes the lessening of tension between India and Pakistan and hopes for further improvement. The mounting threat from China to India's frontiers, backed by a fast developing economy and totalitarian mobilisation of the masses, needs to be faced as a crucial challenge to the nation's independence, territorial integrity and its chosen way of life.

Economic difficulties in India have increased, unemployment mounts and the margin of safety in food shrinks ominously. Disparity in income has also grown. While these difficulties pose a threat to our political life, they also provide a spur for determined efforts. The encircling perils to India, to all that we have achieved and cherished during a century-long struggle for freedom, should, with wise and imaginative leadership, foster national unity and a renaissance of spirit and endeavour.

The Conference has once again to point to the failings of the party in power. Its inefficiency, sectarianism, corruption have deepened the crisis and spread frustration among the people. It has done little to communicate to the people the growing dangers, internal and external, to India and has allowed complacency to spread. It has been guilty of suppressing very vital facts concerning Chinese aggression and has condemned itself by refusing to take any firm measures to repel its own ranks has tended to undermine the people's faith in the values of democratic socialism.

Communists' Betrayal

The Communist Party of India, once again, has exposed its extra-territorial loyalties, and its excuses for and prevarications on aggression against our sacred soil have covered an internal threat to the country. The Conference is firmly of the opinion that through its repeated betrayals of the nation the Communist Party has put itself outside the pale of contact or co-operation by the patriotic forces in the country.

The Conference recognises the emerging danger of consolidation of forces that challenge socialism and seek to undermine the path-breaking policies that the Party has pioneered for a quarter of a century. Under the beguiling banner of freedom, family and land a new party is in sooth striving to delay and deny the assertion of freedom and equality to millions of underprivileged in the land. This consolidation of the conservative forces under the leadership of big business and big landed interests should not be allowed to mislead the nation away from its accepted goal of an egalitarian social order. The parties committed to the objective of co-operative and socialist society must not, under the influence of this consolidation, waver in their resolve; and the democratic socialist forces headed by the Praja Socialist Party must continue to work with firmness and determination for socialist solutions of political and social problems. That such a challenge could be organised is a measure of the weakening of faith in the manifest destiny of our people, a weakening that can be permitted only at our peril. It is not an ebb but only the flood tide of socialism that can resolve the stubborn problems of our people.

In spite of certain fundamentals we share with the Congress such as allegiance to nationalism, secularism and democracy, it has to be emphasised that the differences between the Congress and the PSP have been both on policies and on...
their execution. The Conference wishes to emphasise that so long as differences on policy and implementation remain as before, cooperation with the Congress cannot help the nation but merely strengthen the disruptive forces and deepen the frustration of the people. The present challenge can be met only by strengthening and developing our country internally. It is in such vital sectors as agriculture and industry that we must accelerate the pace of development and in the field of social and economic reconstruction it should become possible to carry conviction to the people that the nation is making determined efforts to usher in an egalitarian society. With this objective in view a programme of national construction could be drawn up so as to enable us to march ahead towards political efficiency, economic prosperity, full employment and an egalitarian social order. For this purpose high priority must at present be assigned to clean administration, the development of strategic areas, food self-sufficiency, labour intensive projects as well as to limitations on capitalists' exploitation and ostentatious living. The Conference hopes that the programme on the lines noted below may be drawn up:

(a) To give a boost to agricultural production, measures should be taken to provide to peasants timely credit, good seed, manure, implements and warehousing facilities. Wherever the agriculturists volunteer to form a co-operative they should be given all possible assistance. Efforts should be made to organise service co-operatives in at least one lakh villages every year. Agriculturists should be encouraged to take to mixed farming.

(b) Cultivable waste lands should be reclaimed and brought under cultivation with the help of agricultural co-operatives, preferably of the landless. Ceiling on land should be enforced without recognising sham partitions and surplus land given to the landless in the village.

(c) Every year labour-intensive projects like cottage industries, contour bunding, levelling, road-making should be undertaken providing for the employment of at least one million people in the very first year.

(d) The Adivasis, the scheduled castes—even those who have changed their religion—and other backward classes should be helped liberally to raise their standard of living in every way.

(e) Immediate steps should be taken to provide irrigation to areas which suffer from drought and to induce agriculturists to make optimum use of irrigation facilities by providing facilities like field channels and reasonable water rates.

(f) Decentralisation of administration on the lines suggested by Balwantrai Mehta Team should be effected in all States within the next two years.

(g) Managing Agency system should be abolished and limitation should be placed on distributed profits.

Labour Incentives

(h) As no piece of land should be allowed to remain fallow so no wheel and no worker should be allowed to remain idle. Steps should be taken to give effect to the conclusions reached in the Tripartite Conferences and wherever conflict between the employees and the employers breaks out every effort should be made immediately to see that production does not get hampered and justice is not denied to the workers. Firm measures should be taken to facilitate workers' participation in management of industry.

(i) More restrictions should be placed on luxury goods and ostentatious living and prestige buildings must be banned.

(j) Throughout the country immediate steps should be taken to make judiciary independent of the executive.

(k) University students should be enlisted for compulsory social service in the rural areas for a year after graduation.

(l) Corruption should be promptly and severely dealt with and the people assured of a clean administration. To this end anti-corruption tribunals enjoying the status of High Court with access to necessary records and documents should be constituted to root out corruption.

(m) Special efforts should be made for the development of defence potentials as well as that of strategic areas and underdeveloped regions near the frontiers.

(o) Efforts should be made to promote labour-intensive medium and small industries.

(p) Minimum wage in all occupations including agriculture be fixed.

(q) Refugees should be helped liberally to rehabilitate themselves.

The Conference invites parties pledged to democracy and socialism to realise that the over-arching challenge to our nation can only be met by total mobilisation of the people. In the unfolding emergency it becomes imperative to transcend smaller loyalties and offer full allegiance to our ideals and to the nation. The Conference's honest appraisal of the political situation is not an expression of weakening of purpose but of firming up of will. If others will not travel along the course charted by history, the Praja Socialist Party, with humility and faith, will not hesitate to go it alone.

### TASKS BEFORE PARTY

At this Silver Jubilee Session, the Praja Socialist Party recalls with pride and gratitude the contribution of all those who have worked and sacrificed for the freedom of our land and for the establishment of the socialist order in the country. To those who laid down their lives for the cause this Conference pays its homage.

The Conference is conscious of the fact that, while many problems like the liberation of Portuguese possessions in India still remain unsolved, since our last conference in Poona a new situation has arisen in the country which challenges both its independence as well as its efforts to establish a socialist society. The new challenge has two aspects: military and social. Both of them must be understood well before they can be countered.

So far as the first is concerned as there can be no room for panic, there can be no place for complacency. Cadres of the Praja Socialist Party everywhere must give the highest priority to the task of making the masses aware of the threat to our independence with all its implications. The Father of the Nation had taught us how even an unarmed people can resist aggression and Netaji had showed us how even a handful of patriots fired with devotion to their motherland can triumph against all odds. That priceless legacy if revitalised can, even now, breathe into our people a new confidence which should be cherished.

Bageshwar Sharma (Rajasthan); Satish Kumar and Shrimati Sarala Madhav (UP)
sured of the unstinted and unequivocal support of the whole nation and the nation's resolve not to tolerate the Communist fifth column. The Praja Socialist Party must be able within the next few weeks to bring about such a massive mobilisation of public opinion in the country as would put a stop to our government's policy of hesitation and procrastination.

The awareness however must not be limited to the political field because in the ultimate analysis our internal strength will be our best defence. The Praja Socialist Party must be able within the next few weeks to bring about such a massive mobilisation of public opinion in the country as would put a stop to our government's policy of hesitation and procrastination.

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The Praja Socialist Party, sale and purchase societies, co-operative farming, owning and managing of processing industries like ginning, canning, gur and sugar manufacturing. They should endeavour to level up life in rural areas so as to approximate 'urban life in education, medical amenities and sanitation. The idea of family planning must find a place in our propaganda, especially in the rural as well as in the working class areas. Wherever possible the landless, who in most cases are likely to be Harijans, Adivasis or other economically backward communities, should be helped to secure land or, in the alternative, employment on labour intensive projects. In view of the chronic scarcity of foodgrains our efforts should be directed towards promoting highest yield per acre and making the scarcity areas as near self-sufficient as possible in respect of foodgrains.

In the urban sector the Party must organise the growing army of workers into genuine trade unions. Our trade unions should not only become instruments of agitation but should become centres of equipping the workers for greater responsibilities in the field of industrial production. We should demand the participation of workers in the management of industries like sugar, textiles and mining and encourage labour and the middle class to undertake schemes of co-operative housing, co-operative provision stores etc. The Party must seek to redress the grievances of the unemployed also. Needless to say our unions must jealously guard against wage cuts, closure of factories or lock-outs. They must also demand the taking over of such factories by the Government which are mismanaged or are closed and wherever possible to have them managed by workers' co-operatives.

Women's Role

The Conference desires to emphasise the need for intensive work among women. Women cannot hope to play their part in the reconstruction of our country if they are not released from the status of a secondary role in society to which they have been confined by social and caste considerations. Economic freedom of women would also be of great help in this direction. This can be achieved by intensive social education in the country. The picture of democratic and socialist India will be incomplete without the intelligent co-operation of women.

Among the educated youth, there is need for creating intellectual and cultural renaissance. The Conference assures Party's co-operation in such a ferment of ideas and imparting reality to them by developing close association between educated youth and the working people of India. Such a nucleus of young socialists should be organised in every university. The Conference feels that the cherished values of liberty and equality can grow only in an atmosphere of fellowship. Only by developing the ties of fraternity inside the Party can we hope to foster the spirit of fellowship among the people as a whole.

Though initial steps have been taken by the SYS and the socialistically—minded women workers of the the Party to organise the youths and women, their success will depend on the willing co-operation they get from the rank and file of our Party. Wherever the SYS has succeeded in establishing a dependable apparatus they should try to set up volunteer organisations for constructive and cultural activities in the cities and in the villages.

The PSP must resolve to play in the future a role worthy of its glorious past. The Party can forge itself
into the worthy instrument of renaissance India only if it strengthens itself. We must therefore resolve to double our membership in the next year to activate the primary and constituency units of the Party and to carry the flag and message of the Party to at least two hundred thousand villages. If our claim that the plant of democratic socialism has struck roots in the soil of India be true, then henceforward there ought to take place a spontaneous blossoming of that plant. Our aim should be maximum homogeneity in spirit and maximum variety in its expression through action. Let a hundred torches be lit from the torch that was brought here from Nasik and in their turn let them be taken to the remotest part of our land so that every village, nay every home, will have its own sacred flame of the new faith.

CHINESE AGGRESSION

The aggressive and expansionist acts of China threatening the territorial integrity of India has come as a shock to our peace-loving people who had traditionally looked upon China as a friend and ally. The sustained campaign of vilification, the threatening language and the treacherous occupation of our territory are acts of calculated hostility towards a loyal friend and a faithfully ally. The fully implications of these acts have become clear during the past two months. Chinese maps showing 40,000 square miles, that is 1/30th of our total land area, as Chinese were the precursor and ominous warning of the actual aggression that followed.

To dismiss Chinese occupation of our territory which the Government of India's White Paper rightly described as a case of deliberate aggression, as an unfortunate and passing episode is to ignore the warning of history and to invite disaster. Drunk with her military might and emboldened by the success of her aggression in Tibet, China has launched on a policy of expansion which is the gravest threat to the security of smaller neighbours and peace in Asia. The growing imbalance in the economic and military power between China and her neighbours is being used to further a policy of territorial aggrandisement and ideological domination. It is obvious that such a predatory policy is doomed to fail-

ure, but this should not deflect us from the imperative necessity for immediate and resolute resistance. The danger implicit in the situation is aggravated by the presence in all these countries of Communist parties who, in utter disregard of vital national interest, are seeking to deny the very existence of this grave danger, to sow confusion, to weaken the morale of the people and thus make the aggressor's path easier. The calculated discourtesy to our ambassador is in sharp contrast to the secret parleys between the leaders of the CPI and China. Apart from the affront to our national honour, this is a sinister attempt to project the CPI as a spokesman of the people of India and as the acceptable mediator in the dispute.

The danger of military aggression is enhanced manifold by the psychologically subversive tactics adopted by the Chinese and their agents on the frontier, particularly the deceptive "liberation" promises and their propaganda to the effect that the border people are members of the Chinese family.

Dimensions of Danger

Those who realise the true dimensions of this new danger and take a firm stand on the Chinese aggression are branded by the Communist Party of India as reactionary forces hostile to the Government of India's "Non-involvement Policy", the PSP recalls that we have been the pioneers in this country, we have consistently worked for the acceptance of the "Non-involvement Policy". On the other hand, the Communist Party of India, which is seeking to take shelter behind Nehru's policy of non-involvement, has always tried to undermine the "Non-involvement Policy" by striving to drive India into the Communist bloc.

The Praja Socialist Party calls upon the people to be aware of the danger to our country and our free way of life based on long-cherished traditions of tolerance and respect for the dignity of man and to stand united and determined to meet it.

The Party urges upon the Government to draw the inevitable inferences from the experience of the past few years—an experience we have gained at so much peril to ourselves—and finally resist China's expansionist strides. The Government should insist upon the immediate vacation of all areas wrongfully and forcibly occupied by China and demand unequivocal acceptance of the McMahon Line and the traditional Himalayan frontier, firm by treaty, geography and usage, elsewhere from Ladakh to Sikkim, as the prerequisite of any negotiations. In seeking to jump over the McMahon Line, China is trying to make India vulnerable by depriving us of the natural Himalayan ramparts. During the last fortnight the situation has deteriorated further and the expansionist intentions of China leave no room for doubt.

In these circumstances all vacillations should end, and, in the event of China not vacating within a stipulated period territory forcibly occupied by her in NEFA, Ladakh and elsewhere, the Government should be prepared to take such measures, military and diplomatic, as to compel China to quit Indian territory. On the way we meet the Chinese threat depends not only the integrity of India but also freedom, security and peace of the whole of Asia. The Party assures the Government that the PSP will support with resolve and dedication all steps it will take to defend the integrity and honour of our land but the Party regards it a duty to warn it against the danger of a weak-kneed policy towards an aggressor who has shown greater regard for and reliance on force than friendship and trust.

UNILINGUAL STATES

The National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party welcomes the reported decision of the Congress to split the State of Bombay into the unilingual States of Gujarat and Maharashtra including Vidarbha in response to the clearly expressed wishes of the Gujarati and Marathi-speaking people. The Praja Socialist Party believes that this decision would be implemented by the Government at the earliest possible opportunity and care would be taken to see that all the border disputes are resolved in accordance with uniform principles evolved for the purpose and no fresh seeds of discontent get sown while bringing about the two unilingual States.

This Conference congratulates the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat for their successful struggle against the forced decision of the Government about the formation of bilin-
The Conference endorses the decision among countries of South, South-East and West Asia to promote economic co-operation, and their impact on development, is necessary to protect agriculturists' incentives. For that, it is necessary to assure to those of industry, to ensure to them remunerative prices of their products, to institute crop insurances and to provide to them facilities such as cheap credit, improved seeds, good manure, agricultural implements and warehouses. Special attention should be paid to the extension of irrigation facilities at cheap rates so that intensive farming may be possible.

Rural Service Crops

A national service corps drawn from the rural areas and trained to man the various rural services on technologically sound lines is also urgently necessary to undertake the task of taking advanced scientific knowledge to the man working on the farm.

The Conference strongly holds that all possible efforts should be made to end middlemen's exploitation and the growing conversion of Indian agriculture into capitalist economy in the form of big farms. For this, it is necessary to promote service co-operatives in villages, to induce villagers to organise co-operative joint farming, to distribute the reclaimed lands to establish agricultural co-operatives of landless labour and to convert big farms into peasants' co-operative farms.

The Conference urges that a council of agricultural development be established at the Centre with the task of drafting a comprehensive plan for food self-sufficiency and for promoting its execution according to the Plan.

The Conference is strongly of the opinion that for agricultural development, it is necessary to protect agriculturists' incentives. For that, it is necessary to assure to them that the interests of agriculture would not be made subservient to those of industry, to ensure to them remunerative prices of their products, to institute crop insurances and to provide to them facilities.
ROLE OF OPPOSITION
by A. D. Gorwala

A 

opposition party which does not oppose will certainly not form a government; it is doubtful if it will remain a party. To say then that the aims of the government party being the same as those of the opposition party, and that almost all its main measures being those which would be approved by the opposition, therefore there is no room for opposition, rather that opposition would be wrong, is to doom the party to insignificance, if not to extinction. With such a mental climate, neither can its present be memorable nor its future hopeful.

Whatever be the lack of difference in principle, there can be little doubt that the operations of the Congress governments give at every stage ample opportunity for responsible criticism. From Community Development to criminal justice, from appointments to the Cabinet to subsidies to scholars, there is hardly a branch of governmental activity which does not on study disclose ample ground for the exercise of that vigilance, which would bring before the public errors and worse.

The Scope

It is not then correct to say the scope for an opposition party is limited. It is rather that the opposition party either dislikes delving into the details that would enable it to acquire the necessary information and mastery with which to challenge the government on its individual acts or that possessing full information it shirks the issue. The reasons for this shirking are generally personal. The individuals who would be the subject of attack are perhaps cherished characters of wide repute, to bring up matters about whom might even appear irreverent. How face a cold House in which Government has a large majority with accusations against such august personages? That must often be the state of mind of opposition members of the legislature even when they feel that something wrong has been done and the matter ought to be raised.

The compound walls of the bungalow of a respected Chief Minister are, for instance, pulled down and new ones more elaborately ornamental put up in their place. The old wall’s were in no danger of falling down so that the extra cost is completely unnecessary. A watchful opposition party, inclined to regard it as its duty to see that nothing passed it by, would instantly bring this to notice. Why was money being wasted in this manner, it would ask. Nor would it allow itself to be put off with the consideration that after all Rs. 20,000 or so was but a small amount in the budget of a State that amounted to many crores or the other equally fallacious argument that what had served well enough in the past and was considered good even last year was not modern today and therefore must be changed.

An Accomplice

A hawk-eyed opposition party with a keen sense of public interest and an understanding of what exactly that interest necessitates in each case would find no difficulty in raising issue after issue, each genuine and relevant, to make clear to the people, the electors, the sins of omission and commission of the government in office and the probability of far better management if the tasks of government were entrusted to the opposition party.

There can be no hope of even reasonable success for a party in politics if all the time at the back of its mind is the idea that the government must not be discredited too much, lest if that were to happen, worse might befall in the sense of a non-constitutional party like the Communists taking advantage of the situation. If this consideration weighs heavily upon the conscience of an opposition party and prevents it from truly educating the public in the way appropriate to an opposition, the party becomes in fact an accomplice of the government in its faults and errors, and consequently assists not only the strengthening of the non-constitutional party but brings about the very polarisation which it dreads and which its existence should be a safeguard against. To do that which is your clear duty and leave
the rest to Providence is as good a rule for a political party as for an individual. This does not, of course, preclude pointing out to the people simultaneously and emphatically the crimes of the non-constitutional party and the very grave danger it is or can be to the democratic State.

The Imitativeness

The programme which an opposition party would carry out if it came to power must be put clearly before the public; so, too, must the principles which animate it. In neither should there be room for any ambiguity or evasion. The circumstances of this country and this time should govern both. Conditions elsewhere may make necessary different treatment, but that is no reason for changing about merely because the party adopting the different stand bears the same or a similar name to the one here. The imitativeness that is so common a trait with us Indians needs at least to have this amount of restraint placed upon it. If, for instance, the circumstances of this country make the nationalisation of a great deal of industry not only desirable but essential, it would be folly to feel diffident about either the principle or the programme, because nationalisation has fallen out of favour in the very different situations of Great Britain or West Germany, and its former advocates there are now beginning to have doubts.

In the conditions of India, a clear economic programme dealing concretely and in detail with such problems as food, large-scale industry, health, employment, small-scale industry, allowing for variations from region to region depending on particular circumstances, is very necessary for an opposition party that wishes to have any real appeal to the people. The differences that there may be between its members on these matters must be thrashed out in debate and discussion and an agreed statement issued that is in all sincerity accepted by all. But in order to get agreement, refuge must not be sought in platitudes and generalities. So disgusted is the public with the mass of these that pour out from every political quarter that it would welcome a specific concrete statement clearly delivered. Such a document could not, of course, promise everything to everyone. On that very account, it might well be regarded as honest, and the party putting it forward worthy of support.

No Philosophy or Scholarship

The leadership of an opposition party must not continuously be suffering from philosophic doubt. There is room in political leadership for both philosophers and scholars but if a party is to be successful, the primary interest of its leaders must be politics in the appropriate and narrow sense and not philosophy or scholarship. The mental awakening due to these pursuits should assist them in a better understanding of, and more effective grappling with, the problems they have to deal with and the men they meet in the political field. The framework of political life is laid down for the opposition party leader no less than for the Minister. Both have to function within it and it does no good for the opposition leader, because he has not the immediate responsibility or does not see the prospect of immediate responsibility in the near future, to allow the wish that he could break this sorry scheme of things and build it nearer to his heart's desire, to prevent him and his party from playing their normally useful part in the day-to-day political world.

On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Conference JANATA has decided to offer a special concession in the annual subscription rates with a reduction of Rs. 4.

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Man Must Work Towards New Reality

In a letter addressed to Shri Asoka Mehta, congratulating him on his election to the chairmanship of the PSP, Shri Charles Mascarenhas, one of the founder-members of the CSP, hailed the choice as a happy augury.

The letter reads:

Dear Asoka,

I hasten to congratulate you on your election as the Chairman of the PSP. It augurs well for the Party. They have reposed confidence in you and entrusted their affairs in the hands of one whose integrity is accepted by all but the sobriety of whose reasoning on momentous issues is rejected by the majority.

From its inception the PSP has travelled a lot, yet it has not shed its ballast, which is preventing it from becoming the leader of the people of India.

It came into existence to meet a historical necessity, when the people were yearning for a deeper expression of their aspirations, than Gandhi had so far given them. With the failure of the Civil Disobedience campaigns and the disillusionment that followed, came the recognition of the necessity for the deepening and the widening of the basis of struggle by the inclusion of the demands of those sections of the people engaged in agricultural and industrial production who were victims of oppression, and exploitation of British imperialism and of an incipient Indian capitalism which could not develop unlettered.

Like our capitalism our socialism became incipient because it did not spiritually touch the Indian people and failed to draw its energies from them, even as much as Gandhi did.

Had Nehru the unstinted support of the flower of the National Movement which crystallized in the C.S.P. at Nasik, it would have helped him grow to a greater stature and corrected in him the infantile disorder to which he succumbs, because he unconsciously accepts the ready-made solutions which are plausible and spectacular, but a definite deviation from the true orientation of our unbroken line of cultural development, starting with the Indo-Aryan fusion.

What sustained the uninterrupted flow of our spiritual heritage, in the vicissitudes of history, is the search for the absolute which raised Indian achievements to heights very rarely attained by human reason alone, in the history of human culture. Despite the vague desire to go beyond the realms of economics and politics to solve the problems of economics and politics, Nehru has been lost in them and through him and his daughter Indira, will be lost the spiritual heritage of the past which came down to us in an unbroken line up to Gandhiji, because they cannot raise it to a higher level. Neither revival of Hinduism nor of Buddhism nor the co-existence with Communism can achieve it.

The complexities of the higher forms of organization to meet the requirements of the nuclear age can be evolved by resolving the tensions of production and distribution by making justice and love the basis for preserving freedom and the personality of man. This realization is dawning on the heads of states, which have piled up nuclear weapons for a racial or cosmic suicide if they fail to resolve their differences or the clash of their ideologies and systems.

Concentration of power has rendered it powerless to solve the elementary problems of life. Gandhi under the influence of Christianity had dimly perceived it by recognizing in Life, Truth and Love and for this man from within and without. The Communist goes to this plane with a well integrated philosophy but with a wrong orientation which seeks the absolute in the temporal.

The scientific basis of modern materialism is knocked off by the acceptance of the limitations of the method of science by Flank and Einstein and also by the acceptance of the limitations of time and space. The scientific era opened by Newton is closed by Einstein, and Darwin, Marx and Freud, who were the children of this era, can no more be our prophets, although they have given us deeper penetration into reality on the natural plane. Our quest continues and will open up a new era of science, with the application of the achievements of science, to solve the problems of its age, with a true orientation.

Einstein told Abbe Pierre that with the explosion of nuclear matter there were two more explosions with more far-reaching effects; one was biological and the other psychic. The biological was due to the discovery of antibiotics which with their potency to destroy all known bacteria, had increased the span of life and added to the increasing rate in the growth of population; and the other, the use of electronics in the solution of all problems which can be reduced to a mathematical formula, with a rapidity which outstrips the human brain, increasing the rate of growth of our knowledge, of the world of time and space and has made travel in space possible. But we must remember that people who can produce Luniks must also produce lunatics who can plunge us into the deluge.

The nature of man cannot be changed to suit the needs of a system of production and distribution. It was Rousseau's fundamental error which was followed by Lenin making it the basis for a collectivist planned economy, presuming that the individual will, by surrendering to the collective will can change the nature of man.

Although economic collectivism has become necessary, it cannot be forced on man. It has to come naturally by the voluntary co-operation in production and distribution which will ease the tensions of production and distribution. If human society has to live and evolve to its arch-type it can only do so by re-discovering its purpose and direction towards a reality which is Life, Truth, and Love, and for this man has to turn his mind beyond time and space, and in the process, cease to believe that he is only a rational animal but the entelechy of an em-
bodied spirit, which has to live in this world, not of his making, but on which he will leave his mark, to help or mar, its development towards the goal for which it was brought into existence.

Roy taught us that the universe of Einstein was a continuum of events in the intervals of time and space. If all events could occur at one point there would be no space or time but only a thought conceived in love and sustained by love, by one who is Life and Truth and Love, himself and our forefathers called him Satchiananda. The search for Him was the quest which sustained the cultural development of the last five milenia in India and can maintain it, in spite of the perils of the nuclear age.

My congratulations to you has let loose a spring of thought which perhaps would mingle with those of the others who are with you, undaunted on the same quest. I long for an opportunity of meeting you again after many years, to pick up the strands which were left unwoven, if you can spare the time.

With the warmest greetings,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) Charles Mascarenhas.

Bombay, November 11, 1959.

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Healthy?

Of course!

LIFEBUOY?

Naturally!

LIFEBUOY SOAP is a habit with me—as it is, I think, with most people who care about health. It gives me such a healthy feeling of freshness after every bath.

And LIFEBUOY washes away germs in dirt. You cannot avoid picking up everyday dirt—however clean your job. Make LIFEBUOY your health habit!

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Organisational Strength Assessed

(Conference Proceedings, continued from page 5)

After the moving speech made by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan (reported separately), the Convention sat down for a serious business discussion of the items of the Agenda. The General Secretary's Report was taken up as the first item for debate.

In his report the General Secretary had traced the growth of the democratic socialist movement in India since the past 25 years and how with such small beginnings the movement had now crystallised into the Praja Socialist Party. The report pointed out how in the objective conditions obtaining in India all these years, even with the deep incentives of Marxism as the ideological base for the party, the party could not help being powerfully affected by the impact of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress.

The General Secretary pointed out how this ideological fusion of Gandhiji's philosophy and the earlier Marxist incentives represented a very basic and fundamental difference between PSP and the Communist party of India. The report also pointed out that there had been an organic evolution of thought in the PSP under which it was realised that the Gandhian way of life rather than Marxist dogma would be more beneficial to India.

The report narrated how the acceptance of socialism as the programme by almost all the parties in India was to a great extent due to the pioneering work done by the PSP.

Reporting on the organisational activities of the party since the last Convention in Poona the General Secretary while pointing out the improvement in the party's strength since that time also regretted the failure to reach the specified targets fixed at Poona.

Explaining the reasons for inadequate information on the functioning of PSP members in the State legislatures, Parliament, local boards, municipalities, corporations, co-operative societies, Gram Panchayats and trade unions, the General Secretary pointed out the almost complete lack of attitudes and devises for obtaining information on such activities at the various levels of the party.

The report then traced out certain significant happenings in the country since the last convention and took note of the party's contribution and participation in these events. The famine conditions in U.P., the incidents in Kerala under the Communist regime, the West Bengal happenings and the relationship with the Communist party's united front, developments in regard to the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Maha-Gujarat, Janata Parishad, the unexpected volte face of the Ganatantra Parishad which had an alliance with the PSP in Orissa etc., were referred to in the context of internal affairs.

The report also commented on the efforts made by the PSP leadership to implement the Poona Convention resolution on unity of socialist ranks and how the overtures to such persons as Shri P. V. G. Raju of the open faction in the Socialist Party were reciprocated with political piracy by Shri Raju and his friends.

Dealing with international affairs, the report drew pointed attention on the subjugation of Tibet by aggressive Chinese communist government and how the Chinese aggression on India itself. It called for strong action to defend India's frontiers and territory against the latest attack on India wanting so much to develop friendship with China. The report pointed out "the probing claws of China will have to be twisted back and she should be made to realise that in the ultimate analysis a democratic people would triumph over a monolithic Goliath."

The report also gave details of the party's latest membership position, its strength in Parliament, State Legislative Assemblies and State Legislative Councils.

When the report was thrown open for discussion a number of delegates participated in the debate with numerous comments and complaints on the report. There was criticism of the report period during the debate, which broadly was on the following lines:-

1. Contradictions in policies and implementation: Many delegates charged that while the PSP had alliances with the Congress Party and the Muslim League in Kerals and the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa on the one hand, it continued to associate with the Communists in a united front in Maharashtra and Gujerat. There was nostalgia among some of the delegates for the good old days of radicalism in the party. Many delegates, for instance, deplored the PSP's drifting itself into what they felt to be comfortable parliamentarianism like the foreign socialist parties and diluting its earlier traditions of direct action and mass struggle. Some of the delegates felt aggrieved that it was due to these tendencies that the party had been losing its ideological clarity and had to develop ideological contradictions.

Some members regretted that the party was no longer emphasising on class struggles and class organisations, and many of the leaders of the party spoke with different voices. It was also regretted that no reference was made to Netaji's contribution to development of socialist movement.

2. Complaints about organisational activities: Quite a number of complaints by the speakers were on the inadequate information given in the report about the progress of organisational activity and the reasons for the failure of reaching the objectives outlined at the Poona Convention. In the context of this complaint, there were criticisms that no proper attempts were
What if there were no Vanaspati Industry?

If the Vanaspati Industry were to close down and there were no DALDA, the immediate effect would be a serious scarcity of hard fats—fats like vanaspati and ghee which don’t melt at room temperatures.

**ECONOMIST:** A scarcity of about three lakh tons at once—four times that in 15 years.

**YOU:** So...?

**ECONOMIST:** So this would obviously mean shortages. Ghee, the traditional hard fat, will be unable to make good the shortfall. It has never been able to meet its own growing demand—let alone the extra demand for vanaspati. Historically speaking, there has been only a marginal increase in ghee production in the past 20 years, considering the increase in population.

**WE:** And that is precisely why DALDA Vanaspati came into the market 30 years ago and has stayed there.

**ECONOMIST:** Looking a little into the future, the supply of ghee is expected to rise by about 20% in the next 5–10 years. But the demand for it would have increased by more than that. Meanwhile, the demand for vanaspati could easily double.

**YOU:** But I can’t see why the demand for vanaspati should increase.

**ECONOMIST:** Firstly, because of the increase in population. Secondly, because of the rise in National Income. As incomes grow, more and more hard fat tends to be consumed. Forty percent of the American diet, for instance, consists of fat.

**WE:** Another thing. Without DALDA Vanaspati in the shops the price of ghee will go up to prohibitive levels. Few will be able to afford it. So, a great many people will have to do with a lot less of fat.

**ECONOMIST:** And our diet is already deficient in fat. We take, on an average, only 4% of our nutritional requirements of it.

**WE:** What about adulteration? It’s a common practice as it is. And it will grow—with all its harmful effects on health.

**ECONOMIST:** That apart, fat scarcity would divert a great deal of available milk to the production of cooking fat. This, in a country already short of milk, where malnutrition among children is a grave problem.

**YOU:** Aren’t you dramatizing it a little... we could use liquid oils, you know!

**WE:** Of course, we could. But then think of the changes in eating habits—in cooking methods and the taste of foods in hard fat areas like the Punjab, for instance. It would mean getting used to strange tasting, unappetising foods, having to forego meals cooked in traditional ways. And foods such as cakes and biscuits cannot be made without hard fats like DALDA. More important, people all over will need extra vitamins to supplement their diet.

**YOU:** Why vitamins?

**WE:** Well, because liquid edible oils don’t contain vitamins A and D—DALDA Vanaspati does. DALDA consists of partially hydrogenated pure vegetable oils, fortified with 700 International Units of Vitamin A and 56 IU of Vitamin D. These vitamins protect the skin and eyes, and build strong bones and healthy teeth. They are essential for health, growth and protection from disease. As a source of energy, DALDA is 2½ times better than wheat or rice. Moreover, it is hygienically pure, deodorised, of uniformly high quality—yet so economical in use! It isn’t often that you get these qualities in liquid oils—they certainly never contain vitamins.

**YOU:** That’s perhaps why the demand for DALDA is going up more sharply than that for liquid oils.

**ECONOMIST:** A final point. Without the Vanaspati Industry, thousands of people would be without a means of livelihood. And the National Income would be less by some crores of rupees.

**YOU:** And I’d be without my DALDA! We’ve been using it for years. I knew it was a food, but I didn’t know that it played quite so important a part in the Economy and food habits of the people.
made to get back into the party those elements who had broken away.

There were complaints about the party not intensifying its activity in the trade unions, youth movement, students' organisations, women's organisations and peasants' organisations. In fact there were complaints by the speakers that even whatever strength the party had up to now was diluted. The central leadership was strongly criticised. It was alleged that it failed the rank and file.

**Rank and File Interest**

Essentially the debate indicated a great liveliness on the part of the rank and file to many things wanting in the party in terms of ideological mandates, guidance for better organisational effort, etc. But it also indicated one important fact, viz. the pull which each delegate faced in terms of peculiar regional pressures and which had to be correlated to the party's principles and organisational programmes at the national level. It was becoming evident that it was in this fear of catering to this need that the party has to do much. The Report according to some was negative; it was like a speech on the report and not a report itself. It was not an objective document.


In his reply to the debate the General Secretary gave a very sympathetic recognition to the intentions behind the almost universal criticism made of his report.

**The General Secretary correctly pointed out that one of the most significant and organic developments in the PSP has been the levelling down of the leadership in size to that of the rank and file as a result of many of the leaders who were great names in the party, no longer being with the party. To this extent the General Secretary pointed out the party was much closer to the rank and file and at least as far as the PSP was concerned there could be no question of any personality cult developing.**

With such a background, the General Secretary pointed out, a considerable amount of responsibility rested on the rank and file to keep their own effective line of communication to the leadership all the time open. It was on account of a failure to do so that these shortcomings, as expressed by the delegates, were present in the party. He felt hurt that the delegates blamed him and his colleagues in the National Executive. He said leadership should be tested, but it should also be trusted.

**The General Secretary also pointed out that quite a number of issues raised in criticism by the leaders during the debate were not only relevant for presentation in the report, as the Convention was discussing very important omnibus resolutions on the National Situation, Tasks before the Party, etc., which would adequately cover all the points that were made.**

After the General Secretary's very able reply, his report was adopted by the Convention.

Proceedings of the morning session, (2nd day) 6th November 1959, 9 a.m. to 1.30 p.m.

The delegates' session on the second day of the Convention commenced with a message of greetings to the Convention from the Mapai Party of Israel, personally read out by Mr. Moshe Sharett, who was attending the Convention as a fraternal delegate.

In a reference to the recently concluded general elections in Israel, Mr. Sharett stated that the Mapai had been in continuous power in his country ever since it achieved independence. But this year they had secured over 40 per cent of the seats. He pointed out that in Israel the proportional system of representation had made it difficult for a single party to emerge with a complete majority. But this time even though the Mapai had to form a coalition government it was in a better position to implement the socialist policies of their party.

He reminded the convention that a large majority of the Israelis were newcomers. In spite of the fact that this had been taken advantage of by Opposition parties, sometimes very unfairly, the Mapai had still continued to wield influence among the people.

**New Dictatorships**

Adverting to the emergence of dictatorships and anti-democratic forces in the newly independent countries of Asia, Mr. Sharett asked whether the national liberation movements threw off the foreign yoke only to submit to internal tyranny even if it be in the garb of an enlightened despotism. He said that he and his party were depressed at the sight of successive failure of democracy in the newly independent countries.

In this context he referred to India and said that the fate of Asia would be decided in India. He said that the battles for democracy and socialism would be fought in India.
"The fate of Asia and Africa depends on the soul of India. India's capacity to develop democracy and socialism is a crucial question of decisive importance."

Mr. Moshe Sharett added that the Praja Socialist Party must be the addressee of this challenge. It is in this spirit of expectation and hope that he conveyed the greetings of the Mapal to the Praja Socialist Party on the occasion of the silver jubilee of the socialist movement in this country. The presence of a large number of young men and women as delegates moved Mr. Sharett to comment that the Praja Socialist Party was fortunate in having "this large reservoir" for the party.

As per the programme, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was the next speaker. The memories aroused by the occasion overwhelmed the veteran leader. He completely broke down for sometime and could not restrain his tears. Thunderous applause from the assembled delegates only increased his emotional condition with the result that he had to be escorted back to his seat so that he could collect himself.

Affection for Party

Shri Purshottam Trikamdas, one of the founder members of the Congress Socialist Party, was then called upon to speak. Shri Trikamdas said that when he received the invitation to attend this Convention he thought he would not be able to make it but was happy that he came. He was no longer a member of the Praja Socialist Party but assured the Party that he still claimed to be a socialist and that whatever the differences between himself and the Party he had always an affection for the party and the members many of whom were his colleagues in building the party. He said that his friendship and affection for his comrades was undiminished. He could not help but offer the party and its members his best wishes.

He recalled that 25 years ago when they came out of the different jails from different parts of India they came out with the definite idea that for the national movement to go forward it must orient itself to socialist thought. He still remembered his old comrades, many of whom were no longer alive, and would never forget the warm affection he always received from Yusuf, Narendra Deva and Jayaprakash.

He said that while he did differ on many occasions with Narandra Deva on what the latter called a Marxist point of view, this did not diminish the affection that grew between them. He particularly missed the loving personality of Yusuf whose forthrightness and knack of keeping people together was invaluable to a political party. Shri Trikamdas added that not being a member he could not criticise the organisation and thought of the party. But he wanted to say a few words about the socialist movement in general. Like many of his comrades who organised the Congress Socialist Party he also subscribed to the view that the CSP came to socialism not as dogmatists nor as text-book doctrinaire socialists but as a party attempting to do a job of achieving freedom and ensuring social justice.

People's Movement

He compared socialism to an arch supported by two pillars: the pillars of democracy and social justice. "If either is missing", Mr. Trikamdas asserted, "then it is not socialism. It may be state capitalism, dictatorship or tyranny of some variety. This definition of socialism is the common man's conception. Thees and dogmas are all very well for the pandits. But the socialist movement has got to be a people's movement. It has got to be taken to the people in terms which they understand."

If the socialist movement was to ensure democracy, then Shri Trikamdas maintained, they should apply their mind more seriously to tackling the issues that were troubling democracy. Democracy had not been and would never be "one man and one vote." There had got to be mutual contact. There should be more homogeneity. By homogeneity he did not mean uniformity. India had been broken up into social compartments of caste, to which were now added linguistic and sectionalism. He made it clear that he was not against linguism in the sense of people wanting languages which they understood etc.

If the socialist movement should go forward it must deal with these things in a vigorous manner. It was all very well to talk of democracy and socialism when casteism was growing tremendously during the last few years. Unless the younger generation as well as the older people were willing to recognise these evils which were of a fundamental character, all talk of socialism and democracy would become futile. "What will happen if I cannot say", said Shri Trikamdas.

Referring to the Congress Party, Shri Trikamdas described the Congress brand of socialism as a very strange one. It reminded him of a puerile text-book socialism. There were a few Congressmen of this variety who felt that socialism meant the nationalisation of everything. He warned the delegates that this notion would land the nation in the laps of a dictator.

Tragic Foreign Policy

Shri Trikamdas then turned to the foreign policy. He said that the ultra affection and soft manner in which the Prime Minister had been providing alibis for the Chinese aggression would have been amusing were it not so tragic. He referred to the strange spectacle of Defence Minister Krishna Menon sitting in New York when his presence in India at this important juncture was absolutely necessary. "He comes for fleeting trips into India and goes back to talk of world peace."

Shri Trikamdas describing Shri Krishna Menon as Prime Minister Nehru's "Man Friday" said that rather than come on such fleeting trips it would be better for Shri Menon to leave India for good. Shri Trikamdas warned that Shri Menon wished to land India in a camp where Shri Trikamdas personally dreaded to belong.

He compared Shri Nehru's policy of non-alignment to the Leaning Tower of Pisa. Almost in a tone of desperation he wished that "our dumb members of parliament would stand up and speak."

After the completion of Shri Trikamdas's address, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan resumed his speech.

Priceless Affection

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan said: *I beg your forgiveness. My feelings overpowered me. I should not allow my feelings to overpower me in the midst of an assembly. My heart is somewhere else. Who am I to give you a message? Whatever I was about to convey to you my heart gave it to you. The mouth cannot express my heart's feelings. Poets alone can give expression to the language of the heart. I have been the recipient of your affection. It is priceless. Yesterday Harris said something which buzzes in my ears.*
Today I wanted to open my heart to you. But it is weak and I am finding it very difficult to speak.”

After these heart-warming remarks, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan proceeded to give his reasons why he left the party. He said he separated from the party not because he felt there was no need for the Praja Socialist Party but because of a more fundamental reason. “If I had faith in the party system of government I would have continued to be a member of the PSP. You know that for many years now I have been saying that the party system of democracy is imperfect.

“I have been asked very often about my concept of socialism. Many of you would have read what I have had to say on this. I believe Sarvodaya will help in solving our problems. I have been asked who would carry on the government if there were no parties. I have laid down my thoughts in the course of an essay. It is out of print. But I have asked for copies to be made available. I do not wish to dilate on this, on this occasion. I have arrived at these conclusions after 25 years of experience in the socialist movement.

“When the Congress socialist party was born one of its tenets was that the Congress should be taken towards socialism. So long as we were there within the Congress we tried but it was not found possible to get the Congress party to accept socialism. We left it believing that the Congress would not be a socialist party. But eight years after 1948, at Avadi the Congress party accepted socialism as its aim.

“But, friends, that decision of the Congress has certainly not resulted in the consolidation of the forces of socialism. When the Congress decided to adopt socialism as its goal, one man gave the socialist slogan and the whole assembly gave its assent. In one second the party became a socialist party. Never in the history of socialism has a socialist party been formed in this manner. It is like Brahma’s creation.”

‘Miracle’ of Nehru

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan then went on to say that when the Congress decided to adopt socialism it did not think fit to consult others who had been in the Congress fold and had left it precisely because Congress would not accept socialism. Neither Jawaharlal Nehru nor the Congress consulted others. Shri Jayaprakash went on to remark that perhaps one man in the Congress wanted to show that what any of Yusuf Meherally, Jayaprakash Narayan, Narendra Deva and others could not do within the Congress, he Shri Nehru, had succeeded in doing. He had single-handedly turned the Congress towards the path of socialism.

Many people from abroad and here at home asked him (Jayaprakash) why he was not co-operating with the Congress now that it had accepted socialism. They complained, Shri Jayaprakash added, that even in the context of a socialist Congress, the socialists would not co-operate with the Congress and yet claim that forces of socialism were not united. “It is true that in 1953, Jawaharlal called me and asked me about our position in co-operating with the Congress. We offered suggestions. You might recall the 14 points that we put forward. But I do not know what happened then. When I met him again I found a changed Jawaharlal. His words to me on the question of Congress-Socialist co-operation still ring in my ears. He said, The time is not ripe. I could not understand Jawaharlal’s mind.”

Congress Insincerity

Adverting to the problem of party discipline, Shri Jayaprakash said that the party members should not be bound with very strict rules of discipline so that a member could neither move here nor there. “We are not children any longer” said Shri Jayaprakash. He upbraided people for seeing the devil everywhere like Dr. Lohia. Whatever might have been the faults of the Praja Socialist Party, selfishness and a desire for grabbing positions of power were certainly not among them.

Shri Jayaprakash said that if Prime Minister Nehru really wanted the ideal of democratic socialism to be spread in India it was his duty to start talks with the Praja Socialist Party. The task of national reconstruction was no small matter. In this task small thinking had no place. The Praja Socialist Party should be quite willing to co-operate with the Government in developmental tasks. But the Congress had its head in the skies. It had to reach the ground and breathe reality. The Congress had never sincerely sought the co-operation of the socialist parties in this task.

Shri Jayaprakash maintained that the “face of socialism” was gradually changing. There was rethinking everywhere on the concepts of socialism. And this change was necessary if the socialist movement was to survive. “But the Congress socialism is like Brahma’s creation. Their socialism is what is defined by Pandit Nehru. In reality Congressmen have identified Nehru and socialism almost as one. They have never seriously discussed socialism. Like a king he takes them here and there. Possibly the reason why Jawaharlal is afraid of co-operating with the Praja Socialist Party is that they (PSP) might question his views on socialism at every turn. Jawaharlal is a dictator who subscribes to democracy.”

He went on: “In the socialist movement in India there is a polarisation of forces. On the one side we have Nehru with his socialism. We can say he is a democratic dictator. On the other is Ram Manohar Lohia with his concept of socialism. What we should call him is a little difficult to decide. And we have Asoka Mehta whose intellectual height is no less imposing. I sincerely feel that it is for Jawaharlal to take the initiative in bringing about a unity of the forces of socialism for national reconstruction. We are all brothers—socialist bhai-bhai.” Shri Jayaprakash felt that Shri Nehru was the real roadblock in the way of socialist unity.

Recently, said Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, he had toured many countries. He was once a socialist but now he was not a “professing socialist” but yet he was given a great and warm welcome by the Socialist International.

Swatantra Philosophy

He said that he took complete responsibility when he said that Rajaji’s speech at the time of the inauguration of the Swatantra Party in Bombay would find an echo with nearly 80 per cent of the Congressmen. These 80 per cent accepted Rajaji’s remarks whatever Shri Nehru might say. He described this as the “Conservative Liberal will.” Shri Jayaprakash went on to assert that there were a mere handful of people within the Congress who could call themselves socialist. One Dr. Sampurnand could claim to be...
a socialist; but that was all. Not more than 20 per cent would honestly accept socialism as a matter of conviction. He was sure many Congressmen would get angry with him; but he felt that he had to say it. “Just because Nehru is a socialist, they take it that the whole party is a socialist party. There is no movement.”

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan referred to Mrs. Moshe Sharrett had referred to as constructive socialism. He commended the example of Israel as a country where constructive socialism had been put to practice. While the socialists in Israel had come to power not many years ago, they had been carrying on this task of constructive socialism for the last 50 years. Their Kibbutzs were nearly 49 years old. They were examples of how the socialist movement had really taken on the task of constructive work. “Can we point to a single Kibbutz of our own?” he asked.

After Nehru the Congress would stop talking socialism, Shri Narayan stated. Then the socialists within and outside would have to come together. And then the Praja Socialist Party would be the central actors on the stage of socialism.

**Charge of Stagnation**

Shri Jayaprakash decried the talk that the PSP was not progressing. He added in a humorous vein that even the press was now taking more interest in the PSP! “It even finds it possible to print a speech or two of Ganga Saran Babu and other socialist leaders. We are thankful to them”, said, Shri Jayaprakash. The party must have finances. It was the poor man’s party and it had to work and function under conditions where things had become very costly and expensive. But socialism had to take roots with the people and the poor man had to contribute to keep the party alive. Socialism would have to take grass roots and not come from Delhi.

“I am not a Sadhu doing Sadhana. But, in a manner of speaking, my whole life has been a Sadhana. Ever since the formation of the CSP I have performed Jeevandan. Prabhavati would know how many days I have spent at home.” said Shri J. P. in a personal reference.

Continuing he said: “You say I have left you. I say you have left me. Come with me. But you are not prepared. You want Jayaprakash of ten years earlier, not this one. I certainly do not think that what you and I are doing are conflicting things. If there had been any conflict I would not have come here at all.

Here (tears again welled up in his eyes) I was also responsible for laying the foundations of this movement.

You want to establish a socialist society. I want a socialist man. You cannot enforce socialism through law. Society can be changed only through the transformation of the individual. We are both aiming at the same thing. I am going with a flag ahead of you.

**Border Incursions**

“My friends have asked me to talk a few words on the dispute regarding the borders with China. I am afraid that statements I make will get misinterpreted through careless editing. The Press Trust of India has often edited my statements, even written statements, in such a manner that my friends complain that I have omitted mention of certain things or have made inaccurate statements. While dwelling on the question of Chinese aggression, my mind goes back to Mahatma Gandhi. I feel that we would not have come to this pass if we had really followed his precepts instead of paying lip service to them. Gandhiji stated that we should win freedom through non-violence. But he never stated that when our freedom is threatened we should remain non-violent and look on while our freedom was endangered.

Methods of non-violent resistance can be used only if we get into the tradition of non-violence as a philosophy and way of life. But when even for the slightest pretext there is violence, what then of such a big dispute involving our freedom. It is indeed saddening that even after twelve years of freedom we have still not got into the non-violent way of thinking. If we had imbibed the teachings of Gandhiji we could have sent a Shanti Sena to Ladakh and bare our chest to the enemy. When they were put down, many more would be ready to go.

“But then, this is not possible now. Therefore, we have no other alternative but to defend ourselves with violence if necessary. We shall fight for every inch of land. But we shall keep our minds and our thoughts clean and free from hatred of anyone and any country. Even when we fight we shall do so with love in our hearts.”

Referring to Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan asked whether India could not find another man to replace him at the U.N., Shri M. C. Chagla for instance. “Is it right for the Defence Minister of India to be out of India at this time? This is entirely Nehru’s responsibility”, he said.

“Nehru has a habit of not taking any advice from his opponents. But in course of time he will accept what they say even while maintaining that his opponents were wrong. This has been the case with regard to China and Tibet. Nehru said that he would not permit an inch of land to be taken, this after many inches had already been taken. The people of Asia and India should learn the true nature of Chinese communism from their aggression against India.”

**Indo-Pak Ties**

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan referred to the previous day’s deliberations when during the course of the Yugoslav fraternal delegate’s speech of greetings, some of our members shouted “Milovan Dijlas Zindabad”.

“This shows our concern for the preservation of liberties of the individual even in socialist countries. Milovan Dijlas is a great man and a good friend. We are sure that the Yugoslav Government will release him soon and restore civil liberties to its people.”

Today there was no such thing as international communism. There might be a Communist bloc. But there were different kinds of communism, the Russian communism, the Chinese communism and the Yugoslav communism for instance.

“In yesterday’s papers I read a gratifying statement by Nehru where he made a revolutionary statement that the Chinese had always been expansionists. I am glad he has become aware of this at last. He has recognised reality.”

“It turn to another important field and that is of India-Pakistan relations. We cry ‘Hindi-China Bhai Bhai’ and ‘Hindi-Rusi Bhai Bhai.’ We also know what types of Bhais they have proved to be. But we are the blood brothers of Pakistan and yet we do not talk of ‘Hindi-Pakistani Bhai Bhai.’ True we had our
As Purshottam Trikamdas maintains, hope there will be a confederation. I want to come nearer to India. I think that Pakistan's defence would be better served by a defence pact with India rather than with Iran or Turkey. I am sure that Pakistan will think this over and will follow an independent policy. As Purshottam Trikamdas maintained our own policy is like the Leaning Tower of Pisa. We shall have to change our policy from this. The defence of India and Pakistan is interlinked. It is in the interests of both to come to a joint defence arrangement.

**NATIONALISATION**

The debate on the resolution on the National Situation represented one of the most serious and crucial discussions during the entire conference. Perhaps it took a sudden turn because of Shri Asoka Mehta's participation in the debate. One delegate, at a certain stage, enquired whether Shri Mehta was supporting the resolution or opposing it. The seriousness of the discussion can be gauged, from the fact that besides Shri N. G. Goray, the mover, and Prof. Mukut Behari Lal, the second, of the resolution, many members of the National Executive participated in the debate.

Nearly 100 amendments had been tabled on the resolution as it dealt with the political and economic questions in the context of the present threat to India's security from the Chinese externally and the mounting difficulties and the pressures in consequence of them internally.

**Need For Unity**

Prof. Mukut Behari Lal said that the country faced a crisis and social tensions had considerably increased. National consciousness should overpower the caste and other small group loyalties, he urged. He blamed the ruling party for its anti-democratic ways. He said the disaster caused by the big gap between professions and practice by it was deepened by the extra-territorial loyalties of the CPI. The Swatantra Party, he said, challenged socialism, taking shelter under the name of Gandhiji, enabling capitalism to emerge as a distinct political force. He said co-operation with the Congress Party would not be helpful and could be achieved if the difference between practice and profession continued. "If we co-operate with such a party, people will lose faith in the FSP. We are willing to co-operate with the Congress, if it changes its policy and there is a parity between the two," he stated.

He also referred to three different conceptions of defence—capitalist, socialist and communist. He said, "The 15-point programme given in the resolution is our solution to the nation's problems." He explained the programme wanted to rehabilitate the farmer and do away with the managing agency system.

The fact that nearly 100 amendments were tabled showed that the rank and file of the delegates felt a sense of inadequacy about the resolution. The delegates expressed dissatisfaction at what they considered to be a very mild reference, without even mentioning names, to the emergence of the Swatantra Party as a new force. The majority of the delegates seemed to agree with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's characterisation of the Congress Party: that "80 per cent of the Congress men will agree with Rajaji and the remaining 20 per cent are socialists" and that "the socialism of the Congress is a Brahma's creation." Para 8 of the resolution was vehemently criticised by the delegates. The main theme of the delegates' speeches was "no truck with the Congress".

**Asoka's Appeal**

Shri Asoka Mehta appealed to the delegates not to rouse up old controversies. He advised them not to nibble at words, but understand the point of view presented by the resolution. He referred to the Poona resolution on the National Situation and said this year the position had gone from bad to worse. He explained the implications of the happenings in the surrounding Asian countries, where democracy had surrendered to dictatorship. "We must, therefore, look to the nation first," he asserted.

He referred to the Chinese aggression and said Nepal and Burma found it difficult to speak out their mind. It was the impact of the Chinese designs. "Communist China is gaining strength. The disruptive politics in Asia are being helped by Communist China. The situation is challenging—it is an economic and ideological challenge. Our responsibility, therefore, has increased. Let us strengthen the party organisation to meet the challenge and face the crisis."

Economic development had been hindered by new problems, troubles. The rift between India and Red China should not be increased. Saving the nation was difficult, and the FSP alone could not do it. He appealed to the delegates to look at the national crisis as a political crisis also. "We cannot go with the conservative or the communist forces. We have to revise our policies for the coming five or six years. We have to strengthen ourselves, but at the same time we must get the cooperation of allied forces. Such a co-operation will help us to produce more food, develop co-operatives, etc. Let us keep our minds open and in a developing national crisis change our policy according to the needs," Shri Mehta pleaded.

He continued: "I do not say we go with the Congress, but we may improve the Congress. A national effort is needed for defence and economic development. The Congress may not seek our co-operation, but we have to tell the truth to the country. We are strong and we invite strength. Like Lohia, let us not be suspicious of each other. People will come to us as they did in 1942. They saw us as stalwarts fighting for freedom; they will now see us as defending that freedom."

**Link with Congress**

Replying to the debate, Shri Goray said the FSP did not follow the Congress, but the Congress had taken its line. He said, "The line taken by the National Executive runs through all the resolutions moved at this Conference, and therefore, I request the delegates not to isolate this specific resolution.
from the others." The main theme was the Chinese aggression. The resolution also analysed all the political forces in the country. "We must tell these forces what the country faces: the danger of the Chinese aggression." "The aggressors are knocking at the door; are we to wait till they overrun us?" he asked.

Referring to the criticism of para 8, he asked whether the Congress was not democratic, nationalist and believed in secularism. Besides, the operative part, para 9, was the most important part. "There we have given a programme to the people and appealed to them to cooperate. The programme is the beginning of socialism." He defended Shri Asoka Mehta and said the PSP strategy should be to read the situation, analyse it and do the right thing at the right time.

When the amendments were put to vote, the delegates demanded division on para 8, of which the amendment sought deletion. The amendment was defeated by 415 to 309 votes. After that the resolution, when put to vote, was adopted unanimously.

TASKS BEFORE PARTY

The Conference then took up the resolution on the Task Before the Party for consideration. Mir Mustaq Ahmed moved the resolution. Shri S. M. Joshi seconded it.

Shri Joshi divided the resolution into two parts—actual, concrete task and immediate task. He said the Congress was not a vehicle of socialism. Shri Nehru was a socialist, but he was vacillating and his allegiance to socialism was not adequate. Looking at the mass character of the Congress, he said, capitalists dominated it. Socialist forces in it were not strong enough.

"We are on the right track, but our engine does not move. Our dynamism is diverted toward agitations and not towards the main tasks that face us. We need necessary organisation. Once the unilingual States of Maharashtra and Gujerat are created, I will divert my energies to constructive work," he assured. A charter of duties was required, not of rights. The worker, farmer, etc., had duties, not rights only. He appealed to youth not to hanker after power. They must educate the working class and make them conscious of their duties.

"We must mobilise the people to fight communism. I requested the Prime Minister to take action against the Reds who were maligning General Thimayya. We must not ignore this threat to our freedom. I am on this question much nearer to Jayaprakash" he said. He appealed to Shri Jayaprakash to mobilise the people to fight the Chinese expansionists.

There was not much of a debate on this resolution but a woman delegate said that the immediate task before the PSP included organisation of women. She emphasised social education. She said the party organisation had failed to develop a women's section.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

LINGUISTIC STATES

Shri Ishwarlal Desai moved the resolution on the creation of Unilingual States of Gujerat and Samyukta Maharashtra. Shri Haribhanjan Singh seconded it. An amendment moved by Shri Shamrao Kakinowar saying "Maharashtra including Vidarbha" was accepted. Shri Sanat Mehta's amendment paying homage to the martyrs who laid down their lives during the police repression following the linguistic agitations was accepted. An amendment moved by Dr. Amul Desai suggesting that the party units should sever their connections with the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujerat Parishad was lost. The resolution was carried unanimously.
KERALA PEOPLE CONGRATULATED

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once and for all the ghost of communism.

NEIGHBOUR NATIONS

In recent years many important changes have taken place in the governments of our immediate neighbours as well as in other Asian countries. The most heartening change that has taken place is in Nepal where the Nepali Congress, which is the Socialist Party of Nepal and a member of the Asian Socialist Conference is entrusted by the people with the governance of the country. As a sister Socialist Party it is but natural that we should rejoice and take pride at this event. We are happy to see that the sacrifices made by the Nepali Congress are bearing fruit. May I take this opportunity on behalf of you all, and on my own, to heartily congratulate the people of Nepal and the Nepali Congress.

In sharp contrast to the change in Nepal are the changes in other Asian countries. While events in Nepal have opened out a bright future for the people that represent the triumph of democracy and socialism, dictatorship and military rule have been established in many Asian countries. In Pakistan the military has taken over the government, dissolved the parliament and declared all political parties illegal. Military rule has likewise been established in Thailand, Sudan and Iraq. In Indonesia, though Sukarno continues to be the President, the system of government has changed and it has essentially become a military government.

Bickerings among political parties, the corruption, nepotism and dishonesty indulged in by the politicians in power and the consequent loss of faith in politicians and political parties, as also the feeling of fear of external aggression from imperialist and Communist powers have forced the people of these countries to put their trust on the military and armed forces of their countries. Though there is no immediate threat of military rule in our country, these events should serve as a warning to us. We can ignore them only at our peril.

Ceylon Tragedy

Just a few weeks before, our neighbouring country of Ceylon suffered a great tragedy in the heinous assassination of Shri Bandaranaike, the popular Prime Minister and leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. I take this opportunity to express our heartfelt sympathies for the people of Ceylon and the members of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

In Burma the Parliament invited General Ne Win to take over the government and the political parties remained out of the government. Generally, as history teaches us, once the military comes to power they never want to relinquish it and always try to hold on to it. Therefore, it is a matter of great satisfaction that in Burma, Prime Minister Ne Win and his Government have declared that they will hold elections as early as possible and also help in the establishment of a democratically elected government.

The great tragedy that has overtaken our neighbour across the Himalayas is a portent of the threat to the independence of Asian countries. From the very beginning the Praja Socialist Party has been alert and agitated over the happenings in Tibet. It has never approved of the treaty regarding Tibet that the Government of India has made with Communist China and has always viewed it with suspicion. It has strongly condemned this treaty and is of the view that this has been a grave blunder in our foreign policy. The Government of India did not heed the warnings given by us and now unfortunately for our country our forebodings have come true. Today the Tibetan problem has become so difficult that even the Government of India finds itself helpless to do anything in the matter.

The recent improvement in the relations between India and Pakistan is a matter of great satisfaction to us. We look forward to the day when all the differences between the two countries will be settled amicably and the two countries will live in perfect amity. It is our hope that that day is not far off.

SINO-INDIAN TIES

While our friendship for China has been continuing as before, the Chinese during the last four to five years have been slowly nibbling at our frontiers. The question of our northern frontiers has become difficult and insoluble. The Chinese are not prepared now to acknowledge the old frontiers to which they had once agreed. The complaisance of the India Government has further emboldened them to advance further on our Himalayan frontiers.

China and India are ancient countries. They have not only borrowed from each other in the fields of religion, art and culture but have also developed intimate relations. Both have long traditions behind them and have maintained friendly relations from times immemorial. It is because of this that the present behaviour of China is all the more painful. It is true that China and India have adopted different paths for their development. The world, and Asian countries in particular, are watching their progress with interest. They are anxious to know as to which of the two systems would prove to be the best system for the future. But whereas we have been motivated by the principles of co-existence and goodwill and have therefore adopted a policy of good neighbourliness, patience and tolerance, China has, on the other hand, adopted a behaviour contrary to that of ours. She has emerged as a grave danger to our national security and the security of all Asian countries.

The developments on our Himalayan frontiers have once again brought to the fore the danger to our independence from the existence of parties and individuals owning extra-territorial loyalties, who have no faith in nationalism and who view with unconcern the aggression that is being committed by China.

While the country is thus facing serious danger from external aggression, the situation inside the country is none too well. Our food situation is disturbing and is becoming worse. Unemployment has been constantly mounting and has assumed ever-increasing dimensions. Moral standards throughout the country has fallen and people do not have trust in themselves or in the political parties. A sort of apathy has spread and is enveloping the whole country. In a country
which has adopted the democratic way of life and has also adopted the building of a socialist society, forces completely antagonistic to these values are consolidating themselves. These are developments that deserve the most serious consideration by all democratic socialists. We are at the crossroads of destiny and democratic socialism is being attacked from all sides. In such times as these it is all the more necessary that we redouble our efforts to propagate socialist ideas as also to work for their fulfilment.

Duty Before Party

In the face of such external and internal dangers it is absolutely necessary that all the groups in the country believing in democracy and nationalism should unite and work together. But this does not mean that the progress towards socialism is to be delayed. We have always been of the opinion that socialism and democracy are inseparable. Under the pretext of external danger we cannot afford to ignore the problems of unemployment, hunger or corruption.

In the immediate programme of the country, top priority must be given to the solution of our unemployment problem as also to increase our agricultural production. Likewise, immediate steps must also be taken to decentralise economic and political power, so that the people as a whole can take part in national reconstruction. A new sense of urgency must be developed all over the country.

(From the original in Hindi)

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trade channels that are against state trading has caused confusion and added to the difficulties of the people. To ensure proper incentive to the peasants and protection to consumers from high prices it is necessary that the prices of agricultural produce be fixed well in advance and that sufficient reserves of foodgrains be built up and that profiteering in foodgrains both by the traders and by the State be stopped.

The Conference views with concern the delay in introducing necessary land reforms and the way the problem of ceiling on land is being handled. It strongly holds that the enactment of proper land legislation be expedited and the surplus land acquired therefrom be placed at the disposal of the village panchayats to be distributed either to the landless labour or to be worked by co-operatives to be formed by landless workers.

The Conference wishes it to be emphasised that active and determined implementation of well-thought out projects alone can revolutionize the rural sector and meet the situation. The resistance or evasion on the part of a State government should be opposed and counteracted with all the weight of public opinion organised for the purpose.

ALGERIAN STRUGGLE

The National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party welcomes the declaration of September 16, 1959, by the President of the French republic recognising the right of the Algerians to self-determination. For too long the historic struggle of the Algerians for freedom has gone on with 6 lakhs of Algerian patriots being killed. It is urgent that there should be an immediate stop to the war that is being waged by the French colonial authorities against the Algerian Provisional Government. It is our hope that the earnestness and will to peace of the two nations will restore amity between France and Algeria and that an early solution will be found to the problems that are facing the two peoples. The National Conference once again pledges its support to the freedom of Algeria. On the pace and manner in which this freedom takes shape rests the future of the world.

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTIONS

(1) On Shri Bandaranaike:

The National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party condemns the tragic death at the hands of the police of Shri Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon.

It conveys its deep sympathies to the family of the martyred Prime Minister and to the people of Ceylon.

The National Conference takes warning that the assassination of Shri Bandaranaike is of a series that imposed a threat and a challenge to the democratic development of all Asian nations.

(2) On Party Workers:

The Conference of the Praja Socialist Party conveys its deep sympathy to the families of Comrades Abul Hayat Chand (Bihar), Jagannath Prasad Maurya (Piparia), Siddha Vinayak Dwivedy (Rewa), Raghunath Mal Kocar (Amaravati), Saraladevi Tiwari (Sidhi), and Surajnath Pandey (U.P.) all of whom had rendered valuable services in the cause of socialism. The Conference expresses its deep sympathy to the families of the bereaved.
Edited by Rohit Dave and Published by G. G. Parikh, at National House, Tullqch Road, Bombay 1, and
Printed by him for the Praja Socialist Party at the Monj Printing Bureau, Khatau Wadi, Girgaon Bombay 4
Nehru’s Plea For Mandate

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU did not say anything new while opening the debate on the Indo-Chinese relationships in the Lok Sabha. His appeal to the House to give the Government a definite directive as to the policy to be adopted to deal with what he described as a grave situation, however, was of some interest. Of course it was pure rhetoric as he had already committed the Congress Party to the support of the policy so far followed by the Government and with the support of the Congress Party the verdict of the House is a foregone conclusion. The Prime Minister will henceforth be able to say that he was merely carrying out the mandate of the Parliament.

This is not quite fair either to the House or to his own party. That in spite of the decision of the party to support the Government’s policy wholeheartedly, Congress member after Congress member did get up in the Sabha and criticise, precisely in the terms in which the Opposition parties are doing, some of the actions or rather the lack of actions on the part of the Government. This shows that the Congress members had agreed to support the Government policy more with a view to maintaining party solidarity rather than through any convictions regarding the correctness of the policy pursued by the Government.

Acharya Kripalani effectively replied to the broadsides of the Shri Nehru against the democratic Opposition in the Lok Sabha. One did expect the Prime Minister to say something against the PSP and other democratic parties in order to compensate for his reluctant criticism of the Communist Party. All along he has always balanced the criticism of the Communist Party with an attack on other Opposition parties, whether justified or otherwise. But when he described the sponsors of the amendment to his motion expressing regret at the various failures of the Government as “a motley crowd with motley ideas” he had overstepped the line and was rightly attacked by Acharya Kripalani for it. As the Acharya pointed out, one would expect the Prime Minister to at least extend the same courtesy to his friends as he has been extending to the Chinese aggressors.

Nor was his criticism of the Opposition’s stand, as amounting to making capital out of the difficulties of the Government, quite fair. The Government of India is committing so many benders almost every day that the Opposition parties have no need to exploit the present situation, which amounts to a national emergency. But it is the duty of the Opposition parties to give an organised expression to the sense of indignation at the unpreparedness of our Defence Ministry to cope up with all eventualities. If that gives any impression to the Chinese that the people of India are despondent and have lost heart, they would be disillusioned in no time. This country knows how to fight for the maintenance of the independence of the nation in spite of the past blunders of the Defence Ministry. There was no defence apparatus at the disposal of the Indian National Congress and yet the country did achieve independence. If necessity arises the country will repeat the heroic deeds of the Freedom Movement and repel any aggressor that dares violate the territorial integrity of India.
NOTES AND COMMENT

Plan Financing

The statement made by the Finance Minister on his visit abroad to Lok Sabha leaves an impression that for the Third Plan the country will have to depend mainly on external resources. It is true that he has categorically stated 'that the purpose of my visit to the various countries mentioned was not to ask for financial assistance for our plans or to conduct any negotiations to that end' and further 'I explained to them that we were still in the process of working out our Third Five-Year Plan and it will be only in March or so next year that we hope to be ready with an outline of the Third Plan'. But it is quite obvious that the outline of the Plan itself cannot be prepared with any amount of certainty unless the planners have some idea of the foreign loans likely to be made available during the plan period. The fact that these loans were not discussed even in general terms leaves one with an impression that the Finance Minister must not have found the time ripe for such a talk. Even with reference to Rs. 140 crores which represents the extent of the further assistance that is required for financing the Second Plan, all that the Finance Minister could promise was that he had reason to hope that 'that we may count on continuing help and co-operation from our friends abroad in the completion of the core of the Second Plan'. He hurriedly added 'that it will, at the same time, be essential on our part to continue to exercise the utmost caution in regard to our foreign exchange expenditure in the coming months'.

Our Third Five-Year Plan therefore will have to be framed in the light of this reality. Of course, we cannot cut down the Plan beyond what is absolutely essential for maintaining the present level of living and improving it in cases where it is far below the desired norm. In view of the dangers that are looming on our northern border it will also be necessary to maintain the rate of our industrialisation and to increase it to the maximum extent possible. But in view of the resources situation we will have to exercise our minds to the maximum in order to find out how best we can develop our economy at the least possible expenditure on these developments. Maximum efficiency, absence of consumption and tuning up of the administrative and people's organisations to the desired level alone can make this possible. Till now our planning authorities have rested content with laying down certain broad schedules of resources and expenditure, a very tentative list of priorities and a string of objectives. Such an approach will not be of much help in the years to come. A very detailed reconciliation of objectives, firm priorities and exhaustive schedules of resources and expenditures will have to be prepared and adhered to if all possible wastage due to change of plans in the process of implementation is to be avoided.

In other words the Planning Commission will have to be a real planning and regulating authority. This does not in any way mean it will be a super-Cabinet. Because the final decision regarding plan targets and projects will rest with the Government and with the legislature. But once approved by these authorities the plan will have to be implemented and it will be the responsibility of the Planning Commission to see that proper steps are taken to implement the approved plan and to report the erring authorities to Parliament without fear or favour of any kind. So far the Commission has failed to discharge this responsibility with the result that plan targets have gone wrong and the plan projects have remained unfulfilled.

Public Grievances

The public mind is rightly perturbed at the recent train hold-ups by students at Shahdara, Bijwasan and Subzi mandi, all in one week. These incidents together with the incidents at Kanpur and elsewhere point to the acute sense of frustration in the minds of the public generally and in those of the youth of the country in particular. No one can be happy about these unfortunate incidents; one might even sympathise with those who are warned about the increasing tendency towards mob spirit dissemble in these unfortunate happenings. But no useful purpose will be served by addressing admonitions to those concerned in these incidents and expressing one's displeasure at what is happening in the country. Such admonitions have been administered in the past without much results. It is obvious that people are becoming impervious to these displays of displeasure even by the respected and eminent persons in the country. One has, therefore, to go deep into this malaise and try to find out exactly why such incidents are becoming more and more frequent.

As one commentator on these incidents has rightly pointed out the root of the trouble lies in the utter callousness and indifference on the part of the authorities to the wishes of the people even if these wishes are such as can be easily acceded to. Any appeal to an authority to look into the grievances of the public and to try to redress them whenever possible generally fails on deaf ears. The letters from the public are just recorded and even if there is some response it is usually a negative one, trotting out one excuse after another as to why the public request cannot be considered. Naturally the public loses all faith in the possibility of the redress of their grievances and this frustration at times finds expression in an undesirable incident. Behind every such incident there is usually a mounting sense of frustration caused by a number of disappointments.

While expressing concern at these incidents, therefore, it is necessary to emphasise the need for a more sympathetic attitude towards the difficulties of the public. Even if the request from the public is such as cannot be acceded to, it is necessary to place the reasoned case of the authority before the public so that a responsible opinion is built up against unreasonable or impracticable demands from the public. At the same time, whenever possible, all attempts should be made to accommodate the public point of view, at least when it is largely shared, so that the public may be convinced of the sincerity of the authority to do all it can to serve the people. We are often told that those in authority are the servants of the people but their actions hardly justify this claim and as long as such a situation continues, it would be unduly optimistic to hope that such incidents would disappear merely at a frown.
THE SOCIALIZED INTERNATIONAL

THE Socialist International is the
heir of over a century of
effort begun by the working class
to find the form of combination and the
political influence which will enable
it to build a society which, by con-
trolling economic power, will enable
free men to live and work in human
dignity, as equals. Because of
changes which have taken place,
social and political changes, constit-
tuting a major transformation, and
largely due to the efforts of the
Socialist Parties and the trade
unions, a social and political cli-
mate has been created which causes
the Socialist International to be
confronted with problems of a dif-
erent character, and therefore to
require a different form of organi-
sation from any of its predecessors.

We have come far from the days
when the International was a
gathering of individuals, brilliant
and outstanding individuals, but
lacking the backing of national
organisations in their own coun-
tries. When representatives attend
meetings of the Socialist Interna-
tional, they speak with the voice of
powerful organisations, many of
them charged with the responsibil-
y of government in their own coun-
try, or with the maintenance of
power in coalition with other parties.
It is irrelevant whether countries
are small or large. The responsi-
bility remains. It is this authority
of responsibility, coupled with the
new conditions, both the effect of
a century of struggle and achieve-
ment, which characterise our work today.

Social Security

Our Socialist movement in the
last century led the fight for the
10-hour and then the 8-hour day, for
the right to leisure, for social
security. Its affirmation of solidi-
arity was universal. It recognised
that freedom, like peace, is indi-
visible, and that its aims were in-
compatible with the continued ex-
istence of the great empires. It was
felt then that there was nothing
detrimental in the overlapping of
functions, some of these aims being
industrial, others political—nothing
detrimental because there were fewer
trade unions and fewer Socialist
parties, and their decisions had rela-
tively little influence on the eco-

omy or the political life of their
respective countries. In spite of this
structural weakness, the First Inter-
national, and to a lesser extent the
Second International, was an object
of respect by European rulers in the
last century.

When we are talking of Socialist
parties of the 19th century, and the
trade union movements with which
they were linked, we are confined
almost wholly to the European
scene. Other continents were, how-
ever, represented. The Japanese
Socialist Party was an honoured and
welcome guest at International So-
cialist Conferences from the begin-
ing of the century. So, too, was
the Argentine Socialist Party. But,
in the main, development until
after the First World War remained
in the European sphere.

That war and its immediate after-
math caused a transformation in the
scope and functions of trade unions

by

Albert Carthy

and Socialist parties in the major
countries involved in the war. It
brought Socialist parties and trade
unions alike mass membership. It
involved them in responsibility for
decisions directly affecting the lives
and working conditions and the
beginnings of social security of the
working people of their countries,
although in some of them the first
steps in social security had already
been taken. It brought them, in the
decisions they took, at one and the
same time responsibility for concrete
effects and a functional separation
of the trade unions and the Socialist
parties, where before there had
tended to be a certain overlapping.

Inter-War Period

Among the major events during
the First World War were the two
Russian Revolutions, the first of
which overthrow Czarsim, and in
the second of which the Bolsheviks
seized power.

Relations with the Communist
Party, by which I mean on the one
hand the desire and attempts of the
Socialists, to work with the Com-
munists and on the other the desire
and attempts of the Communists to
take over Socialist Party organi-
sation, would fill a long chapter. That
is not the business of this article.

Suffice it to say that after the First
World War Socialists had to fight
on the one hand against a Fascism
endowed with unlimited means and
on the other against an especially
unsurprising Communist which, using
the slogans and playing on the
loyalty of Socialists to the cause of
working class solidarity, betrayed
the working class at every im-
portant stage. This despite the de-
sire of Socialists translated into
practical endeavour but rejected by
the Communists, right at the outset
of Communist power in Soviet
Russia, to find a basis of working
with the Communist Party.

After the initial attempt to find
a basis of working agreement with
the Communists in a single Inter-
national had failed, the Labour and
Socialist International (L.S.I.) was
established in 1923; the Comintern
had already come into existence in
1919.

The period 1929-39 was one of
trial and growth, a pattern of sur-
vival and a preparation for govern-
mental responsibility which was to
come later, as well as a process of
reaching out to other as yet un-
developed areas of the world. It
proved to be the training period of
a generation which was to handle
political and economic tasks which
were to initiate a new stage in our
history.

Fighting Rearguard

There were important advantages
enjoyed by Socialist parties be-
tween 1919 and 1939. They also
laboured under disadvantages. The
latter were serious. The process
which had begun in the 1914-18 war
continued. Socialist parties and the
free trade unions in particular were
involved in the economic affairs of
their countries, and their involve-
ment, even that of the trade unions,
was an involvement without effective
power. They were fighting a rear-
guard action. In the grip of econo-
mic crisis, in a capitalism which had
not acquired the buoyancy and
flexibility which it has since deve-
loped, partly as the result of taking
over the very attitude towards pro-
duction and protective social mea-
sures which Socialist advocacy has
made into current thinking, Socialist
parties and trade unions were a
voice crying in the wilderness, try-
ing to protect the workers, the worst
hit sections of industrial society,
economically from misery and degradation, and at the same time performing the constructive political function of keeping alive the spirit of the repudiation of totalitarianism.

Another disadvantage was that Socialist parties and trade union organisations were still mainly confined to Europe. There were the beginnings of Socialist organisation in other continents, Japan already mentioned, and Indonesia, in Asia, which because of the despotic or imperialist nature of the governments were revolutionary in their immediate context, but which sought a democratic Socialist solution for the regime they wished to found.

One of the most important advantages was the close links with the trade unions. Socialist parties and free trade unions were of great mutual help. The link was an important factor in the survival of the idea of working-class organisations. These links were not confined to individual countries. There were close links between the L.S.I. and the International Federation of Trade Unions, the affiliated national centres of which were Socialist in character even where there was no organic tie-up with the Socialist party in their own country, and the two Internationals jointly considered the major questions of the day, like action against Fascism, the economic crisis, employment policy, disarmament Spain. But the rearguard character of the action became more marked as the years went by until 1939.

As industrialisation proceeded, even if only to a marginal extent, in countries politically or economically dependent, and side by side with the awakening of Socialist thinking, there was in the Socialist parties of the L.S.I. and the trade unions of the I.F.T.U. increasing realisation of the significance of, and a re-affirmation of solidarity with, workers in colonial and dependent territories.

The march of Fascism and Nazism led to war. In India, there was a feeling of resentment that London had declared her participation without her consent. But other allies of Hitler's had no such honourable motives. Supporters of Hitler included, in Britain, Sir Oswald Mosley, who is, now that the anti-Semitism he then preached is discredited, the advocate of racial hatred and who was decisively defeated in the recent General Election, and, in South Africa, leaders of the Nationalist Party whose anachronistic doctrine is repudiated by every shade of responsible political opinion in the world.

The beginnings of the Socialist International may be found in the disaster of 1940, when Hitler overran Europe, and the communications between the parties which formed the L.S.I., indeed the overwhelming number of the member parties themselves, were destroyed. The flood of refugees who came to Britain from the countries of Europe included representatives of the Socialist parties. They early resolved confident that the evil of Nazism would be destroyed, to plan for the world for which they would work when the holocaust was over. Although their contacts were then in Europe, their purpose was universal.

Their first task, of course, was one of information. They met frequently under the auspices of the British Labour Party, which took the initiative in 1944 for the exploration of the form of a future international association of democratic Labour and Socialist parties. As informal international conference meeting in Clacton in May 1946, set up a Socialist Information and Liaison Office (S.I.L.O.) which was attached to the secretariat of the British Labour Party. This was a step to the formation in November 1946, following a conference held in Bournemouth, of a Consultative Committee which was given the task of acting as a clearing house and as a convener of future conferences. After having discussed at a third conference in Zurich in 1947, conditions for admission of member parties, the Consultative Committee was changed, at the 4th conference held in Antwerp in November 1947, into a representative body called the Committee of the International Socialist Conference (COMISCO) and which consisted of one representative from each member party. The International Socialist Movement had taken the first major step to reform a representative organisation.

(To be continued)
DANGEROUS IGNORANCE

PRESIDING over a recent students’ rally held under the auspices of the Akhila Bharatiya Vidhyarthi Parishad in Delhi, Shri Asoka Mehta, Chairman of the PSP, observed that it was unfortunate that even now the full realisation of the nature of the threat to India’s frontier and of the behaviour-patterns of the Chinese was not being brought to the people. While the Chinese Government talked of negotiations, it needs to be noted that the passes agreed to in 1954 by Premier Chou En-lai with Pandit Nehru, such as the Niti Pass and Shipki La Pass, were being violated. Even the plighted word of the Communist Government lacked sanctity.

The Chinese have invaded Indian territories all along the frontiers: Aksai Chin area, Khurnak Fort, Mandal, Spanggur, Khimzemane, Longju, Spiti area, Shipki Pass, Nilang-Jadhang area, Sangcha, Lhal sphal and the Dichu Valley. Not one single protest of India has been accepted, no rectification in our favour has taken place,” he pointed out.

Then again, the Chinese wanted our frontier to remain undefined, flexible and floating so that they could push it back at will. As our Ministry of External Affairs had pointed out in its Note, “It is to be observed that at no time up till now has any precise statement been made by the Chinese Government, as to where, according to them, their frontier is. Even their own maps give completely different and varying frontiers.”

Unprovoked Attacks

The boundary near Shyok river is also near Bangong lake had been shifted in this manner to our disadvantage of the Chinese maps as they got revised from time to time. “Our patrols have been arrested, ambushed, detained, killed on a number of occasions and at many places. Not once have we challenged and detained a single Chinese rooper lording our territory,” Shri Mehta said.

“In Tibet not just our nationals, but our Missions have been treated with scant courtesy. There is thus a persistent effort to humiliate us, to show us up as weak and incapable of defending our rights. This is being done not just to indicate the might of China but the strength of Communism against our democratic ways. The Communists in India may or may not love China more than India, but in the systematic pressure against our democracy, they are undoubtedly with the aggressors. It is not an accident that to divert attention from our threatened frontier, the Communists rail against rightist danger—a danger that would lose much of its raison d’etre if the Communists were not so active in India to the detriment of our people.”

MISTAKEN ATTITUDE

SHRI Asoka Mehta, Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party in the course of a Press statement on the latest Delhi-Peking Correspondence observes:

“We understand and share the Prime Minister’s anxiety to settle our frontier disputes with China peacefully. We welcome the firm tone of Pandit Nehru’s letter to Mr. Chou En-lai. But we are surprised that the concrete proposals put forward for an interim understanding do not conform with the stand taken so long. While the Prime Minister is clear about our frontiers he has not insisted as a part of the interim understanding that China recognise the traditional frontier and discussions be confined to minor rectification.

The proposal to withdraw our personnel from that part of Ladakh that the Chinese have claimed as theirs in their 1956 map, provided the Chinese withdraw to our historic frontier, is difficult to understand. The suggestion of Mr. Chou En-lai that we withdraw in our own territory is partially endorsed.

The demand in the country, endorsed by the Government has been that aggression must be vacated before negotiations can take place. Should the vacation be linked with our moving out of our territory, and our refraining from patrolling our territory, such an approach in the region where Pakistan has been the aggressor, we have rightly rejected with firmness.

This eagerness to negotiate at the cost of weakening our case will not lead to settlement, but as our experience testifies only complicate the situation further. What we need to do and what the Chinese should understand is to stand firm on our rights and make negotiations conditional upon their recognition.”
YUGOSLAV ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES

Questions are often asked, with a certain amount of incredulity, even, about the status of Yugoslav enterprises. Since it is well-known that they are not privately owned and that they include no private entrepreneurs, and since it is also known, though less widely perhaps, that they are not organized as State enterprises of the Soviet type, their identification is naturally rather difficult for those whose sole contact with them spings from a possible interest in the Yugoslav social system.

However, an interest is certainly justified in these economic-legal units which have been raising the over-all material production by over 10 per cent year after year, and also keeping the rate of productivity increase about the European average. For after all, these material criteria, besides other very significant non-material ones, are essential for an appraisal of the regime and status of enterprises.

An enterprise of the Yugoslav type is distinguished by among other things, the fact that it is independent and managed by the workers themselves, that the assets of the enterprise are social property, that it is required to discharge certain obligations towards the community (the state) and adhere to the Economic Plan, and that it competes economically with other enterprises.

Independence

The independence of enterprises was built up with great care over a number of years. The process of emancipation has not been easy considering the established habits, the earlier legislation and the conceptions that socialist enterprises should be more or less a component part of the state, and also considering certain objective conditions of backwardness, the overcoming of which had imposed the need for state centralization in the management of enterprises. However, the independence of enterprises is today an established fact (and has been for several years now) upon which, as an exceptionally important component, not only economic institutions are being built, but which has an effect on the organization of the state and society.

An enterprise in Yugoslavia today represents an independent legal and economic unit. It determines its production and decides on the prices of its products and services and the other elements of its business activity, as well as on the enlargement of its capacity, which means that it directs its investment policy. It disposes of the resources it creates. It concludes agreements on credits and loans, utilizing them in accord-

by

Dr. Nicola Balog

ance with its needs and the bank credit arrangements.

Labour Relations

The enterprise is independent in the sphere of labour relations: it concludes contracts for the establishment of employment relations, appoints th workers and office employees to particular jobs, determines the wages and salaries of its personnel on the basis of its pay scale, and also terminates employment.

In the matter of internal organization and its status, an enterprise also enjoys extensive autonomous rights. It independently regulates its internal organization, establishes branches and departments, opens its business units in the whole country and also, in accordance with certain provisions, abroad. Under particular conditions, an enterprise may carry out a merger with another enterprise or link itself with it, and it may also make certain of its departments independent.

However, an enterprise may not go into liquidation on its own, nor can the state bodies liquidate an enterprise except under certain conditions.

The ownership rights are of great importance for an appraisal of the legal character of an enterprise. These rights are highly relevant for its contractual powers and proprietary responsibility. To this question, too, the necessary attention has been paid by Yugoslav legislation. An enterprise enjoys full title to user of its property even though it does not own it. The property which it manages is owned by society. However, an enterprise has the right to utilize all the items which form its assets. The right to utilization covers not only normal use, but the right of disposal of property, meaning that it may sell or lease its assets and dispose of them in other ways on the basis of the civil law. Besides, an enterprise bears liability for its obligations with all its property.

The state is in no way liable for the obligations of enterprises, unless it assumed certain obligations at civil lak. On the other hand, the state has no right to take away the property of an enterprise, to transfer the assets belonging to an enterprise and generally to affect its proprietary rights by state Acts. On the contrary, the state protects the utilization right of an enterprise and regulates the legal protection of this right.

Thus the right of utilization has become the most extensive right existing in respect of socially-owned assets.

It is understandable that all the rights of enterprises were regulated by the laws of the Federal People's Assembly, which provide for the permanency and stability of the rights.

Working Collectives

This independence of enterprises is made possible by the fact that they are managed by the Working Collectives. This management, too,
When The Snow Melts
by Nripendranath Ghosh

INDIANS in Europe somehow believe that the winter may come to India's rescue: the inclement weather in co-operation with the high altitude of the Himalayas will prevent any large scale movement of the Chinese troops. They are forgetting the battle of Imjin in the Korean war. The Chinese troops came swarming across the frozen river. Besides, it is impossible to believe that they will be sitting pretty in their newly acquired positions without bringing in fresh supplies both for the maintenance of the existing garrisons and for the actions when the snow melts.

Needless to say that there is an organised campaign to make the Indian community in Europe believe that everything is going to be O.K. with China. This sinister campaign is carried on by the followers of a so-called Indian leader. When the Menon-Army affair was first reported in the European papers, these strange compatriots of ours made a very subtle move. They themselves kept quiet. British communists were telling us, "Your young colonels were caught in time. It fits in with the general pattern in Asia. He did you a good turn, old boy!" Later, I gathered that other Indian students and residents have been told the same thing.

The complacency of the Indians in London is disgusting to say the least. But there is a silver line in the cloud. The Marathi people are thinking and acting quite differently. Whatever their faults, people at home will be proud of these lads. Like other Indian community groups they are not gathering in the evening to discuss comparative merits and demerits of modern poetry or who has the best connections with the next High Commissioner for India.

Yesterday, I was invited to a Marathi mess to a dinner (meaning sliced bread and vegetable curry). The wall was covered with an enormous map of the entire Himalayan region— the largest I have ever seen. One of the lads got it from the Royal Geographical Society. There were patches of black adhesive tape on it, no doubt indicating the depth of Chinese incursions.

All the Talwalkars, Moropanths and Bajirao's were tense. I could feel it. Mukund handed me a clipping of "Times" (November 6) in which the following lines were written by its Delhi correspondent:

"To say now that any further advance would be resisted or repelled by Indian forces, it is suggested, would be to concede implicitly that a new border had been created." I was about to say something when the volcano broke loose. Vasant banged the table; "There are fifty thousand Indians in Britain. Three regiments. We can easily raise three".

I wanted to tell them that everything has to be decided by Government, specially matters of this nature. But I could not. I could see they are the direct descendants of those who and who alone marched to Delhi to meet Dorani. Suddenly, I felt relaxed. I felt I was among my own people.

On The Labour Front

Members' Benefit Scheme

THE Mill Mazdoor Sabha, Bombay, has launched a Benefit Scheme for the members. The scheme was formally inaugurated by Shri S. M. Joshi on November 15 last at a well-attended function.

The "Members' Benefit Scheme" as it is termed seeks to assure additional social security for the members by providing for them relief during period of long illness or bodily injury or to their dependent family members upon death. The amenities provided by the Employees' State Insurance Scheme are by themselves inadequate to ensure full social security to the workers. For instance, the E.S.I. Scheme does not give any relief to those workers who suffer injuries or meet with death while they are not on duty. Therefore, it was necessary to supplement the efforts made on their behalf by the Government in order to assure the necessary protection to the workers. This is best done through the agencies of the trade unions, which otherwise remain confined to limited purposes such as those of securing higher wages at the expense of coercing the employers.

The Members' Benefit Scheme has been started on a very modest and experimental scale. Nevertheless, it is indeed a pioneer attempt and as such will be watched by the other trade unions with great interest.

Expenses

Introducing the Scheme, Shri Kisan Tulipule said that the Scheme would be entirely financed out of the membership fee collected by the union. It was heartening to learn that all the members, of their own accord, had accepted an increase in their subscription in order to meet the expenses which would be incurred on the Scheme.

Shri S. M. Joshi, remarked that Indian trade unionism was in its infant state, and as such it always pressed forth the rights of the workers, often without even bothering itself with the corresponding obligations and responsibilities which ought to be fulfilled by the workers. He tried to trace the reason for it and said by virtue of it Indian trade unionism remained weak. Trade unions thrived by instigating the workers to go on strike or do such other negative things, those that were against the interest of the employers. He emphasised that trade unions should pay attention to
the welfare of the workers and undertake a positive programme.

Shri Joshi observed that in the past it was the family that provided the social security to the individual. But with the gradual withering away of this institution, it would be incumbent on the trade unions to establish a family relationship amongst the workers.

Shri Sushil Kavlekar and Dr. Arnul Desai also hailed the Scheme. The benefits of the Scheme are as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Cause of Benefit</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Maximum amount as benefit</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Prolonged illness</td>
<td>Rs. 20/- p.m.</td>
<td>Rs. 100/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Disablement up to 29%</td>
<td>Nil</td>
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<td>from 30% to 40%</td>
<td>Rs. 20/- p.m.</td>
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<td>from 61% to 90%</td>
<td>Rs. 20/- p.m.</td>
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<td>From 91% onwards</td>
<td>Rs. 20/- p.m.</td>
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<td>3. Death</td>
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Healthy?

Of course —

LIFEBUOY?

Naturally —

LIFEBUOY SOAP is a habit with me — as it is, I think, with most people who care about health. It gives me such a healthy feeling of freshness after every bath. And LIFEBUOY washes away germs in dirt. You cannot avoid picking up everyday dirt — however clean your job. Make LIFEBUOY your health habit!

— gives you that healthy feeling of freshness!
was defined by the law. The highest-ranking body of an enterprise is its Workers' Council, a body with up to 60 members and elected by all the workers and office employees of the enterprises by direct and secret ballot. This body makes all the major regulations necessary for the establishment of the internal status of the enterprise, for the salaries of the personnel, and the operation.

Then there is the Managing Board of an enterprise, an executive body with up to 11 members, which is elected by the Workers' Council. It deals with major current matters, supervises the administration of the enterprise, exercises important personnel and disciplinary powers and submits proposals to the workers' council.

The Director of the enterprise (and, of course, his authorised deputies and assistants) acts as the organiser of the production or process of work, as Technical Leader, Chief of Administration, the only representative of the enterprise before the state bodies, law courts and third persons, i.e., persons with which the enterprise comes into contact, as the only one empowered to assume commitments and realize rights. The Director also is liable for any possible illegal action of the enterprise, and he holds appropriate powers to the Council.

The Director is chosen by a Commission on the basis of public competitive application, and the decision relating to his appointment is made by the Communal People's Committee. The Commission includes the representatives of the Workers' Council and the Communal People's Committee.

These bodies have enabled Yugoslav enterprises to be independent instead of operative organs within the system of state organization, as was previously the case.

Economic Stimulation

For an appraisal of the status of enterprises the greatest importance is attached to the question of the motives of their operation, i.e., the forces enabling and impelling them to produce and operate at the highest rate and lowest cost. This question has been given a very important place and has basically been solved in a satisfactory way. The fundamental principle observed in solving this problem is that of the maximum interestedness of an enterprise at the same time means the economic success of every individual worker and office employee. Thus the motivating force of an enterprise is its economic stimulation and, accordingly, the stimulation of all the workers and office employees as individuals whose wages and salaries largely depend upon the success of the enterprise as a whole.

The status of an enterprise is conditioned by the Economic Plan which directs the movement of the economy towards common general aims. Such a Plan, even though lacking an administrative character and administrative influence, nevertheless represents a general platform for the operation of an enterprise. However, this question, that is, the system of stimulation of enterprises, represents a special theme which, although significant for a definition of the status of enterprises, does not detract from their independence and the described rights.

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IT is difficult to see why the Communist leaders all over the world enjoy a certain reputation for political acumen and sagacity. Whatever the justification for this reputation the Kerala Communists displayed utter bankruptcy in political judgment and imagination. Their far-off comrades in China appeared to have a better perspective. A social worker told me that the leaders of the All-China Federation of Youth had expressed him doubts about the wisdom of accepting power in Kerala. They thought that there was danger of the Kerala comrades getting corrupted by bourgeois vices and of getting discredited because of their inability to do much under the bourgeois Constitution. The apprehensions of these Chinese comrades proved true though for slightly different reasons. The Kerala Communists were in such a hurry to get power that they did not realise that it would be difficult for them to establish their stranglehold on the people in the conditions of a democratic set-up. It was difficult to bamboozle the people with the press publishing details of the Communist chicanery; and it was difficult to shut the mouths of the critics when the courts had the power to enforce individual rights. But even so they had a fair chance if they played their cards astutely. They had seen how an isolated victory in a bye-election had demoralised the opposition if only for a time. They could have played the game of re-election and perhaps demoralised the opposition completely. They had repeated chances to do so. For instance, immediately after the passing of the Agrarian Relations Bill they could have dissolved the Assembly and gone to the people as the champions of the landless and the downtrodden. Even after the liberation movement started they could have resigned and appealed to the people after the first police firing (which provoked universal disgust and loathing), blaming it all on the Police and thus frustrating the movement. They could have at least accepted the advice of Pandit Nehru and resigned. The Government of India could not have denied them the privilege of forming a caretaker government and they could have fought the election under their own management with carefully inflated and (where the opposition had come out with an overwhelming vote in the last election) deflated voting lists. They did nothing of the kind and chose to be dismissed* by Central intervention. Thereby they hoped to enjoy the fruits of martyrdom. They did not have the sense to realise that martyrdom does not shine in an atmosphere of popular revulsion.

The Communist hurry to come to power was seen in their desire to adopt the independents. Out of the five ‘independents’ who supported them two were made ministers. But Communist opportunism went beyond the adopting of dubious independents. Rather than use their power to cleanse their party and restore its idealistic basis they indulged in a number of opportunistic deals which unfortunately boomeranged. Realising that it was dangerous to base the Party on the support of a single community (the Ezhavas*) they set about winning the support of the Nairs whom the Ezhavas regard as their traditional exploiters. For that broke their promise to an Ezhava editor to make him the president of the Temple Property Board and awarded the post to the nominee of the Nair Service Society. Again, they first endeavoured to remove the reservations in the services and educational institutions granted to the Ezhavas against the Nair and then, finding that the Ezhavas were getting restive beyond expectation, dropped the whole idea, which naturally resulted in frustration and fury of the Nairs. Often the Communists were not able to resolve the quarrels which cropped up among their Ezhava and Nair followers. In one case the Nair comrades complained that the Ezhava comrades were raiding their plantations, and finding their bosses unable to help left the Party. These opportunistic tactics left the Ezhavas disturbed and the Nairs alienated. The Christians (mostly Catholics) were always opposed to them and the Education Bill had thoroughly roused their ire.

It was an irony of history that the Nairs and the Christians composed their differences and united in one mighty struggle to dislodge the Communists whom they came to consider as their common enemy. Stupid Self-deception

The Kerala fiasco has exposed yet another myth about the Communists—the myth later on consecrated in the Amritsar thesis. This was the belief that Communism, at least in India, would soften and progressively become democratic. Many people welcomed the formation of the Communist government in Kerala as an experiment in co-existence which would change the texture of Communism. (No less a person than the President of India made a reference to this co-existence in a famous speech in 1957.) But the Kerala experiment has conclusively proved that the leopard (even when cloaked as a Communist) will not change its spots. But the Kerala Governor’s report which led to the decision about Central intervention and Pandit Nehru’s analytical speech in the Rajya Sabha defending the Central intervention leave not a shred of doubt about the fact that the Kerala Communists were not concerned about democratising themselves but with establishing their total grip on the people. With this view they set about using the State for strengthening the Party. They directed the resources of the State to this one purpose. They infiltrated every department of the administration in the name of democratisation. They paralysed the Police in the name of impartial police policy. They tried to browbeat the judiciary. They established a network of courts. They attempted to subvert the democratic defences of the people. They encouraged class hatred and class war wherever they could.

It is not an accident that the efforts failed. They were bound to be defeated because they had to function in the context of democracy. As totalitarians they never realised the strength of the democratic forces. As victims of a peculiar self-deception brought about by a wrong-headed understanding of the concept...
freedom and democracy they never quite understood the nature of the urge for freedom and the dignity of the individual. As extreme egotists that all totalitarianists are they could never visualise that the spirit of resistance and self-sacrifice could exist outside their ranks. As blind followers of a narrow economic and sectarian doctrine they could not imagine that various communal, caste and class groups could unite to oust a dictator. And as intellectual aliens whose cerebral functions were controlled and directed from outside they could not realise that people could be roused by what they considered to be an outrage on their sense of values. In short, they showed a woeful lack of understanding of the psychology of the Kerala people. They under-rated the power of the free press which, in Kerala, meant a decentralised press publishing all possible points of view. They under-rated the power of the writers and publicists whose disillusionment with Communism was an old story. They misread the meaning of reputed political consciousness of the Kerala people which fundamentally believed in good govern-

the Communist Party. All in all they were the tragic victims of their own theories and prejudices.

This does not mean that their influence has vanished or will vanish overnight. They will remain a powerful factor in Kerala and India so long as their real strength is derived from outside and they have the knack of posing as the champions of the underdog. In Kerala they are firmly rooted in the large masses of the Ezhava community. Their followers, even now, love them with a peculiar devotion. This basis of their strength, in spite of certain incidents, remains unshaken. It is also possible that in the next election they will increase their percentage of vote because they will be fighting twenty-five per cent more seats. If the democratic parties fail the people they might again capture power. But the Kerala people have taught one lesson. Contrary to the common belief, Communists do not come to power with a blessing of immortality. People can unite and throw them out. This will be a source of inspiration for a long long time to come.

JUBILEE FUNCTION

THE PSP Silver Jubilee functions of the Celebration Committee of Calcutta, which had been put off owing to the food situation in the State, will be held in the first week of December. A preparatory public meeting was convened in this connection under the presidentship of Shri Sibnath Bannerjee. The meeting decided to hold as part of the Jubilee Celebrations a symposium on the Socialist movement, an exhibition, a cultural programme and a mass rally. The occasion will also be utilised to collect relief for flood-stricken people.

VETERAN PARTY WORKER

SHRI Rambhau Pethe, a veteran member of the Praja Socialist Party who took a leading part in the 1942 movement and later worked for JANATA and for the establishment of Party units in the textile wards of Bombay City died of brain-haemorrhage on November 25, 1959 at Bombay Hospital.

Shri Pethe, who is mourned by hundreds of friends and colleagues, leaves behind his wife and two children.

On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Conference JANATA has decided to offer a special concession in the annual subscription rates with a reduction of Rs. 4. Those who want to avail of this offer should post the form printed at right before December 30, 1959

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Mobilisation For Emergency

The Prime Minister has voiced the sentiments of the nation in his reply to the debate on the Sino-Indian frontier dispute in the Lok Sabha. India realises the consequences of war with China to itself, to China, to Asia and to world peace generally and would like to settle the border disputes peacefully.

India has no desire to see that China is in any way embarrassed in case it wants to get out of the present impasse. At the same time, India will not purchase peace at the price of any large-scale transfer of territories to China. India contemplates only minor adjustments in the boundaries. If aggression by China is not vacated by peaceful means, India will be prepared for any eventuality if there is no acceptable alternative. The possibility of increasing tension on the northern borders cannot be ruled out and the country will have to build up economic, military and moral potential to deal with any situation that may arise.

The Defence Minister’s performance still left much to be desired. He is quite at liberty to ponder over the nuances of the term ‘aggression’ in his leisure hours; as far as India is concerned it is quite clear that whatever be the difficulties in defining aggression in marginal cases, there is no difficulty in characterising the possible military occupation of the territory of one country by another as clear-cut aggression. Be it as it may, the country expects the Defence Minister to take all necessary steps to defend our territorial integrity, especially on our northern borders. The Defence Minister in a recent speech told his audience that India has borders extending to 9,000 miles. That is true. It is also true that India has to resist any attempt at violating our territories from any quarters. But it is equally true that the immediate danger appears to be on our northern borders extending up to 2,000 miles and odd and the country expects him to devote his special attention to the defence of this border.

The Defence Minister can argue that the military by itself cannot be expected to bear the sole responsibility of defending our borders. Our military authorities have a right to expect whole-hearted co-operation from the citizens of India. It is gratifying to note that people are becoming increasingly conscious of the need for such a co-operation. Wherever Shri Nehru goes, young men in their thousands assure him that they are prepared for any sacrifice demanded of them. It was rather disappointing to hear the Prime Minister telling the Gurgaon students that he did not know how they could help the country except by building a hostel or joining the NCC or cutting the harvest. It is high time that the Government of India actually considered schemes of mobilising man-power in India in the task of building up military, economic and moral potential in the country. The Government may rely on the complete support from every section of the people in this stupendous task.
Pay Commission Report

THE long-awaited Report of the Pay Commission and the Government decision on it are out. The rumours circulating in some quarters that its recommendations would involve an additional expenditure of between Rs. 35 crores to Rs. 40 crores per annum have proved to be unfounded and the immediate additional annual burden is now computed to be of the order of Rs. 10 crores. In making these recommendations the Pay Commission was impressed by the possibility of the entire new burden on the Exchequer being met by additional taxation and this has made it put forward very modest recommendations.

The burden on current revenue is sought to be released still further by providing that a part of the increase will be compulsorily saved as a contribution to the General Provident Fund and as such its payment will be delayed for the present. The burden involved in extra gratuity payments as a result of the amalgamation of dearness allowance with pay will also be spread over a number of years. The decisions of the Government were thus guided by the considerations of immediate liabilities being kept to the minimum as a result of the acceptance of the Commission's recommendations.

The Pay Commission has recommended less number of public holidays and casual leave and this has also been accepted by the Government, as also the recommendation to increase the number of hours of work per week. All this will involve an additional burden of work on the employees. Perhaps the present situation in the country and the need for expediting disposal of work in the Government offices without entailing any extra burden has promoted the Commission and the Government to increase the hours of work and the number of working days. It would have been better if the decision on this issue had been taken after consultations with the representatives of the employees' unions concerned so as to ensure the co-operation of the workers in this. Without their willing and active co-operation no reform of the type envisaged can succeed.

Wage freeze is operating in many industries and in public bodies and the public was looking forward to a detailed examination of the principles of wage and salaries fixation in the Pay Commission Report. But the Commission has decided not to enter into the discussion of these detailed non-economic principles of social policy and has chosen to view the problem of fixing the pay and the other emoluments of Government servants solely on considerations of their likely impact on the Public Exchequer and of the reasonable possibility of recruiting the right type of people for the various services under the Government. The principles to be applied to wage fixation generally and the considerations governing the wage policy will have to be considered by the Standing Labour Committee and the Indian Labour Conference so as to ensure industrial peace and maximum productivity rate in all the branches of our economy.

Farming Incentives

THE Union Food Minister has made some policy pronouncements recently which throw some light on the lines on which the Ministry is thinking of tackling the food problem in the country. The Food Minister has announced in Parliament that the Government is considering the desirability of constituting a statutory committee to advise the Government on the fixation of food prices from time to time. Speaking at the eighth meeting of the All-India Farmers' Council, he further stated that it was his considered opinion that no amount of exhortations on patriotic grounds will induce the farmers to resort to intensive cultivation and increasing the yield per acre. To convince the farmers that it is in their interests to do so, definite price intensives would have to be given. If this is the view also of his Ministry and the Government of India, it is a very welcome development. As long as the principle of making agriculture pay is not accepted and agriculture not made profitable, it will not be possible for us to attract the farmers to new techniques of production and to make them avail themselves of the new facilities provided in the form of irrigation water, artificial manure, better seeds, better methods of production and the like.

The Union Food Minister's proposal for constitution of an international body to pool at one place all the researches in better-farming technique carried on in different countries of the world, and to disseminate them to the countries willing to adopt them, is also a very constructive suggestion and the Government of India should pursue this matter further energetically.

His advice to the people to change their food habits though sound in principle, is not likely to prove very practicable. It is true that in economically advanced countries the cereal content of food is only 20 per cent. But this is because of the other foods available in plenty. If India were to change to non-vegetarian diet it is likely to extenuate the food problem rather than solve it; because it is estimated that the average cost for vegetarian food to feed a man is much smaller than what is required for a non-vegetarian diet. The questions of consuming capacity and the sentiments of the people have also to be considered.

It is significant that the Union Minister is silent on the joint co-operative farming as a means of solving, at least to some extent, the food problem. It will be interesting to know what his views on the subject are and in what way they are likely to affect the Congress programme on this point.

Pay Commission Report
Government Is Clouding Issue Of Chinese Aggression

I HAVE never spoken in Parliament as a partyman. Also it is no pleasure for me to criticise the policies of a dear friend like Prime Minister Nehru. We have worked together in public life for more than 30 years. Further, it looks ungracious to criticise the pet of the nation, in whom the people place their confidence and trust and hopes for a brighter future. But the call of duty, as I conceive it, cannot be denied. I would be untrue to my friend, the nation and myself if I did not frankly speak out my mind at a critical time like the present one. And I do so in all humility.

Before I discuss the Government's attitude on the border issue, I would like to clear certain misconceptions. I am afraid these misconceptions are created either to cloud the real issue or to gain some point in a controversy. But if the interests of the nation are paramount, as they ought to be, every effort should be made to clarify and understand the issues involved.

Babble of War

Our Prime Minister has repeatedly said that some people thoughtlessly talk of war with China, without realising its consequences to India, China and the world. If this were so, I would wholeheartedly agree with him; but the fact is, that I have yet to know of any responsible public man, belonging to any party, who talked of war with China. All that has ever been said is that the Chinese aggression must be stopped and the pockets occupied by them cleared. Any action to assert our sovereign rights to our own territory does not amount to war.

Our Prime Minister and the Communist Party have been calling the Chinese aggression not as invasion of India but as border incidents. The Chinese have called their action aggression on our borders is due to a desire to counteract this tendency and to sabotage the possibility of the summit conference. Such a conference, under the present circumstances, will be held without China, and if Russia and the U.S.A. come to some understanding, Communist China will find itself isolated and without a friend in the world.

Therefore, the talk of the extension of cold war, to India, is meant intentionally or unintentionally to cloud the clear issue of effective action against a country with whom we have always tried to be friendly and whose legitimate and illegitimate claims we have supported. We have done so far in this that the opponents of our foreign policy are today saying, "Serve them right for having put their faith in a Communist, totalitarian regime".

Non-Alignment

There is yet another mischievous misconception sought to be created against those who criticise the non-resistance policy followed so far. It is said that the critics want to end our non-alignment policy and substitute for it an alliance with the West. So far as I know, no responsible leader of any party has suggested the idea of abandonment of our neutrality and joining the Western bloc. Even Shri Munshi of the Swatantra Party, speaking the other day in Bombay, said that his party did not want India to abandon its neutrality. Today even the West would not want it. It may be embarrassing in talks with Russia. What the critics want is not the abandonment of neutrality but of passivity.

Our military strength should be sufficient to defend our borders and to clear the occupied pockets. The Prime Minister has assured us of the competence of our Army for the task. But it is quite possible that any effective action against the Chinese may increase the area of conflict. In that case it is felt that India, with her present military and industrial resources and the lack of certain types of modern weapons, may not be able to meet the new danger. As a matter of fact, no country in the world today can hope successfully to resist foreign aggression single-handed—neither America nor Russia. Therefore, the critics want the authorities to make our
position clear: it is that India will not hesitate to get military aid from any quarter to defend the country.

**Yugoslav Example**

As the Chinese aggression has nothing to do with world Communism, we shall be entitled to seek help in a military emergency, both from the East and the West and from neutral countries even as we get economic aid from every quarter. Help may be had on a lend-and-lease or any other honourable term not impairing our sovereign independence. In 1948, when threatened by Russia, Yugoslavia did not hesitate to take military aid from the U.S.A., a capitalist country. It did not, because of this, give up its Marxian faith. Nobody in India has suggested that India should allow foreign military bases in the land.

A declaration of readiness to accept foreign military aid in an emergency, I feel, will be very helpful. It does not in anyway minimise our present strength to deal with the limited problem that has risen. It only provides for a contingency which we hope will never arise. Further such a declaration will convince the Chinese that we have no intention to stand alone, if the area of conflict is enlarged by their vicious attitude. It will also help to sort out real from pseudo friends. No nation can wait to resist aggression till its industrial potential has risen through five-year plans. Moreover, a government that has employed ordnance factories for civilian production in the midst of aggression cannot talk of industrial potential in terms of the country's defence.

No nation can afford to be so rigid and narrow in the interpretation of its international policy as to abandon the idea of foreign military aid in a national emergency. So far we have not even tried to explain our view-point to friendly nations. This is isolation and not non-alignment in an interdependent world.

There is yet another misconception that is sought to be created by the authorities to justify inaction. They say that those who talk of resisting Chinese aggression have developed cold feet and are creating a fear-complex. For this both the Opposition parties and the press are blamed. It is strange to accuse those who advocate stronger action of having developed cold feet. The Prime Minister, in one of his speeches, is reported to have taunted his critics that none of them will be found near the 17,000-ft.-high region in Ladakh if resistance is ordered. This is a strange way arguing. I am sure none of the members of the Cabinet either will be found anywhere near the front if effective action is taken. This is not because they are mostly ailing and old men or because they lack courage, but because their presence at the front will be considered an unmitigated nuisance by the military. It will not be like their presence at the Kumbh Mela.

**Opposition and Press**

If the Opposition parties were really creating a sense of fear to gain a political advantage over the ruling party, at a time of national trouble, it would be reprehensible. Equally so will be the conduct of the press if it gave currency to alarming news. But I am afraid that the boot is on the other leg. It is not the political parties or the press, urging effective action, which create whatever fear there is, but the acts of omission and commission of the Government, and its various vacillating, uncertain and confusing utterances which give advantage to our enemies, inside and outside the country, and confuse even friendly nations.

This has been so ever since China sent its so-called liberation armies into Tibet. At that time our Prime Minister had asked in wonder, "From whom are the Chinese forces liberating Tibet?" His first instinct to condemn this action was right. But he soon changed his attitude and recognised the military fact of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet.

Even after this aggression, the authorities failed to see the true character of the Chinese totalitarian and military regime. There were exchanges of visits of the two Prime Ministers, which were boosted by establishing perpetual friendship. A treaty was signed in 1954 by which, among other things, we gave up all our rights in Tibet, not in favour of free Tibet but in favour of China. Further, there was a mutual acceptance of the Panchsheel, which was supposed to usher in universal peace and perpetual happiness, ever after. I have no intention to criticise the Panchsheel here except to say that its principles are not moral imperatives. The
CHINA POLICY MUST CHANGE

I WAS disappointed with the speech that Prime Minister Nehru made in the Lok Sabha on November 25. I expected from him a different lead and I expected him to show confidence at this juncture. I hoped that he would be addressing himself to those millions of his countrymen who are wholly with him as far as the foreign policy is concerned and not bother himself about the very few, if there be any, in the country who have opposed or challenged in any decisive manner the basic formulation of the policy. Instead, he thought it fit to make the core of his speech the question of non-alignment.

As Acharya Kripalani pointed out in the Sabha, it is the natural policy of India. The Prime Minister himself has told us that before very often. This natural and inescapable policy is widely accepted in the country. Today, the super-Powers would be embarrassed if we tried to change the policy. What is most important is that when we are ourselves the victim of aggression, would anybody be foolish enough to throw away the possible support of some countries by saying that we join one bloc?

Pertinent Question

When we are getting support today from countries belonging to both the blocs, when both the blocs are in the process of slow disintegration, would anyone be foolish enough to come forward and suggest that we should, at such a moment of history, at such a moment of crisis, deliberately align ourselves with a particular bloc? I think it is wrong on the part of the Prime Minister to make in this debate this particular thing the main issue. I would agree with him that only foolish people would be interested in saying that we line up with one bloc or the other.

But, the question is: Are we going to allow ourselves to get isolated, or are we going to isolate China? We have noticed that leaders in Indonesia, Nepal, Burma, etc., are coming forward saying—they have got the courage to say these things today—that the Chinese authorities are behaving in an arrogant manner and that the Government of China is throwing its weight about. Is this not the time to rally these countries together? Is this the time to emphatically tell the countries in South-East Asia that they have nothing to worry about and we are there to see that the legitimate rights of the peoples, the legitimate interests of the nations, in S.-E. Asia, whether they be large or small, are going to be protected and looked after?

It is not the question, and nobody is here suggesting that we become satellite of a super-Power. I hope, in India, at least on our side of the House, barring a small fringe, no one would ever think of making this country a satellite of any Power, however great it might be. But, the point is this. We would like China to be isolated because China is indulging in arrogance, in aggressive tactics, against all the Asian countries. China cannot behave as a bull in Asia today.

Secondly, we do not understand, but we would like to know, whether the Prime Minister recognises that in one particular direction his policy needs to be revised. He is a student of history. He knows that by nature China is expansionist—he knows that better than anybody else. But, he deliberately thought that by befriending, making overtures of friendliness, perhaps, China could be helped to overcome its instinctive expansionism.

Communist Exploitation

The Prime Minister, I hope, realises that this instinctive expansionism of China has been further aggravated by the fact that China is today ruled by the Communists; because, it is the Communist power in that country that has made it possible for them to achieve total mobilisation of the energies of the people, in a desirable or undesirable manner, and build up industrial and military strength, which under other circumstances would not have been possible. It is this combination of certain characteristics of China, which have been ruthlessly and cynically exploited by the Communist rulers there, that creates a serious situation.

The Prime Minister tried to meet it in a particular way in the last ten years. It may have helped us in the last ten years—I do not know; I have no desire to go into the past. But, in the coming years, can we meet it in the same manner or have we to realise that this old policy towards China cannot continue? Perhaps, the Prime Minister wanted us to concentrate 'on the smiling portrait of the Peking Dorian Gray and forget the other portrait that was in the closet. Now that the other portrait, the one that was in closet, has come out and stands there on our frontier, menacing and threatening us, even now, would the Prime Minister like the people of India to be guided by, and our understanding of the whole situation to be guided by, the smiling portrait that China would like to create for itself?

Defence Minister's Views

I do not know if the Defence Minister has been properly reported. If he has been properly reported, in a speech that he made in his constituency the other day, he said—this is what the newspaper says:

"He said that he had taken up many unpopular causes before. He would say that what had happened on the northern frontier was not a mighty invasion of our land frontier. 'Is there any country in the world whose frontiers had not been violated?"

I would like to know, is this an occasion when the Prime Minister or the Defence Minister should take an unpopular stand? Should we not be with the people to build up their morale and tell them that this country is strong enough? I hope that we are not going to take up an unpopular position on this occasion, because we have to build the morale of our people and carry our people with us.
He further says there that this is not a great invasion of our frontier. May be it is not a great invasion of our frontier. The fact remains that it is an invasion. What is more important is when he says: "Is there any country in the world whose frontiers had not been violated?" Is this a routine matter—in a routine way every nation has its frontiers, and do they get violated from time to time? Are we approaching this whole development in a routine way?

National Crisis

We think that this is a crisis which we have to face for the next ten years. We will be confronted with this menace, which is going to be increasingly more and more difficult and deliberate, for many years. That is where we want the Prime Minister to give us an answer. Is this attitude, of conciliatism at its best and cavalierly at its worst, of saying, 'Let us be nice, let us not call a spade a spade',—probably considered in the past to be the best way of solving the situation, to continue in future?

It may be that it is now believed this is a trivial, petty matter. Is this a petty matter when behind it are mounting up forces which want to challenge and menace the independence, the territorial integrity and the chosen way of life of our people? If this is so—that is what the Opposition feels—we would appeal to the Prime Minister to rally the entire nation behind him. We know he can rally it provided he steps forward to create that national consciousness and solidarity in the country to meet the crisis. That can be created only by accepting the fact that the situation has radically changed.

People Must Be Rallied

What happens when a country is menaced and threatened? Not only is there an effort at closing the ranks. There is in the administration a new urgency in the whole effort, in the whole approach. Everyone would be ashamed of doing anything which is not proper. To be corrupt, to be inefficient, to be indifferent—all these would become unpatriotic, would become anti-national. We would expect the Prime Minister today to give that kind of ringing, challenging leadership to the country where any weakness, any hesitation, in our country will appear to each one of us as something that is unpatriotic, anti-national, detrimental to the independence of our country.

Instead of that, the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues want to suggest as if we are jingoistic. We are not jingoistic, but we believe that this nation is faced today with a terrible menace, and this menace can be met only by rousing the nation. The Defence Minister seems to think that nationalism is an obsolete emotion. May be. He is a modernist, he is a man of outstanding intelligence and ability, and he probably considers that—at least that is the impression I have got—national feelings are something which should be kept in check. But India is never like that, that is my impression. May be my impression is wrong, but I would be wrong if at this time I do not point out that certain emotional surge is needed.

(To Be Concluded)
COMISCO, the Committee of International Socialist Conference formed at Antwerp in 1947, had to deal with a number of grave problems, they included the Communist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia; the absorption of Social Democratic parties in Eastern Europe by the ruling Communist parties; and the insistence of the Nenni party in Italy to continue its pact with the Communist Party. It was clear that a firmer form of organisation was urgently necessary. At a conference of COMISCO held in London in March 1948 a sub-committee of five was established which later was asked to prepare a declaration on the basic principles of democratic Socialism for the consideration of parties. In London again, in March 1951, the COMISCO Conference proposed the reconstitution of the Socialist International, and a conference of parties in Frankfurt in July of the same year took the necessary decision, declaring itself the First Congress of the Socialist International and adopting what became known as the "Frankfurt Charter of the Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism".

First Member-Parties

The Socialist International consists of 39 member parties with a combined membership of over 10,700,000, and which in free elections aggregated over 65,000,000 votes. It does not canvass for membership, which is open to parties whose constitutions and aims are in conformity with the Socialist International's Charter. In Asia, the Japanese Social Democratic Party is a full member, and the Praja Socialist Party of India, the Labour Party of Malaya, and the Viet Nam Socialist Party are consultative members. Each party, whether it is the largest or the smallest, has one vote. When they established the International the parties faced a situation which was basically different from that before 1939. To repeat, of the parties in membership, many were now in government, either in sole power or in the difficult task of coalition. Many in Central and Eastern Europe were suffering the first stages of their liquidation as independent forces by the Communist Parties consolidating their power under the shadow of armies of occupation. Outside Europe there had been a major transformation. While Socialist party organisation was still overwhelmingly European, a new feature, effective nationalist movements and pressures in Asia and Africa, including important Socialist elements, and in Latin America an analogous process with the onset of acceleration of industrial development there, widened the horizons and made into practical possibilities what had been only dreams.

Voluntary Co-operation

These factors worked towards the same end so far as the International and its structure were concerned. It was essential for parties with the responsibilities referred to,

by

Albert Carthy

...to join in a form of international association which was consistent with their constitutional positions in their respective countries. On the one hand, their desire was to frame their policies in consonance with their fellow Socialist parties. On the other, their action had to be strictly governed by what they perform. The mandatory nature of decisions in the old I.S.I., therefore, no longer met the practical requirements. Nor did it meet the requirements of the parties in countries arising from the former empires, to which the established Socialist parties were looking and hoping for co-operation.

It was with these aims in view that the parties decided that in the Socialist International, "Socialist co-operation must be based on consent". Now, there are many democratic Socialist parties in Asia and Latin America (although many of them do not bear the name) and fewer in Africa. The definition of immediate problems of Asia, Africa and Latin America concerns them alone. Member and associated parties in Jamaica, Israel, Japan, Nepal and New Zealand and, we hope, next year Burma, share these burdens, and therefore for them, too, consent is indispensable to co-operation.

Afro-Asian Urge

The International understands and shares the passionate feeling for nationhood in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is the object of the International that its brotherhood of autonomous parties shall be worldwide. Then only can consultation be effective and its decisions really reflect needs and wishes.

Since 1945 Socialist parties in some countries have become the prisoners of the success of their work and of the work of our pioneers of the last century. Some of those things for which we fought, the "welfare group" of our demands, the social security or industrial rights which we were condemned or ridiculed, have now become not only self-evident parts of democracy; they have been taken over by the forces of conservatism in many countries which, with the aid of a powerful press at their command, claim them as their own and themselves as the authors. But the problems of the exercise of power, the problem of the control of the economy, the creation of the opportunity for a human life with dignity, remain to be solved. True, capitalism has shown remarkable flexibility, the very security which we popularised having provided one of the buffers, easing the effects of market and other fluctuations. But the contradictions remain, whether capitalism is private capitalism or state capitalism, and can be resolved only by the conquest of political power and the establishment of a

(Continued on page 11)
We discuss with you, the doctor and the nutritionist some points that may have occurred to you about DALDA Vanaspati.

YOU: ... so when my wife suggested DALDA for *sukhi sabzi*, I said: ‘Surely it’s good for fried things only?’ I thought it was probably the economy of DALDA that was weighing with her; or perhaps she was passing on a neighbour’s notion. But she said, ‘Why shouldn’t we use it for all our cooking? Everybody seems to be doing it.’ Now this was news to me.

WE: Why? With every year that goes by, more and more people are cooking with DALDA. They begin by using it for frying, as you do. But gradually they see no reason why it shouldn’t be used for a wide range of dishes.

YOU: But is DALDA really good for one?

DOCTOR: As an energy source, it’s as good as any. DALDA Vanaspati is a vegetable fat. The energy it provides is equal to 255 calories per ounce. This is as much as you get from anything else that you can use for cooking.

NUTRITIONIST: It’s two and a half times what wheat or rice can give.

YOU: Well, may be it’s rich with energy, but what else does it contain?

NUTRITIONIST: Virtually the only other ingredient is vitamins.

YOU: Vitamins?

WE: Seven hundred International Units of Vitamin A go into every ounce plus 56 IU of Vitamin D.

DOCTOR: Those are the vitamins that help keep your eyes, skin, teeth and bones healthy.

WE: And DALDA, like all vanaspati, retains its vitamins unusually well during cooking—better than any other cooking medium you can name.

NUTRITIONIST: All of which makes DALDA a rich source of vitamins and energy. To my mind, that’s a nourishing food.

YOU: But my family has always believed that things made in a factory are ... well ...

DOCTOR: Not as good as natural products? Doctors would differ with you. Modern treatment of diseases, for instance, would come to a dead stop without synthetic drugs. What you would call ‘artificial’ drugs. But they have been found to be cheaper ... ⊳

YOU: Ah yes, cheaper ... ⊳

DOCTOR: And not just cheaper—but every bit as effective as the natural product. So I don’t see how one can consider something ‘inferior’ merely because it comes from a factory. Especially if it must also conform to Government specifications.

YOU: Is DALDA Vanaspati made to such specifications?

WE: Yes. It must meet definite standards set by Government. And if you need still further reassurance of its goodness ... look how widely it is used!

YOU: Well, there I must agree.

WE: Today, it enters 2 million homes a year. And people have been cooking with DALDA Vanaspati in India for nearly 30 years now. The Armed Forces, schools and hospitals all over India—vanaspati is used by them all.

DOCTOR: If it wasn’t good, I should have my waiting-room pretty full, don’t you think?

WE: The final test of a product’s goodness is probably large-scale use of it over a substantial period of time. If it wins out after that (as DALDA has) ... well: ‘the proof of the pudding is in the eating,’ isn’t it?
Labour's Post-Election Task

by Morgan Philips

Then the election results were announced the press rushed to deliver a funeral oration over the body of the Labour Party. Within a few hours members of the Party began presenting their own recipes for the future with all the vigour at their command. The press, not to be outdone, quickly brought the corpse back to life and resuscitated their headlines "Labour Split to be outdone, quickly brought the Labour Party to their command. The press, not for the foreseeable future.

It is right that our members should discuss the future of the Party. The debate must be free and widespread. Every rank-and-filer, whether he calls himself Left, Right or Centre, has equal responsibilities and opportunities. I know the press will amuse itself, but do not let it bemuse you. There is no call for panic. There must be no personalities. Our real job is to find unity and increased vigour from our discussions.

The Labour Party can revitalise British democracy and enhance its prestige throughout the world. We do not have to stand idly by, however, until we have come to our conclusions. There are some things we can and must do now if we are to present a true image of the Party and its purpose to the people.

In Parliament

In Parliament an alert Parliamentary Labour Party can prevent any encroachment on personal liberty. It can resist any extension of exploitation and fight every attempt to weaken the structure and the services of the Welfare State. I am sure it will prove itself a vigorous, constructive watchdog for the people.

In local government, councillors administer services that are near to the people. These must be efficient and humane. Labour councillors should fight to get rid of petty-fogging restrictions and unnecessary regulations. Each councillor should be the "Ombudsman" for his area. Life, however, is not made up of purely material things. We want not only freedom but fun. Labour councillors can do much to get rid of drabness and give real meaning to the slogan, "Let's have fun".

In Industry, workers through their trade union movement have achieved a new status and dignity and a higher standard of life. These have been achieved because of the loyalty of the members and the unity of the trade union movement. These must be efficient and humane. Labour councillors can do much to get rid of drabness and give real meaning to the slogan, "Let's have fun".

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New Satyagraha In Pardi

SRI N. G. Goray, M.P., General Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party, addressing a mass-rally of kisans at Pardi, 60 miles from Surat, said:

"It is time the country took note of the epic non-violent struggle that the 30,000 kisans of the Pardi taluka in Gujerat have been waging against the local landlords. These kisans include backward and suppressed communities like the Halis, Dublas, Dhodias and Harijans. For the last six years, they have been urging upon the Government of Bombay to make available to them for cultivation part of the extensive grasslands of Pardi. Of the 50,000 acres of land under grass, it has been estimated that nearly 80 per cent is cultivable. The kisans of Pardi are willing to raise cereals on the land if it is given to them; what is more, they are ready to do it in the Gramdan way. The remaining land can be made to raise as much grass as is being produced today provided the landlords care to invest some capital in it instead of depending on nature.

Promises Forgotten

"In fact, in 1953, the Government of Bombay had sanctioned Rs. 30 lakhs for aiding the Adivasis. But all promises were soon forgotten. The Pardi kisans suspended their agitation in order to give an opportunity to the Bhooan workers in Gujerat to bring about a peaceful solution. But respected leaders like Ravi Shankar Maharaj had to accept defeat. The kisans have now declared that they would not cut grass this season until the landlords agree to their demands. This completely peaceful non-co-operation is now more than a month old and unless some steps are taken to settle the issue immediately grass worth lakhs of rupees will be rendered useless for cattle.

"Failing to recruit labour for the cutting operations the landlords of Pardi are running amok and they have started beating up the non-co-operating kisans. We are informed that Ranchod Patel, Bhagwan Suna and Bhogi Kika have been badly belaboured by the landlords. The situation is fraught with danger and while requesting the brave kisans of Pardi not to get provoked, I would urge upon the Bombay Government to wake up from their attitude of allowing the things to drift."

He also urged the Government of Bombay not to recognize the sham partitions of the land holdings; otherwise the purpose of the Nagpur Resolution would be defeated.

Shri Ishveralal Desai also addressed the rally.

CONTRIBUTE LIBERALLY

ON

FLAG DAY

(DECEMBER 7)

FOR THE WELFARE OF

EX-SERVICEMEN AND

THEIR FAMILIES
They make painful and humiliating reading. The Chinese notes are arrogant, bullying and aggressive: our notes are apologetic or mildly protesting. This is called the polite and dignified language of a civilised and mature nation. The Chinese are a new and raw people, who do not know the languages of polite intercourse.

It is also repeatedly asserted that the Chinese are angry at our offering political asylum to the Tibetans, though the aggression commenced years earlier.

Even after the debate in the two Houses of Parliament last August, the authorities misconceived the Chinese designs. As late as October 21, 1959 the Prime Minister, speaking in Calcutta, said that he did not expect any fresh aggression. The very same day nine of our police guards were shot dead and ten kidnapped. The country knew of this two days later. Did Delhi get news of the disaster first from Peking? The kidnapped men and the bodies of the dead were returned after more than three weeks. The men were detained to extort the so-called confessions under, perhaps, third-degree methods.

Chinese Revolution

The estimate made of the character of the Chinese revolution and rule was incorrect. Our attitude to their aggression has been one of appeasement. Even after the last debate in Parliament, the Government did not put the Ladakh area under military control, though a motor road had been constructed there and thousands of miles of our territory occupied—how many thousands even the Government does not know. It should have been clear to the authorities that the Chinese would one day claim almost the whole of Ladakh, when earlier they had refused to allow the Ladakhis in Lhasa to register as Indian citizens. But no warning disturbed the sound slumbers of the authorities except to repeat from day to day that not an inch of our soil will be yielded and that we shall fight, if need be with lathis! This may be heroic talk but it does not carry conviction.

People also feel apprehensive when they see that our policy of masterly inactivity is supported by the Communist Party here. In this respect they are out to strengthen the hands of our Prime Minister, on the plea of saving Indo-Chinese friendship, for which China cares two hoots. The Communist Party support is given in spite of the fact that the Prime Minister, in recent days, has denounced it as being unpatriotic and having extra-territorial loyalty. People feel that the Communists cannot endorse a policy that is unfavourable to China.

Defence Portfolio

Above all—and here I come to a sore point with our Prime Minister—people are apprehensive that the defence of our country is not in proper hands. The Defence Minister may be a very clever man; he may be an eminently amiable person; there may be no doubt about his patriotism. But he lacks the supreme virtue that should characterise a Defence Minisetr, whether in a democracy or an autocracy, of enjoying public trust and confidence. His silence about the Chinese aggression did not increase this. Even in America, when he spoke of the Chinese aggression he called it as "foolish". For our wise and venerable politicians, the Chinese aggression is merely the silly antics of a spoilt urchin.

The Prime Minister is reported to have said that the Defence Minister carries out his instructions. But we also know that, if a Minister is so inclined, he can give such twist to the instructions received that they may be put out of shape.

For further loss of confidence, the Defence Minister must thank his Communist friends, who always support him. For instance, they still persist in maintaining that the conflict between the Defence Minister and the Chief of Army Staff was on the issue whether the civil or the military authority should be supreme in the country. If that were the real issue, neither would the resignation have been given to the highest civil authority, nor would it have been withdrawn at his instance. Those who aspire for supreme authority in the State do not submit resignation; they do something else. By these tactics, I am afraid, the Communist friends of the Defence Minister are, not only doing no good to his reputation, but they are also maligning our brave soldiers.

(Continued from page 4)
Pay Commission Report Disappoints

SRI Bagaram Tulipale, General Secretary, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, has issued the following statement:

"The report of the Pay Commission and the Government of India's decision on it will cause deep disappointment not only to the Central Government employees but to all working people and to the trade union movement in the country.

"Though a full appraisal of the report must await a careful study of the voluminous document, it is clear that on almost every vital question the Pay Commission's recommendations fall regrettably short of the legitimate aspirations of the employees.

The minimum emolument of Rs. 8.00 per month cannot possibly come anywhere near the norm recommended by the unanimous resolution of the 15th Session of the Indian Labour Conference on the subject. Indeed, it is far short of what the employees would have received if the recommendations of the first Pay Commission regarding dearness allowance had been fully implemented by the Government. In 1957 August, when the Pay Commission was appointed, the All-India Consumer Price Index stood at about 111. Today it is above 125. It is clear that the increase granted in minimum emoluments is barely enough to maintain the real earnings of the employees as at the appointment of the Pay Commission. Such other concessions as will accrue will also no more than compensate the employees for the loss of holidays, privilege leave and casual leave. In the net result there is scarcely any benefit to the lowest paid employees from the Pay Commission's recommendations.

Service Rules

"In the other vital question of Service Conduct Rules also, where admittedly no question of financial burden was involved, the Pay Commission appears to have upheld the denial of full freedom of organisation to the Central Government employees, though it has certainly gone further than the prevailing attitude of the Government.

"The reasons given by the Government for not accepting the recommendation to raise the retirement age are most unconvincing. The problem of unemployment among the educated cannot be tackled by throwing people out of work before their useful working life is over. It is true that in the present situation when there is a threat to national security, there are very definite limits which the Government employees must observe in the expression of their disappointment and discontent. On the other hand the Pay Commission's recommendations are unlikely to improve the morale among the employees."

ELECTION OFFICE

CHAIRMAN Pattom Thanu Pillai of the Kerala Praja Socialist Party declared open the central office of the Kerala State Parliamentary Committee of the P.S.P. at Ernakulam on November 29.

Shri Thanu Pillai referred to the coming mid-term elections in Kerala and said the simple problem facing the people was whether they wanted the political future of the State to be based and moulded on democratic lines or on totalitarian lines of the Communist Party. He asked the people to pledge themselves to work with "clean and clear conscience" for the success of the candidates of the "Democratic Unity Alliance" forged by the Congress, the P.S.P. and the Muslim League.

Two regional offices of State P.S.P. Parliamentary Committee will function at Trivandrum and Calicut to co-ordinate election activities.

PROTEST RALLY

THE Anaparti Praja Socialists organised a protest meeting on November 16 to condemn the treacherous attack of Chinese Communists against India's northern border areas and to demand strong measures to secure the vacation of the aggression.

Shri Rangachari was in the chair. The meeting also heard a detailed account of the historic Silver Jubilee Session of the Party at Bombay from Shri D. Rama Mohan Rao.

(Continued from page 7)

democratic Socialist society.

Trade Unions

One of the special conditions which our parties had to have in mind after 1945 was in the trade union veld. After the 1914-18 War, the repudiation by the United States Congress of Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy led to isolationism, which also affected the attitude of the overwhelming majority of American trade unions towards affiliation with the then I.F.T.U.—which had the links with the L.S.I. to which I have referred. After 1945, like their government in the field of international affairs, the American trade unions have shown a keen interest in the international trade union movement, and now play a leading part in the I.C.F.T.U. They are not the only reason why there is no link between the I.C.F.T.U. and the Socialist International, but this political neutrality is in line with their apolitical character (their declared sympathy with the Democratic Party, which in any case is not Socialist, at election time is not of any organic character). It is true that the D.G.B., the German trade union movement, is officially politically neutral, but the attitude of the majority of its leaders, and their presence as guests at Congresses at the German Social Democratic Party are common knowledge. The relationship of the Socialist International with the I.C.F.T.U. is friendly but not official.

(To be concluded)
The dress of the people...

Costumes, whether they are for occasions or for daily wear vary all over the world. Climatic conditions, natural materials available, religious demands and individual ingenuity are some of the factors that determine the dress of a people.

Many varied costumes are worn in India but different costumes need different qualities of cloth. The Mafatlal Group of Mills manufactures a wide range of cloth for everyday use in all parts of the country.

Women from different parts of the country wear the saree in their own special way. The pretty Maharashtrian women of Western India for instance, wear a nine yard saree, like a dhoti, taken between the legs and tucked in at the back.
Harnessing National Forces

In a very impressive speech made by Shri Ganga Saran Sinha in the Rajya Sabha during the debate on Sino-Indian relations, he drew the attention of the Prime Minister to the tremendous wave of enthusiasm and patriotism now sweeping over the country as a result of the grave situation on our northern borders.

If the Chinese Government had banked on any sense of fear or disinterestedness in the face of their threat to the territorial integrity of India, they must have been sadly disillusioned by now. We do criticise our Government for the state of unpreparedness on our northern boundaries. We do complain against the excessive trust placed on the friendly intentions of the Chinese Government in spite of the ample evidence to the contrary. We also take note of the role which the Communists are playing at this crucial hour of history when for the first time the Indian and Chinese armies are facing each other across the Himalayas in an atmosphere which cannot be regarded as friendly. But none of these factors, taken separately or in combination, will ever result in a sense of frustration in the country. Quite the contrary.

Thousands of youths are knocking at the doors of the Government to be enlisted in any national service which the Government considers important and calculated to develop the defence potential of the country. Whatever be the outcome of the present developments round our northern borders, this is a tremendous force which should not be allowed to be frittered away. It can be put to the task of developing our country in a big way. Here is an opportunity to forge the sense of unity and solidarity and stabilise the Indian society as a whole, and to initiate social and economic reforms which would make that solidarity permanent and alive with the possibilities of magnificent achievements.

The Prime Minister can play a very crucial role in this task. But as Dr. Kunzru pointed out, he can do so only if the respects public sentiments and feelings. When the students and other youths of the country are charged with enthusiasm, we require a Defence Minister who can respond to this enthusiasm and channelise it in the tasks of building a powerful nation. And the impression in the country is that the Defence Minister is too cold to undertake this task. His legalistic mind cannot tolerate any overtones of emotion or energy. His national approach cannot create that sense of response which the country expects at present from the Government.

The Prime Minister must realise this. He has asked the nation not to blunt his weapons at this juncture. But as Shri Ganga Saran Sinha pointed out, our purpose is not to blunt the weapon of India's policy, but to sharpen it by removing some of the rust that it has collected in the recent past.
NOTES AND COMMENT

Foreign Investment

SHRI Iengar's speech at the annual meeting of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics gives some interesting figures regarding the investment of foreign capital in India during the 1950s.

He said: "During the entire period from 1951 to 1958, the total net foreign nonbanking investment in India including ploughed back profits, amounted to about Rs. 231 crores including loans taken from the I.B.R.D. Excluding IBRD loans, the figure was only Rs. 157 crores, an average of less than Rs. 20 crores per year."

It is time to realise, as pointed out by Shri Iengar, foreign capital, though limited in volume, can be of critical importance and that the revival in industrial production in 1957 is largely due to the relief provided by foreign assistance. But this fact, coupled with the slow rate of foreign investment in India, is a matter of grave concern. Our dependence on foreign investment is bad enough, but when the foreign investors through sheer marginal investment are in a position to accelerate or decelerate our industrial production the matter becomes serious.

Let there be no misunderstanding. We fully realise the need for foreign exchange in order to develop our economy at the rate as fast as is desired. During the Third Plan, that requirement will be of the order of Rs. 3,000 crores or an average of Rs. 600 crores per year. We may try to get as much capital as possible in the shape of public loans and as the Draper Committee's Report points out there is a growing awareness of the need for foreign exchange loans through public institutions in the U.S.A. But these loans by themselves may not be adequate for our purposes. Encouragement to private investment from abroad may, therefore, become necessary. But if this investment were to create a strong private sector lobby in India, which might exert significant pressure for the abandoning of our social policy, foreign private capital would create more problems than it would solve.

In this connection, it is worth remembering that our sound policies are not the result of any doctrinaire approach but of one forced on us because of the compulsion of circumstances. If the policies are not prosecuted with utmost vigour, there is a danger to the stability of the social structure itself. No amount of mere exhortations would stop the disintegrating forces unless positive steps are taken to correct imbalances.

In our anxiety to attract foreign private capital, therefore, we should not think of concessions to private investments that might amount to a negation of our basic social policies. The Finance Minister in his recent tour abroad talked of attractive returns to foreign investors in India. The returns are attractive at the present moment but these are not justified either on the grounds of equity or on the grounds of risks involved. The Government's active direction of the course of economy is a sufficient guarantee to the safety of any sound investment. Exhorbitant returns on investments are, therefore, not justified. Again, the emergences of mobilising internal resources will create conditions in which these returns should decrease. Any policy to the contrary will result in grave dissatisfaction.

Management Cadre

THE General Secretary of the Party, Sri N. G. Goray, made a very valuable contribution in the debate on the reform of the administration in the Lok Sabha. As he very rightly pointed out, many of the ills from which our public administration is suffering today are due to the changeover that has taken place in the function of the administration under planned economy and the responsibilities of a welfare State. However competent a person might be as an administrator, it would be difficult for him to adjust himself to the new functions of the manager of a public enterprise.

Shri Nehru pointed out while inaugurating a seminar on the management of public undertakings in New Delhi: "Normally, the Civil Service or administrative approach is not nearly the same as that required in running public enterprises efficiently. The services function in a certain way—in a static way, weighed down by rules, sanctions and a host of other things."

The only other field from which the management personnel can be drawn is the field of private enterprise. While these persons have a fairly good knowledge of managing big concerns, they are not quite suited for the public enterprises as the "public enterprise spirit" is wanting in them. They take normally a short-term view of the consequences likely to be followed through a given policy measure. The number of restrictions placed by the Company Law on the management of public undertakings makes inculcation of the public entersprise spirit even more difficult.

The best way out, therefore, is to create as fast as possible a new cadre of managers who are able to tackle the problem of management in a new way. They must combine in them the corps de spirit of the civil service, the capacity to look at the problems from the interest of the public at large and the capacity to take a long-range view of things. At the same time, they must also possess initiative and enterprise, the capacity to take calculated risks and the ability to function without being bound down by excessive rules and regulations. The best school for such managers will, of course, be the public enterprises themselves, but a theory of public enterprise management also needs to be built up so that it can guide public enterprise management in solving many day-to-day problems. It is also necessary to put in a systematic form the experience that is being gathered, world over in this new form of management.
I HAVE been wanting to give a report of my work and to share my experiences as Chairman with my colleagues in the Party since the Silver Jubilee Conference. I regret that my first report has been so delayed. I hope to be regular in the future.

Kerala naturally claimed my attention first. A quick visit to Kerala enabled us to quicken the pace of election work. Slight modifications in the allotment of constituencies between the Congress and ourselves had to be made. Now we shall be contesting 33 seats and the Congress 81. Proportionately we have 45 per cent hard seats as against 25 per cent for the Congress and ten per cent for the Muslim League.

We are proud to be in the forefront against the Communists in the elections as we were during the liberation struggle. We shall need firm unity in our ranks and generous support from the Party in the rest of India to acquit ourselves creditably in Kerala.

The RSP’s Stand

It is unfortunate that no agreement could be reached with the RSP in Kerala. Their talks broke down mainly with the Congress. We had agreed that the democratic parties would retain the seats that they had won in the last elections, among other reasons because of the fact that the new elections are being held prematurely. Only the seats won by the Communists were to be distributed among the parties in the alliance. The RSP was offered eight such seats. It, however, insisted on seats earlier won by the Congress, and those where the Congress found it difficult to jettison its sitting members, as in Quilon.

Secondly, while our criteria have been to put up candidates that would win against the Communists and to subordinate party interests to the general claims of democracy in Kerala, the RSP wanted to be given sufficient quota of constituencies to enable the Party to poll enough votes to qualify as a State Party before the Election Commission! None regrets the failure of adjustment with the RSP more than we do, but the disservice would have been greater if we had postponed the finalisation of arrangements between the Congress and ourselves and waited indefinitely for an understanding with the RSP. We waited for nearly two months; more was not possible.

BIG DEBATE ON CHINA

The big debate on China took place in the Lok Sabha. Our spokesmen spoke not just as party leaders but as the voice of our nation. In the marked shift in the position of the Prime Minister at the beginning and end of the debate, the impact of our contributions is not negligible. We are proud of the fact that in the Sino-Indian dispute, beginning with the entry of the Dalai Lama in India, our leader in Parliament, Acharya Kripalani, has consistently functioned as the tribune of the people.

NOWGONG BY-ELECTION

The election result in Nowgong constituency in Assam gave us a rude shock. There, not only a Communist won the seat, formerly held by a Congressman who till recently was Speaker of the Assembly, but our candidate forfeited his deposit. We are told that the Congress candidate was unpopular and the Congress Party was split and some Congressmen actively worked for his defeat. That may be so, but it is a disturbing fact that when the country is deeply concerned over the Chinese aggression and when the Communist Party is so compromised on the issue, it is possible for a Communist to win an election in the strategic areas of Assam. It shows that we have failed to carry to the mass of the people the awareness of the threat to our national security. It should dispel any complacency we may have over the easy uprooting of Communist influence, pernicious though it is.

In the General Elections we had supported the Communist candidate who had then lost by a small margin. Another defeated candidate, probably belonging to the Jan Sangh, had petitioned against the election. When the election was set aside and a fresh election ordered, our party suddenly decided to contest the election, the reason given being that in the General Elections when our workers had worked with the Communists our organisation had badly suffered. To undo the mischief of that united front and to prevent its repetition we put up a candidate and began work barely two weeks before the election! The Communist candidate, it is now admitted, had put in solid efforts for three long years.

Weakness to be Overcome

The failure to prepare for elections in advance, the tendency to take snap decisions, the hesitation of leaders to assert themselves against rank and file pressure are weakness that we need to overcome. The Assam election diverted our scanty resources, including some help given by the Central Office, and our organisational work in Assam is likely to suffer for sometime because of this misdirection. And on the top of everything, a highly respected

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colleague had to face the humiliation of a bad defeat.

I would not have dilated on this weakness, if I had not before me a similar story from Sivan, a constituency in Bihar. It does not help the Party to rush into by-elections with pitiful preparations. In Mysore state, the Virajpet constituency recently gave us the example of success crowning our efforts where they are well organised and planned well in advance.

* * *

PUNJAB AFFAIRS

The General Secretary and I attended the Akali Dal Conference at Patiala. Master Tara Singh had personally invited us to the Conference.

The Akali Dal represents in a large measure the mass of the Sikh people, mainly the peasantry. The Communist Party had tried in the past to exploit Akalis to its own ends, and, in fact, the Communist base in the Punjab is mainly among the Sikhs. At the time of the General Elections the Congress made a pact with the Akalis. Now the Swatantra Party is striving hard to "capture" the Dal. There are many Akalis, both in the leadership and the rank and file, who favour a socialist programme. We feel it is our duty to help the forces in the Dal that favour socialist orientation.

Secondly, the Sikhs are an important minority community in India. We must strive to win its goodwill and thereby foster the process of national integration.

No Communalism

The Akali Conference was a big affair. Its pandal was six to eight times the pandal for our Conference in Bombay. It had drawn huge crowds of men and women, many belonging to the agriculturists. We felt it was necessary to take advantage of the invitation and place before such a representative gathering of the Sikhs our view on the present situation. We felt this particularly because in the Punjab today there is the same insecurity of law and order as there was in Kerala under the Communists. As the Communists raised the cry of communalism when we fought for regaining the liberties of the people, so are we threatened by cries of communalism and Communists (who have openly aligned themselves together in the Gurudwara elections against the Akalis) in the Punjab. We are no more playing communal politics in the Punjab than we did in Kerala.

To enlist Akalis' support for a struggle for civil liberties and clean administration, we must first be willing to meet them and share ideas with them. In meeting them, we do not compromise our principles. We propagate them and hope to gain support in such areas of activities as fight for civil liberties where the support of all can be of considerable value.

I would like to assure party colleagues that the decisions of the Bomby Conference guide our actions. Given determined co-operation we shall be lustier when we re-assemble again next year — from Kerala to the Punjab, it is our endeavour to tolerate no exception.

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Nation Must Accept Chinese Challenge

THROUGH painful experience extending to years of unawareness and inactivity, the people have come to feel apprehensive of the intentions of our Government. The Himalayan free state, and those states for whose military defence we have made ourselves responsible, feel doubtful of our capacity to defend them if Chinese aggression extends to their territories. They may argue that India which is unable to save its own soil and its soul may not be able to help them in their need. Whatever fear there is, in the country, is due to mishandling of situation from the beginning and and not because of the Opposition parties and the press. These cannot possibly have more influence with the people than their beloved Prime Minister.

To add to the country’s misfortune every criticism, or any suggestion for effective action, irritates the Prime Minister. I wish he would extend at least as much courtesy to his countrymen as he extends to foreign aggressors. In the Lok Sabha, when a Congress member suggested the bombing of the road built in our territory, the Prime Minister was annoyed and said the member did not realise the consequences of his suggestion. The member had not suggested using atomic and hydrogen bombs in a populated area. Of these fortunately we have none. Ordinary bombs are today conventional weapons. But I suppose his suggestion was dangerous. It carried in action, it would spread the area of conflict and India and China would be at war with each other. The armed conflict of such two big nations will bring about a global conflagration in which nuclear weapons will be used. The world will be destroyed. The responsibility of all this will then rest on us. So runs the argument.

Friends and Enemies

Again, when an Independent member had the temerity to suggest that, considering the similarity of ideology, we should be more friendly to democratic than to totalitarian nations, the Prime Minister was annoyed and said that we should be more friendly to those from whom we differ than with those with whom we agree. Such sentiments are no doubt very noble. They are on a par with loving one’s enemies. I remember after independence, at a conference of constructive workers presided over by Mahatma Gandhi, when a complaint was made that Congressmen were fighting among themselves, I said: “Bapu, this is natural, for like the every great prophet, you have taught us to love our enemies but not our friends.”

But, may I suggest, that in international affairs the best that we can attempt is to love our friends, and not be unjust to our enemies. To attempt more may be left to the prophets, who live and work not in time but in eternity. But they maintain no armies, nor do they talk of keeping the powder dry, though our powder is preserved in cold storage.

Recently, our former Commander-in-Chief (General Kariappa) expressed his opinion about the defence of the country and came in for strong criticism—in discourteous terms. I do not know the official etiquette, whether an ex-military officer, who after retirement has held an important civilian post, is entitled to express an opinion as a free citizen on a national issue of importance in which the public is greatly agitated. This apart, the ex-Commander-in-Chief’s suggestions must be judged on their merits. I fully endorse his view that if the Chinese aggression is not immediately halted and the occupied pockets cleared, the task will be much more difficult in the future. I feel if in 1954 we had taken effective action today we would not find the problem of pushing back the Chinese difficult. In such matters, a nation can never be over-cautious. It is better to err on the side of prompt action than of unawareness and complacency.

Indo-Pak Alliance

I also see nothing very foolish in the suggestion of joint defence with Pakistan, of our eastern borders. Pakistan has seen the common danger and made the offer. It has not been made by us. The ex-Commander-in-Chief could not have expected joint defence to materialise immediately, at the present level of suspicion and difference, in the foreign, and other policies, of the two countries. There will have to be preliminary talks before the idea can materialise. But the suggestion, whether we adopt it or not, is not so foolish as to excite indignation.

Joint defence is nothing new in history. Against Hitler, there was joint defence, first between England and France and afterwards with U.S. and then with Russia. There was joint defence of the Allies with China against Japan. Even differences in ideology and past enmities did not deter the parties from coming together. Anything less would have meant disaster to the world.

However, the slightest disagreement with the Prime Minister’s policy irritates him and makes him use against his critics the language which is far from polite. The Prime Minister should know that if he is so intolerant of any suggestion however innocent, he will get only conformity. Few in India would care to earn his displeasure, considering his position in the Government and in the affection of his countrymen.

U. S. Journal Article

I, therefore, have to congratulate myself that he has treated my slight criticism of his foreign policy a little more leniently.

In an article in a high-class journal in the U.S.A., I have discussed this policy. Many distinguished politicians, including Shri Khrushchev, have sometime or the other contributed to this journal. When such a journal publishes an article by a humbler person it cannot be so hopelessly wrong. I fail to see how an assessment of our foreign policy, which endorsed its basic principles and also commends the policy of non-alignment as consonant with the genius of our people, and in conformity with our recent non-violent struggle for independence, can be so hopelessly wrong. Here is what I have said: “There are good reasons for neutrality as between the two Power blocs. Therefore, the policy of the Indian Gov-

*This is the concluding part of Acharya Kripalani’s Lok Sabha speech on the Chinese aggression.
ernment in this respect is generally accepted by the nation."

Again I have said: "Whatever may have been the failings of the Congress party Government in internal affairs, it can always, with some justification, claim that it had added to the prestige and standing of India in the international world." My conclusion in the article is: "The principles upon which the Indian foreign policy of non-alignment is based are correct. They are generally accepted by the nation and are in keeping with the genius of our people. If more nations accept the same attitude there will be a definite lessening of international tension. It is in the details of diplomacy that our foreign policy has been weak and has sometimes gone wrong. Our mistakes have to some extent impaired our moral standing as a neutral nation and often injured our interests. But after all India is new to diplomacy and the world situation is extremely complicated." In the same article, I have criticised American policy of military pacts, filling vacuums, supporting reactionary regimes and posing as the saviour of the free world.

The One Failure

However, our Prime Minister has become so accustomed to conformity with his views that the slightest deviating irritates him and becomes in his eyes fantastic nonsense or to put it more politely, 99.9 per cent wrong. It will be of course unfair of me to ask the Prime Minister to specify all the 99.9 items in which I have offended his stand on foreign affairs. But, surely, it will not be unfair to ask him to point out the bit of an item in which my assessment is correct. May I suggest what that is? It is that our diplomacy has failed, not in helping to bring about peace and goodwill in the world, but in safeguarding the vital interests of our country and diminishing tensions on our borders.

This of course may be an insignificant point in a global strategy, in a world threatened by nuclear weapons, but it is of supreme importance to humble persons like myself and, I venture to think, to the bulk of my countrymen. We may be excused for being so narrow and parochial. But we were taught that it is good to make good in one's own country what one wants to place before the world. Let us, therefore, address ourselves to the task of defending our country and safeguarding its integrity and honour. Only a free, strong and self-respecting India can serve the larger interests of world peace.

Our information and publicity in the Foreign Department has generally been defective. In the matter of Chinese aggression this has greatly harmed our cause. Reports of the happenings on our border sometimes reach us via Peking. The latest instance of this was the estimate of the killed and the kidnapped in the Ladakh area. We had to accept the Chinese figures. Such inaccurate information throws a doubt upon what we put out. In the last Lok Sabha session I spoke about an aerodrome built in our territory. This was vehemently denied. Today it has become a matter of doubt. How can the public believe that effective action will be taken when there is no accurate information about what is happening?

Border Propaganda

It would also appear that we have not supplied to foreign countries, through our embassies, our version of the case with the necessary materials and maps. It is rather bewildering to countries friendly to us. What has happened recently in the U.N. elections shows our estrangement from even the non-committed Afro-Asian countries, who were traditionally with us. We find ourselves more and more isolated in the international field.

We for long seemed to be unaware of the poisonous propaganda that is being carried on in our border areas both by the Chinese and our good patriots, the Communists. If there is a nest of spies it is located in the office of the Chinese Trade Agent in Kalimpong. Our Foreign Office has come to know only yesterday, so to say, of what is put out by the Chinese Embassy here. While we tolerate all this we also know the treatment meted out to our Trade Agent and our Ambassador at Peking.

In some quarters it is held that the Chinese have dug themselves now for the winter in the positions they have already occupied. This may not be necessarily true. They have centrally heated jeeps and are otherwise equipped for a winter campaign. We may as well expect further advance and be prepared for it. We must remember the usual Communist tactics, of keeping up constant tension and conflict, to create uncertainty and confusion. We must, therefore, be vigilant both in defence and negotiations.

I have little to say about the counter-proposals made by the Prime Minister in his latest communication. I appreciate his anxiety to arrive at a peaceful solution. Nobody in this county wants anything else. However, in whatever words couched, our new proposals amount to this: we will tell the Chinese, "We shall retire from our own territory if you too retire from our territory." This is strange reciprocity and maintenance of the status quo. We retired from Longju, undoubtedly our territory. We have yet to see the Chinese do so. However, we shall await the Chinese response, though so far they have never kept faith.

Gandhiji's Lessions

If there is no just and honourable solution possible through negotiations, then we must consider the Chinese aggression as a serious challenge to our country. Individuals and nations must accept life's challenge or they go under. I remember that in 1932 when Gandhiji returned from the Second Round-Table Conference, the country was faced with a grave situation. The British Government had violated the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Our present Prime Minister was thrown in jail and so was Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. There was a wave of repression. Gandhiji proposed to accept the challenge and restart the Civil Disobedience Movement. Wiser people shook their heads in doubt. They said the country was exhausted, and was not prepared for a fresh movement so soon. But Gandhiji said: "Prepared or not prepared, the challenge, though not of our seeking, must be accepted; if not, the country will be demoralised." The movement was started and it failed; but the nation was able to maintain its dignity and morale.

Again, in 1942, there was a challenge to the country. The British had abandoned Malaya and Burm to their fate before the Japanese attack. They fell without resistance. As the Japanese forces advanced to our borders, the British prepared to quit the areas. Further, they adopted the scorched-earth policy, not to resist Japanese advance but merely (Continued on page 11)
CHINA POLICY MUST CHANGE-II

The Defence Minister has said that India had made necessary adjustments to ensure that further (Chinese) penetration was adequately checked: we are very happy about it, we hope that further penetration will be decisively checked. But I would like to know if arrangements have been made to check the existing penetration. Why are we not prepared to check the penetration that has already taken place? If it is purely for the purposes of diplomatic discussion just now, we can understand; but I hope we will be also ready for it, if necessary, in case China does not accept the traditional frontiers of India and in case the discussions are not confined to matters of minor rectifications only. Then there can be no alternative except to make every effort to see that the area that is occupied by the Chinese forces is vacated. On that issue we would like to have a clear and unequivocal expression from the Prime Minister.

We do not want to enter their territory. We do not want to counter aggression by aggression. We do not want to build up any kind of jingoism in this country. We do not want to say any harsh things about the Chinese. But, in India, the necessary strength has to be built up.

Appeal to Nation

The Prime Minister has been talking about heavy industries. Yes, we know in China heavy industries have been developing at the rate of over 20 per cent per year. Chinese industrial potential has been increasing at the rate of 100 per cent every five years.

With what kind of approach, with what kind of consolidation of forces, will we be able to meet this challenge? There, we feel that an appeal is necessary to Indian nationalism, an appeal to the urge in the Indian people today to get united, an appeal that Acharya Kripalani tried to make, taking this as a challenge that has to be accepted because our very manhood is being challenged. Are the Indian people so stirred today that they can get mobilised to meet this challenge, not only today but for the coming five or ten years?—That is the question.

Our positive suggestion, therefore, is this. This is not the time when the Prime Minister should try to berate us. The Prime Minister should come forward as the leader of the Indian people and warn the Chinese in clear and unequivocal terms—not by withdrawing our forces. The Defence Minister himself said that we cannot create a corridor, but a corridor of 11,000 sq. miles is being created. In his speech he said that the withdrawal of Indian forces would create a corridor. If a corridor cannot be created at the MacMahon line, I cannot understand why a corridor of 11,000 sq. miles should be created in Ladakh.

Our amendment only says that we are not going to withdraw in our own territory. Why should we withdraw? That was what the Defence Minister also said. Why should we be asked to withdraw in our own territory? We agree with him. It is not that we disagree with him always. Very often we agree with him. We agree with him now and ask: why is it we are asked to withdraw, why is it being suggested?

Dangerous Vacuum

What will happen in the corridor which is being created, in that vacuum which is being deliberately created? Will the Chinese move in or not? What is the guarantee that they will not? If they move in, what will we do? The interim proposals are there, but whether China accepts them we must be sure—I am not saying that not an inch will be given up, but only that the traditional frontiers of India will be maintained under all circumstances, and any rectification by discussions or negotiations will be confined to minor points. That must be made clear.

To recognise the danger of China today is not to create any kind of a ghost of cold war; it is not an intivation to join up with this bloc or that bloc, but to face the realities, to remove the frustration that has settled on our people, and to revive the flame of confidence, of national hope and national endeavour that burnt so bright from 1920 to 1947. It is to rekindle that flame of national hope and national endea-

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vour that we would like our Prime

Minister to step forward, and not
to denounce us by calling us a
“motley crowd” in Parliamentary

Opposition.

We are a motley crowd. We are

a motley crowd because this coun-

try is like that; as the Prime

Minister has said very often, it is a

motley country. We have all to be

together on this occasion, and the

only group about which we have

to be careful is that of our Com-

munist friends.

Indonesian Lesson

I say so because, we can see

what has happened in Indonesia.
In Indonesia the Communists have
come out and said that the Govern-
ment of China has the right to pro-
tect the Chinese citizens in Indo-
nesia! They have come forward
and issued a statement which has
been released from Peking first, in
favour of the Chinese Government.
May be there are many good Com-
munists here who will probably
break with the Communist Party.
We must create a crisis of consci-
ence for the Communists. I am not
attacking any single Communist
colleague of mine. I know that
many of them ultimately will be on
the side of the patriotic forces. But
as far as the Communist Party is
concerned, as the leopard cannot
change its spots, and as the Chinese,
in spite of their sweet words, have
remained expansionist, so must we
realise that the characteristic of the
Communist Party will remain what
it has always been.

It is no use feeling that our pro-
gressivism gets tarnished, that we
are compromising in any way with
our progressive approach and
attitude if we get critical of the
character of the Communist move-
ment, that only by remaining silent
on the integral aberrations of the
Communists that we can see our-
selves to be progressive. That is
not our view. We may be old-
 fashioned. We believe in being
frank on this matter.

The Prime Minister is worried
about Shri Masani. He knows very
well that I believe Shri Masani’s
economic policies are wholly wrong,
and I believe that if the Prime
Minister steps forth and moves
forward, Shri Masani and men like
him will either be dragged forward
or will be consigned to the dustbin
of history. Shri Masani is not go-
ing to be the menace of tomorrow
if resurgent nationalism is going to
move froward in the direction of
economic development and social
change. It is these friends here

— the Communists—who are likely
to be the real danger. The danger
from Shri Masani’s side will come
if the Prime Minister of India
remains at the helm of forces of
stagnation rather than forces that
urge to move on.

This is the historic opportunity
that has been given to us, an oppor-
tunity when the Prime Minister of
India can rise to the occasion, which
we expect him to do, an opportunity
where every part, every section of
this country and every group in this
Parliament and outside can offer its
allegiance to him in the common
task of national defence, national
reconstruction and national rena-
sance.

(Concluded)

Change In Stand

A DDRESSING a public meeting
organised by the local Praja Social-
ist Party in observance of
“Vacate-Aggression Day,” Chairman
Asoka Mehta, in New Delhi, a few
days ago, welcomed the firmness
in the tone of the Prime Minister
in calling upon his countrymen to
meet the Chinese aggression.

“We shall be happy to associate
ourselves in concrete measures
devised to translate the firmness
of the Prime Minister’s tone into
firmness of the will of the people,”
he added.

Shri Mehta said “We welcome the
declaration of the Prime Minister
on Nepal. The ties between our
country and Nepal have been im-
memorial: we share common his-
tory, traditions, and culture. The
peoples of the two countries have
always felt at home in each other
and they have ever been received
as such. We are proud of the fact
that our patrols stand side by side
with the Nepali patrols as sentinels
on the outer border of Nepal.

“This is no longer an academic
question. Chinese troops have been
massing on the Nepal -Tibet border
near the Nepalese district of Jumla.
Information has come that across
this frontier of Western Nepal, air-
fields and roads have been con-
structed and disturbing activities
are afoot. Chinese forces had crossed
into Nepal in August this year. That
their withdrawal is not final is prov-
ed by the reluctance of the Chinese
authorities to recognise the tradi-
tional border between Nepal and
Tibet.”

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Afro-Asian Fight Against Colonialism*

For all peoples, irrespective of race, colour or creed, is a fundamental article of faith for all the Asian Socialist parties whom we represent. We believe that freedom is indivisible, and it is therefore our duty to fight on until all peoples have come into their own. How could the world be free, with only half of it free and the other half enslaved? The struggle against colonial rule is in essence man's protest against the degradation, poverty and indignity which this system entails for the people suffering under it.

If we look at a map of the world, until very recently the whole Continent of Asia stretching from the Mediterranean to Korea and the Philippines, with a population of approximately 1,000 million, was a belt of colonies divided out among various European powers and their Asian equivalent, Japan. The same applies to Africa, which is four times the size of the United States and has a population of 200 million.

The history of how the colonial powers built up their empires in the course of three or four centuries is well known. They took advantage of their technical knowledge, of their ability to manufacture guns, build ships and develop industry. There was wave after wave of imperialist expansion, starting with Portugal and Spain in the 15th and 16th centuries, followed by France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom in the 17th and 18th centuries and especially towards the end of the 19th, when the industries of these powers needed cheap raw materials and closed markets. By the turn of the century, the entire continents of Asia and Africa had been shared out.

U. N. Declaration

India, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Hongkong went to the United Kingdom, Indo-China to France, Indonesia to the Netherlands, the Philippines to the United States, and Korea and Formosa to Japan. China was divided up amongst the European powers, including Russia.

* Article specially written for the Dependent People's Freedom Day celebrated on October 30—for publication by both the Asian Socialist Conference and the Socialist International.

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war, a war fought with atomic and hydrogen bombs, must be removed, or else the whole of mankind may perish.

The fourth reason why colonialism should be opposed is political, ideological, strategic. All the colonial powers in Europe are combating totalitarian Communism in the name of democracy. But they weaken their own moral case by not practising what they preach. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, presents herself as a champion of the colonial peoples, if only for tactical reasons.

Man's urge for freedom represents the fifth reason. This urge cannot be suppressed for ever. It is always but a question of time even though this may be three centuries which, after all, are but a phase in the life of a nation. Where are Hitler and Mussolini and their regimes, with all their power and their tight grip on Europe? Where is Stalin who tried to enslave Russia and other satellite countries, including Yugoslavia? Should not the colonial powers see...
the light and repent and make amends while the going is good!

The colonial powers of Europe have only two ways open to them. They can grant independence to the teeming millions of Asia and Africa and win them over as equal partners in the struggle for economic and social progress and for a democratic way of life. In that case, these peoples will be their allies, convinced and useful allies, in the struggle against totalitarian Communism. Or they can drive these teeming millions into the hands of totalitarian Communism, into an unholy alliance with the Soviet Union, and ultimately bring about their own destruction. In that case, they will be submerged by the additional forces of 600 million Chinese, 20 million Vietnamese, 20 million Koreans.

The first way will lead to world peace and prosperity, effective democracy, the death of totalitarianism. The second way will lead to mass destruction and death in war, the decline of prosperity, the triumph of totalitarianism.

We believe that the colonial powers will show enough intelligence to choose the first of these two ways. But the decision cannot merely be left to governments, nor to representatives of the older generation who are compromised by their defence of vested interests and their selfish motives. I urge the young Socialist generation to act as the vanguard of the youth of the world, to mobilise public opinion and see to it that this cruel, unjust and repulsive colonial system is brought to a speedy end.

(Continued from page 6)

But all these arguments did not weigh with Gandhiji. He said the challenge must be met or there was no hope for Indian independence. He, however, said that if a great and respectable organization like the Congress was unwilling to enter into what appeared to be a hopeless venture, he would go it alone, with all those who were willing to immolate themselves. But the Congress accepted his advice and initiated the Quit India movement. The movement failed to achieve the withdrawal of the British. But the British were convinced that such a brave and determined nation could be kept in bondage only at the expense of perpetual revolt. Under the circumstances they felt that the imperial game was not worth the candle. Therefore, after the war, they quit India.

Gandhiji met these challenges non-violently; but a nation keeping an army cannot think in such terms. Moreover, if private individuals organised non-resistance they will not be allowed to function, as happened in the case of Goa.

Today the challenge has been thrown by an expansionist China. Will free India pick up the gauntlet as did slave India, slave in body but not in spirit? The Soul of India was living then; does his spirit work in those who are heirs to the free India he helped to create? This is the question. All other questions fall into insignificance before this supreme question. It is a challenge to our faith—faith in our past and faith in our future. May the old spirit guide us to accept the new challenge and save the integrity and the honour of our country!

(Concluded)

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THE EISENHOWER VISIT

The short visit of President Eisenhower to India has helped a great deal in deepening the friendship and in strengthening the bond of shared ideals linking the two great nations, the United States and India. As the joint communique expresses it, the President of the United States had the opportunity of viewing at close quarters the functioning of the democratic institutions in the country and also studying more intimately the gigantic efforts which the country is making to break through the barriers of economic under-development. In these efforts at building up democracy and prosperity in India, the President saw the evidence of India's strength of spirit combined with practical idealism. This has impressed the President to such an extent that he has promised to make use of every opportunity to bring home to his citizens the need for helping India in these gigantic tasks. The Prime Minister's assurance that India was not without a friend has been amply confirmed during the visit of Mr. Eisenhower to this country.

Of course, there are innumerable difficulties in the practical translation of this abundant fund of goodwill for each other existing in the two countries. The economic climate in India has to be different from that of the United States, because the conditions in which the two countries operate are different. India must cling steadfast to its ideal of the socialist pattern of society in order to be true to the spirit of the country and in order to enthuse the 'people to bear cheerfully' the current hardships till we have turned the corner. The need for mobilising to the maximum the internal resources of the country would make attractive returns on investment impossible and the inevitable controls and licenses, made more irksome by their bureaucratic operation, are such as are likely to dishearten any would-be investor. Of course, everyone wants healthy competition to develop in the country, but this competition can be fruitful only if it ensures that men of foresight, initiative and enterprise win and not those who have either huge resources at their disposal or are able to command the requisite influence in the right circles. How far the foreign investors are willing to operate in this climate still remains to be seen.

As for the Sino-Indian dispute, the President cannot, in the very nature of things, extend any large-scale help, except expressing his genuine desire that India's legitimate rights and interest are fully safeguarded. This is a problem which India has to tackle on her own. It is, however, quite clear that India's case is placed fully before the U.S. President and India can now expect all the support which a clear understanding of her case can command.

The most important result of this visit, however, was the continuous insistence on the fact that a new future is dawning over the world and that India is fully alive to the possibilities and the dangers in the path of its realisation even as the United States is. This sharing of common understanding and its full expression at the present juncture was the most important result of the U.S. President's visit to this country.
ORIENTATION OF FOOD POLICY

The food situation in the country was recently discussed by the Rajya Sabha, and, before these lines appear in print, it will be discussed by the Lok Sabha also. The discussions take place on the Government motion, and, therefore, one would have expected that the Food Minister would throw some light on the policy he proposed to follow. A new policy had become imperative because of the open admission by Shri A. P. Jain, the ex-Food Minister, that the old policy had not yielded the desired results. He had made this admission at a time when he laid down the reins of office, and Shri S. K. Patil had promised to take Parliament into confidence as soon as he had finalised his new policy. The country was, therefore, expecting a clear enunciation of the new policy.

These expectations, however, have not been fulfilled at least by the speech of the Union Minister in the Rajya Sabha. He has talked of the possibility of the buffer stock now likely to materialise as a result of the promises given by friendly nations. These buffer stocks would be a novelty in the sense that they would be owned by the country of origin and not by India and as such India will not have to pay anything for them till she actually draws on the stocks. Perhaps the storing charges will also be borne by the owning country.

If the scheme actually materialises, it would certainly be a great help to India because our production still falls short of our demand.

But, ultimately, India will have to be self-sufficient and even build up surpluses to help other needy countries. The Government of India is aware that in the next seven years the country will have to increase its production by more than 50 per cent and, looking to our past record, this would be a Herculean task. But, except for the promise of having one fertiliser factory in each State, the Union Food Minister had nothing new to say on the subject. Even as regards chemical fertilisers, he made it clear that he had to put up some fight for the release of the foreign exchange needed and his path is still not quite clear of obstacles.

It is difficult to understand the policy of the Finance Ministry in this matter. It is now commonly acknowledged that increased food production is the problem of the Government and till this problem is solved progress in any economic sphere would be beset with insurmountable difficulties. The Finance Ministry does release considerable amount of foreign exchange, when acute scarcities are felt, for import of foodgrains. It, however, refuses to give the same priority to agriculture and the Food Ministry’s other needs in foreign exchange release, once the emergency is over. The same sorry tale is thus repeated and the people are put to avoidable hardships. It is time that the Planning Commission and the Government of India laid down clear policy in the matter and recommended the release of the required foreign exchange.

The Union Food Ministry also will have to recognise that the building up of buffer stocks and setting up of chemical fertiliser factories in all States would not solve our food problem. The question of water rates, reform of the revenue systems in the various States, formation of service co-operatives and joint farming co-operatives, and, above all, the speeding up of the necessary land reforms—all these will have to be attended to with the utmost vigour. There are still no signs of the Union Food Ministry taking up these items on an emergency basis.

And, till adequate production is secured, the question of distribution will have to be properly tackled. It is not surprising to learn from the Union Food Minister that he is concentrating on production rather than on distribution of foodgrains. But it is strange for him to argue that State trading in goodgrains can be undertaken only when the country is surplus in foodgrains. The whole purpose of State trading as envisaged by the National Development Council was to discourage hoarding and profiteering by middlemen. And these evils are more prominent in the deficit areas than in surplus ones. It seems the Government of India has now come to the conclusion that the decision of the N.D.C. was a mistake and it now wants to reverse that decision. It would be, however, a great mistake to do so, unless the Government is able to find some means whereby the erratic movements in food prices can be effectively checked.

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Challenge Of China's Economic Strategy

SOME months back in Warsaw, an influential Pole told me that it was not easy to interpret developments in China because those Poles, who knew the Chinese language, were not trained political scientists, and no political scientist knew that language adequately.

The same difficulty confronts us when we try to assess economic developments in China. Fortunately, in recent years, Chinese scholars who are competent economists have been analysing the developments. The most recent of such studies is by Choh Ming-li. A book by him, Economic Development of Communist China has just been published by the University of California.

Two previous publications of varying competence give us the earlier story: Chan Yu-kwie’s Foreign Trade and Industrial Development of China gives the production data up to 1948. Yuan Li-wu’s An Economic Survey of Communist China covers the stabilisation period. Choh Ming-li surveys the later and more recent years.

Significant Conclusions

Yuan Li-wu had reached a number of significant conclusions after his comprehensive study. We cite here just two of them:

(1) “There is no denying the fact that, economically, a great deal has been accomplished by Communist China in a short span of six years. Moreover, what has been done economically has been carried out for a relentless political purpose. Revolutionary changes have already taken place in the form and spirit of economic organization, the distribution of wealth, the division of the national product between consumption and investment, the geographical distribution of industry, and the re-orientation of the country’s economic relations with the rest of the world. All this has been done in order to make China into an industrialized and socialistic society and to bolster the Communist Party’s control over the country.”

(2) “To repeat, the present greatest challenge of Communist China is not a military one, paradoxical as this may sound. The military threat becomes serious only in those areas adjacent to China where there is no will to resist and where political infiltration is possible.”

far greater challenge posed by Communist China is the fact that the economic system and pattern of development it offers may appear to point to an effective way of industrialization and for the enhancement of prestige under an all-powerful government.”

It is on such foundations, laid during the stabilisation period, that a structure of strength has been erected in China in recent years.

by
Asoka Mehta

The relevance of the other conclusion drawn by Wu is too obvious to us today.

Man-Power Mobilisation

Before we explore the new structure of China’s economy and for which we shall have to turn to Choh Ming-li’s book, it is wise to remember that the Chinese Government had used its abundant labour power in a massive way. Wu gives the following table with the caution that allowance should be made for some exaggeration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sphere of Development</th>
<th>Employment in Million Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Water Conservation Projects</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tele-Communications Projects</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Farms</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation Projects</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>20.25</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same efficient mobilisation has continued. As Choh Ming-li points out just 6.2 per cent of the State investment plan was for agriculture. The State could slash down its investment in agriculture to such bare bones because “the farming households were expected to invest from their own resources a total amount of 10,000 million yuan (net of depreciation and replacement), of which 60 per cent would be for fixed capital and 40 per cent for working capital.”

Another feature of Communist drive is brought out by the author: “But through the Party Workers, the State has spared no effort in organising emulative drives from time to time, and in urging peasants to plant high-yielding crops, especially rice.”

In the plan period irrigation facilities were extended to 11 million hectares, of which small irrigation projects undertaken locally accounted for 90.8 per cent, while the large and medium-sized projects undertaken by the State accounted for only 1.4 and 7.8 per cent. The peasants themselves had to pay for 83 per cent of the cost of small irrigation projects.

It is obvious that India has to discover a democratic alternative to the Communist cadres and their enforced mobilisation of labour. This remains the supreme challenge of China to us.

On the basis of gross-value product, the over-all agricultural growth rate works out to 4.8 per cent per year. On the basis of physical output of foodgrains the rate would be 4.3 per cent. The State Statistical Bureau, however, had admitted in 1957 that “the survey of the quantity of agricultural output remains a very weak link in our statistical work.” Choh Ming-li carefully examines a number of internal inconsistencies and rejects the high rates claimed. He points to the steady decline in farm animals and to their deterioration because, in competition with the rising general population, the animals inevitably lose the race for foodgrains.

Industrialisation

The big effort, however, has been for industrialisation. Seventy-nine per cent of capital investment went to industry and transport. Of the investment in industry, 88.8 per cent was for heavy industry and 11.2 per cent for light industry. If the amount for heavy industry is added to that for railways, 70 per cent of all capital investment during the plan period went into the development of a heavy-industry complex.

The State investment plan envisaged 1,600 large projects and 6,000 small projects in the various areas of economic activities of China. Of these heavy industry formed the core. The heart of the complex was 156 industrial projects to be built with Russian
aid. "For them, Soviet assistance means not only detailed planning, but also the supply and installation of machinery and equipment, the operation of the plants when completed if necessary, and the training of personnel both on the job in the Soviet Union."

Of the total investment of 26,400 million yuan in 694 large and 2,300 small projects in industry (including mining and electric power), 145 major projects accounted for 11,000 million yuan equal to 41.7 per cent of the investment in Industry as a whole.

Choh Ming-li cautions against the inflation of figures of industrial growth: "The more industrialized the country, the greater the consumption of agricultural raw materials, the more serious the factor of double counting in the gross industrial value product—especially if agriculture remains unmechanised." After due account is taken of this statistical distortion, the fact emerges that China's modern factory output has grown at the annual rate of 18.7 per cent (1952 base) or 15.7 per cent (1953 base).

"This development is chiefly responsible for the doubling of the gross industrial value product during the five years."

Machinery Production

In the factory sector, the producer-goods industries have been growing at a rate of 20.7 per cent (1953 base) against a rate of 8.7 per cent for the consumer goods industries. By the end of the first five-year plan, producers goods constituted, for the first time, more than half the factory product. Among the producer-goods industries the machine-making industry developed fastest, with an increase in its value product by four times in as many years.

The development has not been smooth. In Warsaw I remember my discussions with spokesmen of the planning authorities. They had told me of the imbalances in development in Poland between industry and power. Choh Ming-li points to similar bottle-necks in China's frenzied drive towards industrialization: "However, the development of heavy industry has already run into the bottle-necks of the supply of power and basic industrial materials. Coal and metal mining, crude oil and electric power have failed to grow rapidly enough to meet the demand of all other industries, while the production of iron, steel and construction materials are unable to keep up with the rising demand of the metal-working and machine-making industries."

Living Standard

Further it needs to be realised that the arresting results have been achieved by eroding the meagre standards of living of the Chinese people. Choh Ming-li has given a series of figures to show how in food, cloth and housing per capita availability has shrunk: "Indeed, the public has been prepared for this eventuality. An editorial in the Chinese Communist Party paper calls for less discussion on improving the level of consumption and more explanation of the necessary hardships entailed in the process of economic development."

In the great confrontation that has developed between China and India, with China's belligerent moves along and across our common frontiers, it has become urgently necessary to have constant awareness of their efforts—because in China industrial power gets transformed almost straighthway into military might.

While we do not want to turn all our butter into guns, we have to be ceaselessly vigilant about our economy, to be ruthless towards weaknesses and lapses.

The alertness is urgently needed because as a leading economic journal has recently pointed out, "The general outlook for higher production from most of India's biggest industries is thus not very encouraging." When Prime Minister Nehru chides his critics for traditional thinking, I hope he is careful to see that he himself does not remain tied to traditional thinking about the organisation of management of industries as also the trade unions.

**MEMORIAL PROPOSAL**

The Indian Socialist Group in London has sent to the Prime Minister of India a resolution passed by the Group on the recent Ladakh border incident.

The resolution says:

The Indian Socialist Group deeply feels that a suitable memorial should be erected in New Delhi in memory of the nine border police who gave their lives while defending Indian borders against the Red Chinese aggression.
Pardi Kisans' Struggle Continues

The Kisans of Pardi, more than 30,000 in number, have launched mass non-cooperation on the vast grass-fields of the big landlords. They have put down their tools in cutting grass in protest against the decades-old exploitation of both man and land for narrow commercial interests. On the day of their annual celebration of the 1953 Khed Satyagraha—September 1—in a grand rally at Pardi Killa, the Kisans resolved to become no more a party to the perpetuation of a system of exploitation which is not only immoral but also anti-social.

Basic Problem

When the country is facing an acute food problem, when the pressure of the landless is too much on the land, particularly in this area, it is a crime to keep vast lands under grass for trading purposes, and thereby deprive the Kisans not only of food-crops but also employment for eleven months in the year.

Pardi grass is a natural growth. Chief Justice Chagla of the Bombay High Court, in rejecting a petition of the Zamindars in 1954, held, that the Pardi grass is grown without cultivation and without labour and as such it is no agriculture, the Government, therefore, had a right to treat these lands as waste lands and acquire them. The Khed satyagraha, wherein thousands of Kisans had tried to plough these grass-lands and courted arrest, had effectively demonstrated the urgency of the demands of the Kisans for the conversion of these grass-lands into food-growing fields.

Their demand for justice was morally strengthened by Shri Ravishanker Maharaj, Bhoojan leader of Gujerat, who after examining the characterestic of the soil under grass and on their report, which is, however, still suppressed, in 1955 prepared a scheme, under which around these grass-lands also prove the fitness of the lands to bear food crops.

Later, the Bombay Government admitted the truth in this demand, and issued hundreds of notices to the big Zamindars to show cause why the lands should not be acquired as they were lying fallow. The Government also appointed agricultural experts to investigate the characteristics of the soil under grass and on their report, which is, however, still suppressed, in 1955 prepared a scheme, under which

by

Ishwarlal Desai

25,000 acres of land were to be acquired. It sanctioned Rs. 30 lakhs to be spent on the development of these lands through co-operatives formed by Kisans. But, in its implementation the steps taken by the Government were merely nominal, and the whole scheme was put in cold storage.

Kisans on the Move

The Kisans of Pardi, who have been heroically carrying on the land movement for the last five years in the most disciplined and non-violent manner, have not only demonstrated the effectiveness of the mass organisation but also brought out new potentialities of the technique of non-violent resistance. Vinobaji, during his Gujerat Padyatra, paid a glowing tribute to their non-violence and discipline. Acharya Kripalani in his recent massage congratulating the Kisans on their brave struggle observed that the unsophisticated Adivasis in Pardi could practise non-violence more truthfully than the so-called enlightened citizens. Even the Congress and its Government had to appreciate their non-violence, though much embarrassed by their mass action.

Tenancy Law

The Khed Satyagraha, followed by the non-cooperation movement in 1954 sufficiently exposed the sins, of omission and commission, of the pro-Zamindari administrative mach-
mercy of the landlords. Their wages have been scandalously low, six to eight annas per day till the non-cooperation movement in 1954, when they were raised to one rupee and a half. Some of them did also get some lands as token.

The Halis—a section of the Adivasis—are a peculiar landless labouring class of Surat district, a class suppressed for decades and turned half-slave on land. Their serfdom even after twelve years of Swaraj (and that in Gandhiji’s Gujerat!) is a great censure on the Congress regime which claims to stand for the rights of free citizenship. Prof. Dantwala made an official inquiry into the conditions of these Halis and prepared a report, which has not seen the light of the day. During this movement many Hal families have been liberated from the old feudal clutches. They can now work as free labourers with some patches of land and independent huts.

The Pardi Kisans have established beyond doubt that small farmers produce more food by their tireless labour, with meagre means, on lands which they consider their own, than the big land-holders, who generally give priority to money crops and pay little attention to food crops, as there is no national policy to bring about parity in prices or village or groupwise crop-planning. The movement brought new pressure on the big land-holders to bring their fallow lands under plough not only in Pardi but also in other parts of Gujerat.

Notwithstanding all these achievements in various directions, the basic problem of the grass-land is yet to be solved. Pardi has a population of more than one lakh. The total cultivable land is about 90,000 acres, out of which more than 50,000 acres are still under grass. The density of population is 635 per square mile. There is no industry in the area worth the name. Surat and Thana districts combined possess more than ten lakh acres of land under grass. Pardi is the extreme case. Bombay city provides a big market and because of the fancy prices of the war and post-war periods, the Zamindars were tempted to further extend the areas of their lands under grass.

Rational Solution

Now the question is not merely whether a landlord can waste his lands by growing grass in spite of the pressure of the landless on these lands; it raises a still bigger question, whether the buffaloes in Bombay are to be fed by starving the human beings in the villages, whether rural economy is to be sacrificed on the altar of urban expansion, or whether agricultural economy is to be made subservient to the needs of growing industrial economy. Strangely enough, the Government itself is a great vested interest in this case, as it has to satisfy a giant consumer in the Aarey Milk Colony.

Is there any scientific solution of this problem? In the first place, in a country where the land-mark ratio is one acre to one man, we must explore new ways of finding sufficient cattle fodder, mainly through food crops. But apart from such experiments, it is now universally accepted that grass grown by sowing seeds and simple ploughing will be two times or three times the pro-

(Continued on page 11)
Tribunal Sanction Needed To Dismiss Workman During Dispute

The company, therefore, approached the High Court for a writ of certiorari under Article 227 of the Constitution of India, before the worker was dismissed. The company and its workmen was at that time pending before the Industrial Tribunal. On November 19, 1958, therefore, the company filed an application before the Tribunal praying for approval of the said dismissal, as provided under Section 33(2) of the Act.

The Tribunal dismissed the application, taking the view that the application ought to have been made before the worker was dismissed. The company, therefore, approached the High Court for a writ of certiorari under Article 227 of the Constitution of India.

Judgment

Following are excerpts from His Lordship's judgment:

"The question, which arises for determination, is whether the application to the authority should be made before the order of dismissal or discharge has been made or whether such an application can be made even after the worker had been dismissed or discharged. The proviso begins with the words: '... no workman shall be discharged or dismissed, unless ... an application has been made by the employer to the authority ... '. The word 'unless' indicate an intention of making what follows as conditions precedent. The words 'has been made' also suggest that the application must be made before the dismissal or discharge takes place. Consequently, if the words used in the first part of the proviso are taken into consideration, there can be no doubt that the making of an application is a condition precedent to discharge or dismissal.

"The difficulty is created by the words which follow: 'for approval of the action taken by the employer.' These words clearly imply that action must precede approval. The two parts of the proviso, therefore, appear to be in conflict and we will have to consider whether it is possible to harmonize them.

"The new Section 35, which was in force at the material time, draws a distinction between matters and misconduct connected with the pending industrial dispute and matters and misconduct, which are not so connected. If the employer wishes to make any alteration in regard to any matter not connected with the dispute or if he wishes to punish any workman for any misconduct not connected with the dispute, this right given to the employer is, however, made subject to certain safeguards provided in the interest of the workmen. These safeguards are contained in the proviso to sub-section (2), which requires that no workman shall be discharged or dismissed, unless two conditions have been complied with. These conditions are: that the employer should pay to the employee concerned wages for one month and that he should make an application to the authority, before which the industrial dispute is pending, for its 'approval of the action taken' by him.

Main Question

"The difficulty is created by the words which follow: 'for approval of the action taken by the employer.' These words clearly imply that action must precede approval. The two parts of the proviso, therefore, appear to be in conflict and we will have to consider whether it is possible to harmonize them.

"The case arose out of the dismissal on October 10, 1958, by Premier Automotives, Bombay, of an employee, an active member of the Engineering Mazdoor Sabha, on the alleged ground of misconduct. An industrial dispute between that company and its workmen was at that time pending before the Industrial Tribunal. On November 19, 1958, therefore, the company filed an application before the Tribunal praying for approval of the said dismissal, as provided under Section 33(2) of the Act.

The Tribunal dismissed the application, taking the view that the application ought to have been made before the worker was dismissed. The company, therefore, approached the High Court for a writ of certiorari under Article 227 of the Constitution of India.
an employer to dismiss or discharge a workman only during the short period which would elapse between his making an application under sub-section (2) and an order being made on it.

"(He) . . . has also relied on sub-rule (2) of rule 63, which provides that an employer seeking the approval of the Tribunal of any action taken by him under clause (a) or clause (b), of sub-section (2) of section 33 shall make an application in Form XVIII to such Tribunal. . . . According to this Form also the application for approval should be made after action has been taken.

". . . the first respondent has, on the other hand, contended that more weight should be given to the first part of the proviso to sub-section (2) which makes it quite clear that an application to the authority for its approval must precede the discharge or dismissal. He has urged that on the interpretation suggested on behalf of the petitioner, this part of the proviso will be rendered meaningless, for it would then not be necessary for the employer to fulfil the conditions which, according to the proviso, must be satisfied before action is taken against a workman.

"(He) . . . has also contended that the proviso enacts safeguards for the workmen and that we should, therefore, construe it in such a manner as will make the safeguards effective. Neither the Act nor the rules lay down any period within which an application under sub-section (2) may be made by an employer. If an employer does not make such an application, the remedy of the aggrieved workman is either to prosecute the employer under Section 31 or to file a complaint under Section 33A.

**Loophole For Employer**

"In a proceeding instituted under either of these sections, it will be necessary for the workman to establish that the employer has contravened the provisions of Section 33. This, it is urged, will be almost impossible, because the employer can always come forward and say that he was going to make such an application. Such an argument might be accepted and the complaint might be held to be premature, as there is no provision in the Act or in the rules prescribing any period for making an application under sub-section (2) of section 33. (He) . . . has, therefore, urged that the object of the Legislature would be defeated, if the interpretation contended for on behalf of the petitioner is accepted.

"There is considerable force in the arguments advanced by both . . . and having regard to the wording of the proviso, it is possible to take both the views. After careful consideration, we feel that the better view is the one taken by the Tribunal.

"There is apparent conflict between the first and the last part of the proviso. The duty of the Court is to resolve this conflict, to bring about harmony between the different parts of the proviso and to see that no part of it is rendered redundant or superfluous. The object of the amendment made in 1956 was to permit an employer to take action in matters not connected with the pending industrial dispute. The absolute ban, which previously existed, was modified and removed in respect of matters not connected with the dispute. Some restrictions were, however, imposed on the right which was given to the employer and some safeguards were provided for the benefit of workmen. These safeguards are contained in the proviso and they are to operate only in cases of dismissal or discharge. We must, therefore, give such an interpretation to the proviso as will carry out the object of the Legislature and as will make these safeguards effective and not illusory.

**Risks of Alternative**

". . . if we were to accept the interpretation suggested on behalf of the petitioner, it would be difficult to say when the employer has contravened the provisions of Section 33. An employer may, after taking action against a workman, never make an application to the authority concerned for approval of the action taken by him or may unduly delay the making of such an application. If an employee files a complaint either under Section 31 or under Section 33A of the Act, the employer may successfully avoid the proceedings taken against him by making an application soon after the complaint is filed, and then, contending that he had not contravened the provisions of sub-section (2). The safeguards contained in the proviso will, therefore, be rendered ineffective.

"Moreover, the interpretation suggested on behalf of the petitioner can only be given by ignoring the first part of the proviso, which makes the two conditions mentioned in it as conditions which must be satis-
Construcotive Socialism In Gwalior

by Surendra Mohan

A PERUSAL of the report of the Gwalior Branch of the Praja Socialist Party of its work from February 1958 to November 1959 is a clear evidence of the deepening mass influence of the Party and the marked orientation of its activity in enduring and useful constructive channels. The adequate stress which the Party as a whole laid on building the organisation and on extending the contact with the masses in the villages, after the Poona Conference, is also distinctly reflected in the report.

The Party in Gwalior has dispelled the mood of depression and is vigorously building new strength. Yet, nothing said here could pay the well-deserved tribute to the fine spirit of the comrades in Gwalior, for, they believe the best homage to their work can be given by sharing their inspiration and by emulating their example.

The following figures will make clear the organisational gains:
- Number of primary members in 1957-58—563; in 1958-59—1,100.
- Pargana offices opened: 2.
- Number of conferences held: 61.
- Number of special conferences held: 10.
- Number of villages toured: 500.
- Amount of grains collected: 25 maunds.

Labour Movement

On the organisational level, the Party established two new organisations: the sugarcane growers' union and betel growers' union. The Party effectively organised the PWD and irrigation gangmen's union with a membership of 1,276, but certainly with a much larger appeal. It has also its influence on the railwaymen's union, time-keepers' union, tonga drivers' union and sweepers' union.

The greatest achievement of the Party which is the most encouraging and distinguished features of its activity is the work carried on by the Acharya Narendra Deva Memorial Committee (for the spread of education), established in 1956 under the chairmanship of Prof. Gurudeva Sharan.

The figures given below indicate its patient organisational effort:
- The Committee established 8 higher secondary schools, 32 primary and secondary schools, 1 girls' school and 1 reading room.

All these schools are recognised and are spread over in the neighbouring, educationally backward districts of Morena and Bhind as well. Young persons inspired by socialist ideals are providing the teaching personnel and are enthusiastically carrying the movement forward. Here is an example for thousands of socialist young boys and girls who are studying in colleges and worrying for employment. Two former S.Y.S. workers of Gwalior, Shri Lakshmi Narain Pandit and Shri Shrichand Shukla, are the pioneers of the path-breaking movement.

A modest venture of the same nature has been started by S.Y.S. for helping the students. This is the text-book gift movement and the text-book library movement, which have proved useful to students.

Bhoodan Campaign

Shri Bhikam Chand Jain, District Secretary of the Party, and other comrades have devoted their time to collecting land in the Bhoodan movement. Our comrades collected 1,700 bighas of land, of which half has been distributed. They have helped in organising Bhoodan Conferences for popularising the ideals of the movement.

That the Party is alive to the tasks of the organisation is further evidenced by the fact that they are...
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LIFEBUOY SOAP is a habit with me—as it is, I think, with most people who care about health. It gives me such a healthy feeling of freshness after every bath.

And LIFEBUOY washes away germs in dirt. You cannot avoid picking up everyday dirt—however clean your job. Make LIFEBUOY your health habit!

—gives you that healthy feeling of freshness!

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duce of self-grown grass in a given
plot. Para grass as tried in the
Pardi grass is not available for
the local cattle. The Zamindars
generally do not care to keep cattle
and the poor peasants have to send
away their cattle in the rainy
season every year to the adjoining
jungle area of Dharapuram as there
are no public grazing grounds in
some of the villages. Cattle-breeding
has become a great ordeal for the
difficult to produce, but there are
some of the villages. Cattle-breeding
has become a great ordeal for the
poor even in an area where grass is
The Pardi land movement
took to the constructive
steps. No national plan can fruit-
fully work without solving the pro-
blem of land in our country, where
agriculture is the base of our eco-
Download the document from the link provided.

New Agrarian Pattern
This is in a nutshell the problem of Pardi. The Pardi land movement projects a new peaceful pattern of socio-economic change in the agrarian structure. It is not only a movement for land re-distribution and social justice for the have-nots but also a crusading movement for conversion of waste lands into food lands. It is a part of a wider movement for proper land utilization and food self-sufficiency. It is based on a scientific and plan-conscious approach. No national plan can fruit-
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Seven-Point Programme
After the two struggles, the Pardi movement took to the constructive path. In 1958, a seven-point pro-
gramme, including spread of Charkha, Harijan uplift, literacy campaign, Prohibition, social re-
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ning have sprung up here from all
classes. One can have among them a glimpse of a new humanity rising.
Women and children are drawn into
the movement in large numbers.

Vice of the Crores
This is the background of the pre
sent non-cooperation movement of Pardi. The movement has declar-
ed its opposition to the bogus par-
titions of the landlords. It demands these partitions to be declared null and void and the grasslands brought under food crops, either through individual cultivation or through their co-operatives, where the plots are vast and compact. The Kisans have boycotted the big grass-
lands, but resolved to co-operate
with the middle class peasants.

More than 5,000 volunteers, includ-
ing women, have been enrolled for peaceful picketing. The Zamindars are trying to import outside labour. But the peaceful technique of mass picketing induces the outside labour to leave grass-fields. Without resorting to any means of physical coercion, the movement has been going on for weeks. Some landlords have, meanwhile, agreed to annul the partitions and give lands to the land-
less. The remaining uncult grass is getting dried up. The landlords of these plots, in desperation, resort to methods of hooliganism. But the Kisans suffer the blows silently and court arrest cheerfully. The local Congress has earned much discredit, making futile attempts to combat the Kisans against the spirit of the Nagpur resolution. The present non-
co-operation phase is only a gentle
beginning of a movement of fight to the finish. It will end in mass satyagraha in the next season.

Some years back, the Communists had planned to create another Telangana in the long Adivasi tract beginning from Dhanu in Thana dis-

tinction, looking to the new all-absorb-
ing spirit of socialism.

Bhoodan and Gramdan
For the last two years, the Kisans have turned towards Bhoodan and Gramdan. They showed their preparedness to part with patches of their lands to help rehabilitate the landless among them and 50 villages have been marked out for Gramdan, provided the landlords also co-
operate. More than a thousand Kisans, under the leadership of Shri Uttambhai Patel, walked a hundred miles to meet Vinobaji at Surat and offered him samarpan patrakas for Gramdan. No doubt Gramdan is the ideal solution of the land problem. If democracy is to be decentralised and socialism is to transform our village, the Gramdan pattern, where

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Songs and folk-dances. Caste bonds
have loosened. Almost all the village poor have been wrapped into the folds of a new social con-
sciousness. Lately, even the middle
classes have begun to see the move-
ment sympathetically. The move-
ment is popularly known as the "Red Cap Movement", but the colour
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Voice of the Crores
This is the backbrain of the present non-cooperation movement of Pardi. The movement has declared its opposition to the bogus partitions of the landlords. It demands these partitions to be declared null and void and the grasslands be brought under food crops, either through individual cultivation or through their co-operatives, where the plots are vast and compact. The Kisans have boycotted the big grasslands, but resolved to co-operate with the middle class peasants.

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Some years back, the Communists had planned to create another Telangana in the long Adivasi tract beginning from Dhanu in Thana district to Naswadi in Baroda district. Consciously or unconsciously, the Pardi movement frustrated their plan. In this part of the State, the Pardi struggle has become the focal point for the movements of the landless and agricultural labour.

The Pardi clamour is not the voice of the Pardi Kisans alone; it is the voice of fifteen crores of landless, or almost landless, in the country. The movement has become the symbol of the new urges and awakening of our hitherto unorganised and distressed humanity scattered all over the country. It will put to test the Nagpur resolution. The Gujaret Branch of the Praja Socialist Party is proud to be associated with such
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Preparing For All Eventualities

The debates in the two Houses of Parliament on the latest letter of Premier Chou En-lai rejecting India's conditions, which must be fulfilled before the negotiations on the frontier issues could be carried on, has resulted in the clarification of the Government of India's policy on this matter. When the debates took place during the earlier part of the present session on the same subject, it was not clear whether Shri Nehru's "more than reasonable" proposals would be acceptable to the Chinese. The issue of "negotiations versus other measures short of armed conflict" was at that time still not quite clear. The latest letter of the Chinese Premier, however, has dimmed considerably the chances of settling the issues through negotiations at least in the near future. Parliament and the country were therefore eager to know what policy the Government of India was going to adopt under these changed circumstances.

To this question Shri Nehru has given a categorical answer. The basic point in India's approach, he explained, was that negotiations should not be abandoned even if there was no hope. While negotiating thus, the country should add to its strength to meet all eventualities. The trend of this argument is quite obvious.

The country, therefore, has to think out ways and means of strengthening itself in the shortest possible time. One would have expected the Prime Minister as the unchallenged leader of the nation to take a lead in the matter. He is prepared to go up to a point, but not further, lest it should be interpreted as creating a war psychology in the country and thereby hurt the feeling of self-respect of the Chinese. This would obviously be the attitude of the Government of India also.

We have, therefore, to rely mainly on unofficial efforts to build up the military, economic and moral strength of the country to meet any eventuality. The Home Minister has already given a call for forming rifle clubs; the N.C.C. has to be strengthened; the Lok Sahayak Sena is being re-organised; and the Home Guards will have to be strengthened. Over and above all these, however, in schools and colleges a greater sense of awareness of the crisis has to be generated and the moral fibre of the youth has to be toned up to face the situation.

In the economic field, greater efforts at increased production will be necessary. This need not mean any depression in the living standards, but would mean greater efforts—by management, by administrative staff and by workers. It will be necessary to improve industrial relations through give-and-take on both the sides—and, obviously, the management will have to give more, as even the Finance Minister has now stated categorically that the upper classes have got more than their due share as a result of the country's efforts at planned economic development. The industrialists would be well advised to take note of the difficulties ahead and not resort to a shortsighted policy of taking advantage of the unorganised state of the industrial workers. Any temporary gain they might hope to achieve might be more than counter-balanced by the difficulties they might encounter later on. In
their own interest, therefore, they must come to terms with the labour and go all out to establish healthy relations with their workers.

The P. S. P., as the country's largest party, will have to share the responsibility of building up the morale of the people. The "Task Before the Party" resolution of the Silver Jubilee Session is before the Party units, and they must make a determined attempt to implement the same. We have often criticised the Government for not implementing their own policies and decisions. Let it not be said of the P. S. P. that even in an hour of grave difficulties, which the Party was the first to spot and highlight, the Party units remained apathetic to their own decisions. Time is the essence of the situation and all the targets must be fulfilled according to schedule and, if possible, overfulfilled ahead of time. Let us do voluntarily what in the totalitarian regime one has to do by compulsion.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Statistical Statistics

One of the most indispensable tools for planning is the accurate information about the state of economy at present and the possible result of a given policy decision when it is implemented. Planning thus consists of three points: the survey of the present situation; a clear foundation for the future envisaged at the end of a definite period; and the policies and programmes to be implemented in order to pass from the present to the envisaged future. At each one of these stages one has to take recourse to statistical information of the existing state of things as well as the situation that is likely to develop when they are interpolated over a period of time.

In India, till now, statistical information available for such purposes is very meagre. Recently, Shri H. V. R. Iengar, in his speech at Calcutta, drew pointed attention to the gaps existing in our knowledge and the false conclusions we derive at times from the available statistics because of their incompleteness. While some information is available regarding the corporate sector of our economy, as far as the small-scale and agricultural sectors are concerned we have to depend mostly on guess-work.

This state of affairs must be ended. The Government has, therefore, rightly decided to recognise the Indian Statistical Institute at Calcutta as an institution of national importance under the Constitution. The logical corollary of such a declaration, of course, is that the Government will have to provide the requisite financial assistance to the Institution so that it may be in a position to undertake the programmes of work allotted to it by the Government. Clause 8 of the special Bill brought forward for the purpose provides that the Central Government should constitute committees that could prepare programme of work to be undertaken by the Institute during the year, for which the Central Government may provide funds, and also settle the broad lines of such programme of work. The Institute is expected to carry out the programme mutually agreed upon between any such committee and the Institute and if the latter is unwilling to under-

take any work suggested, it should give the Central Government its reasons for not so agreeing.

Similarly, it is also provided that the Central Government would select the auditors to be appointed by the Institute after consultations with the Comptroller and Auditor-General and it would be within the competence of the Central Government to issue such directions to the auditors in the performance of their duties as it thinks fit.

Barring these powers of general supervision and direction, the Institute is wisely left to itself to carry out its day-to-day administration. This is very necessary for an expert institute of such a type. Otherwise it could be very difficult for the institute to carry out its functions adequately. Of course, there is the provision to assume functions of control in case the Institute fails to give effect to any direction issued by the Central Government which it is competent to give or if the Institute exceeded or abused its powers.

With this recognition of the Indian Statistical Institute and with the financial assistance proposed to be granted by the Central Government, it should be possible for the Institute to undertake suitable programme of filling in the gaps in our statistical information so as to make it possible for the Government and the country to appreciate better the efforts of any fiscal, credit or economic policy formulated by the Government and to decide for or against such a policy.

The Institute is also empowered to hold such examinations and grant such degrees and diplomas in statistics as may be determined by the Institute from time to time. This raises the status of the Institute to the level of a teaching university and the Institute is expected to train men for the task of undertaking statistical work in a number of fields of inquiry and research. It is already maintaining an operational research unit on planning at Calcutta and statistical quantity control units at a number of centres; it also maintains study units for regional planning and some other subjects. These units will have to be multiplied and strengthened and trained personnel will be required for the same.
THE PANCHSHEEL—I
by J. B. Kripalani

The principles which have come to be collectively known as Panchsheel were enunciated and mutually agreed to by India and China to form the preamble of the India-China Treaty of 1954 on Tibet. We shall not go into the irony of their origin here. Since 1954 Panchsheel has been subscribed to by many other countries like Russia, Yugoslavia, Egypt, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, etc. The principles are:

1. Respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
2. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of a political, economic or ideological character;
3. Non-aggression;
4. Equality and mutual benefits among nations;
5. Peaceful co-existence.

If there exist consent and the will to accept these principles there will be peace in the world. It is worthwhile, therefore, to examine the nature of these principles and see how far they are practical and how far they can fulfill the purpose for which they are designed.

Nature of the Dicta

The first question then is whether these principles are moral imperatives or provide a practical solution to the actual problems of conflict and tension in the international world. Moral imperatives, though they work in the social context, can be observed by individuals and rarely by social groups unilaterally, even when they involve inconvenience, material loss and, sometimes in the case of individuals, martyrdom.

If they were mutually observed by individuals and groups, there would be little conflict among them. However, their distinguishing feature is that their observance is not contingent upon like observance by others. For instance, a person, wanting to regulate his conduct in conformity with ethical principles, does not wait for his neighbour to do likewise. He does it irrespective of what his neighbour does or may do. He cannot argue that as long as his neighbour does not cease from anti-social activity he will indulge in it! He does not allow his neighbour to prescribe to him his morality or its limits. He has to do the right, irrespective of the conduct of his neighbour or neighbours. Also, if he is in earnest in following the dictates of morality, he does not count the cost of it to himself or his near and dear ones. He has to suffer often and he is ready for it.

Exceptional people have followed the moral law throughout history and do so today to the point of martyrdom. Unfortunately, the world is so constituted that moral conduct, more often than not, pays no dividends in material goods or comfort. Honesty is not always the best policy, in the material sense. It can only guarantee a clear conscience and one's mastery over one's lower self, often at the expense of material advantage.

General Statements

Are then the Panchsheel principles moral imperatives like, "Thou shalt not steal or kill", "Love thy neighbour as thyself". "Do good to them that do evil to you", etc? Evidently, the principles do not enunciate moral imperatives. They are only a generalised statement of how international peace can possibly be maintained. Unlike moral principles they must, therefore, be judged by their practical value; that is, their value in achieving the desired end of mutual international goodwill and concord. They are, therefore, stated in terms of mutuality.

Take for instance the most general of them all—peaceful co-existence. A moral principle would be stated like this: "Thou shalt not invade the territory of another nation." There will be no question of peaceful co-existence that cannot be achieved by a single party and unilaterally. The moral imperative "Thou shalt not invade, etc." would imply that a...
nation has not to attack another nation under any circumstances. It must also not wait for its neighbour to do likewise. Co-existence implies mutuality. A nation cannot peacefully co-exist with itself, it can do so only with another nation or nations.

Again, can the principle of "Respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity" be observed unilaterally? If it were, the words "each other" would have no meaning. The principle would be: "Thou shalt not violate the sovereignty and integrity of another nation." This would imply that a nation's conduct in international affairs is not to be prescribed to it by other nation or nations.

Mahatma's Principles

On the other hand, Mahatma Gandhi's principles of truth and non-violence in political life, are moral principles. Gandhi, therefore, held that whatever the other party may do, Congressmen in the Satyagraha fight must remain non-violent and truthful. Such conduct was to be followed unilaterally, irrespective of what the other party did or was likely to do and irrespective of the material consequences.

However, moral action is social action, in the sense that it implies a social context. It cannot be the action of an isolated individual living in a cave! But in society a man's actions affect his neighbours for good or evil. Therefore, there can be no isolated human action. There is some kind of inter-connection. How does this social inter-connection work in the moral field? Even to a moral man it cannot be a matter of indifference how his neighbour behaves.

Simply to preach that you shall not steal or kill or indulge in violence or any other anti-social activity does not solve the whole problem of morality. If there are people who disturb the smooth and peaceful functioning of society, should any steps be taken to check their activities or are they to be allowed to do what they like without let or hindrance? If anti-social conduct is not checked, society will disintegrate. Morality then will defeat its own object. Also, such indifference would destroy the very sources of moral sensitiveness. What then is the remedy?

Two Remedial Ways

Apart from what an organised Government does, the moralist has two ways to grapple with this problem. One is that of the mystic and the other is that of the practical moral reformer. The mystic, Christ-like says "Resist not evil." "Do good unto them that do evil to you", etc. Does this really mean non-resistance? What the mystic means is that no physical or coercive action must be taken against the evil-doer. Evil action flows from evil mind. Evil must be rooted out at its very source in the mind. Otherwise, one would only be treating external symptoms.

The whole life of the mystic, as a matter of fact, is one of resistance to evil. But this resistance is psychological, moral and spiritual and not physical or coercive. It is perhaps, therefore, the most effective, for it changes the mind and the heart of the evil-doer. The evil-doer expects punishment or at least censure, if detected. But here is someone, who, instead of judging and condemning him, blesses him and showers on him divine love, which sees with equal eye the good man and the evil man.

Such a treatment from the mystic takes the evil doer by surprise. He is thrown back upon himself and is forced to carry on self-analysis, with the result that he sees his anti-social activity in its proper social perspective. The result of this process of self-analysis is that he often becomes a reformed person. Society is thus saved from his anti-social activity.

The Reformer's Path

This way of the mystic in dealing with the problem of evil cannot, however, work, or at least it has not been tried, in inter-group relations. Also the mystic's method is not capable of being organised. Mystics don't walk the world in organised or unorganised groups. They are lonely individuals and walk the world alone. They can reform stray individuals. This may act on society as a leaven. But the practical reformer wants to change the conduct of individuals and groups directly. He therefore resists evil.

For instance, Gandhi, not being a mystic but a practical reformer, devised a practical method of resisting evil, which could be adopted by average individuals. It has both psychological and external elements. Externally the victim or victims of injustice are asked to resist the evil-doer by refusing to submit to his will, through non-co-operation or...
civil disobedience. The victim can also organise this disobedience in such a way that the evil-doer finds himself unable to function successfully; that is, he is unable to coerce persons to obey his behests.

Spiritually, the non-violent resister bears no ill-will to the evil-doer. He distinguishes the act from the individual, and while he resists the act, he refuses to injure in any way the person. By this method, evil is resisted, but in such a way that no residue of evil Karma (result) is left behind. This is because the means employed are moral.

Gandhiji argues that every action, whether undertaken as an end or a means, must have its result, must create its own karma phal (action-result). Evil actions must have evil consequences. This is the most scientific view of the matter. However, apart from this, no action is undertaken as an end. Rather all actions are undertaken as means in the pursuit of ends. The end automatically flows from the means. If the means are evil, they will directly or indirectly, sooner or later, affect the end in view; the end will be deflected from its proper course.

Preferrable Violence

Does Gandhiji merely lay down the ideal rule that under all circumstances, one has to be non-violent and truthful, and leaves it at that? He does not. He was too good a psychologist and too practical a length of time, they would do it out of cowardice and fear. Therefore, Gandhiji held that instead of living an unmanly life of cowardice and fear, people who did not believe in non-violence or were not equal to discipline required therefor must strike out. They must not rest satisfied with tyranny and slavery.

When I was in Champaran (Bihar) with Gandhiji in 1957 I brought to his notice that some villagers had run away in fear, leaving their property and womenfolk unprotected, when attacked by the agents of the White planters. I never saw him more indignant. He said their running away was not non-violence; it was an act of cowardice. It would have been more manly and, therefore, even more moral, if they had used violence to protect their homes and their womenfolk. Often he said that violence in a good cause was much better than submissive and cowardly non-resistance. In fact, it was a misnomer to call such non-resistance as non-violence. Non-violence he held was a positive and dynamic force.

In these matters his practical morality was graded. He considered those in India who used violence to achieve national independence as better men and women than those who quietly and supinely yielded to foreign rule, because resistance would mean inconvenience to themselves or would entail some sacrifice, reformer to believe that humanity, which has for centuries indulged in violence to settle inter-group differences, can immediately take to non-violent resistance. Nor would men and nations consent to live in perpetual subjection to tyranny and justice. If they did that for any of their material possessions and comfort. During the last World War, Gandhiji said that Chinese resistance to Japan and Polish resistance to Nazi Germany were a near approach to non-violence, considering the circumstances.

This shows that there are some points common between Gandhiji and the violent resister in a righteous cause: one is that it is the foremost duty of man, if he has to keep his dignity as man, to resist what he considers as evil and not timely submit to it out of fear and cowardice; the other is the readiness to undergo material loss and in extreme cases the loss of life itself in pursuance of a righteous cause. The difference is in the means to be employed to resist the injustice and tyranny. The violent resister employs means which have the tendency of creating their own violent chain of Karma. Non-violent means mean no bad Karma. On the contrary, they create goodwill and peace. Non-violent resistance is, therefore, the highest form of resistance to evil.

Social Considerations

We have seen that moral imperatives do not concern themselves with what others do. But that is only in the matter of means used. Moral people cannot brush aside social considerations. They cannot be indifferent to the anti-social conduct of their neighbours. They have to resist it to their utmost capacity. The only difference is that the moral man does not take his morality from his anti-social neighbour but looks ahead of the immediate results, while the man who uses violent means of resistance wants results immediately. He is therefore not careful about the means he uses. Thus by the doubtful means he uses, he often deflects his own aim.

From the above discussion, it will be clear that the principles constituting Panchsheel are not moral principles. Also they do not provide the mystic or the Gandhian way of resisting injustice and righting wrongs in cases where these principles, whatever their value, are violated by the parties subscribing to them. The only way of resisting injustice and tyranny therefore left is the old, traditional and orthodox way of armed conflict. Even when the cause is just, violence, as we have stated, creates its own Karma of evil. The accumulation of this evil throughout human history has resulted in the ever-increasing and sharpening of the weapons of war and human destruction. Today these instruments have been so perfected that they can annihilate the whole of humanity including the tyrants.

(JULLENDER ASSURANCE

Shri Ved Vyas, Secretary, Jullundur City P.S.P., has issued the following Press statement:

I am surprised to read the news published in a section of the Press pertaining to the proceedings of and a resolution passed by the annual general meeting of the local unit of the P.S.P. held on December 13 last.

It is really deplorable that an impression has been sought to be created that the local unit of the P.S.P. or some members have risen in revolt against the central leadership of the Party.

The resolution is nothing but the enunciation and reiteration of the Party's stand vis-a-vis Punjab Suba. The statement of Shri Asoka Mehta clarifying his speech delivered at the Akali Conference and published in the Press was welcomed and it was assured that concerning the issue of Punjabi Suba all doubts and confusions stood dispelled.

Everybody in the Party holds the Central leadership in the greatest esteem and we assure the people that the Party stands united as ever.

(TO BE CONCLUDED)
What if there were no Vanaspati Industry?

If the Vanaspati Industry were to close down and there were no DALDA, the immediate effect would be a serious scarcity of hard fats—fats like vanaspati and ghee which don't melt at room temperatures.

**Economist:** A scarcity of about three lakh tons at once—four times that in 15 years.

**You:** So...?

**Economist:** So this would obviously mean shortages. Ghee, the traditional hard fat, will be unable to make good the shortfall. It has never been able to meet its own growing demand—let alone the extra demand for vanaspati. Historically speaking, there has been only a marginal increase in ghee production in the past 20 years, considering the increase in population.

**We:** And that is precisely why DALDA Vanaspati came into the market 30 years ago and has stayed there.

**Economist:** Looking a little into the future, the supply of ghee is expected to rise by about 20% in the next 5-10 years. But the demand for it would have increased by more than that. Meanwhile, the demand for vanaspati could easily double.

**You:** But I can't see why the demand for vanaspati should increase.

**Economist:** Firstly, because of the increase in population. Secondly, because of the rise in National Income. As incomes grow, more and more hard fat tends to be consumed. Forty percent of the American diet for instance, consists of fat.

**We:** Another thing. Without DALDA Vanaspati in the shops the price of ghee will go up to prohibitive levels. Few will be able to afford it. So, a great many people will have to do with a lot less of fat.

**Economist:** And our diet is already deficient in fat. We take, on an average, only ⅔ of our nutritional requirements of it.

**We:** What about adulteration? It's a common practice as it is. And it will grow—with all its harmful effects on health.

**Economist:** That apart, fat scarcity would divert a great deal of available milk to the production of cooking fat. This, in a country already short of milk, where malnutrition among children is a grave problem.

**You:** Aren't you dramatizing it a little... we could use liquid oils, you know!

**We:** Of course, we could. But then think of the changes in eating habits—in cooking methods and the taste of foods in hard fat areas like the Punjab, for instance. It would mean getting used to strange tasting, unappetising foods, having to forego meals cooked in traditional ways. And foods such as cakes and biscuits cannot be made without hard fats like DALDA. More important, people all over will need extra vitamins to supplement their diet.

**You:** Why vitamins?

**We:** Well, because liquid edible oils don't contain vitamins A and D—DALDA Vanaspati does. DALDA consists of partially hydrogenated pure vegetable oils, fortified with 700 International Units of Vitamin A and 56 IU of Vitamin D. These vitamins protect the skin and eyes, and build strong bones and healthy teeth. They are essential for health, growth and protection from disease. As a source of energy, DALDA is 2½ times better than wheat or rice. Moreover, it is hygienically pure, deodorised, of uniformly high quality—yet so economical in use! It isn't often that you get these qualities in liquid oils—they certainly never contain vitamins.

**You:** That's perhaps why the demand for DALDA is going up more sharply than that for liquid oils.

**Economist:** A final point. Without the Vanaspati Industry, thousands of people would be without a means of livelihood. And the National Income would be less by some crores of rupees.

**You:** And I'd be without my DALDA! We've been using it for years. I knew it was a food, but I didn't know that it played quite so important a part in the Economy and food habits of the people.
THE P.S.P. CADRE: A SAMPLE SURVEY

by Asoka Mehta

The Silver Jubilee Conference of the Party was attended by 931 delegates, which I am told is a record attendance for our Party Conference. I was anxious to take advantage of such a representative gathering to obtain some data about the interests and activities of leading members of the Party. Accordingly a questionnaire was circulated to the delegates, which 416 delegates filled up. It is distressing that less than 50 per cent of the delegates cared to supply the details asked for. If a fuller coverage had been obtained our analysis of Party leadership would have been more revealing.

As the Conference was held in Bombay, inevitably, a large number of the delegates had come from Maharashtra. We, therefore, find that over one-fourth of the delegates who filled up the forms are from Maharashtra. Likewise Bihar was able to provide an extensive coverage. In the sample before us, there is inevitably greater weightage to Maharashtra and Bihar compared to other States. Some States like Mysore and Assam are very inadequately represented in the survey.

The picture that emerges is, therefore, not wholly representative of the Party in every part of the country. Notwithstanding this reservation, the information collected throws valuable light on the character of the leading cadre of the Party.

Youth Main Prop

Information was asked about age, educational qualifications and profession of the delegate. Further, we sought to find out the length of membership of the delegate as also the types of activities in which he or she was engaged.

It is interesting to find that 25% of the delegates were under 35 years of age and 16% of the delegates reported themselves to be over 35. In the two States of Maharashtra and Bihar, where reporting was fairly exhaustive, the difference between those under 35 and those over 35 was very marked. It is obvious that the Party, by and large, remains an organisation of young people though with the passage of time about 40 per cent of the leading cadres of the Party have moved to mature age.

The educational qualifications show that the Party cadres are drawn from wide sections of the people. Sixty-five delegates have received only primary education, 99 secondary education and 30 higher secondary education, while 50 are graduates and as many as 72 are post-graduates. A Party with such an accent on higher education should be in a position to organise its activities in an efficient manner.

As many as 243 delegates, i.e., more than 50 per cent of those who filled up the forms, know English while 327, i.e., over 75 per cent claimed to know Hindi. This shows that at this level of leadership in the Party we are in a position to function in either of the principal official languages.

Farmers Predominate

A study of the professions to which the delegates belonged reveals that 85% are agriculturists, 39% are businessmen, 65% follow independent professions, 68% are in services, and 141% are engaged in full-time trade union or Party work, while 18% are unemployed. There is scope for strengthening the recruitment of our active cadres from professions and business in some of the States, but perhaps that is a function of the general development of the Party in the State concerned.

Table No. 3 gives the details of the distribution of the delegates in different professions.

We were anxious to find out the length of membership in the Party of the delegates. It was satisfying to find that 61 of them had joined the Party between 1934 and 1942, 106 between 1942 and 1948, 118 between 1948-52, and 131 between 1952-59. This shows that fresh blood has been steadily coming into the Party and has been gaining positions in the organisation of the Party.

Table No. 1 brings together the necessary information Statewise:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Primary</th>
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<td>65</td>
<td>99</td>
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Give One Year
To
BHOOODAN
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Sewri, Bombay
The large number of delegates belonging to the 1952-59 period in West Bengal can be explained by the fact that in 1953 the KMPP, the Forward Bloc and the Socialist Party merged together and at least in that State the merger brought about a basic transformation in the structure of the Party.

Table No. 3 gives the details of the number of delegates who joined the Party in the various States and their dates of joining.

**Fields of Activity**

The spectrum of activities covers working among youth, in the Party, in trade unions, among kisans, in legislatures, local bodies, co-operatives, cultural activities and among the students. As most of the delegates are engaged simultaneously in a number of activities the report shows participation in a total of 1,159 activities, which means that on an average our leading Party men are engaged in three fields of activities.

Whether this is more than can be efficiently managed by a Party worker who is not giving his whole time to Party work is a matter that needs to be gone into by State Executives.

One hundred and two delegates are engaged in youth activities, 345 in Party work, 145 in trade unions, 181 in kisan work, 29 are members of legislatures, 85 are connected with local bodies and 101 with co-operatives, 85 are in cultural activities and 66 work among students.

It is a happy trend that even in the limited sample that we have before us, as many as 85 are connected with local bodies. If fuller information about our Party workers’ association with local bodies, including village panchayats, when made available by the State Executives will put us in position to organise more efficiently our participation in democratic institutions. Likewise

(Continued on page 11)
SHRI Prem Bhasin, Joint Secretary, Praja Socialist Party, has contradicted the reports, appearing in certain newspapers, about so-called "revolt" by a section of the Party's followers in the Punjab against the Central leadership vis-a-vis the issue of Punjabi Suba.

In a letter addressed to the "Times of India", Delhi, which was one of the papers to publish the ill-founded report of a Party revolt, Shri Prem Bhasin quoted extensively from past documents of the Party and recent statements of its leaders to show how the P.S.P. stand on the issue had for years throughout been clear and consistent, and, as such, there was absolutely no ground for any dissatisfaction about it among any members of the Party.

Shri Prem Bhasin said in the letter:

Sir,—Commenting on the supposed differences within the Praja Socialist Party on the question of lending support to the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State, you were pleased observe, on Saturday, December 19, 1959, that:

"Two PSP leaders of Punjab, one a member of the National Executive and the other Joint Secretary of the State Unit have disapproved of the support to the "Punjabi Suba" demand extended by two top leaders of the Party. The Punjab Branch, they say, have always opposed the demand and there is no question of modifying that stand."

Allow me to say that you have been completely misinformed and misled on these points by your Punjabi correspondents.

I will first take up the position of the Punjab Branch. In the Memorandum submitted by it to the States Reorganisation Commission, it had dealt exhaustively with this question and had come to the conclusion that:

"The north-western zone of India, apart from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, has three well-defined regions with regard to language, culture and social habits. These regions are:

1. The Himalayan Tract; comprising of the present Himachal Pradesh, Simla and Kangra districts of Punjab, District Kandagaht of PEPSU, Tehri Garwal and adjoining Himalayan Districts of Uttar Pradesh;
2. Present Punjab and PEPSU, excluding Kangra, Simla, Gurgaon, Rohtak and Hindi-speaking areas of Hissar and Karnal districts of the former, and Kandahat and Mohindergarh districts of the latter.
3. Western districts of U.P. particularly of Agra and Meerut divisions, Dehli State, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Hindi-speaking areas of Karnal and Hissar districts of Punjab, districts Mohindergarh of PEPSU and such adjoining areas of Rajasthan as are contiguous and culturally akin to this region.

"As will be seen later, these three regions can develop into administratively and economically viable units of the Indian Republic.

The existing administrative divisions of the North-Western Zone of India lead to a great deal of cultural and lingual heterogeneity, administrative inefficiency and economic waste through maintenance of several heads of State, High Courts, Service Commissions, etc. There is thus an urgent necessity of re-organising the Zone into three separate and distinct administrative units as described above.

But we must take due note of the separatist and fissiparous tendencies based on narrow sectarian, communal and tribal differences, which sometimes seem to threaten the underlying unity of India. To counteract these, and to effect better co-ordination, economy and efficiency in the administrations of these three regions of this Zone, a common Head of the State, a common High Court, a common Public Service Commission and interchangeable administrative services, should be instituted.

This last idea, about a zonal Governor, etc., was based on a resolution adopted at the Special Convention of the Praja Socialist Party held at Betul, in June 1953. Welcoming the decision of the Government of India to appoint a commission to consider the entire question of redrawing the administrative map of India, the Convention suggested that:

"The terms of reference should among other things include the following:

1. Whether in any event there should not be zonal Governors, High Courts, Tribunals and Public Service Commissions; whether this would not be more conducive to greater efficiency, better personnel and the saving of administrative costs."

The Memorandum submitted by the Punjab Branch of the PSP, from which I have quoted above, was adopted at a Special Conference of the Provincial Branch. The policy outlined in this Memorandum has not been modified since then.

I have quoted at such length from that Memorandum in order to show that it would not be correct to say that the Punjab Branch has always opposed the demand. It will, perhaps be far more correct to say that the Punjab Branch has always supported the demand. The basis of its support has been, and continues to be, no doubt, cultural and administrative, not communal.

Shri Asoka Mehta and Shri N. G. Goray, the Chairman and General Secretary of the PSP, respectively, have in no way gone beyond this general support extended by the Punjab Branch. In fact, Shri Goray made it clear that "a Punjabi Suba must be the struggle of all the Punjabi-speaking people and not of the Sikhs alone. The PSP will not support this demand if Sikhs wanted to get rid of one community."

The Tribune report of his Press Conference at Jullundur further stated: "Referring to the demand for a Punjabi Suba, he said it was neither political nor religious, but a cultural one."

About Shri Asoka Mehta's utterances at the Akali Conference I need not say anything as he has already written to you on this point. I will, however, quote the Statesman Special Representative, who reported that: "He (Asoka Mehta) put in an incongruous appearance on the Akali Dal platform this afternoon. But reluctant to yield to the inflammatory trend of other speeches, he made relatively a non-committal speech."
How wonderfully thoughtless of my master!

This well-cut coat is my latest acquisition. Made by an exponent of the sartorial art for no less a personage than my illustrious master, the darn thing shrunk a little here, a little there at first washing. No good for him any more, but for me it's just wonderful! How I wish and pray that he may never remember to look for 'Sanforized' on the label...because if he does, his clothes will never shrink out of fit, even after many, many washings!

Look for 'SANFORIZED' on the label and your clothes will never shrink out of fit!

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For information: 'Sanforized' Service, 95, Marine Drive, Bombay-2
TABLE No. 3

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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>131</td>
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There seems to be a considerable amount of activity in the field of co-operatives also.

Here too, when fuller information is collected by State Executives it should not be difficult to plan for better co-ordination and training of our cadres engaged in co-operative activities. The more competent among the co-operators, I am sure, will impart the training needed by the less experienced.

Table No. 4 gives the state-wise break-up of the activities in which the delegates are engaged.

A study of the table shows how useful it will be to get fuller information on these lines about our active members in different fields. It is only with such information that the Party can plan its activities, strengthen its organisation, develop its training programme and adequately utilise its manpower resources. The limited survey was carried out just to have a rough idea of the varied talents and the possibilities available to the Party.

It is our task to introduce greater co-ordination into our activities and to step up the efficiency. To that end we welcome suggestions from Party Comrades.

TABLE No. 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Youth</th>
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<th>Trade</th>
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<th>Kisan</th>
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<th>Local bodies</th>
<th>Co-operatives</th>
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There is neither any split in the ranks of the Punjab Branch of the PSP, nor any rift between the national leadership and the Punjab Branch. In this context, I am constrained to say that the report that "Two PSP leaders of the Punjab, one a member of the National Executive and the other Joint Secretary of the State unit, have disapproved of the support to the Punjabi Suba demand extended by two top leaders of the Party," is not only without any foundation but a pure fabrication. I can challenge any one to substantiate this report. I happen to be the only member, belonging to the Punjab Branch, who is on the National Executive of the PSP. Nobody has ever quoted me as saying, either in public or in private, anything of the kind. I can also authoritatively say that no Joint Secretary of the Punjab branch of the PSP has made any such remark.

The story of a split in the Punjab Branch of the PSP has no validity. A careful perusal of all the reports appearing in your papers on this point will reveal that the only possible basis for it could have been a resolution supposed to have been adopted by the Jullundur City unit of the Party. But strangely enough, your correspondent has not cared to quote from the text of the resolution. Even the sponsors of this resolution, however, later on emphasized that "The State PSP stood by its decision, contained in its Memorandum to the States Reorganisation Commission" (The Times of India, Dec. 15, 1959).

It is, therefore, not possible for me to assess the exact import of this solitary resolution as the Central Office of the PSP has not yet received a copy till now. It may not be impertinent to ask if it is fair to build a sensational split story on such slender basis.

I hope you will publish this letter in the interests of truth and fair play. What you should do with your correspondents who send you patently false reports is not for me to say.

Yours faithfully,

PREM BHASIN,  
Joint Secretary,  
Praja Socialist Party.
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LTS/31/BOM-X45

Edited by Rohit Dave and Published by G. G. Parikh, at National House, Tulloch Road, Bombay 1, and Printed by him for the Praja Socialist Party at the Mouj Printing Bureau, Khatau Wadi, Girgaon Bombay 4.
The problem of the relation between the Central and the States has again come into prominence as a result of a debate in the Andhra Assembly on a non-official resolution demanding greater devolution of powers to the State. This debate is of some significance inasmuch as the resolution embodied the views of Shri Sanjiva Reddy, who is to be the new chief of the Congress Party. Some time back Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, former Union Food Minister, had disclosed, in an article in the Press that the relationship between the Centre and the States, in relation to the food policy and programme, and since then many observers have expressed doubts regarding the advisability of the present pattern of this relationship. The other day, the Prime Minister, informing Parliament of the circumstances in which the decision of State monopoly of the wholesale trade in foodgrains was taken, revealed that the National Development Council had been suddenly confronted with the proposition by Shri Nehru himself, and the N.D.C., without properly assessing the strength and the difficulty of the policy, had endorsed the suggestion. Later on, the State Governments found that they had no machinery to implement the decision and now the resolution of the N.D.C. seems to be almost a dead letter.

We are not here concerned with the correctness or otherwise of the decision of the N.D.C. But the revelations of the Prime Minister leave no doubt regarding the manner in which the N.D.C. functions. The Prime Minister, because of his great position, dominates the deliberations of the N.D.C. and the Chief Ministers seem to be more anxious not to be on the wrong side of the Prime Minister rather than to assess the feasibility of the policy and programme placed before them and, perhaps, even to consider the interests of the States which they represent. The result is the seeming concentration of power at the Centre to an extent never envisaged by the Constitution. Policy-making powers are apparently concentrated only at the Centre. No policy decision, however, has any meaning unless it is implemented; but this implementation is in the hands of the States and they find an easy way out of their difficulties by just ignoring the decisions. The Prime Minister is too busy to inquire about the fate of the decision once it is made. If he does remember the evasion-clever bureaucracy at the States prepare learned notes regarding the difficulties in implementation and the whole thing gets finally shelved.

This is the sorry state of affairs. It creates hopes and apprehensions in the various sectors of the community because of a given decision, which in the end is likely to be shelved. Those entertaining hopes are frustrated and the apprehensions do not easily die out, but leave bitterness all round. No wonder, in spite of obvious progress in some fields, people feel frustrated and the socially powerful get an impression, by no means wrong, that even the decisions taken at highest level can be defeated if proper strings are pulled. Un'less we change the whole basis of decision-making, our planned efforts would founder on the rocks of administrative inertness, entailing hardships, which could be avoided by timely consideration of the issues raised in the Andhra debate.
NOTES AND COMMENT

Academic Peace

President Rajendra Prasad has given a valuable lead to the country by putting an unerring finger on the factors that are responsible for what he described as the wave of discontent among students. In attributing the students' discontent to a sense of insecurity and social maladjustment, he has, by implications, provided the solution for this urgent issue facing the country. No one can deny the seriousness of this problem. Almost every day one reads in the newspapers students taking law into their own hands to make their voice heard and to make their will effective. This creates serious situations of disorder, resulting in grave injuries and even deaths. The relation between the teacher and the taught is viciated and an atmosphere is created in the academic institutions which makes any creative educational efforts difficult, if not impossible.

Shri Nehru, in his address to the Tenth World Conference of New Education Fellowship, attributes this student discontent to the unsettlement caused in the minds and behaviour of students by new ideas and forms. The President rejects this diagnosis. Saying, "There are others who seek to condone it (student discontent) as a sign of the times, as an inalienable feature of the period of transition through which our country is passing. They hold that with the passage of time, as conditions get settled, things will automatically improve..." the President declined to agree with this view and declared that the malaise called for a deeper probe. In this he was quite justified.

The main grievance of the students is that the community at large is so tired and pre-occupied with other problems that it has no time to find the resources and skills necessary to impart new values and convey new ideas to the students. They instinctively know that the old order is changing and the type of educational facilities made available to them cannot equip them for the new situation they will have to face. They hunger for the right approach and adequate resources to make that approach effective in our educational institutions. When this is denied to them, they feel a sense of insecurity and suffer social maladjustment, to which the President has drawn the attention of the country.

This is the very sound advice which the teaching profession can ignore only at their peril. But, the teachers can function effectively if larger resources are placed at their disposal to make it possible for them to impart modern knowledge, values and spirit to our youth. This should also help in building up States so indispensable for the economic development of the country. As the Prime Minister once remarked, the only real wealth of the country is the skilled personnel. But adequate attention has so far not been given by our planners and the Government to the task of building up this capital. This needs to be done at the earliest possible time both in the interest of social peace as well as economic development.

Kerala Election

The Kerala election campaign is now in full swing and all the parties are well entrenched in their respective areas waiting for the poll to begin. The Kerala electorate is a very intelligent one, and there is very little which the parties have to do except to bring the large number of voters to the poll. And, this is the chief task to which all the political parties are now addressing themselves. The result of the elections seems to be hardly in any doubt. The Communists are well established in certain pockets and might be able to capture the seats in those areas. There the electorate is chiefly concerned with the advantages which the Communist Party secured for them during the Red regime. They are hoping that these advantages will continue if the Communists are again returned to power. To the extent that these advantages mean a progressive social policy, there is no reason to suppose that they will not continue even if the Communists are defeated as all the parties are committed to progressive social legislation. To the extent that those represent a special favour to the Communists or Communist-sponsored organisation, they would and should disappear when the Communists are thrown out of power.

As for the rest of the Kerala community, they are behind the Democratic Alliance and slowly the tempo is rising to the same pitch as it had risen during the mass upsurge to oust the Communists. The most heartening of the developments then as now is the disappearance of the communal spirit or at least its suppression during the present election campaign. If this becomes the permanent feature of the Kerala public life it will be the greatest boon. It is a pleasant sight to see the Nairs, the Christians, the Muslims, etc., all working shoulder to shoulder to oust the Communists. Even the Ezhavas are behind the Democratic Alliance in a considerable number. The ravages brought about by the Communist Party have helped the people of Kerala in realising the advantages of a secular, democratic approval to the political questions.
The incursions of the Chinese across our frontiers dominate our thoughts in Parliament and outside. In both Houses of Parliament we spearheaded the demand for a firm policy. On the last day, in both the Houses PSP members initiated discussions which gave expression to the nation's anxiety and determination. It would be helpful if the leadership provided in Parliament is backed by mass meetings all over the country under the Party's auspices.

We are naturally concerned over our frontier regions and are striving to strengthen the people's determination in these areas. Shri N. G. Goray visited Simla and met some Party colleagues from the region. A camp will soon be organised there, which will be attended by Shri Prem Bhasin. Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha has planned to visit Party colleagues from the region. A camp will soon be organised there, which will be attended by Shri Prem Bhasin. Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha has planned to visit the frontier regions in Almora and Garhwal districts. A preliminary survey was made by Shri Pratap Singh, M.L.A. from Nainital, Shri Surendra Dwivedi and Dr. Prafulla Ghose will soon be visiting the Kalimpong-Darjeeling area. It will be recalled that Shri H. V. Kamath's visit there some months back tore the curtain on Chinese machinations there.

The Executive at its next meeting in February will consider the reports of these senior comrades and decide upon our organisational plans.

Model Surveys

Model surveys of the Party organisation in districts have been carried out by Shri Prem Bhasin and Surendra Mohan in two districts of the Uttar Pradesh. Unless the State Executives expedite their reports, the Central Office on its own cannot proceed very far. It is hoped that the State Executives will give this work high priority.

I visited some places in Meerut district. In Modinagar-Hapur parts of the District, the Party is experiencing a renaissance. The recent strike of sugarcanefarmers there was a real success. I am not sure if in other districts the necessary preliminary work is put in before launching a mass struggle. I have repeatedly warned against relying on exhortations as against organisation. That was the fatal weakness of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia and the fate of his party should provide a stern warning.

Lohia Party Defections

Dr. Lohia's principal colleague in splitting the PSP because of its alleged softness to the Congress, Shri P. V. G. Raju, has just joined the Congress and will soon be sworn in as a Minister in Anchara. He has joined the Congress because, according to him, the PSP is anti-Nehru! Fortunately, some other friends from the Socialist Party have a better assessment of the realities. We welcome to our folds Shri Brijmohan Toofan and his comrades in Delhi. It is needless to add that these friends will find only understanding and comradeship in our ranks.

A colleague from Uttar Pradesh wrote to me that he is being told that Shri Raju joined the Congress because we cold-shouldered him and that he is still anxious to be with the PSP. This shows that interested parties are spreading baseless stories. Some months back, the Central Office sent out a detailed circular of the efforts that had been made to re-absorb Shri Raju and his colleagues into the PSP. If any Party member has not the necessary information he should not hesitate to get it from our office.

Calcutta Organisation

Ganga Babu and I spent five days in Calcutta. We have a splendid group of workers there. Our failure there has been organisational. During the long meetings that we had with our colleagues in Calcutta, we believe, we have laid the groundwork of reorganisation. In Bengal a new awareness about the Communist Party is emerging and it is the responsibility of the Party to give it a decisive drive.

The Delhi region held its Annual Party Conference, which was attended by the General Secretary and myself. A number of other State Conferences are coming up in the next few weeks. I was anxious to be present at these Conferences, but the elections in Kerala must claim my first attention.

Visiting Socialists

The Prime Minister of Sweden, who is an eminent socialist, was in Delhi recently. We had discussions with him about the developing situation in India. There is a possibility of Socialist friends in Sweden helping Shri Narayan Dutt Tiwari, who recently spent six months in Sweden as a guest of the Party there, in organising a “People's College” in U.P.

Trade Unions, Co-operatives and popular education are the three prongs of Socialism: each one of them has to be extended and sharpened.

We were happy to welcome to a reception the Socialist members of Parliament from Nepal now on a tour of India. The various meetings that we had with them further strengthened the relations between our parties and countries.

Purse collection work is proceeding very slowly. In the fortnight, only at Modinagar were Rs. 1,110 given at a peasant's rally that I addressed. In 1960, I am anxious that at least hundred such purses are collected.

The enrolment of members has started in many districts. It has to be kept going all the year round. Shri M. R. Masani told me that 2.5 lakhs of members have been enrolled by the Swatantra Party so far. He expects to reach the million mark by March 1960. His membership may or may not represent organisational strength, but it is a challenge that we cannot ignore. The open efforts of the Communists to weaken the Nation's will and the concerted attempts of the Swatantra Party to blunt Socialist determination of the people are equally relevant challenges to the freedom fighters of our Party.

In 1960 we have a tryst with our destiny. So, let all hands be to the oars.

With fraternal greetings,
FROM MANY LANDS

by Mary Saran

At a time when the Labour movement in more than one country is searching for the causes of adverse election trends, the victory of Mapai, Israel's Labour Party, in the recent general election, was refreshing news. Mapai increased its representation in Parliament from 40 seats to 47, and its share of the vote from 32.2 to 39.2 per cent. Adding the seats won on pro-Mapai Arab lists, its strength rises to 52 seats out of 120. Thus, its claim to continued leadership of the State has been amply confirmed. The general picture is one of consolidation.

Herut, on the extreme right, though gaining a little, did not make the progress in new immigrants' circles that had been feared. The Communists were reduced from 6 seats to 3.

Ben Gurion has again appealed to the two smaller Labour parties, Mapam and Achdut Haavoda, to unite with Mapai. The former retained its 9 seats, while the latter lost 3 of its 10 seats.

New Programme in Germany

A special Social Democratic Party congress held at Godesberg adopted a new fundamental programme in November. It aroused exceptional interest. The debates were serious and intense, and the leadership presented a far better united front than last year in Stuttgart. Considering the S.P.D.'s theoretical heritage as reflected in previous programmes—the last one was adopted in Heidelberg in 1927—it was quite amazing to see the ease with which a statement was adopted, against only 16 votes, that would once have been described as the height of revisionism and Utopianism.

Several years of discussion throughout the party had of course prepared the way. The section on fundamental ethical values, on which all the rest is based, met with general approval. There was opposition from those who wanted more stress on public ownership. Yet they did not attack the basic conception that public ownership is a means, not an end. They mainly argued, quite cogently, about its importance as a means of public control and economic expansion. The highest oppositional vote was on the section "Ownership and Power": 42 out of 340.

The programme’s positive attitude to the role of the Churches also came in for criticism.

The third point on which controversy arose was national defence, which the programme proclaims as a fundamental duty of democrats. General conscription, some demanded, should be ruled out on principle, but this was rejected although the S.P.D. is against it at present.

The Godesberg programme, it may be expected, will serve as a good weapon against those who, with exceptional demagogy, have continued to brand the S.P.D. as anti-religious and unpatriotic, as a party set on a bureaucratic centralism in economic life hardly distinguishable from Nazi or Communist totalitarianism.

In Holland Too

The Dutch Labour Party, in the same week, also adopted a new fundamental programme. Since it had changed itself immediately after the last war from a doctrinaire Marxist class party into a broadly based Labour Party which recognises humanist and religious beliefs as of equal value to social progress, it was not a question of any radical departures this time.

Gaps had to be filled and new economic and social facts not known in 1947 had to be taken into account to modernise the programme. However, the battle over public ownership was once again fought—a mere rearguard action, for only a handful of delegates supported the attempt to give it more prominence in the programme.

Democracy in Canada

Democratic participation of members practised recently on an extensive scale, especially in Austria and Germany, prior to the adoption of new party programmes, is now beginning applied in Canada even prior to the formation of a new party. Not only are discussions, meetings, seminars and conferences being held at all levels of the two sponsoring bodies, the Canadian Labour Congress and the C.C.F. (Canada's Social Democratic Party), but individuals not associated with either of these—farmers, intellectuals, etc.—are now brought together in "New Party Clubs" to give them a chance of voicing their views and making proposals.

Full-time organisers are being put into the field for this work. The question of a newspaper is also under consideration, for publicity is vital to ensure success for the new venture. It appears that the Canadian Labour Congress, despite its vigorous part in the launching of the new party, will leave the decision about joining or otherwise supporting it to its affiliated unions.

Nuclear Issue in Sweden

The special committee, set up by the Swedish Social Democratic Party to examine the question of nuclear weapons for Sweden, has now issued its report. The long and keen debate between advocates and opponents of such equipment in the Labour movement seems at an end—at any rate for the moment. The committee’s findings mean that for the next few years no decision in favour of atomic weapons will be taken. Nuclear research will continue, its aim being the protection of the population from the effects of nuclear weapons.

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THE PANCHSHEEL-II

by J. B. Kripalani

If then the Panchsheel enunciates what are not moral principles or provide for a moral way of enforcing them, let us see how far it provides practical ways for reducing international tensions and conflicts to pave the way to world peace. It is our opinion that if the mutually accepted principles of Panchsheel were adhered to by the political authorities subscribing to them, the existing injustices and tyrannies will be perpetuated. This is because the principles, as they are stated, recognise the existing status quo in international affairs, however unjust and inequitous it may be and actually is in many areas of the world.

The First Principle

Let us examine the principles from this point of view. The first on our list is “Respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty.” How will this principle work, for example, as between Algeria and France? Algeria is and claims to be a different nation. But international law and practice recognise only one sovereignty there and that is of France. Supposing France had proposed to enter into Panchsheel agreement until Algeria were liberated? If that condition had been waived, would Indian sympathy and support of the cause of Algeria have constituted an interference in the internal affairs of France, whose sovereignty in Algeria had by implication been recognised by the Panchsheel agreement?

It must be recognised that as sovereignty is defined in international law today Algeria does not exist as a political entity apart from France. Have then the Panchsheel principles no application to colonial and imperial nations? They are said to be of universal application!

Varieties of Colonialism

Then there are today different varieties of imperialism and colonialism. A nation may have even an international status and may be a member of the U.N. yet may not be in reality its own master. This is the case with some countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. At least the external and international policies of several countries are controlled by the “Big Brother” states. Some of these states are among those which have subscribed to the Panchsheel.

Russia agreed to the principles. But when there was a popular revolt in Hungary, it did not hesitate to intervene in the internal affairs of that nation. On the other hand, I do not think that if any of the less powerful nations in the NATO or the SEATO proposed to leave these organisations, they would be coerced to remain therein by the more powerful members, even though they have not subscribed to the principles of Panchsheel.

This much of morality is commonly recognised among nations that alliances freely made may be dissolved at will by any of the parties concerned. The fact is that as long as there are national entities which are not politically free and independent but are dominated by some kind of imperialism, the Panchsheel principles cannot work. If they worked they would only conceal the status quo at the present international level, however undesirable and unjust it may be in many parts of the world.

Freedom Movements

Let us revert to the example of Algeria. It is very natural for the Arab nations to fraternise with and help the independence movement in Algeria. If they can help militarily they would do so. To the extent they can, without declaring war with France, they support the cause of Algerian independence. It is also very vital for peoples and nations who have lost their national independence that they be helped by other nations to regain it. The American nation in its war of liberation from England was helped by France. France again helped the liberation movement in Italy. After World War I, several nations in Europe became free by the action of the victorious Allies. Panchsheel will, under the present unjust international arrangements, make the struggles for national independence more difficult than they already are. It is, in that sense, not a forward but a retrograde move.

In the case of Tibet, a small nation that had been free and independent for centuries, was swallowed up. Whatever suzerainty may have implied in the past, when international terms were not clearly defined, it was never equated with sovereignty. But there is no doubt that it was an imperial conception. China turned this into full sovereignty through force of arms. This spoliation of a virtually independent people was recognised by India through the Panchsheel!

India did not believe in imperialism. It therefore gave up its extraterritorial rights inherited from the British in Tibet, not for the benefit of a free Tibet but for an expansionist China. China was supposed not to believe in imperialism. But in Tibet it extended its theoretical right of suzerainty, which was itself in doubt, to the more complete and pervasive right of actual sovereignty, by force of arms. Panchsheel had nothing to say about this. While insisting on and extending old imperial rights, Communist China today has the impudence to describe the historical and traditional boundaries between India and Tibet as imposed by British imperialism!

I feel, therefore, that this principle, the recognition of territorial integrity and sovereignty, merely recognises the international status quo. It goes further and makes movements of national independence more difficult than in the past.

Let us next consider the principle of non-interference in each other's
internal affairs for any political, economic or ideological reasons, which is akin to or is practically a derivative of the principle of respecting each other’s integrity and sovereignty. Until all the peoples of the world have achieved national independence, the observance of the principle will only mean allowing imperial nations, of all varieties, to dominate and rule over other peoples and nations.

In international law as it stands today, any help, encouragement or sympathy, shown to colonial countries and peoples constitutes in the eyes of their imperial overlords as interference in the latter’s internal affairs. Such interference may not always lead to war, but it accentuates existing tensions. The recognition given to the rebel Algerian Government by the Arab nations and its functioning as a Government in exile from Cairo is in French eyes interference in their internal affairs. Communist China feels that the offering of asylum to the Dalai Lama and the refugees from Tibet, though customary and recognised by international law and practice, is an act of interference in its internal affairs!

Moreover, as long as some countries feel that they have a “sacred mission” to perform in the world, and this can be done only by fomenting trouble in other countries, this principle will not work in practice.

Non-Aggression

The third principle, that of non-aggression, is to say the least very ambiguous. It has always been difficult to know where and when aggression actually begins. Even if it could be ascertained, what is the remedy? India and Communist China, the two countries who are the authors of Panchsheel and its functioning as a Government in exile from Cairo is in French eyes interference in their internal affairs. Communist China feels that the offering of asylum to the Dalai Lama and the refugees from Tibet, though customary and recognised by international law and practice, is an act of interference in its internal affairs!

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Move For ‘Operation Clean-Up’ In Punjab

Public meetings were held under the auspices of the PSP-sponsored Border Raksha Samiti, besides Patiala, at Sunam, Ahmedgarh and Jagraon, during the last few days. In the district of Hisar also, meetings were held on the China issue, in the rural areas under the auspices of the Party. At Hoshiarpur, Haryana and Ambala Cantt, well-attended public meetings were held in the second week of December and addressed by Shri N. G. Goray. An anti-China procession was taken out at Hoshiarpur. Students of Yamuna Nagar colleges and schools organised a grand demonstration, which was led by the local comrades. Shri Goray also addressed the staff and students of the D. A. V. College, Hoshiarpur.

Red’s Defence of China

The Communist campaign in defence of China has failed to have any impact on the people. A meeting addressed by the provincial boss of the Communist Party—Shri Harishank Singh Surjeet—at Jullundur was not attended by even 100 people, and most of the audience were active CPI workers brought from the villages. The local PSP distributed a handbill asking the Communists to answer some pertinent questions. At Ludhiana, the Communists took out a procession with some 30 persons marching behind the flag. The Punjab Government had to send instructions to the police to guard the Communist-sponsored meetings and processions against the incensed public, it was stated.

The Congress Party is passive on this front while it has forged an alliance with the Communists to fight the Gurdwara elections. The Jan Sangh, of course, is active on the China issue. Its volunteers have come into clash with the Communists at Amritsar. They are collaborating with the PSP too at certain places on this front.

Soon after the resolution on the Punjabi Suba was passed at the Akali Conference at Patiala, Shri Asoka Mehta was invited to deliver his message. He started with a reference to the Chinese aggression and characterising the Sikh community as the traditional sentinels of India, urged them to be particularly alert against this danger. He sounded a note of warning about the anti-national role of the Communists, with whom, incidently, the Congress had entered into an electoral pact in the Gurdwara elections. The Akali Conference had adopted resolutions against the Chinese aggression and alerting the community against the Communists. An Akali leader had gone to the extent of saying that no Sikh could be a Communist nor a Communist a true Sikh. Shri Mehta emphasised the need for keeping politics out of Gurdwara elections.

A Passing Reference

Shri Mehta then made a passing reference to the Punjab Suba. He said that, soon, in place of the 14 States, 15 will constitute the Indian Union—after the bifurcation of the Bombay State. Even if a sixteenth State, that is the Punjab Suba, was carved out no great change would occur. However, neither in Orissa, nor in Andhra, had the creation of a new State released the needed elan.

True to his Socialist convictions, Shri Mehta would urge upon the Akali Party to provide a positive socio-economic content to their demand. Master Tara Singh should use his influence to rebuild economy and society, co-operatively, as for instance had been done in Israel. If such an effort was undertaken, the demand for a Punjabi Suba would attract even the non-Sikh Punjabi-speaking people.

Lastly, Shri Mehta referred to the unhomely situation in the Punjab regarding law and order. He stressed that health could be restored to the body-politic in the Punjab only if the present corrupt regime was deposed. He, therefore, invited Master Tara Singh to mobilise his party for a fight to clean up the State. Unless that was done, even the Punjabi Suba, if created, was unlikely to be of much use. It was towards this effort that the Praja Socialist Party's support and co-operation were ever available to the Sikhs.

The Apprehensions

Shri Goray, supporting the demand for a Punjabi Suba, on linguistic and cultural bases, expressed the apprehension lurking in the minds of non-Sikhs. He stated that the Akali leader would do well to assure the people that the creation of the Punjabi Suba would not mean the establishment of a Sikh State and that the minority community would be assured of a fair deal. (To this, Master Tara Singh, in his concluding speech, replied: “Let me assure my Hindu brethren that I will fight tooth and nail any injustice done to them in the Punjabi Suba.”)

After Patiala, Shri Goray, accompanied by the State Secretary, visited Hoshiarpur, where a large number of the citizens accorded him a rousing reception. Shri Goray, addressing the D.A.V. College meeting, explained the background of the Indo-China dispute, and exposed the expansionist designs of Communist China and its aggressive incursions in the Himalayan region for the last five years. Shri Goray vehemently criticised the complacency of the Government and its criminal negligence in keeping the Loksabha in darkness about the developments on our border.

"It is high time", said Shri Goray, "for the people of India to exercise vigilance and put pressure upon the Prime Minister to react to the situation in a courageous manner. He should refuse to sit at a table with the Chinese authorities till the aggression is vacated from every inch of our territory."

Citadel of Democracy

Continuing, Shri Goray said: "India is the strongest citadel of democracy in Asia. It is the only country which is in a position to challenge the might of Red China, which aspires to dominate the whole of S.-E. Asia. The strategy of China is to humiliate India with a view to demoralising the smaller nations. India today is the defence of freedom of the whole S.-E. Asia. If this defence crumbles down, the

(Continued on page 9)
How The Socialist International Works*

FRUSTRATION from the impact of Communism increased as the result of the regimes established in Central and Eastern Europe under the protection of Russian byronets. Many of the democratic socialist parties tried initially to work with these regimes (or rather their executed predecessors) and were used until the machinery of state was safely gathered into Communist hands. They were then destroyed by some form of merger, if they were not physically liquidated.

Ever since it was established in 1961, the Socialist International has attempted to deal with the situation outlined here. On its basis of association and agreement by consent, it seeks the closest possible understanding in order to reach such agreement. It has established a structure which seeks to offer the widest possible association with the growing Socialist thought and organisation outside the continent of Europe, where its chief strength still lies. It leaves co-operation with the trade unions largely to national parties on the national level, although it enjoys good relations with the ICFTU.

Socialist Order

Its founding declaration, known as the Frankfurt Declaration on the Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism, seeks to define the implications of the Socialist order of society in terms of political democracy, economic democracy, social democracy and cultural progress, and international democracy. Its concluding paragraph is worth recording:

"Socialists work for a world of peace and freedom, for a world in which the exploitation and enslavement of men by men and peoples by peoples, as known, for a world in which the development of the individual personality is the basis for the fruitful development of mankind. They appeal to the solidarity of all working men in the struggle for this great aim."

The machinery of the Socialist International is simple. The supreme body is the Congress which meets every two years. It proclaims the principles of the International, determines its statute and decides (by a two-thirds majority of all members) applications for the admission of new member-organisations in the Socialist International. It consists of representatives of all member-parties. It is thus the chief forum in which parties may discuss general and specific problems of the day.

by

Albert Carthy

All parties are invited to propose subjects for the agenda. The central point for discussion is always the general international situation. It decides which member-countries shall form the Bureau and elects the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen for their two-year term of office.

The Chairman who was re-elected at the Hamburg Congress in July 1959 for a further term of two years is Mr. Alsing Anderson of Denmark, whose name is inseparably attached to the United Nations Special Committee on Hungary, of which he was the distinguished chairman. The Vice-Chairmen are Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Mr. Guy Mollet and Mr. Erich Ollenhauer.

No restrictions are placed on the number of delegates from member-parties, but each has one vote. Consultative members and observers have the right to speak but not to vote.

Council Meetings

At least once a year the General Council of the International meets in conference, composed of two delegates from each member-party with voting powers, four delegates from the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, and one delegate each from the International Council of Social Democratic Women and the International Union of Socialist Youth. It is a forum of a less extensive character. It elects the Secretary of the International whenever a vacancy occurs.

It was decided to establish a Latin American Secretariat of the International in July 1955, for the purpose of acting as a centre for the exchange of information and contacts among the Socialist parties of Latin America. Its seat is in Montevideo, Uruguay, and its Secretary is Comrade Humberto Maiztegui. The Secretariat publishes a monthly bulletin in Spanish containing articles of interest to the Latin American Socialist movement.

A Consultative Committee was formed, consisting of two representatives each of the Socialist parties of Argentina and Uruguay, which are affiliated to the Socialist International, and the Socialist Party of Chile, which is not. Later on, the Socialist parties of Columbia and Ecuador joined the Consultative Committee. Since its inception the Consultative Committee has met four times. At its first meeting in May 1956, in Montevideo, it laid down:

that affiliation to the Consultative Committee, in view of its Latin American character, does not necessarily imply affiliation to the Socialist International;

that only Latin American or related problems should be discussed;

that voting should be unanimous for adoption of resolutions;

that there should be no interference with problems within the national competence of individual parties.

Progress Record

The Latin American Secretariat pursues a vigorous campaign against the dictatorships and the Communist parties in Latin America. Since its establishment it has made great progress in drawing together the Socialist parties in that continent and it is hoped that it will be possible to enlarge further the scope of the Consultative Committee by the inclusion, at a later date, of other Socialist parties.

I would like to make reference to a special service which the Latin American Secretary, Mr. Maiztegui, has performed for the cross-fertilisation of Socialist ideas, and to show how seriously other Socialist parties have regarded the statements of the Asian Socialist Conference.

His initiative it was, having seen the interest displayed in the English texts of those statements, to produce, in co-operation with the head office of the International, accurate Spanish texts of the important documents of the Asian Socialist

* The early history of the Socialist International was described by the writer in an article in two recent issues of JANATA.
Conference. With their great appositions for Latin America, these documents have had a great reception among Socialist and associated parties in the countries of Latin America and are being widely studied and discussed.

**Council of Women**

Under the auspices of the Socialist International, there meets the International Council of Social Democratic Women. The women members, whose form of organization varies very widely, play a vital role in the organisation and life of the member-parties of the International and in the forming of the mind of the parties on vital issues. The Council is recognised by the United Nations Commission on Rights of Women for the submission of documents. It has the right to send a representative to offer evidence before the Commission. It has recently had the great moral stimulus and support (which is mutual in character) of welcoming eight women representatives of women's organizations (two each from Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and Japan) whose visit to Europe was financed by collections made by the women's organisations of the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden).

**Union of Socialist Youth**

And, finally, the next generation. Associated with the Socialist International Union of Socialist Youth, the association of democratic Socialist youth and student organisations. It is autonomous, but retains the closest associations with the International. Its activities are:
- Arranging exchange of information and material concerning the work of the various organisations, the political and social conditions under which they work and the methods they use;
- Establishing contact between members of the various organisations;
- Organising joint political and social activities between Socialist youth and student organisations; and
- Representing I.U.S.Y. on various international bodies and associations.

_This outline of the Socialist International is necessarily curtailed. The aim of the International is to be representative of democratic Socialist parties in all the countries of the free world, and it will steadily work towards the achievement of that aim._

(Continued from page 7)

**Tamilnad's Questions**

Path for China's ultimate domination will be paved."

Shri Goray, addressing other public meetings, also dealt with the political situation obtaining in the Punjab. He called upon the people to forge unity, as was done in Kerala, to depose the present corrupt Kairon regime. "A united border province is also the prerequisite of the defence of the country's territorial integrity", he said.

He said they had discussed the situation of the Punjab in the Lok Sabha with particular reference to the judgment in the Karnal Murder Case, which provided a sad commentary over the law and order situation of the Punjab. The Home Minister had replied that the Centre could not remove the present Chief Minister, because he commanded the confidence of the majority in the legislature. "It is a strange logic," said Shri Goray, "the Home Minister convincingly forgets that Dr. Gopichand Bhargava was asked to resign from the Chief Ministership despite the fact that he did command the confidence of the majority in 1950."

**Teachers' Demands**

In another resolution, the Executive requested the Government of Madras to accede to the oft-repeated requests of the teachers of aided elementary schools, like fixation of their salaries taking into account the actual salaries drawn by them as per their Service Register immediately prior to June 1, 1959, stoppage of the deduction of Money Order commission from the amounts of salary sent to them, etc.

The Executive, in a third resolution, strongly disapproved of the Government's action in postponing the elections to the Kodaikanal Municipal Council without any valid reason, and urged the Government to order early elections and to desist from any move to "deprive the people of Kodaikanal permanently of their basic democratic right to choose their own representatives for managing their civic affairs."

The Executive decided to hold the Fifth Tamilnad State Conference of the Praja Socialist Party from January 25 to 27 next at Theni, in Madurai district.
THE PANCHSHEEL
(Continued from page 6)

have been carried out in the past! They have been carried out generally through coercion and violence, fire and sword. When a mission is considered “sacred” or “divine” or “historical” as with the Communists (though recently Mr. Khruschev in America spoke of the sacred, instead of historical mission of the Communists), the means used to carry it out will never be subjected to critical examination. This is bound to be so.

Those who think that they have been commissioned by Divine Authority or what is the same thing Historical Necessity, whether they be individuals or nations, can never suspect their own motives and must naturally consider their opponents as sinners, backward, feudal, bourgeois, capitalists, reactionaries, etc.

Lessons of History

How can there be peaceful co-existence between the good and the evil unless they have exhausted themselves by mutual slaughter? This has happened in history. The different Christian denominations sought to annihilate each other in the name of the Prince of Peace. They carried on the game till they left each other profusely bleeding and exhausted, with no more power to fight and injure each other.

Today these denominations live in peace, brought about through sheer exhaustion. An orthodox Catholic yet thinks that the Protestant is inspired not by Christ but by Anti-Christ, and is sure to burn in Hell. The orthodox Protestant thinks likewise about the Catholic. But they have mutually agreed that whoever goes to Hell is none of their business. After centuries of disturbed peace, mutual sufferings and bloodshed, the different Christian denominations have by slow degrees come to believe that perhaps nobody may yet go to Hell for his faith or even for want of it.

As long as the political spectrum has only two colours, the black and white, the capitalists and the Communists, there can be no peaceful co-existence. Unless wild, abusive and false propaganda is stopped by nations against each other’s ideology and way of life, there can be no peaceful co-existence. As long as there are parties in a nation that take their cue in internal and international affairs from foreign parties and Governments, there can be no peaceful co-existence between nations. As long as some people and classes in a nation have and are encouraged to have extra-territorial loyalties, there can be no peaceful co-existence.

As long as there are military pacts outside the U.N. there can be no peaceful co-existence among nations. As long as some nations maintain military bases in other people’s land, even with their consent, there can be no co-existence.

Other Conditions

Even then, there are other conditions necessary for peaceful co-existence. Independent and free nations can live in peace only when they eschew war as the solvent of international problems. If international disputes are not capable of being solved through armed conflict, as is clear today, some peaceful method must be found for solving them. Mere disarmament as is thought today will not solve the problem of international peace. That will only be a negative condition. Some positive peaceful method must be found to settle international disputes and right international wrongs.

Even then there may be anti-social nations, as there are anti-social individuals. It would appear that periodically some nations come to be infected by the virtue of expansionism. How are these anti-social nations to be dealt with and how is international justice to be established without recourse to war? If non-violent resistance cannot be organised for righting international wrongs or if it is not considered practical, at this stage of our civilisation, the only way left is for nations, at least the most powerful of them, to agree to refer international disputes to a high-power international tribunal, consisting of world-famous jurists, who would be empowered to adjudicate between the disputants.

World Government

So that the judgments of such an international tribunal may be given effect to, there must be an international armed force. This force can be effective only when there is complete and universal disarmament at the national level. This would mean a world government.

To begin with, its authority must be confined to international disputes or such as are likely to lead to international conflict and war. To that extent the nations will have to give up the sovereign power, which in theory is supposed to be absolute today. With the establishment of a world government to the extent I have indicated, there will be equality before law of all nations, big or small, as there is today of citizens within democratic national states.

But the question of world Government, even in this limited sense, is outside the scope of our present discussion. We are only examining here the principles of Panchsheel. We have shown that they are neither moral imperatives that can be followed unilaterally, nor are they designed for practical purposes of lessening international tension and paving the way to international peace. If acted upon they will merely help to maintain the international status quo at its present inequitable and unjust level. This will be a retrograde step. It will mean the blocking of all hope of a more fair and just world order.

Progressive humanity will never consent to such a bleak future. It will be even immoral for it to do so. Bad and retrograde as these principles are in the present world context, to think that they can be unilaterally observed by a nation is the height of absurdity. It only shows that sometimes even intelligent people are so enamoured of the beauty of words and phrases they use that their capacity for clearly analysing ideas and situation gets dulled.

(Concluded)
Delhi Policy Of Negotiations Calamitous

It is no pleasure for me to criticise the Prime Minister Nehru. What I say is just to help the Government and inform those whom it may concern about what the people here feel. But I am sorry that the Prime Minister takes every suggestion to change the policy that he has so far followed with regard to Chinese aggression as an affront to himself. He thinks that his policy of inactivity is one of 'negotiation' and the policy suggested by his critics is that of 'war'. The word 'negotiation' has an agreeable flavour and 'war' today has a sinister connotation. The word 'negotiation' reminds us of the atom and hydrogen bombs and the destruction of the world. This is playing with words and not meeting squarely a situation fraught with danger to the honour and integrity of our country.

May I suggest that there are many things in between fruitless negotiations and war, as my friend Shri Jaipal Singh pointed out yesterday, which can be done? It is not all white and black, as the Prime Minister often says.

Case Being Weakened.

The aggression began five years back, as admitted by the authorities. What have we been doing all these years but 'negotiating'? What has been the result? Aggression has been going on apace. It should now be clear that the Chinese want to occupy all the lands they have indicated in their maps as their own. We have time and again pointed out that these lands belong to us, by geography, history, custom and even by treaty rights. The question is how long can a nation carry on negotiations, giving opportunity to the enemy to consolidate his position and even colonise the territory he has occupied.

Then what have we been doing all these years of negotiations? We have been, instead of strengthening, weakening our case progressively. I remember that once our Prime Minister said that our boundary is represented by the McMahon Line, maps or no maps. Then he said that not an inch of our soil will be yielded. Again he said negotiation can be based only on the status quo as it existed before aggression took place. But today we have allowed the Chinese to occupy territory south of the McMahon line and we have acquiesced in this. In the Ladakh area we are willing to return to the borders indicated in the Chinese maps which would mean even more than 2,500 miles already occupied.

Even our atlases giving various maps are not ready. Our propaganda is such that even those who would like to help us, do not know the merits of the case. Instead of imposing economic sanctions I find that our exports to China in some commodities that are used in war have been increasing. Here are some figures of jute and jute goods:

by J. B. Kripalani

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<th>Year</th>
<th>1957</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>1. Raw Jute</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Gunny Bags</td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>265</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Gunny cloth</td>
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If no appropriate action is taken the people get demoralised. They come to have a suspicion that perhaps the authorities have not the requisite strength to halt aggression. This is what is happening on our Himalayan borders, whether in our territory or in that of all the allies for whose safety we have made ourselves responsible. This is plain from what the leader of the Nepali delegation said on arrival here.

Subversive Elements

Further, as I said earlier and I repeat now, under the guise of negotiation opportunity is taken by our enemies here and outside to intensify subversive activities. The Prime Minister need not dismiss this as bazaar rumours. One of the Ministers in the Nepal Government has testified to the subversive activity there. There is a party in India with widespread ramifications in all spheres of life, not excluding the army, which is more loyal to any foreign government, provided it is communist dictatorship, than to this country.

However good the word 'negotiation' may sound, I think we must have a time limit for this fruitless pursuit in the present case. Even Chamberlain had to do it in a few months after he had promised peace in our times.

I have already said the alternative to fruitless negotiations is not war. But supposing it is, I submit that China has already declared war on India. The Chinese Prime Minister has said that the two armies are facing each other. But the Chinese army takes action and occupies our territory. It does not become less of war if we do not use our forces to repel them. In a war, a country does not use all its force and strength at one time. It uses only that part of it which is necessary for its immediate purpose.

I submit the Chinese have used such forces and instruments as were necessary for the purpose they have in view and they have succeeded. They have occupied already 33,000 kilometres of our land and what they claim will be a kingdom in Europe. Further the Chinese Communist consider war as necessary for the success of their aims. One of their General's writes: "Marxists

**Summary of Acharya Kripalani's speech in the Lok Sabha on December 22 last.**

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hold that since the birth of class in the society war and the armed forces have been the phenomena of the class society. War is the highest form of the political struggle and also a special form of class struggle, and the armed forces are an important instrument of its prosecution."

**Inference of Inaction**

What happens if we do not resist? This has been pointed out to us by the Chinese Prime Minister in very eloquent terms in his latest communication. He says that our taking no effective action against aggression in Ladakh for years is an 'eloquent proof' that we had no rightful title to the lands occupied.

Anyway, if we do not resist, and carry on 'negotiations to the bitter ends' as our Prime Minister wants us to do, the bitter end will be that we shall lose what is our own and we shall endanger the safety of our country.

I do not consider as I have pointed out in the Lok Sabha, resistance to aggression as war. More so when Chinese aggression itself is not considered as war! But supposing it is called by that bad name, we must remember that unless we find a non-violent substitute for righting wrongs, war must remain the final arbiter. The very fact that we keep our army and spend almost half the revenue upon it proves this. We used armed forces in Kashmir and in Hyderabad. We are told that we had the consent of Mahatma Gandhi for the former. If; therefore, it comes to war we have to face it.

We must remember, however anxious the world is to avoid wars, small and local wars cannot be avoided. When such wars are fought, thanks to the wisdom of the world, they are localised and after sometime a workable solution found. This was the case in Korea, in Indo-China, in the Suez trouble and recently in Laos. So we need not scare ourselves that any resistance to the Chinese aggression will lead to a world war and the destruction of the world. The world will see to it that this does not happen.

For instance, if a dacoit enters my house I cannot be deterred from driving him out by the thought that if he is driven out he will set fire to the whole neighbourhood. If that were so, it becomes the responsibility of the neighbours to guard their houses. Nay, they must help me to drive away the dacoit as quickly as possible.

**Lesson of History**

When the Prime Minister says he is negotiating and in the meanwhile preparing, I am sure he is thinking of war, however limited it might mean. But historical experience must teach us that the best preparation is to take effective action. In the last two World Wars neither England or America were prepared. They prepared themselves in the midst of conflict. When action is taken people realise the need for unity and quick action in an urgency.

Let us see what happens if we allow drift under the guise of fruitless negotiation. Our people lose faith in our capacity to resist aggression. They become not only frustrated but full of fear. Fear leads to cowardice. We were taught that nothing can be more degrading than fear and cowardice. It is better to use violence than suffer injustice out of fear of the consequence of resistance in a just cause.

It is not my purpose to analyse the latest letter of the Chinese Prime Minister. Our Prime Minister has done that quite effectively. I am concerned with principles. If they are wrong, and if our timing of resistance to aggression is wrong our people will lose faith in their leaders, they will become a rabble, without discipline; and without the capacity to organise anything, not to talk of military resistance. That would be a greater disaster than resistance to foreign aggression.

I am sure even today the Prime Minister can take the nation out of its slough of dispensability and frustration. His speech in the Lok Sabha last month did this. But it was again followed by the depress ing speech made in the Rajya Sabha a week later. This is not the way to rouse a nation to activity. He should need no assurance that whatever appropriate action is taken, the country will be behind him. But words without action, however eloquent, may satisfy only for a time. They cannot do it for ever. They cannot solve the problem.

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THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

CONFLICTING opinions expressed at the Indian Science Congress in Bombay and in functions connected therewith, regarding the influence of Indian culture on science and vice versa, were but the symptoms of the intense awareness of the great cultural change involved in the attempts of the nation to break through the barriers of under-development. Such a tempo of change, to be brought about in the shortest possible time, is sure to create psychological and institutional problems that will have to be tackled speedily if the change-over is to be comparatively smooth. The issues involved, therefore, have to be freely discussed and various points of view have to be considered dispassionately and without irrational prejudices.

The President of the Congress, Prof. P. Parija, in his address talked of inhibitory influences in the form of group consciousness based on religion, language and social ideologies and of the imposition of the doctrinal dogmas on men’s minds. There is no doubt that these social influences do tend to interfere with the intellectual freedom without which no scientific inquiry is possible. But, from this, it would not be quite logical to jump to the conclusion that in India no scientific progress is possible unless we cut ourselves loose from the main Indian current of thought and culture. Prof. Parija perhaps over-stated his case when he asserted that in India social organisation and the economic system were such that the incentives for evolutionary changes like the one brought about by the Industrial Revolution in the West did not exist in this country, or when he said that in India there were restrictions imposed by the authoritarian injunction on the intellectual pursuits of men. If these so-called restrictions on free inquiry are properly analysed, they would be found not to amount to anything more than what the scientists themselves impose upon their theories. It is not one of the requirements of scientific hypothesis that it should not lead to results contrary to those to be expected from the well-established theories? Is it not incumbent upon the scientists to present their theories in a way whereby they can be tested and would lead to further investigations? These healthy rules do not hamper free inquiry; they help and regulate it. The same is perhaps true of the injunctions of Indian culture and philosophy. It was only in the age of comparative stagnation that these injunctions became dogmas hampering bold intellectual inquiries.

If Prof. Parija’s strictness on Indian culture were rather sweeping, the strictures passed by the Governor of Bombay, Shri Sri Prakasa, on science and its discoveries were even more so. He said: “When one reads of large numbers of suicides of juvenile delinquency, of mental disorders, in the most prosperous and scientifically advanced countries, one reconsiders whether it would not be better to have a little less of physical science and more of mental peace.” Inherent in these remarks is the conviction that physical science is inimical to mental peace. This is by no means true. Men were subject to “lust, anger, greed, attachment, pride and jealousy” even in the ages when scientific progress had come to a standstill. Perhaps, men of science are less prone to these evils than the ordinary people. We want scientific spirit, more and still more of it, to overcome these very enemies of mankind.
Labour Reserve

Professor Mahalanobis has suggested a scheme for the creation of a Labour Reserve Service, to tackle the problems of insecurity and unemployment, in a speech at the Labour Economics Conference at Madras. He claimed that the creation of the reserve would make conditions among factory workers approximate to Labour conditions in the more advanced economies in both capitalist and Socialist countries. This scheme is akin in its approach to the scheme of unorthodox employment which the Planning Commission is reported to be considering. In both the schemes the laid-out workers are to be pooled into a labour reserve force.

Workers admitted to the reserve under Prof. Mahalanobis' scheme would receive between a half and three quarters of the emoluments they were receiving in their original posts. These workers would also be bound to take up the work offered by the Labour Reserve authorities or leave the reserve. Similarly, in the Planning Commission Scheme also, the unemployed persons are to be put to the productive use at the wages much below the prevalent wage rate for a similar job in the locality. And as the professor's scheme is also envisaging the productive use of the Labour Service Reserve Force at reduced remuneration to the members of the Force, the fundamental approaches of both the schemes happen to be very similar. In both the cases the idea is to put to use the able-bodied unemployed persons desirous and capable of doing productive work at reduced remuneration. This idea seems to have found some encouragement from the fact that in some of the closed industrial units the workers have agreed to work at reduced wages and dearness allowance till such time as the unit in question began to earn profit. After the unit in question began to earn profits, however, every worker was entitled to receive the wage difference, as a first charge on profits.

It is this last provision, namely the right of the workers to deferred payment once the unit began to earn profits, which is responsible for the workers agreeing to work at reduced rates. Under the schemes of the Planning Commission and of Prof. Mahalanobis this element is absent and this absence is likely to render the schemes unacceptable to the workers.

Apart from the resistance of the workers, these schemes have an obvious defect of confusing the two categories of employment so much that it would be difficult to distinguish normal employment from the employment under the schemes. How would the authorities and the workers determine whether a particular job had become redundant at the normal rate of payment when it was possible to absorb the worker declared redundant in the similar line of production at reduced wage rate? Would not the existence of such a scheme encourage the interested parties to create conditions of redundancy so that later on they can get the work done at reduced rates?

Prof. Mahalanobis claims that under his scheme the workers have incentives to find better jobs. This is most certainly true; but, would the worker get a better job when the production could be maintained at reduced rates by employment through these schemes?

Parliamentary Democracy

The Royal Laotian Army Command took over Government affairs for a few days after the resignation of Premier Phoui Senanikone's Government. Thus parliamentary democracy came to an end in one more newly liberated Asian country. With a number of Asian countries thus coming under the Army command, even for a temporary period, it has become urgent to give serious thought to the question whether this form of democracy requires some modification when applied to areas with serious social and economic problems.

Of late, doubts have been expressed in many quarters regarding the suitability of parliamentary democracy for a situation like the one prevailing in India. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is consistently criticizing this form of Government. Shri Nehru also, while speaking to Bombay Congress workers recently, is reported to have expressed dissatisfaction at the way in which this form of Government is functioning in India. Others have expressed similar concern.

While all seem to agree that a change is necessary, excepting Shri Jayaprakash no one has so far made any concrete suggestion as to the nature of the change required. Even Shri Jayaprakash is not very specific regarding the nature of the reforms. This is partly because he wants to take the entire political India with him in his proposals for experiments with new forms of Government. Naturally, therefore, he presents his proposals in a manner calculated to find general acceptance. Thus, while opposing the party politics as such, he is prepared even to help in formulating a code of conduct whereby the different political parties would try to eschew some of the undesirable aspects of party rivalries. He seems to be opposed to the system of elections as such, under which party politics is unavoidable. He wants to replace this system either by unanimous elections or selections according to merit. At the same time, he also desires that the Yugoslav form of election system may be tried in India. And as he emphasises some one or other of these points in his various speeches and writings, contradictions are observed by the critics.

But even if one were to ignore these apparent anomalies, it would be difficult to arrive at a picture of the form of Government which Shri Jayaprakash wants us to adopt. Parliamentary democracy in operation in many parts of the world and so we have a concrete picture of it in all its details before us. It has served a useful purpose in percolating political consciousness among the lowest social strata in community and making them conscious of their human dignity and worth. It has resulted in delays and avoidable debates, which make speedy decisions and implementation difficult. Party politics in Asian countries has developed tendencies that are not desirable. Even in mature democracies, elections are becoming more and more a formal routine because of the difficulty of distinguishing the programme of one contestant party from that of another. But, in spite of these defects, it is desirable to maintain the parliamentary form of Government till such time as we are able to prepare a concrete blue-print for another, more acceptable and efficient one.
Call To Answer Summons Of History

ADDRESSING the Delhi State Praja Socialist Party Conference, Shri Asoka Mehta, Chairman of the PSP, said: “Mr. Chou En-lai’s reply to Pandit Nehru may not be objectionable in tone, but is wholly unsatisfactory in content. Not only the old claims are affirmed in it, but fresh disputes have been stirred up and new claims asserted.”

In return for withdrawal from Longju, Mr. Chou En-lai wanted India to withdraw from a dozen areas all over the frontier. In Ladakh, the cobweb of communications and controls clandestinely established by the Chinese on Indian territory was now being made the pretext for asserting unquestionable overlordship over the territory. “The Chinese Prime Minister is inviting Pandit Nehru not to Canton but to Canossa!”

It was obvious that India had to step up the defences and plan for the liberation, peaceful if possible, of the territories wantonly occupied by the Chinese. “The people will not permit any weakening of will or purpose,” Shri Mehta said.

To meet the new situation the defences had to be strengthened, national alert had to be communicated to the people and the economy’s growth dovetailed with the needs of defence. “Our two million ex-service men provide a splendid reservoir of strength. Their re-training and re-grouping are essential. The Chinese have the biggest army in the world. To match it, while picked armed forces are important, they need to be backed by massed forces lightly armed yet well trained.”

People’s Corps

“For long we have pressed”, said the PSP leader, “for the organisation of a Civilian Conservation Corps to help improve our agricultural production and impart efficiency to the rural economy. Such a Corps can provide work, increase production, and train persons in simple methods of defence.”

How far India was from the national alert was seen in the closure of some of our universities, in the preoccupation with petty local affairs which got adroitly exploited by forces inimical to so reorient the policies of the administration as to evoke the needed response from the people. “It is to be regretted that the Prime Minister has not thought it fit to set up a high level Tribunal to combat corruption in the administration and in public life.”

This suggestion, believed to have come from the Rashtrapati, had been supported by the PSP for ten years. Even its belated adoption could impart to the people the needed sense of determination.

“Across the frontiers those whom we had befriended have preferred to sound the tocsin. Indian democracy faces a stern challenge. As dedicated democrats, we shall subordinate other considerations to the overall need of galvanising our people for this summons of history” Shri Mehta declared.

SOCIALISTS MUST RALLY

S HRI Mir Mustaq Ahmed, who presided over the sixth annual conference of the Delhi State P.S.P., on December 19 last, appealed to the people to foster unity by rallying round the PSP banner of democratic socialism to meet the internal and external threats that the country is facing.

Whatever be the PSP’s failings, it remained an undeniable fact that through continued efforts to follow in the footsteps of the party’s veteran leadership, the mass opinion has been so moulded that no political party could today face the people without mentioning Socialist ideals, observed Shri Ahmed. “This awakening amongst the people by itself is no mean achievement”, he said. Shri Ahmed paid tributes to the early pioneers from Delhi: Smt. Satyavati Devi, Shri Faridul Haq Ansari, Shri J. N. Sahni, Shri Kohli, Shri Hardhyan Singh, Lal Shankar Lal, Dr. Alim of Jamia Millia, Smt. Memo Bai, Shri Mukandi Lal Johri, Shri Bhal Singh, Smt. Sahni, Shri Lal Behari Panday, Bawa Lal Singh, Shri Bhana Mal, and others, for their sagacity, depth of thought and clarity of vision.

He recalled how the Delhi Group, under the able guidance of Acharya Narendra Deva, Dr. Sampurnanand, Shri Yusuf Meharral, and Smt. Kamla Devi extended its activities amongst peasants, workers and students and brought them into the fold of national struggle. The group had organised unions in Delhi Cloth Mills and Birla Mills. “The spearhead of the movement Com. Satyavati is not amongst us today. I join you in paying homage to the brave Devi, who with her undying faith in Socialism died the death of a soldier-in-arms.”

Her death had created a void difficult to fill in, though her spirit of selflessness and dedication to the cause would be their guide for all times to come. “We have amongst us however, Shri Faridul Haq Ansari, perhaps the only link between the past and the present,” Shri Ahmed said.

After the din and clash of 1942 struggle the Angusters met in 1946 and the C.S.P. in Delhi was re-organised. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan inaugurated the Delhi Unit. “Shrimati Aruna Asaf Ali took up the leadership and I had the privilege of being its Secretary. As at the time this group was also in control of the Congress organisation in Delhi its revitalisation brought an added vigour to the work of the Party and to the Congress.”

“In 1948 when we left the Congress Chairman Brahma Prakash and Smt. Subhadra Joshi decided to remain in the Congress. But the core of the Party remained intact. Our march continued. In 1952 in the General Elections to the Delhi State Assembly the people of Delhi displayed their confidence in the Party by returning two of five candidates to it.”

Referring to Shri B. D. Joshi, who was in control of the labour front of the textile industry, shifting his loyalties being lured away by the Communists, he said it was a great setback to the Party as by his volte face it lost control over this local front, the backbone of the Party. The Party did not lose heart and, it was glad to report that it had now regained substantial footing in the field.

“We weathered another storm when Dr. Lohia and his friends threatened the very existence of the Party. There was an agonising parting of ways. Some of these old comrades have shown their desire to rejoin the parent body. To them I extend my heartiest welcome and assure them of a warm response from the Party.”
"Comrades, we are meeting this year when the entire nation is faced with a potentially dangerous and critical situation. China, our so called 'age-old friend,' has faced with a potentially dangerous and critical situation. China, our year when the entire nation is callous indifference of our Government in the U.N.O. for its admission. Least that we desired. This menace does not call for an appraisal of this highly objectionable and indulgent attitude on their part. China's aggression and occupation of our sacred land is fait accompli. The youth, the worker, and the peasant—people from all walks of life—will I am sure if the situation so demands, therefore, respond as one man to lay their lives in defence of our country when the call comes."

Nefarious Forces

The internal dangers were no less important. There was distrust, discontent and general apathy due to improper social and economic conditions. The shortage of food continued. The cost of living was on the increase. The housing problem was acute. The "Socialist pattern of society" had ceased to have any lure or meaning for the poor. Corruption, nepotism, red-tapism, mal-administration and insecurity were agonising the common man. The ruling party as such had forfeited the confidence of the people. Its edifice was now cracking, the democratic socialists were a divided house amongst themselves, with the result that vested interests and feudalism had joined hands under the name of the Swatantra Party, which was seeking an alliance with the Jan Sangh to challenge the Socialist forces. "In the face of these, if we fail to organise our own house we would be guilty of handing over the fate of our people to these reactionaries and the fate of Socialistism and democracy would be sealed for a long time to come. To rescue the masses from the designs of these nefarious forces it is high time for the democratic socialist elements to unite in making a dedicated effort to revitalise the P.S.P., to make a final and lasting bid for socialist transformation of society."

"I would be failing in my duty if I do not say something about the people living in Delhi. They are today living under an oligarchic democracy which has failed to provide them with adequate educational, medical and transport facilities, cheap and speedy justice and a clean administration. The situation of law and order has perhaps never been as bad as it is today. The problem of shortage of housing remains unsolved, slum clearance programmes have made no headway."

"Although the Municipal Corporation has been in being for quite some time the sanitation and health has not improved. Adulteration of food-stuffs and medicines has in fact increased. I am sure sooner than later the people will shake off their lethargy and rescue themselves from such people who have gone into the Corporation for feathering their own nests. A gigantic effort on the part of people is needed to undo the existing evils and the people of Delhi have my solemn assurance that action on the part of our party will not be lacking when it is called upon to take it."

DELHI RESOLUTIONS

SEVERAL resolutions pertaining to the problems faced by the nation in general, and Delhi State in particular, were passed at the sixth annual conference of the State P.S.P., held in New Delhi on December 19 last. Following are some of the resolutions:

DELHI ADMINISTRATION

"The people of Delhi had mixed feelings and reactions when the Delhi State Assembly, the democratic set-up, was abolished as a result of the S.R.C. recommendations three years ago. The people who had welcomed it had pinned their high hopes for better amenities, economic facilities, lesser taxation and cleaner administration in the changed set-up. "The experience of the last three years has dashed all the hopes of the people to the ground and their expectations belied. The unified and cohesive administration, as recommended by the S.R.C., did not come into existence, the administrative set-up was bureaucratic from top to bottom; corruption has increased manifold; departments have been working in the usual unco-ordinated way throwing the people like a shuttle-cock from one Ministry to the other in the Central Government; no amenities and facilities in comparison to the ever increasing taxes exist and other day-to-day problems remain unsolved. The Home Minister, who is directly in charge of Delhi affairs, could hardly afford the requisite time and go personally into the details of various administrative and other problems of Delhi. The Advisory Committee to the Home Minister and the Industrial Board and the Public Relations Committee have proved ineffective because of the non-existence of any executive power in the their hands."

"In view of Delhi's rapid expansion, its ever-growing population and the vastly increasing problems, a drastic change in the present administrative set-up is urgently needed."

"In the opinion of the conference the administrative set-up in the capital should be such as not only to make the opinions of the people represented but also effective. In the absence of any legislature, it is therefore proposed that a separate ministry for Delhi affairs be created. The first task of this ministry should be to make the administration of Delhi unified and cohesive as recommended by the S.R.C. The elected representatives of Delhi should form into a miniature legislature to advise and have contact with the proposed minister."

"This conference feels that if these suggestions are accepted and implemented it may to some extent satisfy the popular aspirations of the people, but the demand for a full-fledged democratic set-up in Delhi with its boundaries extended is strongly reiterated as since 1916 the people of Delhi have always demanded."

CIVIC PROBLEMS

"The formation of the Delhi Corporation was widely welcomed by the citizens of Delhi and had aroused in them high hopes that their civic problems, which had been criminally neglected in the past, would now receive urgent attention. The Municipal Corporation Act provides ample opportunity for serving the people, who (Continued on page 8)
New Delhi Under - Rates Chinese Menace

SHRI H. V. KAMATH, Chairman of State P.S.P., Madhya Pradesh, and Member of the National Executive, P.S.P., addressing a Press Conference at Bhopal on December 31 last said: "In his last letter to Prime Minister Nehru, Mr. Chou En-lai has virtually banged the door on negotiations except on his own terms. Shri Nehru has, however, unilaterally kept it wide open, and at the same time declared that further Chinese incursions will be resisted. But he has said nothing regarding recovery of lost territory. The New Year will show whether our Prime Minister merely talks or can act also in a crisis."

The Chinese Prime Minister, said Shri Kamath, had disclosed that the area occupied by them in Ladakh as 33,000 sq. kilometres, which worked out to over 11,000 sq. miles. "We had so far been told that it was only about 6,000 sq. miles. Which is the correct figure?", he asked. (For the sake of comparison: the area of Kerala State is a little less than 15,000 sq. miles.)

Claims Bloated

Was it a fact that China had stepped up its claim, in her latest maps, from 40,000 sq. miles to 80,000 sq. miles of Indian territory? he queried. What was the fate of our three frontier guardsmen who were reported missing after the Chinese attack on Longju in August, 1959? Had China refused to disclose their whereabouts or liquidated them?

Shri Kamath said: "It is interesting to note, from Karam Singh's statement, that China is waging an undeclared war: Karam Singh was warned by his Chinese captors that perhaps the USA and USSR, is self-sufficient in arms. We must therefore start obtaining arms without strings or pacts, from East and West so as to build up our military strength, and simultaneously go ahead with heavy industries.

Surely, arms' aid cannot be more harmful or objectionable than economic aid or food gifts. It is foolish to imagine that such arms aid will compromise our independence. Has Russia, Yugoslavia or Britain lost their independence by obtaining arms' aid from the U.S.A.?"

Sikkim and Bhutan had been considerably demoralized by the pusillanimous stand of the Indian Government on Ladakh. People asked there: "How can India defend us when she cannot fight the Chinese on her own territory? People in Nepal cynically laughed at Prime Minister Nehru's pledge to defend Nepal against aggression. "Let him defend India first" was what they said in Nepal.

Chinese Consolidation

"China is consolidating her position in Ladakh and NEFA, and tightening her pressure on Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. The last three are regarded by China as being outside the pale of negotiations with India. Nepal is an independent State, and the other two are 'separate' States."

"How many mansions and houses have been acquired in Calcutta by the rulers of Sikkim and Bhutan during the last six months? How many new Chinese shops (spying boxes in reality) have sprung up in Calcutta during the same period? Is it a fact that a dozen fully loaded trucks left Gangtok (Sikkim) at dead of night some weeks ago, some escorted by an armed guard, destination Calcutta? What did they contain?

"As regards Bhutan, is it not a fact that China is building roads on her side of Bhutan faster than India is on hers? The Maharaja of Bhutan is very allergic to India's overtures, and his absentee Prime Minister Jigme Dorji just doesn't care. Have Indian troops been permitted inside Bhutan even now for defence purposes?" Shri Kamath wanted to know.

During the New Year, the Indian nation had to be mobilized psychologically, and the youth even physically, to be in a state of prepared-
ness. China was bound to make further thrusts, probably into Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan next summer.

If no steps were taken this year to push back China even a little, thousands of square miles of Indian territory would be sacrificed at the altar of Panchsheel. China's appetite would grow by what it is fed on, and her southward drive would be sacrificed at the pendancy of China, but to condone ment of China, but to condone ment of China, but to condone ment of China, but to condone ment of China, but to condone ment of China, but to condone

Prime Minister Nehru's present policy would lead not to containment of China, but to condenmation and pathetic contentment. "I hope he will realize that India's inde

pendence, integrity and honour are far more important than the shibboleth of Panchsheel. If he does not, the President must proclaim an emergency under the Constitution, and move towards the formation of a truly national, democratic Gov

ernment. May God guide him and Shri Nehru aright."

China had reportedly warned Russia against raising any Asian, particularly South and South-East Asian issue at the forthcoming Summit Conference, as she regarded that part of the world as being within her 'sphere of influence,' he said.

Shri Kamath also made the following points at his Press Conference:

(1) The re-opening of B.N.C. Mills, Rajnandgaon, is long overdue. There seems to be no justification for the protracted lockout, which has entailed considerable hardship and suffering to thousands of workers. A deadline should have been fixed for submission of its report by the Somani Committee. Even Minister Dravid is reported to be in favour of re-opening with no wagecut, and

no retrenchment. I appeal to Chief Minister Dr. Katju to take up this matter without delay, and if the Mill management is intransigent Government should take over the Mill, re-open it, and run it for the time being.

(2) I believe an all Party Com mittee on Food was constituted in Madhya Pradesh sometime ago by Dr. Katju. It should be summoned immediately by the Chief Minister before finally making up his mind with regards to the proposed M.P.-Bombay Foodgrains Zone.

(3) The Congress Socialist Forum's invitation to the P.S.P. for co-operation with the Congress will be worthy of consideration by the PSP only after the Congress has altered the trend of some of her policies, domestic as well as foreign, and purged its ranks of corrupt and careerist elements.

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India Is At Cross-Roads, Says Goray

The General Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party, Shri N. G. Goray, addressing the fifth annual session of the West Bengal Socialist Party at Contai (Midnapur), on December 30 last, said: "Once again as in 1939 and 1947 our country stands at the crossroads—whether to ally ourselves with either of the Power blocs or to pursue without vacillation the policy of non-alignment; whether to resort to this or that form of dictatorship in order to bring about quick economic development or to demonstrate to the world that even an underdeveloped nation like India can move towards a welfare State without jettisoning democratic values."

"This challenge," Shri Goray said, "has assumed an added urgency because of the aggression of Communist China whom we were taught to look upon as our brother. China has not only seized our territory in a treacherous manner, but has laid claim to almost the whole of NEFA and a number of other areas in the Himalayan region."

This need not, however, cause any panic in the country, he said. But sooner, we got rid of our complacency the better it was. The threat from China was not only military. The problem was how, and how soon, we could bring the entire northern frontier into any effective contact and control.

Problem for All

"It is both an engineering socio-cultural problem. No longer can the Himalayas be left to the gods and demi-gods, to the sadhus and the pilgrims. Our administrators and engineers, agronomists and geologists, teachers and social workers, will have to reach the remotest of the Himalayan region," he said.

Shri Goray continued: "I would like to ask you a blunt question. Have we even now inculcated that sense of loyalty to our country, that basic nationalism without which no nation can remain independent and sovereign for long? If the answer to this question is affirmative, how can one explain in our midst the continued existence and functioning of the Communist Party which at every time of national crisis has worked as an ally of a foreign power.

"Because we lack this basic loyalty, it becomes possible for the C.F.I. to raise the slogan that Chou and Nehru must meet unconditionally and immediately and for crypto-Communists in the Congress like Shri K. D. Malviya to pretend that they do not understand our party's policy towards China."

"This aggression is described by our different ministers as 'folly' and by Mr. Krushchev as 'stupidity'. But China is neither foolish nor stupid. China's probing activities have been undertaken after long deliberations. Only those have been of stupidity and folly who refuse to learn even after the rape of Tibet. The Chinese hope that by browbeating India, they can bring all the South-East Asian nations to their knees."

Real Defence

The best defence against this threat, Shri Goray said, was, of course, to strengthen the country from within. The need of the hour was for the parties and groups of democratic socialism to come closer. Apart from the P.S.P. and other democratic socialist parties and groups, there was a sizable democratic socialist section to be won over in the Congress too, just as there was a Swatantra faction and Communist faction in that sprawling organisation.

"In the dark days of India's history it was Bengal who was the first to respond to the call of the new era and to demand that the tradition of resplendent nationalism was maintained undimmed by patriots of Bengal till the greatest of her sons, and of India too. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, was lost to us. I feel confident that the people and intelligentsia of Bengal will once again help kindle that light which will never be put out," Shri Goray hoped.
The people of Bihar are slowly awakening to the dangers approaching India from across the Himalayas. The nearly 300-mile-long boundary line with neighbouring Nepal, where Chinese agents and their Nepalese accomplices are engaged in arouses anti-Indian feelings, leads greater significance to the reactions of the people of this State on the problems of Chinese aggression.

The boundary between India and Nepal goes practically unprotected and there is a free mixing between those on the Nepalese territory and those on the Bihar border. Therefore, what goes on in Nepal has a special bearing on Bihar. But, while the reactions of the ordinary mass of the people, especially of the student community, could be described as praise-worthy, the political parties in the State seem to suffer from apathy and sluggishness.

Congressmen’s Apathy

The Congressmen have been busy with their internal organisational disputes, as for instance, over Mandal and other elections. Their activities can hardly suggest that the territorial integrity of the country has been violated and that we are facing a serious challenge to our freedom and our way of life at the hands of the Chinese Communist.

The local Swatantra Party, formerly the Janata Party, comprising mostly of ex-Zamindars, does not seem to possess the ideological clarity of even all India leadership and has so far failed to attract the intelligentsia of the State. Hence, it is largely intellectually ineffective.

The communists in Bihar are known for their subservient attitude to the Central leadership as there has been no notable disension in the organisation. Some minor functionaries and fellow-travellers here and there have no doubt expressed their disgust over the anti-national and pro-Chinese policy of the leadership, but the bulk of the membership is engaged in justifying the party policy.

In this, of course, they are having a rough passage. At many places they had to abandon their programme due to lack of public response and at several others they were prevented by the people, mostly students, from holding any meeting.

In this atmosphere of inaction of political parties, the PSP is the only notable exception. In pursuance of the call given by the all-India party, the Bihar commrades observed “China Aggression Day” on December 12, when demonstrations and meetings were organised at important places.

Academic Nepotism

The academic circles in Bihar, especially teachers belonging to Bihar University, have been stirred because of “the unfair and discriminatory” statutes in regard to appointment to Readership and Professorship of the University. The statute has put ten years’ teaching experience at Honours and Post-graduate levels at par with a high standard in research papers and degrees. Younger people, especially those with brilliant academic records and high qualifications, both from home and abroad, feel particularly aggrieved because of the statute.

It is gathered from reliable sources that the relevant clause in the statute was inserted at the instance of the “ruling clique” in order to meet the interests of its camp followers, who would be otherwise disqualified for higher posts because of their comparatively low academic achievements.

Inquiries have revealed that the basis of groupism in the two major educational institutions—Patna and Bihar Universities—is mainly caste. Indirect Governmental interference is such that well informed sources suggest that even minor officials seek guidance and, draw inspiration from the Education Department of the Government of Bihar, especially from the Deputy Education Minister. Even students are not spared by these “power-monger academicians” as they are being dragged into the arena of their “battle royal” at the cost of academic standard and discipline.

Sugar Cane Strike

The four-day cane-growers’ strike, led by PSP, was a success. Most of the sugar mills in the State were affected by it. The participation of the cane-growers was much larger this time compared to previous occasions. In Darbhanga district alone, more than 600 of them courted arrest. The credit for this success must be given to Shri Suraj Narain Singh, State PSP Secretary, and the devoted band of the workers around him.

Executive Meeting

The state PSP held a meeting of its executive on December 19 and 20 last. All the legislators belonging to the party and the district and zonal secretaries were invited. The list of special invitees was an impressive one. The presence of the legislator-members was however negligible. There seemed to be a lack of co-ordination between the organisational and the legislature wings of the party.

Two issues—the Land Ceiling Bill, now before the State Assembly, and organisational problems—came up for discussion. After an exhaustive analysis of the land problem in Bihar, the meeting unanimously agreed that the maximum land allowed to one family of five should be 15 acres. The meeting further decided that in case the number of family members is more than five, an additional two and a half acres per member should be permitted. But in no case should the total of such a holding exceed 22½ acres of land.

When the meeting began its consideration of the organisational problems, the State Chairman, Shri Basawan Sinha, explained the nature of the problem in the light of the Chinese aggression and also in view of the expectations of the all-India organisation from Bihar.

It was resolved that the target and line of work should be based mainly on the decisions incorporated in the Sarnath Resolutions.

Youth Activities

During December, two meetings
The meeting also expressed its financial help and of Shri Shishir of SYS.

At the meeting held on December 20, an interim committee of twenty-one was formed with Prof. Ram Chandra Mishra, "Madhup," as chairman and Shri K. N. Nath as general secretary.

The meeting also expressed its appreciation of the Bihar PSP for its financial help and of Shri Shishir Kumár, Joint Secretary, State PSP, for his co-operation in the activities of SYS.

The meeting further fixed a target of enrolling 3,000 members by the end of January and to organise at least five reading rooms-cum-cultural centres within the same period.

**MAHARASHTRA PSP**

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the P.S.P. (Maharashtra) was held at Poona on 3rd and 4th January under the chairmanship of Shri N. G. Goray.

Following decisions were taken:

**Membership:** The executive committee decided to direct all the district branches of the Party to start a vigorous campaign of membership with the object of doubling the membership of the party enlisted last year.

**Chairman's Suggestion:** The executive decided to implement the suggestion made by Shri Asoka Mehta, Chairman of the Party, to select a few talukas for an intensive Survey on the basis of the questionnaire sent by the Chairman. Accordingly a complete survey will be made in about 25 talukas.

**Meeting of Trade Union Workers:** Different trade union problems related to organisational and policy matters were discussed. It was decided that Shri N. G. Goray should attend a meeting of prominent trade union workers of the Party from Bombay city on 8th January with a view to devising methods to pool the resources of the Party for strengthening the trade union work in Bombay city.

**Party Workers' Camp:** The executive decided to organise a camp of prominent workers of the party in Maharashtra to chalk out the plan of work in the newly formed Maharashtra State in the field of constructive activities. A sub-committee was set up to plan the camp.

**Border Struggle:** The Executive Committee adopted a resolution expressing its view that struggle for the inclusion of Belgaum in Maharashtra should be intensified so that the border issue could be finally settled before the bifurcation of the present Bombay State.

**Atre Condemned:** The Executive Committee adopted a strongly worded statement condemning Shri P. K. Atre, a member of the Parliamentary Board of the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, for his vulgar attack on the PSP and Republican members of the BEST Committee during the strike of the BEST workers. The statement has been released by Sarvashri S. M. Joshi and N. G. Goray on behalf of the Executive Committee.

**ANVIL**

NEW YEAR SPECIAL NUMBER JANUARY

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(Continued from page 4)

have suffered along both at the hands of power-crazy politicians and indifferent and inefficient bureaucracy.

"It is a deplorable fact that the working of the Corporation has belied the aspirations of the people as no start has been made as yet for attending to the immediate and urgent needs like improvement in sanitation, better and cheap educational and medical facilities, better roads, adequate and cheap electricity, etc. A clean civic administration is still a cry in the wilderness.

**Power Hunt**

"Mounting corruption, irresponsible attitude of the officials, ever-increasing municipal taxes and, above all, mutual wranglings amongst the councillors for power and position have created in the citizens a deep sense of frustration.

"In the opinion of this conference any further delay in boldly facing these problems will further add to the miseries of the people. A concerted effort is needed in which the active co-operation of the people at large should also be sought by immediate formation of Ward Committees as provided in the Corporation Act.

"In the existing multi-member constituencies, the duty of the Councillors towards the constituents is a divided responsibility, more conspicuous by its deriction, than by its performance. The Wards are unwieldy both for the purpose of administration and personal contact by Councillors. The conference, therefore, further demands that before the next elections each such constituency by bifurcated into viable words, each ward returning only one member to the Corporation."

**SALES TAX**

"This conference strongly protests against the levy of sales-tax on food-stuffs, Dhabas and Tandurs and also the increase in the quantum of the sales-tax on other commodities of common use. The conference urges upon the Government to take immediate steps to revise its policy regarding the imposition of sales-tax in Delhi."

(To be Concluded)
Economic ‘Take-Off’ In Backward Countries

The world is divided into two parts: one advanced, the other backward; one industrialised, the other agricultural; one rich, the other very poor; one exploiting—this applies partly—the other exploited. All peoples are supposed to belong to the same family of mankind, yet some are prosperous, others starving; some enjoy a decent standard of living, others still wallow in squalor. It is a great shame that such an intolerable, inhuman situation should persist in the 20th century, an age of automation and atomic power, when the world’s resources could be mobilised to produce more than enough for all.

I am not an economist, but I may be permitted to quote some figures from statistics compiled by the United Nations in 1949. According to these, there are three categories of countries: the first includes the twelve poorest countries whose per capita income per year is under 50 dollars. They are Indonesia, China, South Korea, Burma, Thailand, Ethiopia, Liberia, New Guinea, Haiti, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and the Philippines. The second category comprises seventeen countries with a per capita annual income of between 50 and 100 dollars. They are Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bolivia, India, Ceylon, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, Iran, Iraq, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Egypt, Japan, Peru and Syria. The third category consists of the fortunate one-third of the world, the twelve richest countries whose per capita income per year is more than 500 dollars. This group includes the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Belgium, Norway, Australia, Denmark, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Switzerland, New Zealand, Canada and the United States—the last-mentioned with a per capita income of 1,453 dollars.

‘Beggar Countries’

Two-thirds of the world’s peoples live in the beggar countries—called “underdeveloped” by courtesy of the developed countries and their economists. Because of an accident of birth, two-thirds of the world population have a very low national income and suffer from malnutrition, bad health, a short expectation of life, increasing pressure of population on the land, and these teeming millions have no means, no savings to develop their countries, no apparent way of escape from their intolerable conditions.

Yet it is not beyond human ingenuity and power to amend this state of affairs. In fact, the conscience of mankind has been awakened, and many of the developed countries have begun to pay attention and give monetary and technical aid to the underdeveloped countries. But the leaders of public opinion, and particularly the leaders of the Socialist International, of the entire Socialist movement, must see to it that the help given is adequate and properly organised. We, the representatives of the Asian Socialist parties, expect more

by U Kyaw Nyein

than moral support, more than resolutions passed at regular intervals by Congresses of the Socialist International. I shall turn to these practical questions at the end of my speech.

How can adequate help be organised? Let me first of all stress that the major effort must come from the backward areas themselves. If their leaders are foolish enough, and their peoples stupid enough to acquiesce in misery and squalor, they deserve no sympathy. They must be prepared for effort and sacrifice. However, they need some initial help from their more fortunate brothers, for a kind of “take-off.” If only we can ensure this take-off, the aeroplane will then pursue its course by means of its own self-generating energy.

I am not unaware, of course, of the immensity of the problem that faces us. Speaking from our limited experience, the Burma Socialist Party was in office for about ten years, until recently, and we hope to be in office again in a few months’ time after the election. We have implemented some development programmes, and we have gained some knowledge of the problems.

First we had to get together statistics and make surveys—there were none available when we started. Then we had to compare reports and fix priorities for agriculture and industry, for productive capital and social overheads. Hundreds of economists gave us advice in various respects. To start implementation of our plans, we needed technical and managerial know-how, and a sufficient number of managers, engineers, technicians and teachers.

Four Sources

Two aspects of development cause special difficulties in our countries and call for outside help. The first is technical and managerial know-how, to man the necessary services; the other is funds for financial investment. But are we not already receiving help in both these fields? The answer is “yes”, but it is not adequate. Help comes from four sources: private capital, individual governments, groups of governments and the United Nations and their agencies. I shall consider them in turn.

First, private investment from different countries. We Socialists in the underdeveloped countries cannot afford to reject private capital, but unfortunately no private capital is inclined to come. There may be various reasons—lack of opportunity for making profits, or high enough profits, is one. Another may be the presence of Socialism in the backward Asian countries. Or, perhaps, no funds are available. Europe has only just been rehabilitated and, until quite recently, could not afford to supply capital abroad. As for America, experts tell us that the American capitalists find it more profitable to invest in their own country, and if they want to invest abroad, they prefer Canada, or Europe, perhaps Latin America, or possibly Japan. They are not interested in India, Pakistan, Burma or Indonesia.

American Likings

There is yet another difficulty. American investors, if they look for investment overseas, are not interested in ordinary industry, but especially in oil. There is oil in the Middle East, but unfortunately not in most parts of Asia and Africa.

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this unwillingness of private capital to invest in our countries. For have we not been abusing American capitalists? Have we not been nationalising our industries? American fears are partly understandable, and, in fact, some of our countries are now trying to counteract these fears by passing legislation to give certain guarantees against the expropriation of foreign capital and for the remittance of profits, etc. Still, the private investors are distrustful and the backward countries cannot count on their money.

The second source of funds is individual governments. Here, it is mainly the United States of America, that is giving loans or grants, while Britain and some Commonwealth countries like Canada and Australia have also been doing a little. France has made some investments in her own overseas territories as has Belgium, but outside their colonial frontiers these countries are not interested. There is, of course, also Soviet Russia, but she is interested predominantly in the satellites. Moreover, her resources are limited, and her aid is subject to political control, as the constant fluctuations in the financial relations between Russia and Yugoslavia have clearly shown.

Thus, in the main, we can only reckon with help from the USA. Even though I am a Socialist, I shall give credit where credit is due, and U.S. help has been quite generous. Yet it has not been as generous as it could be and, in our opinion, the USA could and should give more loans and more grants. There is also the question of political strings. In fact, I admit the American Government does not insist on political strings; it is very far-sighted in that respect. It has been talking less and less about military alliances, or military and ideological affinity, less and less about power politics. But still the major portion of the grants goes to countries willing to join the American club, and the uncommitted nations have to be content with what is left—with the residue of charity, as Comrade Bevan put it. Even so, we are grateful for this help, we only wish it were more.

Colombo Plan
Among the groups of governments—the third source of help—I can mention the Colombo Plan grouping, led by the United Kingdom and the residue of charity, as Comrade Bevan put it. Even so, we are grateful for this help, we only wish it were more.

Fourthly, we come to the United Nations and their agencies. There are those which deal with investment, with loans, and those which deal with technical advice and assistance. Again, the resources made available are not great enough, and the services are inadequate. Very recently, after almost ten years of struggle by representatives of the beggar countries, the special U.N. Development Fund has been set up. Its initial capital was originally envisaged to be at least 300 million dollars, but it is now only 25 million—which is nothing, considering that a country like Pakistan has been receiving two to three million dollars in aid from America. What, indeed, are 25 million dollars for the whole world? If we engage about 100 American experts for two years, it will be used up. Thus the technical services available under the new Special Fund will be utterly inadequate.

World Bank
Then there is the World Bank which has helped many of the underdeveloped countries. But here we have the same complaint. Probably because we are poor, the Bank does not trust us, and because the Bank does not trust us as we are poor and remain poor.

I speak from the limited experience available to me in Burma and the experience of the Governments of our neighbouring countries. I have not checked on the reports for the last two years, but previous to that, most of the money loaned by the World Bank went to Europe and Latin America, in other words, to areas where people are more fortunate and less in need of funds. Only a relatively small amount goes to the backward countries. That is our first complaint.

Our second complaint is that because the World Bank is run by big capitalists it somehow or other
is prejudiced against industrialisation in the backward countries, while the natural aspirations of these countries is to increase industrialisation, just as it had been the aim of our fortunate brothers in Europe and America. The World Bank prefers to further agriculture and communications and other services, and credit must be given to it for what it has done in these respects.

Socialist Grouse

Our third complaint is a specifically Socialist one, one that a Socialist government or party will raise. It is that the World Bank is against Socialists and for capitalism; against State enterprise, against the public sector, and for private enterprise. Thus the moment a country approaches the World Bank it is told: "Look, do you know that once you take a loan you enter a banker-client relationship?" "Yes, Sir," we reply, for we must be humble as we need funds. Then, after a time, we are told: "Look, you should not have State enterprise, which is inefficient; you should not have nationalisation, and the nationalisation you have already got you had better revoke!" Of course, these suggestions are never made in writing. They are made, cautiously but firmly, in the normal course of the "banker-client relations". Hence, Socialist governments in backward countries who want to build their economies on Socialist lines find that there are snags in using the one and only source of world investment available to them. I might add here that, in fact, the U.S. State Department is less capitalistic than the World Bank.

After this survey of the four sources of technical and financial help, I shall now consider what should be done. But before putting my suggestions as to concrete measures, I should like to refer to the reasons which make it urgent that this state of disparity and inequality between the two groups of members of the human family should be removed.

Comrade Vos spoke about three main reasons in his introductory speech, and I shall refer to the same three reasons, but perhaps put them in a somewhat different way. These reasons are ethical, economic and political, and I shall consider them in turn.

Next Steps

I can be very brief on the ethical, or humanitarian, reasons, because I stressed already in opening my speech that the continuation of mass poverty and starvation presents a moral challenge to the world's conscience. Moreover, the moral obligation of the European and American peoples to help their unfortunate brothers and sisters in Asia and Africa stems in part from past economic history. In the 19th century the capitalist systems of Britain, Germany, France and other European countries were built up on the basis of surplus value squeezed out of the working class.

But a large part of this surplus value, of the profits the capitalists were able to accumulate, came from the exploitation of the peoples of Asia and Africa. By obtaining cheap raw materials from the underdeveloped areas and dumping manufactured goods at a high price there, the industries of Europe, including Britain, have for centuries been able to accumulate wealth. It is not that we want to blame our more fortunate brothers and sisters in Europe for this incident of the past. But in the light of our past contribution, made in a very unequal partnership, we want to be considered as being entitled to some contributions from them now that they are in a position to be charitable and generous.

I have mentioned Europe, but what about America? What has the USA to do with Asia and Africa? To this also I shall give my answer. It is true that the American world was not built upon profits, or—if I may use a stronger word which I trust, will not offend Socialists—upon loot from Asia and Africa. But investment and development in the USA were made possible by the resources, men and material, of Europe which in turn were based on loot from Asia and Africa. Thus the people of both Europe and America owe us a duty.

Economic Considerations

Next I turn to the economic reasons. We are told by economists—among them such noteworthy authorities on the subject as Professor Arthur Lewis, a Socialist—that there are very sound economic reasons for the developed countries to help the under-developed countries. For the world is one and indivisible economically. The stability of the world economy depends to a certain extent on the primary commodities, including minerals, that come from Asia and Africa.

Because our countries are not developed, because the economies of Asia and Africa are not balanced—depending one-sidedly on rice as is the case in Burma, or on rubber and tin as in Malaya, or on tea and tin as in Indonesia, to mention but a few examples—the sudden fluctuation of prices every two or three years affects not only our economy but that of the world, particularly in the industrialised countries. It is therefore in the enlightened self-interest of the developed countries that they should remove this canker, this cause of instability from the body of the world economy.

Another economic reason is that two-thirds of the population of the world are under-nourished and underdeveloped and their resources are not utilised, with the result that the world as a whole is not as rich and prosperous as it could be. If and when these countries are developed, international trade and the aggregate capital of the world will increase. Of course, structural changes will have to be made in the economies of both Europe and America, just as this became necessary in the 19th century in countries such as Britain, Germany and France.

In fact, the European economy is now undergoing a process of adjustment. Common Market and Free Trade Area are being discussed by Socialists and others. Europe, instead of sending us textiles and other consumer goods, may have to switch to exporting to us textile machinery and equipment for steel mills. But provided these structural changes are made in the economies of Europe and America, the development of the backward countries will further international development and strengthen the economies of the developed countries. (To be continued)
APPLEN

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LETTER FROM P.S.P. CHAIRMAN

KERALA ELECTION

The elections in Kerala are the focus of our attention today. In the elections of 1957 the PSP had put up 63 candidates for 126 seats. Out of them only 9 had been elected. In as many as 28 constituencies our candidates had lost their deposit. Our total vote was 628,261 or 10.76 per cent.

The Communists, on the other hand, had won 60 out of 100 seats they had contested and polled 2,059,547 or 35.28 per cent of the votes cast. Five "Independents" joined Communists and enabled them to form their government.

The Congress had contested 124 seats, polled 2,209,251 or 37.84 per cent of the votes and returned 43 candidates.

A New Elan

Since then the PSP's organisation has improved very much. The fight against the Communists has imparted a new elan to our Party. Today we are contesting in 33 constituencies. Of the twelve double-member constituencies in the State, we are fighting in seven. Of these 33 constituencies, 9 are where we had won last time, in 7 other constituencies we were second, that is after the winning Communist candidate. Out of 31 constituencies where the Communists with their "Independent" allies had obtained absolute majority, 14 have been allotted to us. Nearly 45 per cent of our seats are hard as against 20 per cent of the Congress. In many of these Communist strongholds we have grown in the last three years and we can face the contest with confidence.

The following table shows the district-wise allotment of seats to us in the present elections. (The figures in brackets show the number of seats won by the Communists in 1957. The fellow-travelling Independents are shown as additional seats won.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of Seats Allotted to PSP</th>
<th>Number of Seats won by Communists in 1957 elections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kannur</td>
<td>4 out of 12 (7+1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calicut</td>
<td>4 out of 20 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palghat</td>
<td>4 out of 15 (10+1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trichur</td>
<td>3 out of 12 (6+2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernakulam</td>
<td>nil out of 14 (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kottayam</td>
<td>2 out of 13 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleppey</td>
<td>1 out of 14 (8+1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quilon</td>
<td>6 out of 14 (10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trivandrum</td>
<td>9 out of 12 (8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rs. 10,725 FOR KERALA PSP
Shri Asoka Mehta, Chairman of the PSP, was handed over a purse of Rs. 10,725 at a public meeting at Bombay held under the chairmanship of Shri Nath Pal, M.P. The Bombay Unit of the PSP collected this amount to be utilised for Kerala election from middle class and working class—doctors, lawyers, clerks, workers contributed their mite.
The Communists have been organisationally strong in Cannanore District. But we and our allies have made considerable gains in the district. In Palghat District it was general voters’ indifference with some preference for the Communists that helped them in the last elections. They cannot hope to repeat the success. Trichur, Ernakulam and Kottayam are districts favourable to the Congress. Out of 40 seats there, the Communists had got just 14 seats. This time Congress position is stronger still—our stakes are only 5 seats. The strongest Communist zone is the coastal belt of Travancore. Out of 40 seats there the Communists gains were 27. It is here that our stakes are high—16 seats—and we are pitted in a really challenging contest with the Communists.

Fighting ex-Ministers

We are contesting three former Ministers: (1) Dr. A. R. Menon, Minister of Health, in Parli (Palghat District), (2) Shri C. Achuta Menon, Minister of Home and Finance, in Irinjalakuda (Trichur District) and (3) Shri K. C. George, Minister for Food, in Ariam])(Trivandrum District). The satisfaction of contesting Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad was denied to us when he shifted himself from Nileshwaram (Cannanore District) to Pattambi (Palghat District). Why did he move away and will he escape the nemesis in Pattambi?

We have to put in sustained work because the Communist organisation is well trimmed. In most of the constituencies, even at the beginning of the campaign the Communists had mobilised three to five cars and jeeps. In some constituencies every village had its own loudspeaker. In manpower we are not behind, and often ahead of the Communists. But the inadequacy of resources we have to make up by better team work and the enthusiasm of the people.

In many constituencies Party membership has been doubled or trebled in comparison with the last year and the number of persons giving their full time to the election work is heartening. By election day 40 to 50 thousand workers would be working for our candidates.

In all 312 candidates are contesting the elections. In 79 constituencies there are a straight contest. Of our 33 constituencies, in 18 there is a straight contest, in 9 triangular contest and in the remaining 6 constituencies there are four to five candidates.

Dr. Lohia’s Socialist Party has put up 4 candidates in the State, 3 of them to oppose our candidates. One of them is being supported by the Communists. Even with that “aid and comfort” I doubt if he will retain his deposit.

The RSP has put on the field 17 candidates, the Jan Sangh 3 and a local splinter group called the KSP 12 candidates.

The co-operation between the three parties is on the whole smooth and has succeeded in evoking great popular response. The electorate has increased by 0.5 million. Out of the total 8 million voters, about 1.6 million are in double member constituencies who have two votes each. So the maximum possible total poll can be nearly 10 million. In the 1957 elections 3,077,607 (68.74 per cent) men and 2,822,225 (64.61 per cent) women had voted. The total poll was 66.67 per cent. This time the vote will be bigger. More women will go to the polls. In place of 5,899,822 votes polled last time, we can expect a poll of over 7 million. The Communist vote cannot rise. They had exerted their maximum strength and there was a certain chaisms about them then.

Some of the floating voters that had gone away then will move against them this time. With utmost efforts the Communists can hope to maintain a vote of 2 million, it will possibly be less. The democratic forces should be able to score a major victory.

Electoral Pact with League

There was considerable criticism of the PSP because of its electoral understanding with the Muslim League in Kerala in 1957. The pressure of events have made the Congress join the alliance. Experience of three years shows that an understanding with the League has generally fostered integration of the Muslims into the democratic fabric of Kerala. It is however significant that those who felt scandalised in 1957 seem to take it in their stride in 1959. This has a lesson for us. We should judge our political moves on their merit and not be dismayed by the interested attacks Congress papers or Communist propagandists want to make on us.

We should be generally proud of the splendid record of Party comrades in Kerala in the last three years. Organisationally something has been done, but a lot remains to be achieved. After the elections, I hope, we shall devote our energies to this task.
ASIA'S FUTURE: An Interview with Jayaprakash Narayan

**Question:** Do you believe that imperialism today represents a threat to national independence in Asia?

**J. P.** I think that the old Western imperialism is no longer a threat to the national independence of Asian countries. True, the struggle still goes on in some of these countries, which have yet to achieve their independence from this old imperialism—in West Asia, for instance. I think that the real threat to the newly independent countries of Asia comes from the new imperialism which is being aggressively represented today by China. But while I realise the seriousness of this threat, I am hopeful that these countries will be able to withstand it. The fact that this new imperialism works in league with its native supporters, by which I mean the communist parties, enhance the seriousness of the threat. But I do feel that countries which have tasted political slavery and have but recently freed themselves from it would be vital and vigorous enough to resist both the internal and the external dangers of which I have just spoken.

**Sources of Friction**

**Q.:** Are there comparably important sources of friction in your area today?

**J. P.:** Presently, there is this northern border of ours, where a conflict has already arisen. There has been, since the independence of India, a source of friction resulting from the country's partition. But I think that India and Pakistan are on friendlier terms today than they have ever been before, and I hope that the bonds of friendship will grow stronger. I can see no other sources of friction in India as a region.

**Q.:** Do you believe that the use of authoritarian methods, temporarily or permanently, is unavoidable on account of the arduous efforts towards quick economic development and an improved standard of living?

**J. P.:** No. I do not think that such methods are inevitable, provided the people are patient and the course of development is adapted to the objective conditions. I am afraid that there is a tendency in the developing countries of Asia and Africa to import ready-made institutions and techniques from the highly developed West. This I feel might lead to disaster, which might bring in its wake one kind or another of dictatorship. I would therefore wish that the leaders of the developing countries should aim at an organic process of development rooted in local tradition and conditions, and be invigorated by borrowing from the West. I should also like to stress that too quick a pace of development might prove to be a danger to democracy and might even prove to be a complete failure.

**Q.:** Do you believe that the growing pressure exerted by the steady increase in population constitutes an obstacle to the establishment or the maintenance of democratic liberties?

**J. P.:** The rate of growth of population complicates the question of economic development and only in that indirect way might it affect the question of democracy. I had this factor in mind when I spoke above of local conditions.

**Bandung Principles**

**Q.:** According to you, what has been, after the Bandung Conference, the influence of the Bandung principles on the political evolution of Asia?

**J. P.** I must admit that I have not given thought to this question. But I should say that Bandung meant no more than the expression of the will of the new states of Asia and Africa to live in friendship. But I do not think that, beyond that, Bandung has had any practical influence on the international development in these vast continents. And latterly, the behaviour of China in Tibet and on India's frontiers has delivered a shattering blow to the Bandung spirit.

**Q.:** It is, if I am not mistaken, your opinion that straight Western democracy is inapplicable to such countries as India. It is with this in mind that you have elaborated a plan for India whereby it would become a confederation of self-governing communities linked in an organic hierarchy. In what way would this scheme answer the special requirements of your country?

**J. P.:** It is not adequately realised that the Western forms of democracy took a long time to develop and mature, and that they had a particular kind of social, economic and historical background. The setting in Asia and Africa is entirely different, but the attempt is being made to transplant a full-grown tree—let us say—on a completely different kind of soil. It seems reasonable to expect that, under these conditions, that the tree would wither away. That indeed is actually happening, because from Cairo to Djakarta we have seen democratic institutions falling one after another.

India perhaps presents the only exception today, but I think it would be agreed that even there, parliamentary democracy exists more in form than in substance. In Africa we find political leaders vehemently advocating the one-man-one vote principle, but it appears that as soon as they come to power, they begin to exhibit very marked tendencies towards authoritarianism.

I have, therefore, been advocating the adoption of indigenous forms of democracy, based on the self-government of small communities integrated together in a national political structure through indirect elections. I am also advocating the need of developing the politics of co-operation as against the politics of competition at all levels, local, national, and international. The struggle for power between political

(Continued on page 5)
Delhi P.S.P. Demands

Following were among the resolutions passed at the annual conference of the Delhi State Praja Socialist Party.*

Corruption

"After a prolonged struggle we attained our freedom and set up a political structure of democratic character broad based on universal suffrage. But during twelve years of freedom the people have failed to achieve a true democratic administration free from corruption, nepotism and inefficiency. The mounting corruption has shaken the faith of the people in democracy. The measures so far taken by the Government to check corruption have failed miserably. Corruption is so deep-rooted in our administration that it has ceased to attract attention and looks a routine business. The unselect public, through press, daily hearings of wasteful use of public money, corruption, high-handedness, and a dozen other sins of commission and omission on their part, yet is helpless for lack of precise facts and figures, evidence and proof.

"Those in power refuse to listen. Instead they ride roughshod. The spirit of revolt—against their acts and their attitude is smothered in different ways. As a result the corruption has fast travelled downward and has projected to contemplate every walk of life. The average man is losing faith in democracy.

"With the fall of democracy all around us and the over-arching threat to our country from China the danger of dictatorship—Swatantra, Communal or Communist—although remote can only be ruled out if swift action is taken to raise a public confidence in the administration.

"The conference therefore emphatically demands from the Government that the constitution should be amended to create a high powered independent Standing Tribunal to inquire into and, if necessary, to initiate investigations and to report to the Government for penal action, against people in high positions including Ministers.

* A few of the resolutions appeared in the last issue of JANATA.

Labour Situation

"This Conference notes with regret the failure of the Delhi Administration to effectively implement the provision of the Minimum Wages Act, whereby the payment of minimum wages and a living wage is assured to the workers who have been brought under the benefit of the Act. It is needless for the Conference to add that mere extension of the letter of law, without proper and efficient administration and implementation of its provisions, violates the spirit of the directive principals of State policy envisaged in the Constitution.

"It is high time that the Delhi Administration awakens and realises the importance of the situation and bring about an effective, clean up, and honesty of purpose and execution in the Inspectorate Staff appointed for the purposes of the implementation of the provisions of the Act.

"This Conference invites the attention of the Government towards the rising tide of discontentment in the working class against its insipid and barren policies towards the working class and advises the Government to bring about an immediate and effective reorientation in the interest of providing incentive, and arousing the enthusiasm of the working class towards greater effort at this time of national crisis.

Insurance Benefits

"This Conference also draws the attention of the Government towards the following short-comings in the working of the Employees' State Insurance Corporation leading to the frustration of the very objectives for which it has been established:

(a) The lack of adequate stock of medicines required for the treatment of patients.
Economic 'Take-off' In Backward Countries-II

I NOW come to the political reasons for aiding underdeveloped countries. Here, I should like to make two points.

First, the underdeveloped countries, because of their backwardness, have been used as colonies by the stronger powers. This has been a source of political instability, unrest and war. Once these countries are developed and colonies disappear—as colonies, I mean—then this source of instability will be removed, which will be a very great political asset.

My other point is one connected with "Democratic Socialism". Unless liberal financial help is extended to the backward countries, you cannot expect the growth of democratic State, not to mention democratic Socialism. Instead of democratic regimes, we shall have a mushroom growth of totalitarian states, governed by the army, by the Communists, by Fascists or other forms of dictatorship.

Hence all the developed countries of Europe and America have a vested interest, politically, in the economic development of these territories.

Capacity To Help

At this point I may be asked: What about the capacity of the developed countries to give economic aid? I am advised by our friends among the economists that it is not beyond the resources of the developed countries to give more adequate help. Reference has been made to the opinion of the British Labour Party that the developed countries should give one per cent of their national income for development funds. I believe they can afford a higher percentage than that.

According to the United Nations experts, Britain, in the ten years preceding the outbreak of World War I, exported capital overseas amounting to 7 percent of her national income. The United States, plus Canada, plus Western Europe, plus Australia, I understand, have an annual income of 350 billion dollars. If we could only take 5 per cent of that, in other words, about 17 billion dollars, it would allow us to increase the national income of the backward areas in Africa and Asia by two per cent. In the five years prior to 1951, America spent about 3 per cent of her national income on loans, and today it will not be less than 4 or 5 per cent.

So I maintain that America, Europe and Australia between them should not find it difficult to contribute as much as 5 per cent of their national income for financial help overseas. And let us remember, we are not going to syphon off this amount every year; we Asians and Africans need it only as a start, as a take-off. Let us not forget that the economies of these countries of Europe and America are constantly growing at a considerable rate, whereas our countries are falling behind.
Specific Proposals

In conclusion, I want to make two or three concrete proposals addressed to the comrades of the Socialist International.

My first suggestion is that those Socialist parties which are in opposition should mobilise public opinion, which is already waking up, and urge their governments to increase their contributions to the international agencies of the U.N., particularly SUNFED or, as it is now called, the Special Fund for Development.

Secondly, I make a special appeal to the leaders of the British Labour Party to improve that very valuable and helpful agency, the Colombo Plan organisation, so that its funds are increased. I think that it would be very helpful, too, if this grouping were joined by Western Germany, France and the Scandinavian countries. There might be some prejudice against the Netherlands on the part of the Indonesians, or against France on the part of the Vietnamese, but I hope that these peoples have by now outgrown their resistance in this respect.

Then, thirdly, I propose that those Socialist parties which are in office should form an agency, an organisation, which would have the special purpose of helping those...

(Continued on page 12)
Kaironists and Communists Gang Up In Punjab

ALTHOUGH the State of Punjab is so strategically situated on the north-western border of the country that any weakness in its administrative or political life would prove fatal to the security of the whole people, it has been our problem State par excellence. The factionalism in the ruling party had from the very beginning inhibited the growth of healthy politics and stability of administration in the State; yet, it had never thrown to decent politicians such an enormous challenge as the past few years, following the assumption of power by Shri Pratapsingh Kairon, have done. During these years, the communal situation has worsened, corruption and mal-administration have increased and law and order have suffered rude jolts.

The Regional Formula

The communal problem arising out of fanaticism of large groups of the Hindu and Sikh communities had been temporarily resolved after the implementation of the Regional Formula in 1956, when the Hindi and Punjabi regions were constituted. The Akali Dal accepted the formula and joined the Congress Party. Had this formula been given a fair trial by all concerned, possibly, the situation would have been much better.

But, Shri Kairon was more interested in consolidating his group within the party by absorbing a section of the Akalis than in bringing about amicable relations between the two communities. He also sought to utilize this opportunity to eliminate Master Tara Singh and disrupt the Akali party by offering posts in the Ministry to some Akali leaders. To this end, he employed a dubious strategy in the politics of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee.

The Gurdwara elections, which are held every four years, had been held in 1955 before Shri Kairon became Chief Minister. The Congress-supported Sikhs had captured only 3 seats, while the Desh Bhagat Board of the Communists, profitting from their alliance with the Akalis, had secured 22 seats. When the election of the president of the SGPC, which is held annually, was held in 1958, Shri Kairon made a frantic bid to defeat Master Tara Singh. He had by then included Shri Rarewala and Gyani Kartar Singh in his Cabinet.

Red Hand-clasp

The joint efforts of Shri Kairon and his new colleagues would still have failed with all their extensive use of Government machinery and the temptations of permits, and assurances of favours and pressure of threats—tactics which were widely employed—if Shri Kairon had not allied himself with the Communists. Consequent to the alliance Master Tara Singh lost by three votes and his defeat was interpreted as a great victory for Shri Kairon.

Shri Darbara Singh, the then president of the Punjab Congress, hailed it in a statement and declared that Master Tara Singh's defeat was a defeat of the Punjabi Suba claim. This statement was, needless to say, hardly conducive to burying the question of Punjabi Suba. In fact, it drove the Akalis, who had accepted the Regional Formula, instead, to press their demand for the Suba more vigorously.

Divide and Rule

But Shri Kairon, Shri Darbara Singh and their friends have never had a reputation for political sagacity; power to them is dearer than any principle and solution. This love of power led them to sabotage the working of the Regional Formula after their nominees suffered defeat in the elections of both the Regional Committees. No one can accuse Shri Kairon of giving support or co-operation to his opponents; hence, he and his friends, the ruling group, conspired against the regional arrangement.

The interests of the ruling group could hardly be served by the success of any arrangement that would establish amity between the communities and stability in the political life, as their greatest safeguard of power lay in the reinforcement of the belief held by the Congress High(est) Command that so long as there was trouble in the Punjab, Shri Kairon could not be dispensed with. Hence, when the communal-minded sections of the Hindu population, which had earlier failed to enlist the support of the Hindus of the Hindi-speaking region for their campaign against the Regional Formula, launched an agitation by raising the bogey of "ban on Hindi" and "freedom of language", some of the Chief Minister's ardent colleagues were found in the leading positions of this movement. This also partially explains the sudden and unexpected withdrawal of the movement.

But, by its failure, while Shri Kairon reinforced his strength and influence in the highest quarters, the whole strategy could not but aggravate the communal tension and bitterness.

Akali Scape-Goat

The most grievous assault against the Regional Formula was made under cover of permanently weakening the influence of the Akalis and Master Tara Singh in the SGPC. Those who had most loudly condemned Master Tara Singh of abusing his control on the Gurdwaras for acquiring political influence, sought to utilise their political power to gain control of the Gurdwaras. The Congress party rushed in an amendment of the Gurdwara Act in order to make it possible to get 35 of its own men elected to the SGPC. This gave credence to the Akali charge of Government's interference in the Gurdwaras. The manner in which the amendment was rushed, or the electoral college was constituted and the elections held, widened the cleavage between the Congress party and the Akalis.

The Akalis, thereupon, launched once again their old demand and declared that the Regional Formula had failed and hence the Punjab Suba should be created. Thus, in an anxiety to consolidate his position, Shri Kairon seriously damaged the chances of a settlement accepted by big sections of the two communities; and, his whole strategy, instead of eliminating the Akalis or Master Tara Singh, generated powerful emotions, which the communal reactionaries on both sides came to use for strengthening their
influence. A less spectacular and more sober policy could have yielded positive gains.

In its mad rush for power, the Punjab ruling group has been instrumental in strengthening the Communists also. The latter extorted the full cost of their alliance with the Congress party in the SGPC year after year and enlarged their control on the Gurdwaras. In abusing the Gurdwaras for the furtherance of political—partisan and personal—ends, the Communists and Congressmen have set no better precedents than the Akalis.

Betterment Levy

Further, the alliance between the Communists and Shri Kairon's group extended beyond the SGPC affairs. The betterment levy which had been imposed soon after the Bhakra-Nangal scheme, formed another focus of this dangerous alignment. The present Government of the Punjab, which works with an anti-urban bias, had never favoured the collection of the levy. Yet, the repeated pressure of the Planning Commission compelled it to make the collection. The Communists, wishing to regain the confidence of the Sikh peasantry, their alliance with the Congress party in the SGPC had cost them, launched an agitation against the levy. While leaders of the Punjab Government held out this movement as an expression of popular opposition to the collection of levy in order to impress upon the Central Government that its collection should be postponed, the Communists intensified it with the connivance of the highest quarters and with the hope that the credit of having the collection stopped would enhance their reputation.

The internal rift of the Cabinet had also a bearing on this development. The Minister of Agriculture, Shri Rarewala, had by this time fallen out with Shri Kairon and this movement could only tell upon his reputation. Yet, opposition to the solicitude of Shri Kairon for the movement came from unexpected quarters from within his group. Shri Darbara Singh, who faces a strong challenge in his own district from the Communist leader, Shri Harkishan Singh Sujit, felt that the movement would further endanger his position. On the other hand, the Central Government expected of the Punjab Government that this movement would be strongly dealt with. Hence, at a time when, encouraged by the weak-kneed policy of the Government, the movement had gathered momentum and was taking a valiant turn, Shri Kairon was compelled to use his strong arm. The movement was however suddenly withdrawn and the Communists' reputation touched a very low ebb. Yet, it had served Shri Kairon's purpose admirably.

New Liaison

This alliance took a new turn this year, when once again the Communists and Shri Kairon's Sadh Sanghat Board struck a deal to jointly contest the Gurdwara elections. The Communists, humbled by Shri Kairon's treatment of their movement to which he had at first favourably reacted, had further lost popular goodwill as a result of the happenings on the northern border. The opportunity offered by this alliance was a veritable boon for them. Shri Kairon made significant concessions to them on the betterment levy question as well. Thus, both of them made a bid to consolidate their positions with the Sikh peasantry. The Government announced the constitution of joint committees with Communists to go into the question of collection of the levy. Again, Shri Kairon's friends were instrumental in giving Rs. 11,000 cash from the promised Rs. 51,000 to the Communists' Desh Bagh Memorial Board on behalf of the SGPC. Nationalist and democratic circles have been surprised at this alliance and have wondered at the solicitude which Congress Chief Minister is showing towards the Communists.

Kairon Affinity

But, in his thinking and political practice, Shri Kairon has a lot in common with the Communists. He has extended his power by playing one community against the other—a usual Communist tactic. When he was Deputy Chief Minister in 1955, he had openly accused Shri Sachar's Government of maltreating the Sikhs and later he won over the Hindu communalists and Congressmen to his side by telling them that if he was given power, he would work hard to defeat Master Tara Singh.

Shri Kairon has very deep affinity with the Communist logic. In 1956, he made a speech in Ambala in which he lauded the one-party system of the Communist countries. One of his personal assistants, a legal adviser of his family, one of the agents of his son and several others of his colleagues are former members of the Communist Party. Shri Jaswant Singh Kairon, his brother, has been a prominent member of the Communist Party. These (Continued on page 10)
Political Piracy in Andhra

A NDHRA Pradesh, the home State of the new Congress President, has become commanding centre of political piracy in recent times. The State is supposed to be a stronghold of the Congress as a result of the fusion of Shri P. V. G. Raju's party into the organisation. Only in July last, at the time of the formation of the Socialist Democratic Party with the help of Shri G. Lachhanna and others (now in the Swatantra Party), at Tenali, Shri Raju had, however, declared that the Congress had become an outright reactionary party and urged the need to have a strong socialist party to oppose the ruling Congress.

Shri Raju, who tried his best to disrupt the PSP and then the Socialist Party of Dr. Lohia, after failing in the effort, became president of the self-styled all-India "Socialist Unity Centre" at the same time admiring the efforts of Rajaji in forming a "Conservative Party". The entry into the Congress of Shri Raju with his blind following from militant socialism to socialism of the Nehru brand caused no surprise to anyone.

Leadership in Plenty

Andhra is not in dearth of leadership. (What is actual hold of these leaders on the state is an altogether different matter). Prof. Ranga, who embraced the Congress with his vote unconditionally once more after the mid-term elections in 1955, on the pretext of saving the State from the chaos and Communism and on the inspiration of the bold lead given by the Congress in favour of a Socialistical pattern of society at Avadi, deserted the very Congress party to support a dark horse for the leadership of Rajaji's Swatantra Party.

His henchmen, Shri G. Lachhanna, Dr. Chenna Reddy and others went a step further. After their resignation from the Congress, they formed the Democratic Party and then became loyal socialists in collaboration with Shri P. V. G. Raju in the Socialist Democratic Party. Within less than three months, they became leaders of the Swatantra Party. They said that socialism has failed everywhere. Prof. Ranga, known to be the only politician who has the capacity to take the wrong step at every right opportunity is now perturbed as the vacuum created by him in the Congress has been filled up by Shri P. V. G. Raju. Of course, it is generally held that Shri Raju's remaining in the Congress fold is as much doubtful as Shri Ranga's continuance in the Swatantra Party.

Sanjiva Reddy's Fix

The Congress, which has been as notorious here for group politics, castemism and opportunism as anywhere else, has been more conspicuous as such after Shri Raju's re-entry. Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy was not at all happy to give up the most powerful Chief Ministership to take up the unwanted Congress Gadi. He knows full well that the presidency of the Congress was thrust upon him against his will. He was also aware that as Congress President his role would be only to rubber-stamp the actions and decisions of the Prime Minister Nehru

by

M. Ramachandra Rao

as the show boy. He also felt that this had been managed mainly by his hitherto staunch lieutenant, Shri A. Satyanarayana Raju, who now becomes his political rival in the State politics.

The main reason offered for the selection was that Shri Sanjiva Reddy alone was a match to counter the influence of Prof. Ranga, now leader of the All-India Swatantra Party. As the choice was sudden and unexpected, Shri Reddy could neither refuse the wishes of his bosses in Delhi nor willingly part with his self-made, unchallenged leadership of the State.

In such a situation, it was natural to expect that his trusted "chela" would succeed him as Chief Minister. But to his shocking surprise, Shri Sanjiva Reddy's satellites suddenly shifted their loyalty in favour of Shri S. Raju, dropping their erstwhile leader like a hot potato. The struggle for power then became purely communal.

A powerful section of the Congress Legislature Party openly opposed the leadership going to the Kapu (Reddy) community. They accused that during the regime of Shri Reddy the legitimate claims of communities other than Kapu had been ignored. Many feel that this was the secret of Shri Reddy's success in retaining power. Shri A. S. Raju's supporters demanded the leadership this time for the Khatri community and openly supported his candidature. Shri P. V. G. Raju (who also belongs to the same community) had also taken a leading part in this affair. As against this, Shri Sanjiva Reddy's obvious choice was Shri K. Brahmananda Reddy, Finance Minister in his Cabinet.

Helpless Choice

But, when a hectic campaign started, Shri Sanjiva Reddy was puzzled, not being sure of success for his nominee in a contest against Shri A. S. Raju, particular to avoid such a contest and save his face. For, defeat of his nominee in the contest would mean, losing the hold on the State completely and thus paving the way for an uncertain political future. At the same time, a shrewd politician, Shri Sanjiva Reddy was against the candidature of Shri A. S. Raju. If the latter became Chief Minister he was sure to consolidate his position as he is a more scheming head than his political "guru". Therefore he wanted a person other than Shri Raju, one who would vacate the chair whenever he required it. Shri Raju, in turn, was adamant and would not yield to the nominee of Shri Reddy.

In this mutual recrimination-ridden race for power, the contending groups, in an utter state of confusion, helplessly decided in the end to support a dark horse for the leadership under the false pretext of unanimity. Shri D. Sanjiviah, a "War quality" Harijan member of the Congress, whose trump card is his continued holding of Ministership ever since the first General Elections in 1952, thus emerged as a new leader. Though both the groups claim that Shri Sanjiviah belongs to their group, it can however be presumed safely that the choice is a victory for Shri A. S. Raju and a loss of face for Shri Sanjiva Reddy.

The task before the new Chief Minister now is not easy, as at least one-fourth of the two hundred total Congress members are applicants for ministerial jobs. However, it is too
early to predict how things will shape under the leadership of Shri Sanjiviah.

Congress Gadl

With this background in the State, Shri Sanjiviah Reddy goes to shape the destiny of the Congress. A person known for little sacrifice and poor intellectual calibre, Shri Reddy is undoubtedly a lucky person and an expert in political trading. He knows how to disarm his opposition. He has a pet theory in politics that the "national organisation", the great Congress, must not be opposed by any other democratic party. He genuinely feels that the Communist Party alone has got a right to exist outside the Congress. For him democracy will become perfect and complete only when either of the C. P. I. and the Congress replaces the other. It is this great democrat who gave a national standing to the dwindling Reds in Andhra, who in turn are ever grateful to him for this kind service. Shri Sanjiviah Reddy has been successful in disrupting the once most powerful and strong PSP in the State. It started with the Andhra Kesari, Shri Prakasam, who lost the Chief Ministership of Andhra Pradesh and who became a willing victim to their evil machinations by becoming a political turn-coat in his later days. This was followed by Shri T. Viswanatham and now Shri P. V. G. Raju and some others.

If a similar situation arises in Kerala after the elections, this unofficial Rashtrapathi will not hesitate to offer the Chief Ministership to Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai, provided he deserts the PSP to join the Congress. A word of warning to the PSP in general and to the Kerala unit in particular: therefore, it is necessary, whenever an occasion arises to deal with Shri Reddy, one must be cautious.

Only Ray of Hope

To sum up, the politics of the State is suffering from all kinds of diseases: corruption, favouritism, inefficiency, groupism, and casteism. Principled and honest public life has become an exception. The man in the street has become indifferent to politics, having lost faith in all the politicians. Thus the choice before the people of Andhra today is between the corrupt, power-mad Congress and the frustrated and outdated Swatantra Party on the one hand, and the inhuman and traitorous Community Party and the weak, depleted though self-less PSP on the other. As there is no short cut for social revolution it is too much to expect quick and radical changes in this political set-up now. Yet, if the PSP rises to the occasion, standing up boldly to purify the polluted political atmosphere by sincere work, there may still be a ray of hope for the State.

KAIRONISTS & COMMUNISTS

(Continued from page 8)

contacts, while of only a little significance in themselves, lend themselves to deeper interpretation in the context of the repeated alliance between Shri Kairon and the Communists.

Little wonder if the Communists were divided amongst themselves on the issue of seriously contesting the seat where Shri Kairon was a candidate! There is a strong impression in Amritsar that Shri Kairon supported the Communist candidates in those constituencies in which the Congress candidate belonged to Master Tara Singh's group. The Communist leaders have always refused to join a movement against Shri Kairon, saying that in the present Congress leadership, they liked Shri Kairon most. Their behaviour in the last election to the State Assembly came in for wide comment as theirs was the only group which kept unusually silent on the Karnal murder case judgment, in which aspersions have been cast against the Chief Minister.

Feathering Own Nest

Thus, assured of substantial support from the Communists, having bribed a part of the following of Master Tara Singh and having successfully wooed secular and communal Hindu opinion by launching a tirade against the Akalis, Shri Kairon has made his position amply secure. He has used his great power to tamper with all laws, to terrorise his enemies, favour his friends and give the fullest license to his relatives and yes-men to pursue their mad hunt for treasures. Smuggling, corruption and bribery have continued to mount and there are no checks or opposition.

Hence, what were lags to be fulfilled by painstaking effort and judicious statesmanship—that is, the lags of communalism, casteism and rural-urban conflicts—were operated as levers to strengthen Shri Kairon's personal despotism, so that he could ride roughshod over law and order. The judgment of the Karnal murder case stirred democratic opinion all over the country; yet, within the Punjab, it failed to consolidate those forces which ought to be interested in the maintenance of civil liberties and law and order. In this situation, the Communists, Shri Kairon's allies, are left free to pursue their anti-national and subversive policies in this border State, and under cover of defeating communalism, are engaged in a grave conspiracy against the nation's territorial integrity besides progress.

PSP's Mission

This situation ought to have warned the freedom-loving and nationalist forces. If it has eluded their comprehension, it is because communalism has gone so deep under the skin of the two communities that their main concern is mutual defeat and not the survival of the country as a whole.

An imperative need has, therefore, arisen that this alliance of communalism and lawlessness should be fought. Not only standards of public conduct and personal security of the people, but also the security of our borders is in jeopardy. The Praja Socialist Party has been fighting against this corrupt administration for the last thirty months. But, in order that it becomes a massive fight, all communities and political parties should jointly carry on the campaign. The Party has been trying to detect the minds of the people from petty communal considerations and harness them towards a bigger issue, the issue of a clean administration.

And, now, even more fundamental loyalties have become involved. Either the PSP fights it alone, allowing the bickering and communal hatred to be further exploited by the Akali and Sanjgh groups—and even more so by Shri Kairon and the Communists—to extend their influence, or it shoulders the responsibility which it owes to the people and to its ideals: in the latter case, it ought to make a concerted effort for a mass upsurge against the two unholy allies—the Kaironists and the Communists—to end the subversive attack upon normal life in the State and national security on the border.
Surely the most moving, the truest and saddest book to have appeared in the United States during the last year is Norman Mailer's Advertisement for Myself. It is a confession in form of an anthology, an autobiography disguised as a running commentary on a chronologically arranged collection of Mailer's shorter writings over the past twenty years. There is a little of everything: short stories, newspaper columns, editorials, pseudo-poems, dramatic fragments; even selections from Mailer's already published novels (which he assumes, correctly, to have remained unread) and from one which he will clearly never finish. There is the sense everywhere of a writer, baffled and near despair, trying for one last time to break through to the talent he dreamed he had at seventeen, to the audience he will not yet admit does not exist. Finally and despite its occasional outbursts of apocalyptic hope, its praise of the Good Orgasm and the Hip Life, Advertisements for Myself is the story of the defeat of the writer in America, a work like, say, Griswold's Life of Poe or Edmund Wilson's recension of Scott Fitzgerald's The Crackup. Mailer is, however, his own Griswold and Wilson, denigrating critic and adulatory surviving friend in one; and where he cannot himself provide sufficient occasion for self-hatred or self-pity, he draws on unfriendly reviews, nasty letters to the editor, accounts of private snubs.

"The shits are killing us," he tells us is the motto of his book; and there is evidence enough that he at least has been deeply wounded by the shits in whose world American writers now, as in the time of Poe or Fitzgerald, have to fight for survival. It is the failure of others, of the "squares" that Mailer chiefly describes, the timidity of publishers, their ignorance and insularity, its hysterical pursuit of sensation, its small rivalries and paranoid fantasies. Mailer himself appears to believe that a radio interviewer deliberately doctored a tape to make Mailer's voice sound thin and fruity, his own rich and assured. What else can he believe, being convinced in the first instance that he himself somehow just missed sparking the Coming Sexual Revolution in the columns of a small-circulation newspaper run by a friend, and that it is the year of his hipster's code of marijuana, jazz and the orgasm which has made the publication of his books so difficult.

Professor Leslie Fielder, who is the most brilliant and controversial of the younger American critics, has chosen Norman Mailer's "Advertisements for Myself", which he feels to be "the most moving, the truest and saddest book to have appeared in the U.S. during the last year"; Mailer presents in "pathetic detail the Portrait of the Artist as a Middle-Aged Man, in which a generation can see itself and squirm".

Yet the case Mailer makes against our culture is strengthened rather than weakened by the provinciality and paranoia which cue his accusations. That the unmitigated ambition which has driven him all his life, the frantic dedication to honesty should eventuate in a case history rather than in triumph, this is the final terror, a guilt in which we are all involved. What is there to choose, we are compelled to ask, between resisting the values of our society and acceding to them, if the one means writing, like Mailer, inchoate and sentimental articles in Dissent (e.g., "The White Negro")—and on the other, composing dull appeals for cleaner television, like the article by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. in the current T.V. Guide (which lists all the week's programme between ads for Philadelphia Cream Cheese and PERMA-GRIP: "Enjoy Peace of Mind despite False Teeth!"). If there were a choice, I would, of course, stand with Mailer, whose enemies at least seem more like my own. But I cannot finally believe there is more than an illusion of choice; for a remembered scene haunts me, in which Schlesinger and an editor of Dissent are lounging at opposite ends of a fashionable Cape Cod beach and one cannot be sure to which party the Negro maid is hurrying with umbrella and baby bottle. Dying we surely are, but in a style to which it is hard to get accustomed!

As a matter of fact, it is precisely at the seaside in Wellfleet—and in the advertising offices among bright sociologists, sure that they should be spending their time on something loftier than praising Coca-Cola—that a Mailer revival is now going on. "The conscience literature of the new $30,000-a-year men", one more than ordinarily self-conscious $30,000-a-year man recently called Mailer's novels; and this new popularity Mailer has not come to terms with in the present book. It is a final irony before which even he flinches, that he who began as a middlebrow best seller, then lapsed into obscurity, returns to popularity among a minority who find his simple-minded intransigence on the subject of sex a metapolitics compatible with their "own loss of youth and poverty. It is not as a good writer but as a rebel whose rebellion threatens (alas) nothing that such readers turn to Mailer.

Indeed, he is not a really first rate novelist at all—and it is here that the pathos of his exemplary position is compounded. The Naked and the Dead is a cliché-ridden rewrite of the standard post-World War I protest novel, its villain—General half Daily Worker Fascist and half G.I. faggot. One is not surprised to learn in this volume that it had been half-conceived by the undergraduate Mailer before he had ever left Harvard to go to the war. Barberry Share is a belated thirties novel dissolved into incoherence by a hysteria irrelevant to its politics; while The Deer Park, for all its evident honesty, loses its sexual point amid the stereotypes of two
With Faulkner, it was a little different; though the final result was not unlike. Not Mailer but an alert editor sent to the older writer Mailer's comment that "the white man fears the sexual potency of the Negro", to which not-very-useful cliché, Faulkner responded that he had often heard the idea expressed "though not before by a man. The others were ladies... usually around 40 or 45 years of age". It was a stand-off really; Mailer who had over the air called Eisenhower a "woman" had been answered in kind, but he could not resist a last resort. His embarrassingly jejun answer does not matter; what counts is the fact that in painful candour he reports it with the rest of the interchange—completing to the final pathetic detail the Portrait of the Artist as a Middle-aged Man, in which a generation can see itself and squirm: the unfulfilled writer, contemptuous of his peers, rebuffed by the mass audience, read by slobs and snubbed by the few elders he admires. Only a fool would confess to recognizing in such an image himself; but Mailer has had the final intelligence—or grace—to play for the world that torments him precisely such a fool, almost, indeed. The Fool.

(Continued from page 6)

Socialist parties in the underdeveloped countries which have succeeded in becoming governments. For example, for ten years we were in government in Burma. We did not require funds from our Socialist friends in Europe, but we wanted technical advice, technical experts, economists, who would advise us on Socialist lines, not on the capitalist lines of Wall Street. However, we did not find adequate help.

We are not asking the Socialist Governments of Europe now to spend large amounts. The technical assistance they can give us and the Socialist experts they can send us need not cost them so very much. Yet it would be an invaluable service to our Socialist parties in office.

(Concluded)