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REGD. No. B. 5245

THE RADICAL HUMANIST

April 1, 1951

## CULTURAL FREEDOM

Continued from page 147

failed to prevent the rise and growth of modern totalitarianism. The growing menace of Communist totalitarianism has posed the problem of cultural freedom in sharp relief. But opposition to communism by itself is not only an inadequate but a deceptive qualification for the supporter of cultural freedom. Opposition to communism springs sometimes because of an opposition to materialism sometimes because of an opposition to its professions of economic liberation. Such opposition, if logically pursued would lead to a defence of obscurantism and economic exploitation. We do not support Communist doctrines nor do we believe that the Communist way of economic reconstruction can end exploitation. But it cannot be ignored that amongst the crusaders against communism there are some who profess obscurantism and defend economic systems which cause exploitation. Totalitarianism of the left is sought to be combatted by developing totalitarianism of the right. It is indeed undeniable that the Communist order leads to social and cultural regimentation. But social and cultural regimentation taking place under the economic order of capitalism and the political order of parliamentary democracy is by no means less real or less dangerous though it is of course more subtle. There is a thin line of division between formal freedom and an open denial of freedom and the thin line vanishes under even imaginary dangers and unfounded threats. Indeed the Communist as well as the anti-Communist, the yogi as well as the commissar promises freedom. Their claims and promises must be examined on their merits and in the context of a rational explanation of the universe, society and man.

The division of the globe into two power blocs might lead to an acceptance of the one and a rejection of the other. The ideals and ideas for which they stand and for which they are prepared to seek an armed settlement must be critically examined. We are of the opinion that such a critical examination reveals that both the power blocs stand for collectivist ideals and ideas and this common denominator between them hold both of them as threats to freedom. *Crusade against communism should not therefore drive the defenders of cultural freedom into the arms of obscurantism as well as right totalitarianism.* Indeed obscurantism can be found on both the sides and the terms right and left have become meaningless. Both the camps have common characteristics.

There is another consideration. After all within these blocs there live human beings; to condemn them as bad would be totally unreal. To kindle and rekindle the spirit of revolt of these men and women the defenders of cultural freedom must raise the banner of cosmopolitanism. In other words the cause of cultural freedom can best be promoted on the basis of cosmopolitan humanism. Let everyone have the freedom to hold and to preach his opinions and ideas, but let human values and reason prevail.

## PAKISTAN PLOT

Continued from page 148

arrested to head off his threatened revelation about the project of American air bases in Pakistan. Indeed, such revelation would warrant the Russians promising help to a possible *coup d'etat*. It cannot be ruled out that the Pakistan Government may have made some agreement with America which, in Communist propaganda, can be interpreted as selling out. And such a propaganda, associated with a chauvinistic attitude towards the Kashmir deadlock, would have a strong patriotic appeal which might sway the younger officers of the army. It would be quite natural for the Russians to exploit the sinister possibility of the inflammatory situation with the object of bringing the danger of disruption nearer to the only secure spot in Asia.

## FOUNDATIONS OF A NEW SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

Continued from page 151

There, Communism is supposed to have triumphed with the support of the people. This idea of Communism being purified by nationalism is simply not true. In China also it means violence, suppression of all liberty and all the rest of the familiar story. Whether it be of the Russian or Chinese variety, Communism will bring in its wake a long period of terror, regimentation, suppression of liberty, most probably civil war and chaos. It is sheer madness to welcome that catastrophe with the hope that the golden utopia may be waiting on the other side of the uncharted sea of blood and tears.

Is there no third alternative? Must we fall back upon the intellectual lethargy of choosing the lesser evil? And even that judgment will create endless confusion, because it will be a matter of opinion and predisposition. While rejecting Communism, we cannot ignore the defects of formal democracy. It will not establish political freedom in this country, where the cultural preconditions for democratic practice are absent. In this atmosphere, formal democracy will not only easily degenerate into vulgar demagoguery and deception; it may indeed prepare the way to a dictatorship with popular support. On the other hand, beginning from scratch, we in India need not be handicapped by the tradition of formalism. We can give democracy a chance by laying down its human foundation. The coming election gives us the opportunity to do so. We should advise the people not to take any party on its words, and help them to examine critically the promises made during the election campaign. All the promises may be sincerely made; but they may be unrealistic and therefore meant to deceive the people. The danger of democracy degenerating into demagoguery can be headed off only by helping the people to develop their capacity of judgment. And only a social philosophy which holds that man is essentially rational can inspire us to undertake the task of building a democratic order on the solid foundation of an intelligent electorate, which will not be swayed by appeals to emotion.

This endeavour to lay down the humanist foundation of a democratic order must be based on the *reconstruction of the economic life. The result will be creation of a chain of local republics in which democracy will be real, because it will be directly, and economic problems solved on the basis of local resources, with the intelligent initiative and co-operative effort of the citizens.* Whoever are more concerned with the freedom and welfare of the people than with power to rule in the name of the people, can begin doing things by themselves, irrespective of the attitude of the established government. But they must have confidence in themselves, and the confidence is given by the humanist philosophy of life.

The practical details of what should be done and how are outlined in the two statements submitted for public consideration. They do not claim any finality. They do not lay down the blueprint of the future. They only indicate a new approach to problems which have baffled the politicians. Agreement with it will not mean any organisational commitment, involve no party discipline. Our appeal is to reason and moral responsibility. The response to this entirely disinterested appeal will be the measure of hope for the future not only of our country, but of the modern civilisation.

Most probably, the Russians were misled by exaggerated reports from their fifth column on the spot, and gave the signal prematurely; or it might have been just a gamble. In any case, they have lost. But given the curious fact that the Indian Prime Minister is playing with fire, as his Pakistani opposite number did with an astute purpose, the Russians may not have lost irreparably. In any case, the Pakistan plot should be treated as the signal of a storm over the Islamic world; and if it breaks out, India also may have a few blasts.

CONSULATE GENERAL OF INDIA  
OF AMERICA  
BOMBAY, INDIA  
MAR 31 1951

Editor: M. N. ROY

FORMERLY

Mg. Ed. V. B. KARNIK

INDEPENDENT INDIA

VOL. XV NUMBER 13

BOMBAY, APRIL 1, 1951

FOUR ANNAS

## PAKISTAN PLOT

M. N. ROY

It would be idle to deny that the recent sensational events in Pakistan took place on the background of international power-politics. Nor can it be doubted that there was a conspiracy to overthrow the government, and that several high placed persons were involved in it. Whatever might be the political conviction and motive of the top-ranking military officers implicated, there is little room for any doubt that they were in alliance with the Communists. Faiz Ahmed Faiz, who has been described as the brain of the conspiracy, is an avowed Communist of long standing. And Begum Akbar Khan has been known to be a fellow-traveller along with her other sisters. Indeed, the abortive conspiracy may be regarded as a battle in the cold war (no longer solely cold) lost by the Russians. Its connection with the general flare-up in the Middle East is obvious.

In order to imagine what might have happened in Pakistan, one needs only to refresh the memory of recent history. After Liaquat Ali's return from the first Communist-Indian Prime Minister's *Colloquium with the feeling that he was cold-shouldered there, and he felt further humiliated by the discrimination of Washington* inviting the Prime Minister of the sister dominion, there was an outburst of pro-Russianism in Pakistan. Moscow secured a diplomatic victory by inviting the Pakistani Prime Minister in that psychologically favourable juncture. Public pronouncements by top-ranking Pakistani leaders, including the Prime Minister and the present Governor of East Bengal, made the impression that their country might welcome an alliance with Russia. The Communists must have taken advantage of the atmosphere to infiltrate deep into the public life and entrench themselves in strategic positions. They were tolerated by the government with the belief that smiles at Moscow would spite London and Washington, and might compel a reversion of their attitude. As a matter of fact, the behaviour of the Pakistani leaders for the time being amounted to the declaration that, unless their country was treated as equal with India, they might go red.

The demagogic diplomacy worked. Liaquat Ali was invited to America, and lionised like Nehru a few months earlier. And it seems that his visit yielded more concrete results than the latter's. Because he was concerned less with public applause, which he got all the same, than to convince those who counted that a friendly Pakistan would be of considerable economic and decisive strategic value. On his return home, he coldly discouraged further coquetry with Russia. The much publicised Moscow visit was dropped. But it was difficult to dislodge the Communists from positions of vantage which they held clandestinely.

Even before partition, the unscrupulous policy of supporting the Muslim League had enabled the Communists to win many adherents and sympathisers in the high society of Lahore, and even gain some control on the League machinery. A leading

member of the Communist Party, a very wealthy man himself, was elected President of the West Punjab Muslim League defeating a powerful rival. Several young League leaders, who captured to be sympathetic to Communism and preferred a Russian orientation of Pakistan foreign policy. On the whole, even after the Government changed its tone, the Communists retained a large measure of freedom of movement and influence amongst modernised intellectuals and socialites. It is significant that the most popular daily paper was owned and edited by known Communists, and made no secret of its sympathies. Evidently, the government preferred to have two strings to its bow.

It would be natural for the Communists to exploit the ambiguous situation with the object of conveying the impression that the government was afraid of them because they were very powerful. And political adventurers would be very likely to prey on this sympathy for Communism with the object of capturing power with the support of Russia. Moreover, it is natural for military men to be impressed by power. It is an open secret that amongst the young officers of the Indian as well as Pakistani armed forces there is a great admiration for the Russian army, and the professional admiration is reinforced by social idealism on the part of some, and race prejudice in the case of others. Russia is regarded as an Asian Power. A combination of such circumstances and psychological factors might very well have encouraged the abortive *coup d'etat*.

It is difficult to judge how strong was the conspiracy. The fact that more arrests have not been made does not necessarily prove that only a few persons were involved. It is nonsense and malice to say that the arrests were made as an election stunt. There was no danger of the Muslim League losing the election in Pakistan any more than the Congress being defeated in the next election in India. There is no reason to doubt the Commander-in-Chief's statement that documents proving a conspiracy were

(Continued on page 148)

## CONTENTS

EDITORIAL : CULTURAL FREEDOM	147
THIS AGE OF DISILLUSIONMENT by SUYASH MAJUMDAR	149
FOUNDATIONS OF A NEW SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY by M. N. ROY	150
EUROPEAN MOVEMENT TO OPPOSE GERMAN REARMAMENT by KARL KUHNKE	152
THE PRINCIPLE OF INDOTERNACY by IRA M. FREEMAN	155

## Notes of the Week

## Russian Wheat and Chinese Rice

SOME quarters had been representing for some time that though Soviet Russia and Red China were prepared to give food grains to India the government were not considering the offers for political reasons. Speculation on the point has been now set at rest by definite information regarding the offers and the conditions accompanying them that has since appeared in the press. Russia, it appears, is prepared to sell 50,000 tons of wheat in exchange for raw jute. The offer is not therefore of a gift, as the interested quarters had suggested, but of an exchange of commodities. India can take advantage of it only if she is able to find the requisite quantity of jute. Those who are acquainted with the jute position in the country will readily realise that it is not an easy matter to secure the jute that will be required for the exchange. Regarding China it appears that an exchange of 50,000 tons of rice for 16,500 tons of gunnies has been already agreed upon and a part of the Chinese rice has arrived. A similar offer from Viet Nam is also under consideration. It is clear therefore that it is not altogether impossible to secure from various countries the food that India requires. But guided by the fantastic idea of self-sufficiency in food the Government neglected to take timely steps to arrange for supplies and are now being required to agree to hard bargains. It will be good if the lesson will be learnt and the mistake avoided in the coming year. People were hopelessly looking to the United States for a timely supply of adequate quantities of food grains. The noble message that the President of the country had sent to its Congress had encouraged the hope that appropriate legislation would be enacted expeditiously and that the supplies would begin to arrive at an early date. The hope has been falsified and the legislation has got bogged in the Congress for one reason or the other. It may be eventually passed and India may in the end get the food grains that she needs so badly as a gift or as a loan. But even a gift will lose all its charm if it does not come in time. It will be well if the U.S.A. authorities will keep that in mind and will not allow delay to destroy the charm of their gift or loan.

## Arbitration on War

ANXIETIES to find a solution to the Kashmir problem, the United Kingdom and the United States revised their original resolution and placed a new draft before the Security Council. But the new draft has pleased India as little as the original version. The main point of the resolution is the appointment of arbitrators on the failure of the two parties to agree will be entitled to draw up a solution of their own. India has been all along opposed to the idea and her opposition continues to be as strong as before. In a speech delivered at Agra the Prime Minister expressed his strong disapproval of the resolution and deprecated the attitude of U.K. and U.S.A. whom he accused of either not understanding the Kashmir problem or knowingly misrepresenting it. His Deputy who was speaking in Bombay about the same time used much stronger language and accused the United Nations of acting in a "partisan manner." According to him the United Nations ought to have decided the specific issue whether or not Pakistan had committed aggression in Kashmir, but that "it had no guts or desire" to give a verdict on the issue. If the Deputy Prime Minister's argument is sound, India ought not to have objected to the United States move to brand China as aggressor after accepting the first resolution of the Security Council regarding the war in Korea. And yet India courageously opposed the move and earned the gratitude of all peace-lovers throughout the world. It is on the same ground that the Security Council is refusing to concern itself only with the technical issue of aggression and is devoting its attention to the much larger and more important issue of finding a peaceful solution to the problem. In matters concerning others India

stands forth as the champion of peace and desires the adoption of a non-technical, constructive attitude; but in matters concerning herself she forgets that noble outlook and emphasises formalities and technicalities. This contradiction between the two attitudes is bound to damage her good name and reduce her effectiveness as a force for peace. In any case a side which is so cocksure about the high ethics of its position should not be so reluctant to allow its case go before a panel of arbitrators. Besides, failing agreement, arbitration is the only alternative to a war. If war is to be avoided how can India oppose arbitration? We would therefore appeal to the Prime Minister to think a little more calmly about the problem and adopt an attitude which will help rather than hinder the solution of the longdrawn dispute over Kashmir.

## Quarrels Amongst Congressmen

It is a long time now that Rajasthan is without a popular ministry. Every few days news appears about some talks regarding the formation of the ministry, but the talks never seem to end. The difficulty is the quarrels between Congressmen and the rival claims of the various States that have formed the Union. The same difficulty has cropped up within the last few days at the other end of the country, namely, in the State of Travancore and Cochin. That State is also without a ministry for the last few days as a result of quarrels between Congressmen belonging to the two constituent units. All efforts to settle the quarrels made by a high dignitary of the Government of India assisted by the General Secretary of the Congress have so far proved futile. Similar wranglings amongst Congressmen are going on in many other parts of the country. They are the clearest possible evidence of the disintegration of the Congress as a national organisation. Having come together only with the negative purpose of ending foreign rule there is no bond which can hold them together after that negative purpose was achieved. A large number of them are now agitating for secession, better than a change for self-aggrandisement, which is a very prolific breeder of quarrels and disputes. While Congressmen are thus fighting amongst themselves over positions of power and prestige the interests of the people are being sadly neglected and sacrificed on the altar of private profit. It may be that in a few days the quarrels will be temporarily composed and a ministry may be formed in Rajasthan and in Travancore-Cochin. But that will not be an end of the quarrels. They will begin in new forms and over new issues. As long as the people will allow themselves to be ruled by politicians of this or that variety the politicians will continue to quarrel over the distribution of the loaves and fishes of office. The only remedy against these disgusting quarrels and their demoralising effect on public life is not the substitution of one set of politicians by another but the constant and effective vigilance of the people and their determination to take the reins of administration in their own hands. Those who are really worried by this sickening exhibition of the selfishness and the incompetence of the present rulers should endeavour to quicken that consciousness amongst the people and help them take things in their own hands.

## Corruption and Nepotism

BUDGET debates in Parliament and State Assemblies have brought out many a story about corruption and nepotism that appear to be widely prevalent. The latest is the so-called "jeep scandal" in which orders involving an expenditure of about a crore of rupees were placed with a firm of no substance. As a result the goods required were not supplied and the Government lost a good amount of money. If the people are not to lose all their confidence in the integrity of the Government and the administration a searching inquiry must be immediately held

(Continued on page 154)

## THE PRINCIPLE OF INDETERMINACY

IRA M. FREEHAN

ALL natural science is based on observation. Whether our knowledge of any segment of the external world remains at the level of a mere cataloguing of facts, or soars to the heights of Relativity or of Quantum Theory, observation of Nature as she really is constitutes the foundation of science, and all else is secondary.

There is one aspect of the business of making observations that is usually taken for granted, and that is the faith (for this is all it amounts to) that any observation made here and now may be expected again on any other occasion when the same conditions prevail. This proposition is sometimes called *The Uniformity of Nature* or the *Consistency of the Universe*. But whether mere faith or something else, it works. It is science's answer to the ancient beliefs in capricious demons and deities.

Despite the bewildering differences between one science and another, all of them advance largely by the same general tactics: observations are made, quantities are measured (where possible), results are correlated, theories are set up and general conclusions are drawn in the form of natural laws. The great scientific conquests of Galileo and Newton, of Darwin and Pasteur, were made according to this kind of campaign plan.

What we call classical physics attained a high state of perfection toward the end of the last century. Evolving largely from ordinary mechanics, it went forward on the assumption that all the events taking place in space and time have the objective character that we associate with common mechanical phenomena such as the falling of a stone or the swinging of a pendulum.

Early in the nineteenth century the great French mathematician and physicist Laplace made the much-quoted statement that an omniscient mind, knowing the momentary location and speed of every atom in the universe, could deduce the entire course of events in the future, both past and future. The universe, thus viewed as a machine, with all the parts rigorously interlocked. Every event was held to be strictly determined by the preceding one; every effect was ascribed to a definite cause.


Later, this mechanistic approach began to be challenged when scientists learned to break up the physical world into its basic constituents. The ubiquitous quantum aspect of nature began to assert itself once more, and in several places.

In 1927, a brilliant young theoretical physicist, Werner Heisenberg, was able to state a highly significant generalization relative to the observation and measurement of elementary processes. It is called the Principle of Indeterminacy. In one way of phrasing it, the rule asserts that the more closely we determine the location of a particle, the less accurately we are able to specify its motion, and vice versa. Heisenberg contends that the underlying cause of this puzzling situation is the fact that every process of measurement or observation actually *interferes* with what is being measured or observed.

For example, if we should wish to "see" directly a single electron, it turns out that it would be necessary to use light of very short wavelength for the purpose. But light of this kind is highly energetic, and if thrown at an electron would knock it completely out of its original position, thus defeating what we are trying to accomplish!

In the same way, there is a fundamental inexactness, an uncontrollable or indelible element, inherent in all measurements relating to elementary processes. Of course, in dealing with ordinary large-scale objects, the interaction between object and observer becomes vanishingly small, and things seem to behave in their accustomed way, but on the sub-atomic scale, the obvious connection between cause and effect is no longer in evidence.

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After all, nature does seem to be governed by order and regularity, and so if strict causality is not valid in the submicroscopic realm, what takes its place? The answer is that what we observe in coarse-grained experience is a statistical orderliness—the average behaviour of a multitude of individual entities—and such an average is accurately predictable. It is predictable in the same way that the death rate in a given population group may be computed in advance by a life-insurance company, although there is no way of forecasting when a given individual is going to die.

Chance rules the activity of the individual sub-atomic particles of physics, but their cultural or crowd behaviour, as mirrored by the large-scale world of ordinary experience, turns out to be completely in accord with expectation. The recognition of this fact has been of vast importance to the development of modern science, and has had profound and far-reaching effects on philosophical thinking as well.

the stand that sending reinforcements on the scale requested by the General would interfere with the French plan for building up home forces by the end of the year.

A possible solution might be the despatch of some units at present on garrison duty in African territories and their replacement by National Servicemen. The final decision rests with the Council of Ministers which meets on Tuesday.

The joint session of several committees of the Assembly of the French Union at Versailles heard a statement by Tran Van Khu, Minister for National Economy of Viet-Nam, who drew attention to the improvement in the military position since the arrival of General de Tassigny. He considered it necessary, however, in order that the situation might be completely restored for the General's demands for reinforcements to be met entirely.

#### How British Labour Remained in Office?

THE Special Correspondent of the *London Times* writes: Last February it seemed improbable that the Labour Government would live for more than a few months. Its survival 12 months later therefore calls for an explanation.

No Government with an absolute majority in the House of Commons of only six votes could exist indefinitely without some acquiescence on the part of the Opposition. If the Opposition chose to harry the Government, work in and week out, with a series of important divisions over a period of three or four months the Government would surely fall sooner or later. Even the most diligent whipping would seem certain to break down under such unrelenting pressure.

In fact, the Opposition have refrained from these tactics. Last June they pressed the Government hard on the Finance Bill—there were five important divisions within eight days—and more recently they have divided the House on steel, meat, and defence, all within seven days.

These, however, have been the exceptional weeks; apart from them, the Opposition's attitude has up to now been one of acquiescence in the Government's survival.

It must be added, of course, that without strong party discipline the Government could not have lived through even these

M.P.s can be relied on to vote even for their policies when they most distrust.

The recent division on defence was only the latest illustration of the tightening of the party reins. At the election of 1950 every Independent candidate was defeated, a fact which deterred even the most adventurous from defying their party whip.

The Government therefore have survived, but at what cost? The strain has undoubtedly told on Ministers. Constant attendance at the House does not make the efficient conduct of a department's business easy, and even more serious, it leaves Ministers with little time to think.

Since last February there has, of course, been much heart-searching in the Labour Party. It was early suggested by the left wing of the party that a working majority could have been won if its election programme had been more outspokenly Socialist. In recent months, however, this plea has been advanced with diminishing enthusiasm and conviction.

#### NOTES OF THE WEEK

Continued from page 146

and the persons responsible for the scandal must be severely punished for their corruption or laxity. Grave charges of nepotism are also being leveled against Congress ministers. A member of the Madhya Pradesh Assembly gave specific instances of privileged treatment accorded to the sons of the Chief Minister of the State. The cavalier way in which the spokesman of the Government dismissed the charges does not carry conviction to anybody and does not set doubts at rest. The fact that such charges are being made and that such stories are being told, some of which may be certainly baseless and wild, proves that there is something rotten in the administration. As long as the

people will have that feeling about the Government and the administration, it will be impossible to create any enthusiasm in their minds for harder work and better production and the economic condition of the country cannot be improved. It is essential therefore that the leaders of the nation should pay their particular attention to this problem of corruption and nepotism and take immediate and effective steps for rooting out the evil. The future of the country depends in a large measure on an honest and efficient administration. A Government that cannot ensure it can have no claim to the confidence and the loyalty of the people.

#### Moral Crusaders

IN his inaugural address to the second session of the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru spoke a few words about "moral crusaders" which should be taken to heart by Congress ministers and Congressmen in general. He said: "Sometimes I feel that the world might be better off if there were a few less of these moral crusaders about." Many of the Congress ministers regard themselves as moral crusaders and are busy foisting their own fads on the unfortunate people who happen to be under their rule. They have their own peculiar ideas regarding dress, food and drink, entertainment, behaviour, etc., and are utilising the power they possess to impose them upon the people as a whole in the name of morality and virtue. It will be good if they will take to heart the Prime Minister's sound advice that different people may have different ideas about morality and that it is wrong for one set of people to impose their own peculiar ideas on the other set of people. It is as much wrong for one nation to do that in the case of another nation as for rulers to do that in the case of the whole or a section of their people. In their zest for so-called moral reforms many ministers are sadly neglecting the people's interests and wasting public revenues over their own individual fads and fancies. It is to be hoped that this admonition of the Prime Minister will have some effect on persons he is supposed to lead and guide.

THE phenomenal growth of totalitarian tendencies which has taken place in the last few decades has compelled a number of emotionally as well as intellectually sensitive persons to make an endeavour to discover the ways and means of combating them. All lovers of freedom should welcome such endeavours because it is only through them and their patient and critical examination that an adequate answer may be found to prevent the development of a new and total slavery of mankind. Moreover, these endeavours represent the spirit of independence and revolt existence of which is indispensable for human progress. To keep that spirit alive is in itself a pressing necessity of our times. Totalitarianism thrives on the soil of a surrender complex which is partly a result of an 'immaturity' of mind and partly a consequence of the onslaught launched against human mind by totalitarian doctrines. Ignorance, credulity and helplessness have abetted such a surrender complex in all the periods of human history and communities have been either rescued or emancipated from conditions of slavery only as a result of the courageous assertion of the spirit of independence and revolt.

However great may be the intensity of emotional sensitiveness to all forms of totalitarianism it should be evident that in order to analyse its nature and causes and to discover effective cures emotionalism can never help. All that it can achieve is severe disgust or hatred and through it create a sense of repulsion against the overpowering menace. But that is a negative achievement however great may be its value by itself. In order to build up a positive bulwark against it and to free human mind from its deadening influence the dangers of totalitarianism must be appreciated intellectually. If totalitarian doctrines thrive on ignorance, credulity and helplessness, there can be an effectiveness of freedom only on the basis of knowledge, scepticism and man's confidence in himself. Reason is the foundation of freedom. Freedom can never develop on the basis of obscurantism and an emotional approach to the problem of freedom ends in stagnation of one form or the other, deceptively attractive but dangerous none-the-less.

Modern totalitarianism has been making inroads on all aspects of human freedom: political dictatorship, economic regimentation and cultural authoritarianism are the concrete expressions of that enslaving encroachment. It is not for the first time that human relations and ideas are being subjected to such an enslavement through the means and methods adopted by modern totalitarianism are deadlier and the context of the circumstances in which they are being practised are different. Religious obscurantism had at one stage of human history held human mind and human relations in complete bondage. A relatively comprehensive control exercised by the spiritual order and the religious institutions had ushered in a dark age from which mankind was rescued by the spiritually free and rational individuals who promoted a great renaissance. Vast sections of humanity still labour under similar spiritual oppression and for them the dark age is not yet over. And now there is the grave prospect of a second dark age in which there will be a total tyranny and in which even the faintest nucleus of freedom will be ruthlessly destroyed.

The mediaeval as well as the modern totalitarianism have common roots and a common source of nourishment; they derive their strength from the cult of collectivism. When the individual of flesh and blood is regarded as a nonentity and an unknowable absolute or an indelible abstraction is idealised freedom is bound to be suppressed. Belief in the supernatural is a belief in an absolute and ultimate collectivity. The temporal counterparts of that collectivity are found in the scripture, the priest and the ritual each of them laying the limits of human freedom of thought and action. To transgress these limits is to commit sin. In human history the greatest and the gravest attack on the freedom of mind came from religion and mankind could survive it

## THE RADICAL HUMANIST

VOL. XV

APRIL 1, 1951

NO. 13

### CULTURAL FREEDOM

is an effective means of correction modern totalitarianism functions through the state, the government and the party. In the mediaeval times the final truth was told by the scripture and it was revealed by the prophet, the priest was the conscience-keeper and man was an ever-erring sinful creature. Now we have a modern version in the party ideology offering the final truth, the leader revealing it and the small bosses of the party acting as the custodians of the material and spiritual welfare of the helpless individuals. The clergy or the commissar, the prophet or the ruler must rule the mind of man; that is the claim of totalitarianism. That claim must be challenged and disproved; to do so is the first and essential step in the direction of creating conditions for the freedom of mind.

The challenges, however, must be based on an intellectual appreciation of freedom and not on a mere emotional attachment to it, for intellect is the only means of acquiring knowledge of the universe and knowledge is a condition of freedom. The progress of knowledge can now help man to explain the universe and to explain himself. Obscurantism and collectivism discount such rational explanations and enchain human mind to some dogma or the other.

Knowledge of the various aspects of the universe and of man must be integrated into a philosophy of freedom. In some quarters there is a reluctance to recognise such a necessity for it is argued that attachment to human values is a sufficient guarantee for the promotion of freedom. In the absence of a rational explanation of the values as well as their context such an attachment must be regarded as arbitrary. In that case man will have to be regarded as an *ad hoc* category. Values exist because man exists and existence of man has a history and a causal explanation. Man himself has physiological and psychological characteristics which enable him to think and to form concepts. That freedom of mind must indeed be poor which is not based on a scientific explanation of man as a free agent and a full recognition of the dictum that man is the measure of everything. In other words to offer an axiological justification of freedom is not enough there must be a philosophical justification. A scientific integration of modern knowledge can offer a rational justification of freedom; therefore it can be regarded as a philosophy of freedom.

Promoters of cultural freedom of every form can be dispelled by rationalism. Obscurantism of every form can be dispelled by rationalism. Due to the limitations of knowledge mediaeval rationalism was unable to explain reason. Modern rationalism has been able to explain its fundamental category. Reason is a biological property, it is the expression of the law-governedness of the universe on the level of consciousness.

A scientific, rationalist view of the universe and of man must lead to a social philosophy based on individualism. Mediaeval rationalism has had its repercussions in the social sphere which led to the development of the social philosophy of liberalism. Challenging the divine right of kings in the political sphere liberalism ushered in democracy. Contesting the authority of feudalism to hold human labour in serfdom it preached in favour of the freedom of enterprise. The professions of liberal individualism were, however, handicapped by two factors. Firstly it was not able to explain man the fundamental category of its explanations; secondly its institutional expressions were inconsistent with its tenets. Labouring under these handicaps liberalism

Continued on page 156

## TIRUNELVELI DISTRICT CIVIL LIBERTIES CONFERENCE

(From A Correspondent)

The conference was held at Tuticorin on 11th March. It was attended by a good number of delegates coming from various places in the district. The conference discussed a number of resolutions pertaining to the subject of civil liberties and adopted them after a full discussion. Prominent amongst the resolutions adopted were those relating to the Preventive Detention Act, fair elections and the revision of the Criminal Procedure Code to bring it in harmony with the provisions of the Constitution guaranteeing fundamental rights.

Opening the conference Prof. A. Ranganatham, retired Principal of the American College, Madurai dwelt on the necessity of a powerful organisation to protect civil liberties in a modern State. He said:

"The importance of such a body may better be understood if we grasp a historical background and a psychological factor. In olden times the Governments were despotic but impotent. They had not the necessary machinery to execute their decrees. Aurangzeb, perhaps the most powerful emperor of the world at that time, found to his great surprise and dismay that his royal decrees were not obeyed even in Delhi, much less in the remote regions of his empire. The Governments of today are democratic but omnipotent. Modern Governments have the necessary machinery and facilities to carry out their orders. An order emanating from Delhi will touch the humblest peasant in 48 hours. The Governmental functions are comprehensive in their scope. Hardly there is any human activity which does not come within the purview of the Government directly or indirectly.

The psychological factor is that the desire for power is universal. In modern times a person cannot attain power singly.

It is no wonder that the party uses all the means at its disposal to perpetuate its power. It is so even in advanced democracies and much more so in our young democracy."

Another important speech delivered at the conference was that of Mr. K. G. Sivaraman, the Organising Secretary of the All India Civil Liberties Council. Speaking about police excesses and arbitrary orders issued under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code he explained how they violated the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. He reported that the use of Section 144 should be strictly limited to the protection of civil rights when they are in danger of being violated and pleaded for a revision of the Code to bring it in line with the Constitution. He pleaded further for punishment for those responsible for deprivation of civil rights drawing attention to that connection to a provision to that effect existing in the Criminal Procedure Code of the United States.

## PAKISTAN PLOT

(Continued from page 145)

seized in Akbar Khan's house. And the subsequent statement of the Prime Minister in the Parliament gave a broad hint that the would-be insurgents were in contact with Russia. The Communists cannot be easily caught; they have gone underground, and will escape to Russia if necessary. As regards their accomplices and dupes in the army, the government may be adopting the wise policy of persuasion as against prosecution.

However, the conspiracy might still have been in an early stage, and has been nipped in the bud by the arrest of the leaders. But at the same time, it is quite conceivable that a military coup

## CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM TASK BEFORE DELEGATES

S. K. DAS

As a gathering of intellectuals to discuss the threat of totalitarianism to freedom of thought and expression, the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom, now meeting in Bombay, is to be welcomed. According to the organisers the meeting seeks to initiate and develop a movement for protecting individual liberty and values of democracy. If this purpose is to be served the Congress should devote a good deal of attention to the nature of these values, for although due to modern education, democratic ideas have spread among a considerable section of the Indian intelligentsia, they have not taken roots in our social system, in our way of life. On the intelligentsia rests the task of laying a firm foundation of democracy and they will be unable to do that unless they are very clear about the ideas and ideals that are at the core of the democratic philosophy.

Although attended mainly by people interested in cultural activities, the Congress is bound to talk a good deal of politics. This, in fact, is inevitable considering that the threat to democracy comes from totalitarian political ideologies and policies. The delegates will have to make up their minds on means to combat Communism in this country and on the attitude they should adopt toward the international conflict between the Russian and the American blocs. Indeed, remembering the debates at a similar conference in Berlin last June, this is likely to be the main issue before them.

Happily, it has been stated on behalf of the organisers that the Congress is not affiliated to or bound by decisions of any previous meeting in Europe or America. It will be a tragedy if it were to turn out to be a mere cultural front of anti-Communism, voicing support for policies framed at the Pentagon. But considering the affiliations of the sponsors, who include people of diverse views, this is not likely to happen. There are some who are for unconditional support to the American bloc, others who favour neutrality and place faith on an ideological third

course. The danger is that the Congress will not be able to do so. It is to be found not only here but all over the world. In the Berlin Congress, faced with this question, Arthur Koestler seemed to carry the day with the slogan: "Relative freedom preferable to total tyranny." One hopes that in the Indian meeting there will be some who would point out the entirely negative character of this attitude and have the boldness to suggest the alternative.

For, it is important to realize that the threat to democracy comes not only from Communism but also from that passionate anti-Communism, which in its desperate bid to defeat the advance of its adversary upholds reaction and itself destroys the very liberties it set out to defend. The crisis of the present generation would be no crisis at all if the choice were between the camps of evil and good; it is so because the choice is between two camps both of which have little to offer. Unless democracy can dissociate itself from both it will not be able to survive.

In other words, the choice between the two power blocs must not be made. While abjuring Communism and resolving to combat it by education of the people, attempt should be made to create a democratic outlook in which alone defence of democracy will be possible. A good deal of criticism of Communism and other forms of totalitarianism will be necessary in the Congress, but one hopes that in their enthusiasm to denounce, the delegates will not forget their positive task, namely creation of an ideology of democracy.

d'tat with the proclaimed object of "libertizing" Kashmir could be successful in the near future and to back up such an adventure with the promise of help would admirably fit in the Russian strategy of the cold war.

One should not dismiss the theory that Faiz Ahmed Faiz was

(Continued on page 156)

## World News and Views

### Opposition to War Attack Peace!

A CORRESPONDENT of the monthly *International Socialist Correspondence*, edited by Maurice Pivert in Paris, reports that the Director of a theatre in Soviet Saxony, East Germany, has just been sacked because he had printed on the programme of the evening the slogan: "War is a crime, for whatever ideals or objects it may be waged." The newspaper *Sachsische Zeitung* commented on the event as follows: "The fact that a Theatre Director can advertise such a slogan on his programme, and that he should have found a man to give it to the press, and that a printer should have been willing to print such morbid pacifist propaganda, cannot be explained except through the complete absence of the necessary vigilance and an utter confusion as regards the issue of peace: it is an attack against the fight for peace conducted by the German Democratic Republic."

### Socialism in National States

IN the same journal, André Philip, Socialist Deputy and ex-Minister, writes: "Various Socialist Parties have come to power, either directly or in coalition governments, within the framework of National States, just at a time when this national framework has become an obstacle to the necessary development of the productive forces of Europe. The doctrine of Socialism in one country has been proved totally absurd in the small Western countries. Those who cling to it, in the huddleable hope of safeguarding their social achievements, are compelled to take up the most reactionary position in foreign politics and go against their own democratic and socialist ideals. As a result, there does not really exist any Socialist International at present. But one has to be created. It is the duty of those Socialist Parties which have freed themselves of the bureaucratic control of national Socialist Parties, of all sincere republicans and progressives, to take the initiative to rally the true internationalists everywhere and proceed with them towards the formation of a real European Socialist Party."

### Profession and Practice of Communism

NEARLY all the old guard Slovak Communists stand solidly for the ideal of Slovak nationalism, that the disgraced leaders, Dr. Clementis, Dr. Husak and Dr. Novomesky professed, and most sincere Czech Communists disapprove wholeheartedly of the totalitarian methods adopted by their leaders both in industry and in agriculture.

A new member of the party said recently when he knew there were no spies about: "I joined last year, and because I do not make a fuss I have a well-paid job and can send my children to a secondary school. But my brother, who joined the party before the war, was purged a few months ago. He can no longer earn a decent living, nor can his children get a decent education."

In Slovakia the background of the conflict has existed ever since the first Czechoslovak republic came into being in 1918. All Slovaks, whether Communists or non-Communists, dislike being ruled from Prague. At one time the Czech Communist leaders supported Slovakia's claim for self-government, but they began to lean the other way when the Communists were heavily defeated in Slovakia in the free election of 1946, and for the past year Prague has been slowly crushing Slovak independence in every direction. One example of this is the merging of Czech and Slovak trade unions, women's associations, and the like into single Czechoslovak bodies, against the opposition of the Slovak Communists themselves.

The process was seen again at the conference of the Slovak Communist Party last May when its general secretary, Mr. Bastovskany, realizing that his head was buttered in Prague, called upon Dr. Clementis and others to confess the errors of their ways. The self-criticisms of Dr. Husak and Dr. Novomesky were ac-

cepted, and they were given minor posts and another chance. Those of Mr. Karol Smidke, head of the party, and Dr. Clementis were rejected.

One of the chief points of difference on policy between Prague and Bratislava was the handling of collectivization. Slovakia is still far less industrialized than the Czech provinces, and most of its population are peasants. Whereas the Slovak Communists stood for keeping the promise, made before the 1946 election, that individual farmers should be allowed to own their farms, Prague held only to the letter of the promise and decided to force the peasants to join collective farms by penal taxation, sequestration of machines, and other forms of compulsion.

This policy was strongly opposed by the Slovak Communists and was disliked by many Czech Communists, among them Otto Sling, formerly party secretary at Brno, and Marie Sveranova, member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party, whom Rudolf Slansky, secretary-general of the party, accused recently of having "shielded the kulaks." Mr. Slansky has been ill for some time, and during his absence from his post some of his work appears to have been taken over by Mrs. Sveranova. According to the official version, she and Mr. Sling plotted to restore capitalism while the cat was away, and were in contact with English and other western spies.

The real reason for these charges is that they stood for a Communism suited to the national temperament instead of slavishly following the Moscow pattern. It is to discourage the many Marxists in Czechoslovakia who agreed with them that they have been expelled from the party.

Other party leaders who are "deviated" are Dr. Lobl, the economic expert, Mr. Vilém Novy, former editor of *Rude Pravo*, Dr. Klinger, one of Dr. Clementis's nominees at the Foreign Ministry, Milan Raiman, former head of the Premier's office, Andrej Simon, a former prominent editorial writer on *Rude Pravo*, and possibly Dr. Krejchlik, a German Communist, who was appointed Czechoslovak Ambassador to Moscow some time ago. Nothing has been heard of them for three or four months.

### Communist Infiltration of Central Asia

A MUSLIM supporter of Chiang Kai-shek, who reached Kalimpong in the middle of March after a long track through Tibet gave details of the Communist occupation of Sinkiang on Tibet's northern border, the entry of Russian experts in substantial numbers into Sinkiang and the subsequent establishment by the Russians of air bases at Khasgar, Ili, Urumchi, Altai, Chochang and Sinkiang via Lhasa and Yatsung, four months of which were spent in fighting the Communists in Sinkiang.

The newcomer is General Yofkas. He was a member of the 13-man advisory council to General Chiang Kai-shek and later Wall, or commissioner, of Khani province, the gateway to Sinkiang. He said that with the collapse of the Kuomintang Government, the Chinese Communists declared that only a token force of 3,000 troops would be sent to Sinkiang to safeguard defence. In actual fact, 40,000 well equipped Communist troops entered Sinkiang and one of the first acts of the Communists was that the Turkistan Muslim purdah system should be abolished while there should be inter-marriage between Turkistan Muslims and the Chinese. This was greatly resented by the conservative Muslim population and led to a guerrilla war which lasted four months.

### French Dilemma: Asia or Europe

THE Correspondent of the London Times reports from Paris: "General de Gaulle's demand for substantial reinforcements for the French Expeditionary Force in Indo-China is likely to raise a difficult problem for the Government."

M. Moch, the Defence Minister, is thought to have objected on

THE remedy is suggested by the diagnosis of the disease. We shall have to strike at the root of the evil. The new social philosophy must start from an idea about human nature which will revive the hope of man having faith in himself. If it is true that man by nature is a believer in some power greater than himself, and therefore cannot think of doing anything by himself, then the cherished idea of human freedom must be abandoned. The religious man cannot think of improving God's creation. On the other hand, the assumption that human nature is selfish logically leads to the view that society can never do without political coercion of the State or moral dictation of religion. So, this alternative view of human nature also rules out the possibility of freedom.

The history of civilisation, however, proves that both the assumptions about human nature were equally unfounded. Throughout history, heretics were the pioneers of human progress. Faith is based on ignorance; if it was the foundation of human nature, knowledge would not be possible, and man would be still living in blissful ignorance. As regards the other assumption, it is true that his own existence is the primary concern of man; but it is equally true that his selfishness breeds the capacity to outgrow it. The theory of class struggle ignores the fact that co-operation has always been a stronger social factor. Otherwise, society would have fallen to pieces at the dawn of civilisation. History, therefore, warrants the view that neither is human nature incorrigibly selfish, nor is it founded on the faith in the super-human. Modern science corroborates this view, which can inspire a social philosophy capable of showing a way out of the crisis of our time.

In the past, inadequate knowledge kept human nature shrouded in history. Today there is little reason to call man the unknown. Nor is there any ground for the venerable faith in his divine essence. As a biological form, man is a physical entity. The entire process from the fertilisation of an ovum to the birth of the full-grown child, is a physical phenomenon. No extraneous element enters in the process at any point. Whatever distinguishes the human being from the brute, therefore, the smallest spark, is not a divine spark. Nowhere could the divine spark struggle itself into the physical process. What is called soul is but the sum total of the diverse manifestations of life, which itself is a physico-chemical phenomenon. Therefore we rule out the doc-

## FOUNDATIONS OF A NEW SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

M. N. ROY

(Speech on the statements on political and economic problems in the public session of the first All-India Convention of Radical Humanists, Calcutta, February, 4th, 1951.)

(Continued from the last issue)

trine that, man being differentiated from animals by the possession of a divine spark, to believe in the transcendental source of his humanness is the foundation of his nature. Thus liberated from the venerable prejudice of his spiritual origin, which persuades him to accept spiritual slavery as the token of his superiority, man can think of being free as man. The spiritual liberation will give him the confidence in the capacity to participate voluntarily in the collective human endeavour to build a free society.

Anthropology also helps us in the enquiry into human nature. It proves that human society did not originate in an *ad hoc* contract. Primitive man had to struggle against his environments. He could do so more successfully in co-operation with others. The instinct of self-preservation and struggle for existence led to the foundation of civil society. Instinct is primitive reason. Man therefore is essentially a rational being. Modern knowledge of biology also allows this deduction. Rudiments of reason, the ability to connect experiences, can be traced in lower animals. Rationality, therefore, is a biological function which can very highly develop in the highest biological form. Rationality can subordinate man's selfishness to enlightened self-interest, which is a social virtue.

Now we can discard another idea which has bedevilled modern social thought; the idea of conflict and competition. Some economists say that competition is the lever of all progress; and revolutionaries attach the same significance to social conflict which they call class struggle. No doubt there have been conflicts, and there will be. But an unprejudiced study of history reveals that the desire to be helpful to fellowmen is a far more fundamental human trait than competition and conflict. However, religion and social philosophies based on it and other wrong assumptions made man forget his innate rationality. Religion having done havoc in the past, philosophy in our time preached the cult of irrationalism. At the same time, the experience of conflict discouraged the spirit of co-operation. The cumulative result is man's loss of faith in himself.

The scientific knowledge about human nature reveals the root of the cultural crisis of our times, and enables us to discover an entirely new approach to the baffling problems of modern life. The crisis does not affect just this or that aspect of social existence; it envelops the whole being of man. Therefore it can be called a spiritual crisis, a crisis of the soul. Man has forgotten what he is. The only way out of the impasse is to help him remember that he is a man, and not a slave either of a divine slave-driver or of any terrestrial power.

The fundamental principles of this new philosophy of life were outlined three years ago. We called it New or Scientific or Integral Humanism. There is nothing altogether new in it. Humanism is as old as history. The common feature of Humanism throughout the ages has been the belief that there are certain human values which transcend all other considerations, and to develop the human personality is the main purpose of life: political practice and social institutions, economic organisations, educational endeavours, should all serve the basic purpose of life. But in the older times the wrong idea of human nature contradicted the humanist philosophy of life. Therefore, classical Humanism failed to hold its own against the opposing views of life, which harmonised with the wrong notions about human nature. But today scientific knowledge as well as a careful reading of history enable Humanism to challenge the wrong notions about human nature and free itself from all contradictions

and fallacies. Therefore, we call it New Humanism. Since its newness is derived from modern scientific knowledge, the more appropriate name is scientific Humanism. We restate the principle of the sovereignty and primacy of man not as a dogma, but with the support of scientific knowledge.

That is the point of departure of a new approach to the various problems of modern life. Take for instance the economic problems of our country. Everybody knows that things are going from bad to worse. And the easiest thing to do is to blame somebody for this state of affairs, and the government is the obvious scapegoat. All complaints against prevailing conditions amount to abusing the present government, which is followed up by the demand for an alternative government under the control of the complainant. It is maintained that such a change of government will solve all problems; but the pretenders to power do not explain how. If they really knew how to solve the problems, why don't they let the established government have the benefit of their wisdom? There is no reason to believe that the men in power are less concerned with popular welfare than those who aspire to replace them. Governments may be mistaken and not do the right thing. But after all, they are also composed of human beings, capable of moral judgment. Therefore, if you appeal to their good sense and point out repeatedly that they can do things better, they may listen to you. But if you insist that they must get out so that you may be in power, their back will be up, and they will insist on pursuing their mistaken policy. The men in power are handicapped by the anxiety to remain in power. That desire on their part is morally no more reprehensible than the desire of others to replace them. Potentially, one man is as good as the other. To appeal to the rationality and the moral sense of the men in power, therefore, is the only manner of purifying politics.

This is not an abstract moralist attitude. It is the most practical approach to the problem of political practice. The politicians in power must have votes in the next elections. They must therefore listen to public opinion if it advocates a more promising approach to problems which have baffled them.

There are two lines of approach. One is fundamental. You cannot cure things by imposing reforms from above. It must be done from the bottom. So long as the people want their problems to be solved for them, they must be prepared to obey, to follow blindly, to be regimented. On the contrary, if they want freedom, they must prove that they are capable of being free. They can do that by declaring that as human beings they can do whatever they expect others to do for them. They may not be able to rebuild the whole of Indian economy. But they can indicate the way. It is the formation of local co-operative organisations as the nuclei of a new system of economy. There is no reason why the government should not encourage popular initiative. Without doubting the sincerity of its professions and intentions, we must persevere in appealing to its good sense, while doing things on our own initiative.

They say that economic prosperity of India is conditional on her ability to build up heavy industries. But they also say that the condition cannot be created with India's own resources. She requires foreign aid. But dollars are not coming. What are we to do? Can we do without them? We can. To point out how, is the purpose of our statement on a new approach to the problems of economic reconstruction.

Consistently with the belief, based on the knowledge that man is essentially rational, we appeal to the government with the

hope that it may change its policy. At the same time, we say that popular initiative is not precluded by whatever the government may or may not do.

Humanist approach to the problem of democracy in India is equally rational and realistic. It advocates initiative from below. Formal democracy has not been a blessing. It is bound to be less so when the electorate is politically illiterate, as in India. Party politics will not establish political freedom. It confounds democracy with demagoguery. Those who are dissatisfied with the present government, propose to organise an opposition party with the object of capturing power. Under the parliamentary system, power is to be captured through the ballot-box. In order to win the election, the opposition party must promise to do what the present government has failed to do. It does not explain how it will make the miracle. The present government may not be composed of angels and supermen, nor will the alternative one be. There are objective difficulties, which will baffle the one as they have done the other. But party politics does not make room for such honest admission. It must promise miracles, belief in which presupposes irrationalism on the part of the electorate. Election propaganda, therefore, appeals to emotion and blind faith. Only consummate demagogues can succeed in it. Measured by this standard of formal democracy the method of counting heads—the avowed dictator Hitler was the most successful democrat of our time. By inflaming the passions of the people demagogically, he obtained their almost unanimous support several times. The voice of the people ceases to be the voice of God when the people cease to be an aggregate of men capable of moral and rational judgment. The demagogic practice of formal democracy may degrade the sovereign people to the status of a mass of voting robots. In India, such degradation of formal democracy is practically predetermined by the cultural predisposition of the people to believe blindly and to expect miracles.

Intelligent people would take to this risky path with their eyes open for the reason that the only alternative is Communism. On the other hand, the none too reassuring experience of parliamentary democracy in other countries induces woolly-headed idealists to flirt with Communism. It is argued that Russian Communism is bad, but in China, Communism has taken the democratic path.

(Continued on page 156)

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## EUROPEAN MOVEMENT TO OPPOSE GERMAN REARMAMENT

KARL KUHN

(German Socialist, General Secretary of the Movement for the United States of Europe, and President of the Association for anti-fascist Displaced Persons, Hamburg.)

THE idea of European unity originates in two fundamentally different sources. One is the truly international idea which considers the question of European unity only as a stage, although an important stage, on the road towards a World State. It is obviously the natural thing to start with a territorial region relatively similar customs, common thought and, in brief, the same type of civilisation. Moreover, the terrible experience of the Europeans ever since the 19th century and the rise of modern Nation States, holds out the hope that the tortured European peoples will draw the lesson that they can overcome this crisis only by creating a new order based on a progressive internationalism.

The other source of the European idea is of an entirely different nature. The General Staffs have got hold of this grand conception and are distorting it until nothing of it is left but the empty name, and transforming it into the instrument of military alliances.

Given these two connotations, it is interesting to observe reactions in Germany to the European problem. These observations will not here be informed by the German point of view; they are meant to throw light on the general trend of developments throughout Europe, and on our chances to rid ourselves of the tangle of the two Great Powers.

The apparent generosity with which one proposes to remilitarise Germany shows little regard for the Western peoples who have lived under the occupation of the German army, and also for the German people themselves who owe to it a list of over four million dead—killed in the war, prisoners and deported persons, civilian victims, etc.

There are four distinct trends of opinion in Germany at present. The Government of Dr. Adenauer is completely and decidedly in favour of remilitarisation, notwithstanding its cautious language these gentlemen talk about Europe, but what they really want more than anything else, is the reconstruction of the old imperial army clad in republican uniforms.

The second current of thought is of those old and young militarists who make it a point of honour to refuse service under the Generals against whom they fought only yesterday. Not even the perspective of new feats of arms can deflect the fierce nationalism of these professional butchers, as long as their role will be merely that of camp-followers.

The third tendency consists of the conditional anti-militarists, so to say, that is, those who might be prepared to launch on military adventures on condition of prior guarantees of reasonable chances of success. They are the kind of people who, charged with the responsibility of organising "defence," would always look out for any possibility of transforming themselves suddenly from subordinates into masters of any given situation. The present unstable conditions of the German Republic are a fertile ground for this kind of ambitions.

Lastly, there is the trend of internationalist Socialism; we are unconditional anti-militarists. We are opposed to any attempt to regenerate the primitive instincts, the warlike and fighting spirit as an end in itself, in a country where these instincts have, if not altogether disappeared, at least receded in the background. On no account do we want to revive the Prussian spirit, not even in the service of the masters of Wall Street.

It may be said that even Karl Marx was prepared to combat the Russian Tsar, when he threatened the liberty of the European peoples at the time of the revolution of 1848. That may be so. But at that time, not only liberty was at stake, but a nascent revolution which offered the brightest perspective for expanding political freedom and social justice. We know of course that the illusions of 1848 were soon disappointed. But it is certainly good to have such illusions at times; they have nourished

great popular movements. But today we are not even offered such illusions. Where is the inspiration, if only imaginary, that could inspire our people with enthusiasm? In my country, at any rate there is only one general sentiment shared by all sections of the people, and that is profound frustration. They feel that they have been deprived of almost everything that they hoped for in the days of the Resistance and after the fall of the dictatorship. They have been saddled with a bourgeois democracy of the 19th century variety instead of a true modern democracy, a social democracy which would have gone to the roots of the modern economic problems. Does anybody believe that the people will be prepared to lay down their lives for that—for this economic and social *status quo*?

While there remains the least chance of preserving peace, we shall fight the danger of seeing in the heart of the European continent another dictatorship of the Right established, backed by the bayonets of a reconstituted German army. Because there can be no doubt that the reconstitution of the German army under the given circumstances will mean the dictatorship of the heirs of our recent past, who are only waiting for the chance. What is there to choose between the devil and the deep sea?

Finally, the plan to guard ourselves against an external danger by inviting the internal enemy would only increase the danger of war. It is an old story that any armament policy always starts in the name of the preservation of peace and ends in war, if for no other reason than the demand of assimilated weapons to be put to use. Those who recommend German remilitarisation cannot ignore the fact that this move will be the most decisive step towards precipitating another world war. The rise of 20 German divisions will be a decisive factor to disturb the present equilibrium of power.

There are even those innocents who fall of a preventive war. But what is the difference between them and those who demand the rearmament of Germany, conscious that this is bound to lead to war? Don't they see the risks involved in trusting the fascist officers who still command the German army? But these very Fascists are quite capable of going over to the enemy and becoming the shock-troops against those who defeated them in the last war. Those who want now to rearm Germany should never forget that it is in the nature of Fascism to bite the hand which feeds it.

Already recruitment has started in Northern Germany among the refugees, those desperate people living in the utmost misery. Already we have our mercenaries in the "service units." The present situation is humiliating for all European peoples, but most of all for Germany which is even now in a state of war, not allowed to sign a peace treaty, and a large number of whose prisoners of war have not yet been repatriated.

It is the task of all Socialists, and particularly of our French comrades to help us combat the common danger of a German rearmament. They are free to act and can raise their voice, and be heard.

But the great common task, the most urgent of all, remains the creation of a European Government which alone can give us the political authority and moral strength to resist the danger of our becoming satellites of either of the two Great Powers who fight over our ruins. A European army with German contingents would, in the given circumstances be a sinister force, destined to become mercenary troops in the service of one or the other of the Great Powers extraneous to Europe.

We must first of all, create a common political institution and form a truly European movement. Failing these efforts, all that we may do will be vain and useless gestures which will not prevent us from drifting irresistibly towards the precipice.

## THE AGE OF DISILLUSIONMENT

SUYASH MALIK

"Man cannot live without faith. The crucial question for our generation and the next ones is whether this faith will be irrational faith in leaders, machines, success or the national faith in man based on the experience of our own productive activity."

—Eric Fromm, *Man for Himself*.

PERHAPS the most significant aspect of the social crisis of our age is its depressing effect on the intelligentsia. Frightened, overwhelmed by an alienated and hostile world the intelligentsia appears to have lapsed into scepticism, pessimism, even cynicism. This frame of mind is dangerous because it may hasten the process of social dissolution. Scepticism can be the harbinger of an age of enlightenment, but it also may remain the intellectual product of a socially bankrupt era. Galileo, Kepler, Bruno and the men of the Renaissance were representatives of the former outlook whereas Heraclitus, the ancient Greek philosopher and his disciple, Cratylus belonged to the latter category of thought.

The world that Heraclitus discovered was not an edifice more or less stable, a totality of things; it was a colossal process of change, a totality of events. "Everything is in flux, nothing is at rest." According to Popper, this discovery of the idea of change was impressed on Heraclitus by terrifying personal experiences suffered as a result of the social and political disturbances of his day. He lived in an age of social dissolution, in vain supporting the cause of the tribal aristocracy, to which he belonged, against the rising forces of democracy. He loathed the ascendancy of the "mob that filled their bellies like beasts." His theory of change gave a vent to this feeling. "Everything is in flux and you cannot step twice into the same river."

Disillusionment went a step further with the disciple. How was reliable knowledge possible in the midst of flux? Sundry then, Cratylus thought, pursuit of knowledge was futile, a wild goose chase. Scepticism had found legs to stand upon. You cannot step into a river even once! Deprived of his philosophical pre-occupation, he would speak no more, only wave his finger. "Nay, nay, one knoweth not." Frustration generates pessimism, disregard, hatred. "Most men are wicked," the master had already pronounced. The idea is shared by others. In Georgias, the Sophist, mistrust of the possibility of knowledge reaches its height. Deliberately parodying earlier works on natural philosophy, he called his book *On Nature, The Non-Existent*.

A disillusionment more or less similar is seeping into the minds of our intellectuals. With the passing of the century of peace, a series of tragic events in quick succession have brought civilization to the brink of the precipice. There on the edge we stand, faltering. How rapidly has the fair face of the world changed! Yesterday's peace and hope are no more, the scars of time show horribly. Recount the experience: in the muddy trenches of the war of 1914-18; through the economic depression, insecurity, unemployment. Then the triumph of totalitarian boots in Italy, in Germany, the Spanish civil war, the left consolidation and the death of that myth; the jackboot parades, the goose-step marches, the storm troops and the Gestapo; the mass hysteria and frenzy engineered by power hungry and lustful monsters of human depravity; the physical elimination of political opponents; massacre of the Jews; the spiritual and physical agony in concentration camps; the resistance movements, their contradictions, heroism, jealousy, rivalry and suspicion; another brutal and severer war; the A- and H-bombs; the looming fear of yet another totalitarian triumph and yet another war! All this has brought mankind to the verge of a nervous breakdown.

It has left the intelligentsia aghast, terrified. Life has become a sad business, no more are its pleasures exciting. Faith in man, in his capacity to make and remake his destiny, to mould his environments has gone. Man has resigned himself to the inscrutable powers and mysteries he cannot understand. An acute

feeling of loneliness haunts him, the spell of this powerlessness seems unbreakable.

Consider in modern literature two examples of this mental state. For Jean-Paul Sartre life begins on the far side of despair. Nothingness confronts man. He is alone and free, but this freedom for him is a burden. He is condemned to be free; he cannot but choose, but the choices are absurd. He feels morbidly responsible for them and is therefore anguished. Anguish is the *last word* of life. The souls of his characters are sick, their lust for life is dead, love of living has melted away. Nausea and loneliness haunt them to death. "Pitch your tent in the desert and forget the promised land," this sums up the message of Sartre's Existentialism—a philosophy of hopelessness and despair born of the bitter experiences of concentration camps and the post-war moral decadence.

A more depraved picture is drawn by Albert Camus, whose Caligula is a strange mixture of contradictions. Acutely conscious of his powerlessness, he wants to do the impossible, "to have the moon." The irrationality of human existence overwhelms him: "Men die, but they are not happy." Caligula is a sadist, deriving pleasure in brutality and bestiality. A reckless murderer, he kills because of his overpowering desire to defy the world. He murders his opponents, his friends, his trusted officials and finally his love. He humiliates the dignitaries of the State, mocks and laughs at their meekness and timidity, throws his entire kingdom into chaos. Caligula on the other hand is also a masochist, whose callous indifference towards himself makes him work out systematically his own destruction, deliberately prompting his opponents to conspire to murder him. He hates the world, but the misanthrope in him is not without humanitarian pretensions!

Now, is not the modern man as diseased as Caligula? He is a sadist whose lust for power would drive him to play with the irrational passions of the masses, to make them helpless objects of his arbitrary will. Masochist he is too, for he craves to merge his individuality with a greater whole, reducing himself to an insignificant tool in the hands of the Leader, submitting to a Class, Nation or Party. He would lynch a Negro or a Jew, and himself join a suicide squad, proudly to die the privileged death of a martyr. Sadism and masochism are after the two sides of the same medal—insanity. Pain is not the essence of sadistic pleasure; it only assures one of the insignificance of others. Sadism springs from one's inability to bear isolation; impotency; it is running away from one's weaknesses. And so is masochism, an attempt to get rid of oneself belittling, the self suffering, paying the price in pain.

The appalling ignorance of the bulk of humanity, its susceptibility to mental insatiation and added to this the indecision, inertia and cynicism of the more sensitive section of mankind—this is the dark picture of the modern age. Is the dawn of our civilization then inevitable? Let us not come to that dreadful conclusion; let us not be fatalists. History is not poor in examples of man rising to the demands of the situation and inspired by faith in reason and with a vision of truth, reacting productively to his environments to direct the flow of history. It needs determination, toil.

Ours is an age of crucial trial. A challenge confronts man. Shall he once more his destiny, destroy the magnificent edifice of civilization and relapse into spiritual degradation? There will be no answer to that challenge till man gathers courage, and refusing to admit the bankruptcy of his ingenuity and creative powers, undertakes to remake his world. The magnitude of the task is immense, but the beginning has to be made somewhere, some time.





PAGE 2

JANATA

April 1, 1951

U. F. LETTER

# ★ MINISTER-CUM-LANDLORD EVICTS TENANTS

## ★ MODEL POLICE STATIONS

### ★ CORRUPTION CASE DROPPED

#### ★ COMMUNISTS & ELECTIONS

From Om Prakash Deepak

A peaceful satyagrah has been going on for the past one month on the land owned by Dr. Syed Mahmud, the Development Minister of Bihar who is also the landlord of Bhikampur (Deoria District), to protest against the way in which fifty-one tenants have been evicted by him.

Only ten acres of his land was registered as Sir Khudkaht (self-cultivated) and the remaining was being cultivated by the tenants.

Fearing that he will lose his land after the implementation of the Zamindari Abolition Act, Dr. Mahmud evolved a new plan to make a farm on 200 acres of his land in the name of his son, Mahabub Miyan. 51 tenants were, therefore, evicted from 61 acres of land to provide land for this farm. Another 90 acres were, it is learnt, taken from the common land and waste land, the straw from which was being used by the peasants to thatch their roofs.

The peasants repeatedly appealed to the authorities, but nothing was done to redress their grievances. But as soon as the peasants started a peaceful satyagrah to resist this tyranny, Dr. Mahmud's men took the law in their own hands and attacked the satyagrahis with lathis and even fired on them.

Bullets were also fired in the air to frighten the satyagrahis. But the peasants did not budge an inch. The satyagrah has been completely peaceful. Although work on the farm had to be discontinued, Dr. Mahmud has not given up hope. It was learnt that he was frantically trying to secure the U.P. government's assistance in this work.

## MODEL POLICE STATIONS

To improve the working of the Police Department in the State, the U.P. Government have established some model police stations. What treatment the people are going to get from these model police stations can well be imagined from the following incident.

Terkawa (District Deoria) has one of these model police stations. Recently when a woman died in village Pathardeva in its jurisdiction, the police suspected foul

play and consequently arrested her husband along with some other close relatives.

After they were released they stated that they were severely beaten in the beginning to make them confess the guilt. But when this method failed, three of them were branded with hot iron on their body!

## COMMUNISTS & GENERAL ELECTIONS

Some time back the U.P. Committee of the Communist Party came out with a lengthy statement on the coming General Elections. Including in the usual diatribes against the Socialist Party, the statement said: "It is likely that reactionaries and right wing Socialists will create the constitutional illusion in the people's mind that it is possible to replace this government by a better one, through peaceful means.... But if the Communist Party isolates itself from the main channels of our national life, it will become impossible to remove these reformist and constitutional illusions from the public mind."

## PUNJAB ATROCITIES

(Contd. from page 1)

marriage party had disturbed his sleep.

Section 144 remained in force throughout the rule of the so-called popular ministry. Recently when the Rajpramukh was to visit Narnaul the meeting of the Socialist Party was attacked by stones by the henchmen of the Congress while the police silently watched the whole scene.

In the recent Municipal elections, the Patiala police were paraded by the Congress and I saw with my own eyes that when the Akalis attacked the Socialist camp the police did nothing to stop them.

## CORRUPTION CASE DROPPED

Complaints were made by a few people of Gonda, against a sub-inspector of police who was known to have asked for illegal gratification. The Deputy S. P. along with a Sub-Divisional Officer laid a trap. Currency notes worth Rs. 200 were signed by the S.D.O. and were later recovered from the person of the Sub-Inspector. He was immediately suspended and a court case was instituted against him.

But for reasons known best only to the authorities concerned, the case was suddenly dropped and the Sub-Inspector was granted leave for the period of suspension. On the other hand, the Deputy Superintendent of Police was transferred on the plea that his action was irregular inasmuch as he had acted only on verbal instructions!

# Cultural Congress Session In Bombay

Preceding over the first open session of the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom, Sri Jayaprakash Narayan criticised the Western concept of anti-fascism as unreal and untested in Indian conditions and made a strong plea for a Grand Alliance of democratic nations to prove their bona fides as fighters against totalitarianism.

Insuaging the Congress, Sri K. M. Munshi accused the Communists of 'seducing and enslaving an unstable intelligentsia and added that a real search must be made for a 'new constructive faith in Man to meet the challenge of this new enslavement'.

Mr. Stephen Spender asked, "Can the intellectual liberty of the few co-exist with the poverty and starvation of the multitude?"

It was the duty of those who cared for intellectual freedom to prove that intellectual freedom also meant more bread, he added.

M. Denis de Rougemont said that intellectuals should never subordinate culture to politics as culture was concerned with the ends while politics were concerned with the practical means to achieve those ends.

Señor Salvador de Madariaga said that totalitarianism was not confined to the left. It could also be found in the right as was evidenced in Spain. Prof. H. J. Muller and American Negro Sociologist Max Yergan also addressed the conference.

Messages of greetings and solidarity poured into the office of the Congress from people in all parts of the world. Notable among these were Bertrand Russell, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Reinhold

Neibuhr, Ralph J. Bunche, Storm Jameson, Upton Sinclair, James T. Farrell, Jacques Maritain and Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

In the course of his message, Mr. Upton Sinclair said in the words of the poet, "There is no more important work of the world than to teach the principles of personal liberty, tolerance and co-operation in social and economic affairs."

M. Jean Bloch-Michel, Co-founder of Combat and author of the book 'The Freedom of the Mind', said that freedom is not a distant country, interests and concerns us all. For if there is one principle whose truth we have learned through sometimes bitter experience, it is that freedom, in its deepest sense, must be universal. There can be no individual liberty in a society founded on servitude, and the liberty of a nation has even less chance of survival while other nations in the world refuse to recognise its claim. We have also learned that freedom is inalienable. In other words, no one has the right to renounce it for himself. We think the intellectual leaders of India for having called this meeting in defence of the freedom which we share and prize."

## CULTURAL FREEDOM

(Contd. from page 1)

and undisputed leader of all cultural matters in all parts of the world need to be emphatically denied. There will be hardly any difference of opinion on all these points.

But the totalitarian threat is not the only threat to freedom of culture. In fact it assumes such a gigantic proportion because the other threats are not given sufficient consideration. It is a commonplace of history that no culture can flourish where people are denied even a minimum of basic requirements. People have always preferred bread to higher pursuits of life. As an Indian aphorism puts it, body is the vehicle of all other pursuits. Deny it even a moderately comfortable functioning and all other human problems become unreal. As Gandhi so well put it, "To a hungry even God dare not come in any other form but food!" It is possible that delegates coming from those areas where economy is fairly well developed and the standard of living for a vast majority of people is not below subsistence level may not lay so much emphasis on economic security as the delegates from the underdeveloped areas would do. But this being Indian Congress for cultural freedom the aspect of economic security will have to be properly considered. Given the democratic spirit of agreeing to disagree and of toleration for opposite or even conflicting views these divergent approaches need not create any embarrassment to the assembled delegates.

To quote the Berlin Manifesto again:

"The principle of toleration does not logically permit the practice of intolerance."

## POSTAL BUNGLING

It took seven days for a letter sent by Jayaprakash Narayan from Patna to reach Akshita Mehta in Bombay. Such delays have become a habit to be exceptions; they have rather become the rule. We hear much about Hon. Kishore's Night Air Mail Service and the general efficiency of his department!

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Less than half yearly subscriptions not accepted. Managerial correspondence including remittances should be addressed to the Manager JANATA, National House, 6, Tulloch Road, Apollo Bazaar, Bombay, 1, and not to the Editor or anyone by name.

April 1, 1951

JANATA

PAGE 11



## THE ZEN DOCTRINE OF NO MIND

DR. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, the well-known Buddhist scholar of Japan, adds another title to the list of his brilliant writings with his "Zen Doctrine of No Mind" (Bider & Co.).

The Zen sect of Buddhism has deeply influenced Japanese culture, and without a proper understanding of Zen no adequate appreciation of Japanese culture is possible. It is interesting to recall here that it was an Indian—more properly speaking a South Indian—who went all the way to far away China, and became the founder of the Dhyan-Chen-Zen sect of Buddhism. His name was Bodhidharma. Zen is characterized by the doctrine of sudden enlightenment and does not set much store by learning and ritual and insists on "self-culture and comprehension as the best means of realizing the state of peace."

The present volume by Dr. Suzuki deals with a specific part of the Zen Doctrine namely no-mind, and is an explanation of the Sutra of Huai-Neng (Wei-Lang). When the seeing of "self-nature" has no reference to a specific state of consciousness, which can be logically or relatively defined as a something, the Zen masters designate it in negative terms and call it "no-thought" or "no-mind" (Wu-nien or Wu-shin). The book will be read with great interest by students of comparative religion and culture.

**BEST PLAYS**  
A volume of plays adapted as best of the year by a well-known editor as J. W. Marriot is always welcome, and such a volume is The Best One-Act Plays of 1946-49 (George Harrap). The harvest this time includes plays of T. B. Morris, Philip Johnson, Williamson, Holland, Arlett and others. Many of these are new names but show great promise.

—Dr. Balkrishna Gokhale.

**WAFI**  
ALTHOUGH based on a very common, purposeless, love story and inefficiently directed, Good Luck Pictures' "Wafi" is at least free from the usual triangle of love. It is also not permeated with the vulgarity of "Haste Away" or "Slam" type.

**WAFI—A PURPOSELESS STORY**  
By Harendra Nath Dutt

The picture has nothing to its credit—no decor, no content and no good action. Again the story is practically confined to the two houses only entirely cut off from the outside world. I admit that a good story can be confined within a single house, provided its content values are supreme. But this is not at all the case here. If the story is hackneyed, static and dull, the actions are bound to be fashioned in a particular, I should say, artificial manner, in which case even the simplicity of a picture receives a rude shock.

Kiran, (Nimmi) daughter of a wealthy, arrogant, jagirdar Dina Bandhu falls deeply in love with a poor neighbour Ravi (Karan Dewan). But the jagirdar wants to marry her to a wealthy boy. On the other side, a vagabond (Yakub) interested only in wine, money and woman, intends to marry a rich girl (more for her money). He comes to know this girl Kiran through the help of his friend, and in order to test his luck one day appears in the form of Kiran Beers at the house of the latter. Dina Bandhu now thinks that Goddess Luck has fulfilled his wishes of having a rich son-in-law. Kiran who is not at all enamoured of Kumar feels disappointed to hear that her marriage is settled with Kumar.

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WEST which is the current attraction at the Metro Cinema. It is charged with very little entertainment from the beginning to the end. Furthermore and if carried to the extreme are bound to overshadow the story and make it a fiasco. That is what has exactly happened here. It is a criminal living still it is neither a criminal story nor a social or comic picture.

Towards the end the spectators feel rather disgusted, because the railway scenes and incidents depicted on the screen kill the tempo of the story as well as its charm, and are entirely unrealistic. More Brothers, John Carroll and Diana Lewis—none has given any enjoyable performance.

## "BROKEN ARROW"

"Twentieth Century Fox's Broken Arrow (now showing at the end of the film) is a good narrative of real but hard relationship between Red Indians and Americans during the stages of the Foreigners' settlement in America.

The tribal people did not trust in whitemen and were always cautious of their attacks. Many bitter fights took place, many lives on both sides were lost. But a brave American (James Stewart) who wanted to establish a good connection between the Red Indians and the Americans plunged into a risk. Later, he was able to win the confidence of the tribal lord and married a girl of different blood. But all this was of no avail. Tortures by Americans on these people continued even in the midst of his peace attempts. But Stewart continued to fight for his ideal but soon lost his wife in the fight against his own race. Thus the arrow of peace was broken.

The picture, no doubt, creates a great impression, although the incidents depicted are a passing phase in the history of the world.

PAGE 4 JANATA

## Dr. Lohia's Madhya Bharat Tour

(From Our Correspondent)

In recent months Madhya Bharat has been very much in the news. The Bhils of Zabua and Ratlam districts, led by the Kisan Panchayat launched a Satyagraha campaign for the introduction of prohibition.

Hundreds of Bhil Kisans, men and women, courted imprisonment, a people naturally given to violence, a people quick of temper and quicker still at drawing their bows, wielded the instrument of organised non-violence. Then came the wanton use of organised violence by the Madhya Bharat Government.

Gwalior saw yet another agitation and Satyagraha when the students of Gwalior demanded Hostel accommodation, reduction in fees and other academic facilities and received bullets instead. Hundreds of students and socialist party workers exercised their only right, the right to suffer.

The organisational gains of these two very important events were expected to be very large. Reports came that the Socialists of Madhya Bharat were very busy consolidating these gains. In the wake of these agitations the Party was expected to spread and fan out its organisation to all the districts of the State. In November last, the Provincial Party requested Ramanohar Lohia to tour the State. For two months that followed, the provincial party made preparations for the tour.

Recently when Dr. Lohia began his tour, he was first taken to Shior, a tahsil place twenty-five miles from Bhopal. Three thousand people listened to Dr. Lohia in rapid attention, through an eighty minute speech. People of India have lost faith today in every thing including themselves. They have watched the Congress Party Governments at work for the last three and a half years and their confidence and faith in political parties have been badly shaken.

**A QUICK CHOICE**  
The Congress made a quick choice, never before made so quickly by any one at any time in the history. Abandoning vision, courage, determination and the weak millions, it sought the support of the handful but strong and wealthy. No wonder the Congress has failed. Having nothing else to say and in the absence of policy, character and programme, the Congressmen perpetually talked of morality and good behaviour, sacrifice and service.

There are some people who say and believe that if the Congress crumbles to pieces, the country will be ruined. It is not I want to assure you that nothing can save the Congress now. It is collapsing and will whither away soon. Does it mean that the country should also be allowed to ruin?

The country must be saved from the Congress which is collapsing. Only the people can save it. If the people stand at the crossroads undecided and with faith shattered, the country will most certainly be ruined. You must make up your mind and strengthen some other party. If you do not wish to believe in anything, at least believe in yourselves. Restore

faith in yourselves.

### FOOD ARMY

Land must belong to the tillers. Redistribution of land will help restore shattered faith. New lands must be brought under cultivation. Not a mere lakh or two lakhs acres but at least one crore acres of virgin soil must be brought under cultivation by a million strong food army, recruited, clothed and fed by the State, the food army will break open new lands and bring them under cultivation. As time passes, model settlements and townships of Kisans will spring forth.

Apart from solving the food problem, this will give a new hope, new spirit and a new vision to the Kisans of the country. A net work of small scale industries started by the State will take the nation on the road to recovery.

The Indian capitalists not in-

terested in the industrialisation of the country, a bunch of speculators and profiteers can never think of increasing the national wealth. They are interested in quick profits and therefore the twenty crore worth of vegetable-ghee factories.

Four pillar State is the only guarantee of democracy and is the only thing which can minimise corruption, bribery, anarchy and misrule.

Afterwards Dr. Lohia went back to Bhopal and then to Indore passing a distance of about 120 miles and covering Sonkach, Rihara and Dewas.

At Indore Dr. Lohia had a busy day. Staying in the labour colony, amongst U. P. "bhayans", the doctor endeavored to restore their morale. It was a frightened lot in whom he tried to put a lot of heart and faith in the future. Later he addressed the "World Labour Association" in the Gandhi Hall. It was a well attended meeting and more than a thousand of Indore's intelligentsia listened to a fine exposition of the movement for world Government. Later he went to Gwalior, Palasia, Mahu, Dhar and then on to Rajgarh in the Zabua district.

### MOUNTED POLICE TRY TO

#### TERRORISE

Three thousand Bhils, men and women had gathered in Rajgarh in the evening to hear Dr. Lohia. Com. Pratap Singh, a brave Bhil leader, commenced the proceedings of the meeting as Dr. Lohia was delayed. When he had just commenced speaking, eight mounted police rode through the meeting and went round and round the assembly a number of times. Unperturbed, Pratap went on delivering his speech. The Bhils snatched quietly—not one got up, none turned round to look at the constables. The police attempt at striking terror and breaking up the meeting failed singularly and rode right through the meeting.

The Bhil Kisans waited at the meeting place till 12 midnight. Dr. Lohia was late by six hours. When he commenced his speech, the mounted police reappeared this time headed by a Superintendent and rode right through the meeting.

The thousands of Bhil men and women who had waited for hours in biting cold at Rajgarh, Zabua, Nandia, Kushgarh and Bajna to hear Dr. Lohia, showed that nothing could awe them from the path they had chosen, no amount of violent or monetary inducement could break up their organisation. Their crops had failed but they refused to follow the advice of the Communists to take to looting.

Unless foodgrains are rushed to most of these areas, the Bhils will soon be facing large scale starvation deaths.

**STARVATION DEATHS**  
At Bajna, where three thousand Bhils had come after walking a distance of over twenty miles was organised a well-disciplined protest. The Bhils carried placards and banners and party flags.

The crops in Bajna had failed and failed miserably. The government were forcibly collecting land revenue when people had no means to purchase their food.

### ★ JAI PUR CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

An association entitled JAI PUR NAGRIK SAMITI was recently formed at Jaipur by the prominent citizens and representatives of the different parties and the labour leaders in the Workers' Union to facilitate the supply of all the necessities of life, including food grains and cloth and other amenities.

The committee has been holding meetings to discuss the situation. It has urged upon the State Government to make certain provisions in the food-grain rationing system. While the people in other provinces of the Indian Union are being supplied with 41 chakats of food cereals per head per day, the people of Rajasthan are getting only 3 chakats of food cereals per head per day. There is a strong agitation against the system and some of the leaders are in favour of a direct action in the form of processions, and strikes.

Now a campaign is being carried on by the Party units in all the wards in both cities against the maladministration of the Congress Party. Meetings with all parties' representatives are also being held in the city to voice the protest of the people.

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## IN THE FORTHCOMING GENERAL ELECTIONS

# Workers Will Vote Only For Those That Support

## Free Trade Unionism And Social Justice

### HIND MAZDOOR SABHA'S CALL FOR ACTION

From G. G. Mehta

The Second Annual Convention of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, held on March 10-12, 1961, was noteworthy in many respects.

It was attended by over 400 delegates from all parts of India and by hundreds of workers from the surrounding States. They came to Delhi to participate in the agitation against the Black Labour Bills and to present the Workers' Petition to Parliament to withdraw them. Thousands of local workers, particularly those employed in the textile industry and the Government services also participated.

The Convention was injected with a rare spirit of militancy from the beginning to the end in view of the Police Ban imposed on workers' processions. This spirit did not leave untarnished even veteran and elderly trade unionists like Comrades N. M. Joshi, Manabha Kar, V. B. Kanik and Saranghar Das, M. P., who also participated in the demonstration against the Black Labour Bills, when the Workers' Petition to Parliament were being formally presented by our President through Shri Saranghar Das as a member of the Parliament.

The workers, despite Executive restrictions, succeeded in asserting their right of assembly by peacefully taking out processions in batches of 10 through various localities of Delhi, towards Ajmal Park where a Mass Rally of workers was held. Comrades Manabha Kar, Sibaiah Bannerji, Rajani Mukherjee, Saranghar Das, M. P. and Asoka Mehta spoke on the workers' problems at this rally.

The Convention opened with the "welcome Speech" of Com. V. S. Mathur, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Presidential Speech of Com. Manabha Kar. Her address was noted for its moderate tone, correct analysis of the economic situation in the country, and her expression of confidence in the Indian working class to usher in a new era of political freedom, economic stability and cultural advancement.

Shri N. M. Joshi, the veteran labour leader condemned the anti-labour policy of the Government of India and stated that it was really very unfair. The Government were breaking all their promises given to labour and were systematically trying to withdraw the schemes for profit-sharing, state insurance, family allowances and minimum wages.

The reason was that the Government machinery was controlled by the "vested interests" and so they could not hope to realise their aspirations so long as it continued in power.

Referring to the appeal for unity between the INTUC and the HMS, Shri V. V. Giri, who is very sincere and really commendable but there were so many difficulties in this

criticised the favouritism shown towards the former by the Central and State Governments.

In the international sphere, the report referred to the organisational growth of the ICTU, the visit of its Asian delegation to India, the work of its Executive Board and Emergency Committee and its attitude on the Korean War. It also referred to the HMS's relations with the UPO, the ILO, the British TUC and the Pakistan Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

In the chapter on Industrial survey, the report gave a brief but clear-cut picture of the special problems in every industry as affected by the economic situation, the attitude of the Government, the offensive from the employers and the disruptive role of the INTUC generally.

**POLICY OF THE HMS.**  
In response to the constructive suggestions made at the Second Annual Conference, the General Secretary made a special reference to the policy adopted by the HMS on specific issues arising from time to time. The most important among them related to Collective Agreements and Voluntary Arbitration, Industrial Housing, Amendments to the Companies Act, Plantation Labour, work of the Standing Labour Committee

with special reference to the Industrial Statistics Act, the Welfare Trust Funds, Provident Fund, Implementation of the Factories Act, the problem of Retrenchment in the light of the provisions of the Labour Relations Bill and last but not the least, the problems of Rationalisation and consequently Retrenchment and Unemployment.

In the course of discussion on the report, a controversy arose over the desirability or otherwise of referring to policies of the HMS in the report. Some useful suggestions were made by various speakers which the General Secretary promised to incorporate in the report, while a befitting tribute was given to the workers made by critics without either reading the report or knowing the facts.

### REPORT

The General Secretary submitted a 30-page printed report of the HMS for the period of 10 months between the Second Annual Conference in May 1960 and the Delhi Conference in March 1961. It was divided into five chapters—Introductory, National, International, Industrial Survey and Policy-making. In the National sphere, the report dealt with Organisational aspects referring to typical weaknesses of the HMS in financial, administrative, and other matters and criticised the activities of the State Councils and Regional Committees. The note of optimism, however, lay in the tremendous enthusiasm and support that the HMS and its affiliated unions could evoke in the rank and file of workers in every industry in every part of the country.

It also frankly pointed out the weaknesses of the HMS in financial and other matters and criticised the activities of the State Councils and Regional Committees. The note of optimism, however, lay in the tremendous enthusiasm and support that the HMS and its affiliated unions could evoke in the rank and file of workers in every industry in every part of the country.

It also expressed from facts and figures published officially, the hollowness of the blarney and demagoguery claims of the INTUC and the AITUC and severely

ed in principle in the light of the latest developments, while the resolutions on Minimum Wage and Fair Wage reminded the government of their failure to fulfil their promise given to the working class. A note of warning was also sounded if the Government betrayed the working class any longer on the issues of social security, labour bills, minimum wage fixing and fair wage bill.

By another resolution Free Legal Aid was strongly recommended in the light of the Justice Bhagwati Committee's report.

### CIVIL LIBERTIES

One of the controversial resolutions was on Civil Liberties and Fundamental Trade Union Rights. While there was complete unanimity as to the need to repeal all repressive laws such as Preventive Detention Act, and against the abuse of power by the Executive in depriving trade unionists and workers of their Rights of Assembly Meetings and Processions, etc., the resolution was objected to by some as to the emphasis laid on "duties and responsibilities of the citizens and workers and their associations or trade unions".

They expressed opposition to "individuals or their organisations resorting to subversive activities contrary to the broad principles of Law and Order in a democratic society and against national security".

Dedication of this clause was recommended by Com. N. M. Joshi and others, but the Convention adopted the resolution as originally framed by an overwhelming majority. This laid down a fundamental principle governing the policy of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha as clearly distinguished from the disruptive policy of creating chaos, confusion and disorder in the country of the Communist AITUC.

This resolution is also a warning to the Congress Government at the Centre and in the States against their repressive and lawless laws and irresponsible and undemocratic executive actions. If these governments were true to their avowed principles of freedom and democracy in the country, the Constitution of the Republic of India, no trade union worker of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha or of any other lawful organisation could be permitted to continue to rot in prison without being tried in a Court of Law.

### KOREAN WAR

The resolution on War proved to be the group of delegates which at this convention reflected the character of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha as truly representing the free and democratic trade union movement in this country. The delegates sought expression of the particular points of view through varying amendments. Every one of these amendments was, however, defeated by an overwhelming majority of the delegates present and the resolution as originally framed was adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes.

It may, however, be noted that the group of delegates which wanted to place the entire blame (Overleaf)

## Hind Mazdoor Sabha Resolutions

(Contd. from page 9)

for the Korean War on the Soviet Bloc, withdrew its amendment, while that section which insisted on placing the entire blame on American capitalism was miserably defeated. Nor did those, who did not want any reference to two Power Blocs, attain any success in convincing the house of their point of view, while that group, which did not want any credit to be given to the Nehru Government for its policy of neutrality in international affairs, did not succeed either.

The resolutions on the Economic Situation and that on the Government's favouritism towards INTUC, being reiterated of the stand taken at Secunderabad and borne out by subsequent events, were moved from the Chair and adopted unanimously.

**GENERAL ELECTIONS**  
The last but not the least important was the resolution on General Elections, which was the first of its character in the history of the Trade Union Movement in India. Being of a political character, this resolution, though non-controversial at an H.M.S. convention, was of great significance to the working class in our country.

The working class would support only those candidates at the forthcoming General Elections this year who promise to stand by the Workers' Charter and who strive in particular for the fulfilment of the workers' demands for a Living Wage, Social Security, their right of Collective Bargaining including the right to strike, workers' participation in the organisation and management of industries and last but not the least, repeal of all Anti-Labour Laws and withdrawal of the two reactionary Labour Bills, now before the Parliament.

Congress Party candidates backed by the INTUC dared not hoodwink the working class any longer to secure the working class

vote at the forthcoming general elections in view of their opposition in theory and practice to these demands which were considered to be the fundamentals of Free Trade Unionism and Social Justice.

Some constitutional amendments were adopted, most of which were necessitated from the administrative point of view and were non-controversial in character.

All non-official resolutions not covered by the official resolutions were referred to the newly elected General Council for want of time, but they were rejected at its meeting by an overwhelming majority.

### NEW COMMITTEE

Earlier, the Working Committee met representatives of the Council of Action of All India Trade Union Organisations as also the Executive Committee members of the Hind Kisan Panchayat. Exploratory talks which ensued at these meetings revealed that it was advisable to replace the Council of Action by a permanent committee in the near future. A joint committee was formed with the HKP, with Comrades, Maniben Kara, Basawan Singh, T. S. Ramamujam, Jain Mitra and S. G. Mehta representing the H.M.S.

The following office-bearers were declared to have been elected uncontested for the current year 1951:

President: Com. Maniben Kara.  
Vice-Presidents: Com. Shindhar Banerjee, Com. R. A. Khedkar, Com. Basawan Singh.  
General Secretary: Com. G. G. Mehta.

Secretaries: Com. B. D. Joshi, Com. K. K. Mundal.

Treasurer: Com. P. D'Mello.  
The General Council was elected by the delegates in the Industrial groups which in turn elected 17 members of the working committee.

## COM. HARADHAN CHATTERJEE

JANATA learns with regret that Com. Haradhan Chatterjee, a leading member of the Socialist Party of West Bengal, the General Secretary of the powerful "Flagship Paper" Hind Employees Union, President of the Plenary Sugar Workers Union, and a member of the Working Committee of the West Bengal Hind Mazdoor Sabha, passed away recently after a short illness. His untimely death at an early age has removed from the ranks of the Socialist Party a valiant and uncompromising fighter.

Born on November 2, 1922, Comrade Haradhan Chatterjee, who came into politics in the wake of the August Struggle in 1942, joined the Bolshevik-Leninist Party. He took the initiative in organising the white collar employees of Cox & Kings Ltd., Calcutta, in which firm he was employed. In 1945 he succeeded in building this Union, and in the following year he led a successful strike. Before long he was

victimised for his militant role in that struggle. Thereafter, Comrade Haradhan became a full-time party worker, a professional revolutionary in the full sense of the word, and remained so till his premature death. Despite the immense hardship of the life of a full-time worker, he did not for a moment waver from the goal he had set himself on.

Of the younger leaders of the Party, he was without doubt the most capable and gifted. A brilliant and effective speaker in three languages, a Trade Union and Party organiser of the highest calibre, he was a born leader. The fact that in course of his 8 years of revolutionary activity, the government had to arrest and detain him or prosecute him on as many as 10 occasions, is the highest tribute to his devotion to the cause to which he had dedicated his life.

We dip our banner in his memory!

The working committee elected four organisers for different zones as under:

Com. D. D. Vashista—Northern India.  
Com. Paritosh Bannerji—Eastern India.  
Com. H. R. Gokhale—Western India.

Com. Mahadev Singh—South-eastern India.

And so ended this historic convention of the H.M.S. amidst cheers and enthusiasm with a substantial collection by way of affiliation and other dues and delegates' fees. The organisers hoped to raise the H.M.S. membership for the current year upto the million mark.

### ECONOMICS OF SOCIALISM

(Contd. from page 8)

state has been established these contradictions slowly die down. But as I then pointed out, new contradictions will then emerge. No longer will conflicts of men be on the biological plane; they will be on the psychological, on psychic plane. From the animal level the problems and tensions will be lifted to the human level. They will be far deeper than grim wounds of hunger and unemployment.

### DISCOVERING THE TRUTH

The problems of human spirit, the battle of human soul are even more unsettling. These problems

will have to be faced by generations and generations yet unborn. So, let no man have the audacity, to say that HE KNOWS THE TRUTH! None of us know the truth. We seek the path by exchanging experiences, by sharing opinions and ideas. Out of the meeting of minds, and interchanges of experiences a tentative truth emerges. The philosopher king of Plato's Republic has never existed on this side of the earth. There can be no philosopher king, no trustee, no dictator, no leader.

As Rosa Luxemburg said, in the world now unfolding, the leaders will themselves be led by the followers. Let us have the bourgeois humility and recognise the fact that none of us has the possession of truth. The truth has to be discovered through clash of ideas, exchange of opinions and interchanges of experiences. And that is the democratic method.

Whether we look at the problem from the political angle, from the economic angle or from the cultural angle, as we shall do later, we invariably reach the conclusion that totalitarianism is a denial of the socialist vision, that socialism can be realised only through the acceptance of democracy and democracy can be realised only in the context of economic equality.

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## H.K.P.'s Call For Country-wide Demonstrations To Protest Against Govt.'s Anti-Kisan Policy

The Hind Kisan Panchayat held at Meerut on March 3 and 4, 1951 issued a call to all Kisan workers and branches of the Hind Panchayat in India to celebrate a construction week throughout the country.

By another resolution passed at this conference, it was decided to organise a Kisan March 6 and 7, to voice the grievances of the Indian peasantry and to protest against the anti-kisan policies of the Government of India. The same resolution envisaged marches on district headquarters on a scheduled date throughout the country.

On March 4, 1951, the Central Committee of the Hind-Kisan Panchayat and the National Executive of the Socialist Party gave their whole-hearted support to both these ideas.

The National Executive of the Socialist Party met subsequently on March 4, 1951, and passed a resolution giving their support to the life of a full-time worker, he did not for a moment waver from the goal he had set himself on.

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The National Executive of the Socialist Party met subsequently on March 4, 1951, and passed a resolution giving their support to the life of a full-time worker, he did not for a moment waver from the goal he had set himself on.

Of the younger leaders of the Party, he was without doubt the most capable and gifted. A brilliant and effective speaker in three languages, a Trade Union and Party organiser of the highest calibre, he was a born leader. The fact that in course of his 8 years of revolutionary activity, the government had to arrest and detain him or prosecute him on as many as 10 occasions, is the highest tribute to his devotion to the cause to which he had dedicated his life.

We dip our banner in his memory!

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There is more and more of  
bureaucracy, more and more of  
terror, less and less of loosen-  
ing of control on the party  
control of the state, control of

That empathy the Communists have deliberately frittered away. Lacking faith in the common people, the masters of the Kremlin have tried to interfere with the life of the people in every country by foisting on them the Communist Party. (How it degenerates into an instrument of State power has been ably and brilliantly shown in a monumental study recently published, by Ruth Fischer, "Stalin and German Communism". Those who are interested in the tragedy, in the havoc that is wrought by the interference of the Russian state, by the Stalin-

Men who believe that the alone have the authentic vision of the world of Tomorrow, who consider themselves to be the sole instruments of Destiny, those who are heady with the thought that History has become conscious of itself to them,—such men have split the forces of progress and socialism. They may have achieved something; they may have sacrificed something; but when ultimately the last chapters of history of Socialism are written, the place will be not on the judgment seat but in the dock.

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He placed them there, what he had to say. He was always interceding for the sufferers. She received little thanks from her fellow prisoners, and still less from the prisoners in general. She was regarded as a passenger and a nuisance, until suddenly she showed her gift for story-telling.

One time was during the winter, weaving baskets. The tale used to flow as if she had looked in from a window in the world. Not only had she wonderful gifts of expression, but an astonishing memory. She could recite the whole of *Peter Rabbit* and *Robinson Crusoe* without leaving out a single verse. Before

At the flag hoisting ceremony, M.L.A. said that the Sikh flag the flag that Ranjit Singh had won over the Punjab—would fly over the world.

Though it is puerile to imagine such hegemony anywhere, yet the author hopes that the Akali Communists are harbouring, cannot be ignored.

**PATIALA MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS**

In the recent elections to the Patiala Municipal Committee, the Socialist Party secured two seats (uncontested) and one by defeating the nominee of the Hindu

**ATROCITIES BY POLICE OFFICERS**

Sajjan Singh Margindupuri L.A. and Bibi Prakash Kaur recently inquired into an incident of police barbarity. They report that in the village of Bhandiyyedan in Amritsar district, the police, in order to take vengeance against the local people stripped them naked and tortured them. It is said that some of the arrested were forced to commit incest and a number of women were raped.

Sometimes, when the story-teller was alone, he would tell the tale quite cold and dead in the hut, the loneliness of the forest did not seem to depress him. But when outsiders seemed to catch it through baskets. Above all the blasphemy of the tale, the degradation of the outsiders seemed to thrust into his consciousness. The yearning for a brand of broad stilled.

There was a time when during the winter, weaving baskets. The tale used to flow as if she had been told it. She took it as a wonderful gift. Not only had she a workday of expression, but she had a story to tell. She could recite the whole of Pushkin's tale. She would be leaving out a single verse. Before

At the flag hoisting ceremony, an M.L.A. said that the Sikh flag the flag that Ranjit Singh hoisted over the Punjab, will fly all over the world.

Though it is peculiar to imagine Sikhism as a religion of the sword, the food hopes that the Akali Communists are harbouring, cannot

Sajal Singh, an M.L.A. who recently inquired into an incident of police barbarity. They refused to give any information about the payee in Amritsar districts. Police, in order to take vengeance on the poor, they were naked and tortured the said that some of the arrested were women. The number of women were

**ATROCITIES BY POLICE**

**OFFICERS**

**PATIALA MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS**

In the municipal elections to the Patiala Municipal Committee, the Socialist Party secured two seats out of five. The party had nominated the names of the Hindu