

West Bengal Opens A New Chapter

by K. K. Sinha

THE very fact that Jawaharlal Nehru addressed his congratulatory letter first to Atulya Ghosh, the P.C.C. President and only subsequently to Prafulla Chandra Sen, the new Chief Minister of West Bengal, indicates that the High Command was not very confident that the election of the new leader would be so smooth-sailing. That it turned out to be unanimous, without any other name even being mentioned, was a pleasant surprise, quite in contrast to the Congress-tradition in most other States and also quite unexpected even from West Bengal, as there were persistent rumours that P. C. Sen and Atulya Ghosh were both in the run for the succession to Dr. Roy's *gaddi*, even before the last General Elections. However, all is well that ends well and the High Command of the Congress heaved a sigh of relief: also the people of West Bengal.

But what of the future? For this one has to have an idea of the setting in which Dr. B. C. Roy was functioning and of the new set-up.

Dr. Roy was a dominating personality, not only by virtue of his seniority but also by temperament and intellectual grasp. He was an essentially Metropolitan, modern, man with a rare aura of self-assurance. He was, as is by now well-known, a great planner and administrator, and, as Chief Minister of the State, all the important threads of control were in his hands which he manipulated with dexterity. He had a paternalistic air about him and the other ministers counted for little around him, like children in a family. He was not a charismatic popular hero; he was not involved in the fleeting and petty conflicts and combinations of groups in the Congress Party. So he was not identified with any particular group as such and he was aware that his place as leader was secure by force of merit and by the respect in which he was held by people of all ranks in West Bengal for his intellectual capacity in the matter of carving out a new Bengal, and also for the forceful impact of his personality in the Congress High Command at Delhi.

Prafulla Chandra Sen is of an entirely different make up. He is mild in his demeanor, soft spoken. He has risen from the bottom up ever since he joined the Congress in 1921; he is an integral part of it and

is naturally woven into its internal life for decades. He is not a city-man, but he is thoroughly conversant with the psychology, the needs and the outlook of the villager and the town-dweller. He is not Big Industry-oriented, as Dr. Roy was; but he is in close touch with the 'local' industrialists, the small industrialist. He knows the Congress-workers of all districts personally and is always available to them without fuss. They can rely on the helping hand of 'Prafullada'. He is essentially a team-man, given to hard work, with a great fund of common sense; not of the self-confident, brilliant type.

Thus Dr. Roy and Sen offer contrasting images. And naturally the behaviour pattern of the new Chief Minister within the Cabinet, in the Legislature and in the Congress Party will bring about altered patterns of reaction and relationship with his Cabinet colleagues, with the various Opposition groups and with the Congress Party apparatus. Added to that will be the ambitions of some of his colleagues who had not dared to raise their head in the presence of Dr. Roy.

The most important confrontation that P. C. Sen will have to make will be with Atulya Ghosh, the present head of the State Congress. Both of them come from the same district, Hooghly; in fact the latter was a Congress-worker under Sen's patronage ever since the twenties and the two together led the 'Hooghly group' in the State Congress for a long time. Now that they are getting old, they wish to see their common ambition fulfilled — the leadership of West Bengal State — and hence the inherent conflict.

Coming events cast their shadows before. Even before Dr. Roy was dead, the P.C.C. had a conference at Kalna, Dist. Burdwan, in June 1962. Here Prafulla Sen opened a virulent political attack against Atulya Ghosh, in the latter's presence, and the party boss had to be on the defensive. This indicates, if an indication is at all necessary, that the internal conflict was going on all these months. Sen was very much dissatisfied with Election nominations last year and Atulya Ghosh's nominees suffered severe defeats by Communists in *Congress strongholds*; as many as twenty. At Kalna, although no votes were taken, opinion was generally in favour of Sen.

Yet another consideration was the presence of and the likely intervention on behalf of the Centre by V. K. Krishna Menon and Asoka Sen which, he thought, would have very much complicated matters if it once started. This was a real danger as it was well-known that Nehru did not like Atulya Ghosh, whatever be the reason.

Atulya Ghosh has a capacity to organise a party

machine and this has proved a real stone-wall to the Communist opposition. But, as Sen rightly pointed out at Kalna, Ghosh has in his stride developed the machine not as a dynamic political organisation but a closed group of "his" chosen men in the sense of a personal following, not a political one. In other words, Ghosh has been spotted as of a power-hungry monopolist type and, in consequence, Congress leaders who have their own ego and self-respect and ambitions, would not like to surrender themselves bound hand-and-foot to Atulya Babu. Thus a paradox is growing; the more Atulya Babu strengthens his personal grip over the organisation throughout the State, the more the Congress workers are developing a mental distance towards him, and this number is increasing. They fear him and do not love him. This is the real reason why 'Prafullada' is more popular in the Congress organisation, although Atulya Babu is the *de facto* boss.

Although the impression outside the Party is that Atulya Ghosh reigns supreme over the Congress organisation, in a straight showdown between the two it is not certain that Ghosh will win, even inside the Congress. Sen enjoys popularity in North Bengal districts and has support in Purulia, Hooghly, Howrah, Burdwan (50%) while Ghosh has good support in Nadia, Bankura, Birbhum, Midnapur and Murshidabad. Calcutta and 24 Parganas District are divided in their loyalty. Even so the division of loyalties is not yet very sharp. But, more importantly, practically all important Congress leaders and ministers like Asoka Sen, Kabir, Sailakumar Mukherjee, Ajoy Mukherjee, Bijoy Singh Nahar, Jagannath Koley, Khagendra Dasgupta, Haren Raichowdhury, Tarunkanti Ghosh are backing Sen. On top of this, the leading industrialists, both Bengali as well as non-Bengali, have personally assured Sen support. Thus the "Roy group" and the Sen supporters are isolating the Ghosh group. It seems to me, therefore, that for the present Atulya Ghosh will lie low and carefully watch for a year at least the reactions to Sen's administration, meanwhile further consolidating his hold over the party apparatus—Mandals and Districts—and then decide to act.

Within the Sen Cabinet, which is a continuation of the old, there are several important personalities, already named. Given chance, they can grow and show competence and drive. Under Roy this was simply not possible, for he used to work through the Secretaries, some of whom formed the nucleus of his brain trust. (That was, by the way, his secret of quickly evolving new schemes for West Bengal). Now Sen is not in a position, nor psychologically tuned, to work on this pattern. Politically also it will be harmful. He has to, and should like to, work in a team of colleagues, giving substantial latitude to the more competent ministers like Saila Mukerjee, Ajoy Mukherjee, Bijoy Singh Nahar, etc. And functioning in this manner, soon the West Bengal Council of Ministers will have a "new look" if everything goes well.

Thus, I anticipate that the diffused relationship characterised by an absence of tension between the State and the Party when Dr. B. C. Roy was alive

will be steadily substituted by an image of polarisation, tension and conflict, as the scenes begin to change in this new drama. (It may be noted here that Dr. Roy not only did not disturb Atulya Ghosh but rather was helpful to him, even when Roy's followers did not like the idea).

Dr. Roy was not only a patriarch but also a "Brahmo". And Communists in Bengal have a soft-corner for Brahmos; for the leadership of the CPI is strongly influenced by this aristocracy. This was the "secret understanding", if it can be termed, between Dr. Roy and Jyoti Basu, which explains why "movements" led by Communists invariably ended successfully resulting in an honourable settlement with Dr. Roy. Now that situation no longer holds. So the Communists will give no quarter to the Sen administration. No holds will be barred. As a matter of fact, some of their leaders openly avowed this policy even while they were following Roy's bier. They are at present busy planning their demonstrations and soon we will be hearing of it. They do intend to make full use of the differences between the Sen group and the Ghosh group, and in widening this gap lies their hope. That will be their master strategy now for sometime.

It will be extremely inadvisable to expect quiet stability in West Bengal in the coming months and years ahead. The prices are going to rise further, steadily, if not steeply. If the Western aid that was previously expected does not materialise, not only will prices rise but it will be difficult even to procure commodities. Unemployment will increase. The situation in East Pakistan is also expected to be unsettled and this will have its obvious impact on this border State. All this will provide quite a lot of material for the Bengal Communists to work on.

There is still another angle from which West Bengal can be viewed. Dr. Roy had a great pull with the Centre, particularly with Nehru. In addition to this,

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"See, they're getting closer to us all the time!"
(At his Press conference on June 13, Mr. Nehru said that China would be settled.)

—The Hindustan Times

The European Common Market

by Raman K. Desai

EVERY school boy, before the War, knew that India was equivalent to Europe minus Russia. Today, both the territories have shrunk, in our case with partition, and in the case of Europe, with the conquest of Eastern Europe by the Soviet Empire. Free Europe today has a population of 42 crores. USSR's population is 21 crores, and the total population of the feudatory states, seized since the war, is 7.5 crores. The political fact today is that Moscow, so to speak, is only a couple of hundred miles from the French border. If Napoleon floundered in reaching Moscow, Moscow today is in striking reach of Paris. This dominant political reality must contain all separatist tendencies in free Europe. For centuries the idea of an integrated Europe has been baulked by feudal rivalries and in recent centuries by the idea of independent nations.

Since the War, several organisations have made inroads into the disruptive nationalist tendencies. The idea of a nation is undergoing a new process of evolution.

In the military and industrial balance of power in Europe, the coal and iron of Lorraine played an important part and was always a prize either for France or for Germany. For hundreds of years, it has been the apple of discord in European politics. It was ceded by France to Germany in 1871, returned to France in 1919, annexed by Hitler in 1940 and recovered by France in 1945. The Ruhr coal field is the second-largest in the world. Its production in 1950 was 92% of the total coal output of Germany. The Ruhr supplies 90% of German steel. Before the first World War, iron-ore of Lorraine went to the furnaces of Ruhr and the coke of the Ruhr went for smelting of Lorraine ores. After the first World War, the occupation of Ruhr by the Allies crippled German economic rehabilitation and destroyed financial economy. The occupation of Ruhr was the dominant factor in the collapse of the Mark. After World War II, the Ruhr was in ruins, and a large number of coal mines were closed. As a safeguard against the rise of German military and economic power, the Allies put the Ruhr under the International Authority for the Ruhr.

It is under these economic difficulties that an attempt had to be made to develop the economy of Europe without fostering another Hitler. In the political field, attempt had to be made to combine the forces of free enterprise in a free Europe in the teeth of the threat of the Soviet Empire. Far-sighted statesmen undertook this double task with rare acumen. In 1952, the International Authority for the Ruhr was dissolved and in its place the European Coal and Steel Community came into being, as a result of a treaty between France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg. The tariffs and quotas on the movement of coal and iron within the

Community were removed and freight rates made uniform. Regulations were made to check cartels and to remove price policies. A super-national authority thus came into being. It may be noted that Britain not only refused to join, but later formed another organisation of seven Powers to off-set the European Community. It was not a question of the traditional British method of supporting a weak power in Europe and maintain balance, or rather imbalance of power, but that the interests of the British Commonwealth were to be preserved.

The six signatories of the Community have since gone a long way towards a future deliberate political integration through economic measures. France abandoned its hereditary distrust of a strong Germany and agreed that a depressed Germany was dangerous to European freedom. In 1957 came into existence, the European Economic Community, commonly known as the European Common Market. The EEC agreed on several measures which must inevitably tend to the idea of a United States of Europe. The Market, it was agreed, would create, during a period of 12 years, a customs union and a common tariff on imports. The Market provides for free movement of labour and capital, for common financial policies. Associated territories such as French Africa, would receive help for financial investments by way of funds. The EEC which is the administrative authority has a representative Council of Ministers and there is an independent executive in the form of the European Economic Commission.

The whole venture has moved in the last five years at a pace fantastically ahead of schedule.

France, under General de Gaulle, has aided this acceleration. For long, France has been in great economic difficulties; inflation, the Algerian revolt and lack of foreign exchange. One would imagine that these difficulties would make France protectionist and not in favour of free trade. On the contrary, General de Gaulle deliberately turned towards economic integration of Europe and in the result made French economy stronger today than it ever was in the last forty years. One hopes that the lesson of free enterprise in a free Europe will not be lost on the erstwhile democrats, the Czechs and Poles, now under a Police Raj.

Such has been the impact of the EEC that Britain has been compelled to ask for a membership of the Community in view of the fact that its exports to Europe would be hampered by a common tariff wall and the European Market would be difficult to penetrate. Britain's hesitation has been due to the fact of its overseas Commonwealth commitments and the desire to maintain the position of the Pound and the City. Some measure of hardship must accrue to the members of the Commonwealth who are used to

tariff-free export to Britain. The signatories to the Market appreciate these difficulties. The decision of Britain will affect African raw-material producing countries as well as Scandinavia. The USA has throughout been a cordial supporter of the EEC and has endeavoured to assist Britain in its entry into the Market.

The situation in Britain is that 40% of Britain's imports come from the Commonwealth, and it buys the same proportion of exports from Britain. The 1932 Ottawa Agreement allowed free entry of Commonwealth products into Britain and gave preferential tariff to British exports. The farmers of New Zealand send 90% of their exports to Britain. But the present trend of British agriculture is towards some measure of self-sufficiency, and for the Commonwealth countries to develop their industries even at the cost of heavy tariffs against imported goods. Britain now must depend on export of capital equipment and highly specialised goods in a competitive world. The anxiety of Britain to enter the Market is understandable. The Market has enabled in Europe vastly increased industrial production and the national incomes have risen far in excess of Britain and elsewhere.

The difficulties which are enumerated on behalf of India's participation in the Market relate to the possibility that our exports to Britain, mainly duty free, would be subject to the tariff fixed by the Market. In the year 1961, India exported to Britain goods totalling in value Rs. 200 crores. Of this figure, tea accounted for Rs. 86 crores, cotton-yarn and woven fabric — Rs. 18 crores, miscellaneous textile including jute Rs. 14 crores. Goods valued at Rs. 118 crores were free of duty. If we now have to pay a duty of 15% on these goods, the amount involved would be about Rs. 18 crores. As against this, we get a certain rebate of about 2%, from a tariff of 17% from the EEC if Britain joins the Market. With regard to our exports, for the year 1960-61, to EEC countries, they amount to Rs. 51 crores; thus our rebate would amount to, say, a saving of about Rs. 1 crore per year. Thus our total loss by entering the Market in a year would be Rs. 18 crores less Rs. 1 crore, i.e., about Rs. 17 crores. These are rough figures gathered over a casual scrutiny, to illustrate the point that I intend to make.

Considering that tea forms a large part of our exports to Britain and since tea is not commonly consumed in Europe, (the deadliest tea I drank was in Paris), it should be possible to persuade the Market to permit tea to be duty free. As regards other processed and manufactured goods, we must accept the fact that we cannot compete against Pakistan, that it has better Jute and better Jute Mills, and we have to find ways of export for non-traditional items. It should be possible for us to increase the export abroad of oil-seeds and animal and vegetable oils.

In 1961, Britain imported from us nearly a total of Rs. 16 crores worth of these items. In spite of our high prices, oil seeds, ground-nut oil, castor seeds and linseeds have a worldwide and perennial market.

In this search for export of oil seeds, every an-

opponent of State farms might subscribe to a scheme for vast oilseed farms on the Suratgarh pattern.

If we do not cooperate with Europe and if we make Britain's entry difficult, as we are doing, we will soon find that a protective wall will shut us out of Europe.

Unfortunately our rulers and our political parties have shown no signs of appreciation of the magnificent political adventure of integrated Europe, of a dream which has taken a thousand years to come into being. I find that even an enlightened statesman like Mr. Asoka Mehta asks for six or seven years respite from the enforcement of tariff with regard to Indian goods. Mr. Morarji Desai seems to be harping on the same tune.

Ultimately our exports must depend on low internal prices in our own country. This depends on a high production of agricultural raw produce, including cash crops. For 15 years we have consistently neglected agriculture which is not only our largest industry but our way of life. If agriculturists flourish, savings will rise, and taxation can be borne. But even an able and devoted Minister, Mr. Manubhai Shah pleads that the Common Market signatories should regard "liberation and expansion of trade with less developed countries as their primary responsibility." He urges that undeveloped countries should get more credit facilities on easy long term basis; he asked that developed countries should import more raw materials, and also finished products from undeveloped countries. Yet, we have already received in 15 years over Rs. 2,000 crores from U.S.A. alone as aid. We are furthest today from even an attempt at self help. Externally our symbol is the begging bowl, and internally the scale of consumers' licenses has become a way of life for businessmen. Internally, things have reached a pass that if licenses were made non-transferable, hundreds of businesses would close down. Instead of a flourishing peasantry, we have agricultural unemployment totalling over 4 crores persons, nearly 12% of the population and we may not forget that these are voters; agricultural indebtedness which has been our bane for centuries and which should go down in any inflationary era, has practically doubled. Large cities apparently flourish with a restless slum crowd. It is only when we can stand squarely on our feet, that we can enter the economic world as free and equal partners, occupying a place worthy of an independent nation.

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Communist Dictatorship In North Korea

by Rama Swarup Sabherwal

IT is a well-known fact that the northern half of Korea is under a communist totalitarian regime.

The character, policy, and destiny of a totalitarian society, especially that of a communist state, is formed by the dictator in power. The dictator in Northern Korea, needless to say, is Kim Il Sung, a former Soviet Army major, who then called himself Kim Sung Joo.

The road to power in communist society is bloody as no election or other democratic methods are permitted in choosing leaders. The winner in the struggle for power becomes dictator, but the loser is doomed, often to be a "live cadaver."

Such struggles for power and subsequent purges are more fierce in northern Korea than in other communist satellites. The situation can perhaps be ascribed to the factional feuding traditional with the Korean Communists. (In fact, the feuding in the Korean Communist Party was so serious that it was disowned by the Comintern in 1938, three years after the founding of the party). But the true—and more important—reason is that as a Soviet army major, who climbed to power with the sole backing of the Soviets, Kim has no alternative but to weed out rivals or opponents in order to keep his post.

As soon as he sneaked into the north at the end of World War II, Kim emasculated the Korean Communist force. Then, he allied himself with the Yenan group to purge the faction representing communists active in the southern half of the peninsula. The sanguinary feature of Kim's purge might be attested by the fact that only 25 of the 85 Central Committee members elected at the third Congress of the Party remained in office until the opening of the next Congress.

The purge is not over yet. It is easy to assume that an ugly fight will flare up sooner or later for the No. 2 post. For his own part, Kim today makes footstools of Kim Il and Choi Yong Keun. It is also easy to presume that such ambitious figures as Pak Kum Chul, Kim Chang Man, and Nam Il would intensify their fight to wrest power from Kim Il Sung.

The policy of Kim Il Sung and his clique is based on blind radicalism, and Kim does not try to conceal it. In his report to the fourth Congress of the Party, he said, the postwar plan to transform agriculture, home industry, and other capitalistic industries into a socialistic form was completed in 1958, only five years after the War.

The socialistic reform according to Kim, is an inevitable requirement for "accomplishing the Korean revolution." The Korean revolution, the so-called proletarian revolution as they say, aims at building a "democratic basis" in the north to launch communication of whole Korea. Kim often remarks that peace-

ful unification of Korea will be a part of an international (communist) revolution.

North Korean propaganda directed particularly at the people in the South is always filled with such words as "democracy" or "democratic". Of course such propaganda can seldom succeed in effecting a change in the concept of free people over communist dictatorship.

The unique channel through which Red dictatorship is steered is, of course, the Labour (Communist) Party.

The key posts in every organisation are occupied by party men. In the cabinet all but two are party members. Of the eight deputy premiers, only one is not associated with the Party. He is Myonghi Hong, who has been kept at the post from the first cabinet down on, but simply as a robot to be utilized for red propaganda aimed at the Republic of Korea.

Although not a formal member of the party, Hong is close to the dictator. He is known as a secret member of the party.

In effect, the "cabinet" or the "government" is a useless entity, since real power rests with the party. To cite an example, the seven year economic programme, the axis of the puppet policy today, was proposed to the fourth Congress of the Party by Kim Il not in the capacity of first deputy premier but that of a member of the party's political committee which is under Kim's directives.

The programme was adopted by the Congress and has been in progress since, although no plan is in sight for a "People's Supreme Council" session to legalise the programme.

To begin with, the Korean Labour Party (and Kim Il Sung) is but a puppet of the Soviet Communist Party, and this puppet has the north Korean Communist regime as its footstool. This was made public by Kim when he said at the fourth Congress of the Party, "our people's regime has successfully performed its duty as a strong weapon for a socialist revolution and construction of socialism."

Kim and his clique are bent on cloaking their dictatorial instrument with a mantle of democracy. They talk about their "democratic election." According to the constitutional provisions, members of the people's Supreme Council are elected by universal, equal and secret ballots. However, only one candidate is permitted in every constituency of 50,000. Kim and his clique claim that candidates are nominated by the Fatherland Front, supposedly a combination of all political parties and social organisations.

On election day, voters appear before white and black ballot boxes placed under a candidate's portrait. The white box is for aye votes and the black

one for nay votes, theoretically speaking. But the whole voting process is watched by "members of the electoral committee", a watchdog of the party, standing by the ballot boxes.

The People's Supreme Council, thus elected, has little to do except to give ex post facto approval of the bills already put into force following the Party sanction. The council members are well aware of the fate that may fall on them if they were to oppose such practices. Quite a number of the second council members have been missing. Nobody knows their whereabouts.

The Communist legislature sits in session only for five or six days throughout the year. In effect, the power of legislation rests not with the People's Supreme Council but with the cabinet — with the party, to put it accurately.

The constitutionally provided term of council members is three years. The present (second) council was "elected" in August 1957. Elections were to be held in 1960 for the third council, but nobody knows why they were cancelled.

The economic situation under the communist regime in the north may be summed up in one word: Monopoly. In the name of socialization, Kim Il Sung monopolises all the productive organs to make them serve his political dictatorship.

Priority in the communist expenditure goes to heavy industry which, needless to say, means the armament industry. Money is no consideration when it comes to the armament industry. Nobody except Kim Il Sung and a handful of his close collaborators would know how much is spent for the build up of military might and for indirect aggression of the southern half.

The economic growth in communist society appears to be attaining rapid progress in the initial period. But the economy driven by force is destined to come to a standstill at a certain period of time.

For example, the seven year economic plan of the north Korean Communists sets forth five million tons of grains and 250 million meters of textiles as its second year (1962) targets.

The same figures were set forth years ago. At a training of party officials in November 1958, Kim said, "we will have abundant food if we produce five to six million tons of grains in a few years. Everybody will be supplied with 50 meters of cloth if we turn out 500 million meters of textiles during the period. . . . Yesterday's fantasy turns into reality today, which in turn gives way to a real tomorrow. Perhaps, in three to four years, our ideals will turn into reality. . . ."

Three years have already elapsed since and yet Kim's seven-year plan still calls for five million tons of grains and 250 million meters of textiles, half of the figure Kim mentioned in 1958, as the target.

Even today Kim is not sure if the target can be achieved.

Kim Il Sung's monopolistic exploitation is not limited to urban industries but extends to the farming communities also. And the instrument of his

farm exploitation is the nationwide agricultural co-operative network.

Each cooperative is controlled by a committee whose chief, chosen by the party, also heads the village administrative unit. The chief, in effect, is but a deputy of the single landowner (Kim Il Sung) entrusted with supervising the tenant farmers.

The committee chief assesses the daily work of individual farmers and keeps its results on record, which serves to be a criterion for distribution of crops in the autumn. The daily work on the farm is conducted strictly in the military manner; a roll call early in the morning, a march to the farm, communist indoctrination sessions at intervals, meetings after work, etc. Farmers are treated as militiamen. In fact, military drills are compulsory.

Education in the communist north is a medium for mass production of communists. The type of man the communists want and need is one who makes no complaint against hard labour and abject poverty. In other words, the communists' education policy is to produce human workhorses for their much-publicized "One-Thousand Mile Horse Race."

Students in the north receive their education at factories or workshops, in most cases. Under the "Cabinet Decision" of March 2, 1959, governing the compulsory labour of students, college students are required to take part in group labour not less than 60 days a year. Anybody failing to perform this labour duty is disqualified for his school work.

Seniors at higher technical institutes must engage in labour for more than five and a half months and seniors at universities more than three and a half months per year.

The primary education for admission to colleges is two or more years of manual labour.

To qualify as "Red Fighters", students must excel in the Russian language and the history of Kim Il Sung's "Struggle For Liberation Of Korea." Those with poor records on these subjects are rejected however they may excel in other subjects.

The north Korean society consists of two classes: a new privileged class and the grassroots. The latter includes labourers, intellectual proletariats (clerical workers), cooperative members (including farmers) who are all exposed to the common persecution and exploitation by the new class.

Labour wages range from a low of 17 won to 79 won daily. The average monthly income of a labourer is estimated at 30 won. Salaries for clerical workers go slightly above the labour wages, and those for primary school teachers average 35 won. A month's pay can buy only one meal every day or five pairs of nylon socks.

The exorbitant communist spending on heavy industry, intended for war purposes, and to consolidate Kim's dictatorship is responsible for poverty of the people in the north. Everybody is aware of it, but nobody dares to ask for a change. Former "deputy premiers", Choi Chang Ik and Pak Chang Ok, were purged merely for recommending a shift in the policy to alleviate the difficulties of the people.

Latest Trend In American Education

by Adam Adil

UNDER a totalitarian system, like that of Soviet Russia and Communist China, it is impossible for a student to know objective facts about other systems of society. What the student learns is only the distorted facts about other systems, and these are taught with the sole object of impressing upon the student the "superiority" or the "scientific character" of the prevailing totalitarian system. Under democracy, however, the case is opposite: there, since the inalienable right of the individual to correct information is recognised, the teaching of objective facts about other systems of society, forms an integral part of the educational system. Under democracy, a student is helped to assess the relative worth of various systems of society, political ideologies, social philosophies and economic doctrines and to form his own judgment about them. Hence, a student in a democratic system is well-informed, tolerant and rational unlike his counterpart in the totalitarian countries.

The latest trend in the educational field in the United States of America is not, therefore, surprising. Not long ago, the teaching of communism in American schools was considered sacrilegious and would have invited legal and social penalties.

Law in Georgia, for instance, prevented teachers from "teaching any theory of government or economics or of social relations which is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of patriotism and high ideals of Americanism." No teacher in any of the American states, therefore, could teach even bare facts about communism.

But since recently, there has been a marked change in American attitude in relation to the teaching of communism in schools. American educationists have begun to realise the necessity of teaching the American students the objective facts about the theory and practice of communism in all aspects, the history of the communist movement in the world and the role of the communist governments in the context of the world peace. The teaching about communism in American schools will help the American students to make a correct appraisal of the realities and the issues involved in the cold war.

The change in the American attitude towards teaching about communism began in 1957, when American Legion, which was once vigorously opposed to even a mention of communism to school children, passed a resolution, calling for a course on the "fallacies of communism" in the school curricula. The American Legion has now joined the National Education Association in bringing out a manual on the subject. The lead of the American Legion was followed by Virginia which authorised a course on communism in 1961. Recently, Florida and Louisiana

have fallen in line by sanctioning classes on communism in every high school. California has appointed a committee to suggest a course of study. Other American state boards of education have decided to introduce facts about communism into regular course such as history, science, social studies, and geography. In the United States today, there is no controversy regarding the advisability or otherwise of the teaching about communism; if there is any, it is with regard to the methods of teaching it.

American schools have maintained academic interest in the study of communism on the basis of the American Bar Association report that "the subject of communism (like any other subject) should be taught factually, thoroughly, and objectively." In Atlanta, for instance, the Board of Education has directed "the teacher should keep in mind that the classroom is a forum and not a committee for producing resolutions or dogmatic pronouncements. The class should feel no responsibility for reaching an agreement." San Francisco Superintendent of Education, Harold Spears has advised the teachers "I think the story of Russia speaks for itself. All you have got to do is teach facts. You don't have to indoctrinate." There are, of course, certain disagreements on some of these suggestions. While there is general agreement on imparting factual and objective information about communism, William J. Reid, head of the history department at Dorchester High School, Boston, observes, "I don't think any high school youngsters know enough history to refute Marxist arguments. For most people, you have to say that this is wrong and it does not work and cite examples from history to prove it." The Louisiana State Board of Education has charged the teachers with the responsibility of "exposing the deceitful character and dangers of international communist conspiracy" and "outlining the superior characteristics and advantages of free economy as compared with the controlled collective economy of socialism and communism." In Dallas, the teachers have to teach "the principles of American freedom in contrast to the tyranny of communism". In Florida, schools lay "emphasis . . . that students are studying about the evils, fallacies and contradictions of communism rather than 'studying communism'." Most teachers seek to draw contrast between the free American way of life and the regimented communist society.

The change in the American attitude towards teaching about communism in schools and the diverse opinion expressed regarding how and what to teach about it shows the virility of a democratic system. It also shows that Maccarthysm is completely rooted out from American public life. How refreshing it is in comparison with the regimented education in the communist countries!

Letter to Editor

The Speaker's Office

Sir,

SARDAR HUKUM SINGH's election as Speaker to Lok Sabha was one of the few relieving features in the otherwise grim undemocratic realities in recent times. Even when he was a Deputy-Speaker in the last parliament his conduct was one of dignity; the members in the opposition parties often looked to him for support in their struggle for their rights as Members of Parliament. And they did not look to him in vain. For he was no respecter of persons. When the Deputy Minister for Labour, Mr. Abid Ali gave a reply that smacked of nonchalance, Mr. Hukum Singh was quick to pull him up. He was equally unsparing to the Members of Parliament as well; and on an occasion chided them for leaving the House once their speeches were over, without waiting to hear what the Minister had to say about the issue.

His election to the present Parliament as Speaker was unanimous and all the parties in the House joined in applauding the choice. In his reply to messages of felicitation that poured from all sections of the House, Mr. Hukum Singh promised that he would rise above parties and that he would see to it that minority groups were not neglected. This is a notable advance over the stand that was taken by Mr. Mavalankar of revered memory. Mr. Mavalankar observed—“.....the Speaker in India is not today absolutely out of the political arena as is the Speaker of the British House of Commons. Though the value of the British precedent is recognised, we have come to the conclusion that for the time being the British precedent can be only an ideal to be reached in the course of time. *For the present the Speaker must continue to be a politician, though with very extensive limitations on his activities.* He may continue to be a member of his party, but he should not take part in the affairs of his party, particularly in regard to matters which are likely to come before the House for discussion or decision.” Under Speakers of the stature of Mr. Hukum Singh our parliamentary institutions have a great future for we can be certain that all shades of opinion in the House will be given a chance to present their views.

But not all persons seem to be aware of the importance of this office. This is particularly regrettable when the Speaker is slighted in the Punjab which State should be justly proud of Mr. Hukum Singh's services to our democracy. For the inauguration ceremonies of the Punjabi University saw a sad deterioration in public decorum. At the main ceremony of the inauguration of the University, he was not given any attention consistent with the dignity of his office. He was not given a seat on the dais along with the Chief Minister, the Maharaja of Patiala, the Vice-Chancellor and other dignitaries, but was consigned to the audience. Also he was not on the list of invitees for the civic reception arranged for Dr. Radhakrishnan. This is certainly a disturbing lack of the elementary decencies of public life. In the general warrant of precedence, the office of the Speaker is next only to

A Tribute to Djilas

The following letter appeared in "The New Leader", New York. It is written by a close friend of Milovan Djilas and a former editor of the official Yugoslav newspaper "Borba", who is since several years residing in the United States.

To Milovan Djilas

I envy you, Milovan Djilas! I envy you for standing with your hands in your pockets, defying still another judicial travesty of your rights and mine in still another Yugoslav court of oppression. The court, this time, defends a regime that you and I — and an entire generation of determined idealists — brought into being, only to find ourselves betrayed by promises of freedom not fulfilled.

I envy your courage, Djido, not only your courage to stand trial but also to rise in judgment over your judges. And I feel ashamed sometimes for not sharing that worn court bench with you. In these moments of guilt, I tell myself that you can hear our applause, even on your lonely trips to prison. But, still bitter with myself, I realize that you have no need of admiration from afar.

You may consider it childish, Djido, but I know you will understand my envy. In a way it is only an extension of that same urgent feeling which seems to be the birthright of all Balkans, a feeling of owning, belonging to and forming history as an inalienable right and duty. For centuries on end, without pause Balkan history has centered around the simple quest for liberty. Our forests have been burned and eroded, felled for profits or for "progress" but in the perspective of history it seems that most of the wood has been cut to make human stakes, hangman's stands or trial benches for those, like you, accused of stubbornly believing that man is born with the freedom to express and defend his rights.

That is where my envy comes from, Djido. We have all had our share of dreams, of endless hours debating how to bring about a free future, modeling it in our minds like so many sculptors in clay. A quarter of a century later, in the midst of our personal and national disillusionments, you are still blessed with that dream. It is now the highest distinction, the noblest decoration, the greatest honour, to stand accused of fomenting freedom in a society which, ironically, came into being through the promise of that very freedom.

You may seem to be alone now, Djido, carrying as you do a lonely light on our deserted Yugoslav political mudroads. But one day these roads must bathe in the lights of a million torches like yours. For no idea or ideal is more precious to keep and fight for than the right of man to dignity of thought and freedom to speak for it.

New York City.

Jasha M. Levi

that of the Chief Justice of the country. It is to be hoped that the annual conference of Speakers will send a strong note of protest to the Vice-Chancellor; the dignity of office needs protection and those who could contribute most to it are the holders of the office themselves.

Bombay, July 20

B. S.

Despirited Economics

by John S. Connor

IN a recent issue of YOJANA, Dr. V. V. Borkar, of the University of Marathwada, has given us a view of the economics of prohibition as seen by the "dryhards". It is a curious explanation, which somehow seems to leave the reader unconvinced. Or, to speak more appropriately, with his thirst—for knowledge of course—unquenched. The reason for the lack of conviction, and the absence of refreshment, is not hard to discern. It stands out starkly to those who are familiar with this kind of scientific concoction. It is a product of "soft thinking". To speak sparingly, it is devoid of spirit.

At the outset of his critique, Dr. Borkar charges the anti-prohibitionist economists with advocating neo-classical economic notions. This, he says, is shown by the fact that such economists hold that the loss of governmental revenues resulting from such a policy "necessitates a corresponding cut in (public) development expenditures. Surely the good doctor should know that "the hold of notions of classical economics on the minds of economists" would make them dead against such economic ventures by the government. Hence, economically speaking, they would definitely be in favour of such a restrictive result and be a proponent of prohibition policy, even as he is. Thus the doctor demonstrates a striking unfamiliarity with the spirit of classical economics.

Next, Dr. Borkar endeavours to belittle the importance of financial resources for facilitating development efforts. In his desire to heap importance on real resources for development purposes, he holds that the former is a mere "camp follower" to the latter. He further states that, "If real resources are all used up, availability of finance is no help". Here again, the good doctor glaringly shows his lack of awareness of the importance of spirit. In most of the highly developed countries, lack of real resources has been no great handicap to development. Given the availability of financial resources, and some imaginative spirit, entrepreneurs have found ways to obtain needed real resources from other areas.

Dr. Borkar thereafter sets down what he calls the "several preconditions of rapid economic development". In this connection, he rightly suggests that "achieving a high rate of investment", is of "crucial importance". He then lists several factors that determine "the maximum rate of investment that any economy can sustain without generating inflation". "Here again", he says so truly, "the crucial determinants... are the marginal propensity to consume and the productive capacity in consumption goods industries". By way of further explaining the significance of these important elements, Dr. Borkar says, "The less the extra demand for consumption goods by... newly engaged workers, the greater the num-

ber that can be employed on the basis of a given supply of basic wage goods." "Similarly", he adds, "the larger the productive capacity in basic wage goods industries, the higher the level of investment that can be secured...". So much for the general principles. Applying these to the prohibition "protected" economic policy, Dr. Borkar draws the favourable conclusion that, "prohibition may result in increased supply of the basic producer and consumer goods on account of the release of nonspecific factors of production from the liquor trade to be absorbed in socially more urgent uses". Note that the doctor says prohibition *may* have such results. And it is good he does so, intentionally or not. For it is quite possible that such a policy may well not have such results. Dr. Borkar, "as does practically all the official literature on the subject of prohibition", (See P. T. Bauer, *Indian Economic Policy and Development*, Allen & Unwin, 1961) omits to tell us that the factor of "worker disincentive" is very important to any process of development. It greatly affects the total productive capacity in producer and consumer goods. If the workers' productive spirit is dampened, or perhaps it is more appropriate to say: dried up, by an inability to get a normal supply of "spirited beverages" for recreational purposes, it could clearly have the effect of lessening, or at least not increasing, the supply of basic producer and consumer goods.

What of the other "crucial determinant" of the maximum rate of investment that Dr. Borkar mentioned—the marginal propensity to consume? What is the effect of prohibition on it? Much to the doctor's distress, he admits that the effect "would appear to be adverse". For, deprived of the opportunity to spend some of their earnings on spirited refreshments, "the average individual's intake of basic wage goods is likely to go up". And such a rise, as the doctor earlier explained, reduces the scope of investment, given the supply of such goods. In the last clause, however, Dr. Borkar seems to see a way out of the uncomfortable dilemma. He says, "But the aggregate supply of basic wage goods cannot be regarded as fixed with the introduction of prohibition. The transfer of productive agents from the liquor industry to socially more desirable lines of production would bring about an expansion in the supply of such goods." All of which sounds fine, to be sure. But, even if the doctor omits consideration of it, the careful student of the problem will not forget the factor of "worker disincentive" in this connection too. The reduction in interest and enthusiasm brought about by the policy of prohibition may very well serve to impede the expansion of production in basic wage goods, regardless of how much more socially desirable they might be.

(Continued on page 121)

Separatist Activities In Madras

by M. A. Venkata Rao

TO the questioners in Parliament recently as to how Government propose to deal with the separatist activities of the Dravida Kazagam and the Dravida Munnetra Kazagam of Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker and Sri. C. N. Annadurai, the Prime Minister replied that Government would ignore them!

Those in the know in the South were somewhat shocked at the naivete of the answer. The time when such an ostrich policy suited the book had long since passed by.

The events of the 19th of July in Madras and many other cities and towns of that State when the picketing of district offices by the D.M.K. volunteers (and leaders led by members of Parliament, Mayors of cities, legislators and other frontrankers) culminated in widespread violence necessitating repeated tear gas shells being used to disperse unruly crowds and several lathi charges and the arrest of nearly 5,000 men (and some women) are clear testimony to the inadequacy of government policy regarding the movement. The Government and the Congress Party have consistently neglected the sinister activities, ideologies and emotional extravagances of the Dravida separatists.

No action whatever has been taken all these fifteen years to counter the movement on any plane—ideological or practical.

The situation brooks no further neglect and delay. A couple of practical constructive suggestions are made here with a view to stimulate thought on this grave subject. Apart from Governments in the Centre and the States (in Madras in particular), many volunteer organisations can take a significant part in creating a more favourable social climate to foster national integration.

These separatist movements are an evolution and offshoot of the old self-respect movement of the non-Brahmins of Madras. During the later years of British rule, Brahmins with their traditional aptitude for letters and administration took full advantage of British-provided education and entered the civil and judicial services through open competition and selection. They became a new elite and prospered exceedingly. Their offshoots entered the learned professions of law, medicine, teaching, accountancy and so on and occupied top positions.

They formed the backbone of the national movement under Mrs. Besant and Mahatma Gandhi.

The high caste non-Brahmins felt left out in the cold and could not compete man for man with the Brahmins, so they felt.

And even in Congress politics Rajagopalachari and Satyamurthi and Srinivasa Iyengars seemed to fill the horizon leaving only second places to the non-Brahmins!

So a sense of inferiority developed and was nursed

in the last phase by the retiring British with the forlorn hope of thereby prolonging their rule.

The major emotion was therefore one of resentment and jealousy *vis-a-vis* the Brahmins. The emotion fed itself with the signs of superiority and racial pride tainting Aryan scriptures like Manavadharama Sastra where extravagant claims are made for the Brahmin to safeguard his superior position in society. Power was not claimed for him but all the same homage and service from other classes were demanded. So the Self-respecters and Justice party developed asking for social equality with the Brahmin.

But the advent of national independence cut the ground from under this emotional bulwark by ushering in a Constitution of full social and political equality for all, including the disinherited Harijans. But the hunger for status remained and it developed a wider theory to substantiate itself. It generalised Brahmin superiority into Northern superiority, or Aryan superiority. It developed the theory of a Dravidian race distinct from Aryan to which Tamil speaking people of Madras and the Kannada, Telegu, Malayalam and Tulu speaking peoples of the South are supposed to belong.

A spurious learning reminiscent of the Nazis has developed making out a case for a pure blood Dravidian race with its own native culture, mythology, racial or folk philosophy, ethics, music, puranas and itihisas (legends and history). A purist movement in language and grammar has arisen deliberately throwing out all words supposed to have a Sanskrit derivation though they might have been naturalised in Tamil centuries ago....and so on.

Dr. Jung, the great psychoanalytic thinker, once raised the question whether a whole people can come to suffer a neurosis and concluded with regard to the Nazis that it could, under certain circumstances of national frustration and humiliation. It appears that the roots of the Dravidian separatist movements bear out Dr. Jung's observation. The Kazagams should therefore be treated with sympathy and insight.

Threats of war and force will not help at all at the present advanced stage of the neurosis. Newspapers tried the recipe of *hush hush* all these years but the movement grew all the same until today it is a real menace.

The Central Government at last shows signs of some realisation of the need for action. The appointment of Mr. Subramanyam of Madras to the Cabinet as Minister for Steel and Heavy Industries and the posting of Dr. Subbarayan as Governor of Bombay are calculated to gratify the Dravida or Madras sentiment. Dr. Subbarayan has put vigour into the schemes of industrialisation in Madras such as the Neiveli and Salem project. The policy will bear some

fruit and will modify reasonable people in the area as time goes by.

But this is not enough. As Mr. Annadurai said, the policy can change any day!

The ideology, such as it is, with all the ingredients of a separate Dravida race, separate language untouched by Sanskrit and separate literature and mythology, epics, etc. should all be studied from an impartial point of view. Central research institutions should employ anthropologists and other scholars from all parts of India and even from Europe and America to unearth material in these fields from the standpoint of truth untainted by current propaganda.

Too much of Tamil cultural contribution today is vitiated by current ideologies and current caste hatreds.

Social psychologists, Indian and foreign, from Madras and also from other parts of India should in panels (and independently of each other) study the current Dravida Kazagam attitudes, sentiments and make their finds available for policy making at the highest levels.

Public opinion polls will be helpful in estimating the extent to which the Dravida separatist ideology has already penetrated.

A sort of university extension lecture camps lasting a week or two may be held in the principal cities and towns of Tamilnad, the strongholds of the Dravida movement. Speakers will come from all parts of India. They will be experts in their own line — psychology, international politics, world history, European inheritance in culture such as the scientific spirit and method, the scientific picture of the universe after relativity and quantum physics, essentials of religion, modern welfare in state policy, socialism, liberalism, human rights, fundamental rights and so on.

They will speak in their own languages but their speeches will be translated sentence by sentence to the audience into Tamil.

The separatist movement is a product of isolation. Wider horizons will help to dispel such sense of isolation and restore a sense of belonging.

Documentary films and epidiascopes, dances and dramas in which local talent will figure will create an atmosphere of festival. National integration will be better prompted indirectly through shared experi-

ence this way than by direct preaching and condemnation.

Hundreds of students should be sent out from Tamilnad to other parts of India to stay with families or in hostels, if hosts cannot be found for all.

Similarly, hundreds of teachers should be enabled to serve outside their states, particularly in Tamilnad.

Service squads like President Kennedy's volunteers will be sent to villages of Tamilnad to work with local bodies in building schools and running hospitals etc. Students from other parts of the country can work in summer with such squads living with local grounds.

These are some of the ways in which the emotional integration of Tamilnad can be promoted.

(DESPIRED ECONOMICS — Continued from page 9)

As if these examples of disinterest in, if not depreciation of, the role of spirit in the mechanics of an economic system were not enough, Dr. Borkar proceeds to provide still another even more startling one. At least it is startling to an advocate of true democracy. For those who accept the pseudo-democracy grounded in socialism, the assertion may appear rather commonplace. Anyway, the doctor declares that "scrapping prohibition and inducing addicts to throw away money on alcohol seems to be a queer and costly way of curbing the propensity to consume basic wage goods." "The same degree of restriction of consumption", continues the doctor, "...could be achieved through the requisite fiscal devices of control..." In other words, and true to the bureaucratic ideals of socialism, don't let the individual citizen decide how he is going to spend his money. Let the official planners and policy-makers do this for him. This seems to be evidence of addiction of another kind.

Though Dr. Borkar never refers to this aspect of the problem directly, he seems to imply that the loss of remunerative, legal employment to so many workers resulting from prohibition is somehow to be compensated for their eventual absorption in socially more desirable enterprises. It is symptomatic of the lack of realism underlying this school of thought that they never can point to any specific, immediate enterprise which might be started and staffed by these present unemployed. It is a vague and vacuous dream.

Finally, Dr. Borkar emphasizes the importance of adequate administrative measures for the successful enforcement of prohibition. But he makes no mention of the terrible cost of such a governmental programme. Much less does he give any recognition to the terrible drain in financial resources which such a system entails. Though he pays some limited respect to the importance of financial resources for development purposes in the latter part of his critique, he shows no concern for the problem of wasteful diversion of such resources into the fruitless channels of prohibition enforcement. Verily, he can be said to have made out an excellent case for the proponents of the loss of the freedom and the prohibitions of its spirit.

M. N. ROY and RADICAL HUMANISM

by
G. P. BHATTACHARYA

Available at
Strand Book Shop,
Pheroze Shah Mehta Road,
Bombay 1.

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

✓ To us, peace is an end in itself. To Khrushchev and his advisers, 'peace' is a means towards an end — the conquest of the world.

— Frank J. Johnson in *No Substitute for Victory*

Professor J. Kenneth Galbraith is horrified by the number of Americans who have bought cars with tail fins on them, and I am horrified by the number of Americans who take seriously the proposals of Mr. Galbraith.

— Wm. F. Buckley, *Up from Liberalism*

✓ There are 20 Russian divisions there to say socialism has not failed in East Germany.

— A refugee from East Germany quoted in *Time*, June 29.

No one whose mind is not already poisoned by communism can pretend to be neutral *vis-a-vis* this last proof in Berlin of what communism really is without revealing thereby that he is a stupid barbarian and utterly contemptible.

— Dr. Wilhelm Roepke in his Presidential Address to the Mont-Pelerin Society.

✓ The method of communist negotiation is usually to ask for the whole loaf and then to make a great 'concession' by accepting only half.

— Frank J. Johnson in *No Substitute for Victory*

Often did a feeling come over me at the (Delhi Anti-Nuclear) Convention that India forgot, when talking big, the beam in her own eye.

— Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, *Swarajya*, June 30.

To the Editor,
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Mr. Nehru is cranky, preachy and imperious. He looks at the world too often with the eyes of an arrested socialist of the 'twenties'.

— Professor Clinton Rossiter, *New York Times*.

Peking finally realised that the much-vaunted huge (river valley) projects often turned out to be monuments to stupidity.

— Valentin Chu, *The New Leader*, June 11.

You cannot lead a party in bad English, rich in platitudes and violating every principle of good grammar.

— Lord Hailsham quoted in the *Times* (London)

If we heap more favours on blackmailing neutrals than on loyal allies, we will not long have our remaining allies.

— Frank J. Johnson in *No Substitute for Victory*

I assume that your understanding of 's.o.b.' is the same as mine and that the letters stand for men who are determined to 'save our business'.

— *U.S. News & World Report*, July 4.

(Continued from page 2)

his mastermind developed projects and schemes in quick succession that were thorough and convincing. This enabled West Bengal to secure sanctions from even unwilling hands in the Centre, while other States looked jealously askance. Now that advantage will no longer be available. It is also not certain if the industrialists will now come forward to establish new plants in this State with equal eagerness in the absence of Dr. Roy and in view of the uncertainties of the future. All this will have its reaction. The parochial mind will begin to have evil influence. A feeling will be generated that Bengal is not being justly treated by the Centre. That will be a critical moment for West Bengal, specially if it coincides with the hightide of Communist attempt at chaos and with division in Congress ranks. The statesmanship and leadership of Prafulla Sen will be tested then. By that time he should show enough ability to secure genuine goodwill and loyalty of the average Bengali.

The task ahead is indeed difficult but it is not improbable that in facing it quietly, courageously and perseveringly, P. C. Sen may emerge as a stabilising pillar of this mercurial, volatile and explosively-congested centre of India.