

The Spell Of Slogans

by V. B. Karnik

THE annual session of the Congress which was held this year in Nagpur, was, by all accounts, an impressive demonstration. Tens of thousands of people attended all functions organised in connection with the session. There were lusty cheers for Congress leaders and many heard with rapt attention the speeches that were delivered, more particularly by the Prime Minister. But how much of this popular enthusiasm was due to the pomp and show that had been put up at the expense of over ten lakhs of rupees? And how much again was due to the presence of one single individual, the Prime Minister? If these questions are raised and honestly answered, very few even in the ranks of the Congress will feel satisfied with what they saw and heard in Nagpur.

The Congress sessions have never been deliberative assemblies. They have been always like *Melas* attended by huge masses of devotees eager for the *Darshan* of their leaders. In the days of the national struggle they had a use of their own as a form of mass mobilisation and as a demonstration of the strength and following of national leaders. Do they have any use now in the post-independence era? Is it desirable and legitimate to spend in this new era lakhs of rupees over the organisation of such huge shows, more particularly when there is so much of talk against unproductive expenditure? It is high time the Congress leaders should give serious thought to this question and find out if businesslike deliberations over national problems will not be more in keeping with the new situation. Now, they do not have to impress the people, they have to convince them about the correctness of their policies and persuade them to implement them in practice.

The sum total of the deliberations in Nagpur is said to be a reendorsement of the goal of socialism and the decision to take some new firm steps in that direction. Some controversy has raged over the acceptance of the goal of socialism. While many have welcomed it, some have keenly contested its legitimacy and desir-

ability. Some have pointed out that most Congressmen do not know anything of socialism and that the Prime Minister coerces them into accepting it. This may or may not be true. The fact is that the controversy over the term "socialist pattern" or "the goal of socialism" is futile. Most people are now a days socialists of sorts. As the Prime Minister pointed out in one of his speeches, "Even the biggest capitalist countries are going slowly towards socialism."

Or, as he pointed out again, "The argument that we are socialist and the Soviet Union is communist or America is capitalist has become an old argument and not an argument of today." The word socialism has lost all precise meaning. It is futile, therefore, to quarrel over the term. It will be more useful, to study the concrete measures that are proposed to be taken and to find out what will be their effect in terms of popular welfare and in terms of individual freedom. A dispassionate study of this nature will yield more beneficial results than a meaningless quarrel over a term which has come to acquire different meanings to different persons.

Considered in this light, the resolutions adopted at Nagpur do not indicate any definite line of progress. The most important resolution of the session was the resolution on the agrarian pattern. According to the resolution the pattern is to be that of "cooperative joint farming in which the land will be pooled for joint cultivation", legislation for fixing ceilings on holdings and for the abolition of intermediaries is to be completed by the end of 1959—and the organisation of the village is to be based on village panchayats and village cooperatives with adequate powers and resources. There was a heated controversy over the resolution and though it was finally adopted without opposition, those who differed from it cannot be said to have been converted.

The resolution is a clear indication of the fact that the thinking in ruling circles in the Congress and the Government still continues to be on doctrinaire lines. They refuse to learn from experience. Cliches picked up years back continue to rule their minds. Experience in Russia, in Poland and in many other communist countries has proved that joint cultivation is unworkable in practice. In China also it proved unworkable and that is why she had "to advance" towards peoples' communes, a step which is being criticised as a retrograde measure even by Soviet Russia. And yet the Congress is insisting on joint cultivation, the only saving grace being the assurance that the farmers

would be allowed to retain their property rights! The insistence on imposing ceilings on holdings is also equally doctrinaire. A little acquaintance with the agrarian situation will show that very little surplus land would become available as a result of the ceiling unless the ceiling is imposed so low as to make agriculture uneconomic and that, after ensuring land to the cultivators and granting adequate protection to tenants, ceiling on holdings ceases to have any but an academic value. Text book maxims, it appears, have greater value than lessons of life.

The Revenue Minister of U.P., Mr. Charan Singh put up in the Subjects Committee a spirited opposition to the resolution. One may not agree with his opposition to State trading in food grains, but the arguments that he put forward against ceiling and joint cultivation were cogent and forceful. Referring to the needs of the farmers, he said 'what was required was more water, seeds and fertilisers through service co-operatives and personal attention.' With regard to joint farming, he predicted: "Ultimately, the country would either have to go back to individual farming or, as in China, advance—if it could be called advance—to cooperative farming or collectivisation." There were many other points of opposition, but nobody thought of paying any attention to them.

The other important resolution was on planning. The Prime Minister piloted it with his usual vigour. He was emphatic that the country must adopt "the one and the only path of socialist planning" to cure the chronic disease of poverty. Whatever the meaning of "socialist planning", it appears there is no unanimity amongst Congress leaders about the concrete objectives of the Plan. In the Subjects Committee various points of view were urged. The Prime Minister summarily dismissed them as "irrelevant". But he cannot be so cavalier about the views of the Congress President. Mr. Dhebar devoted a large part of his address to a discussion of the Second and Third Plan. The views expressed by him deserve the closest consideration. Emphasising the primacy of agriculture he said: "Planned economy in a basically agrarian country is dependent upon agricultural output.... Agriculture was the base of our plan and if that base

remained weak or unstable or shaky, we could not hope to build any lasting structure on it." He was candid enough to admit: "The shift in the emphasis in the last year of the First Plan and in the first two years of the Second Plan was another factor that contributed to the short-fall in our agricultural targets." He suggested therefore that one more specific objective should be added to the goals of the Second Plan, namely, "to achieve a rapid increase in agricultural production to end the need for imports of food grains, and to increase the resources of the country for industrial growth."

In the case of the objectives of the Third Plan also he emphasised the needs of the people. He said: "With the question of finding work for the people, we shall have to attend to the basic and the primary needs of the people—food needs, educational needs, health and sanitation needs and housing needs." Those of us who had the misfortune of differing from the planners when the Second Plan was being prepared had emphasised the very same needs and pleaded that their satisfaction should be its main objective. Our pleadings were not heeded, but it is to be hoped that the planners of the Third Plan will not dismiss so lightly the suggestions of the Congress President.

Some echoes were heard at the session of the usual controversy over the public and the private sector. The Prime Minister had his fling at the private sector and was angry with those who pointed out the waste and the inefficiency which are many a time associated with the public sector. But even he had to admit that in the present conditions of the country the private sector had a big role to play and that if it is to play that role too much of criticism and too much of interference would not be desirable. The controversy can be easily avoided by accepting the interdependence of the two sectors. The Prime Minister could have easily given that lead to the Congress and the country and created a congenial atmosphere for the proper functioning of both. The principle of state intervention in various fields of social and industrial activity is no longer disputed. What are important are the practical results that will be obtained by following one or the other method of development. This realistic approach to the problem of industrial development was conspicuous by its absence in the deliberations of the session.

A realistic approach to the problems facing the country was not possible because the Congress has not yet outgrown the spell of slogans. Problems cannot be solved by shouting slogans or indulging in big talk. What is necessary for their solution is hard thinking and patient work. The Prime Minister advised Congressmen to learn to think for themselves. The advice need not be restricted to followers. A little thinking on the part of leaders will also be useful. Slogans will then lose their compelling power and intelligent action in accordance with the needs of the country rather than half-baked imitation of the Russian, Chinese or the American model will become the end-result of each Congress session.

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West Asia In Turmoil

by Adam Adil

IT is obvious from recent events that the appeal of Pan-Arabism is not as strong as the respective nationalisms of various Arab countries. The high hopes for Arab unity which the merger of Syria and Egypt early in 1958 had generated have progressively dwindled. The civil war in Lebanon, the sudden fall of royalty in Iraq accompanied by inordinate violence and ruthlessness, the change of regime in Sudan, the backing the people of Jordan have lent to their young king, the consolidation of Saud's power in the Arabian peninsula, the break between Bourguiba and Nasser—all have helped to undermine the foundation of Pan-Arabism. The isolation of other Muslim countries such as Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Indonesia from Arab countries has also contributed to the weakening the sense of world Islamic brotherhood, which Pan-Arabism had primarily sought to embody. Not only the sentiment of Arab unity lies shattered, but the possibility of the wider brotherhood of Islam, seems remote.

Ironically as it may appear, the "arch enemies" of Arab nationalism today are not the Kings of Saudi Arabia and Jordan or President Bourguiba of Tunisia as they were supposed, but the revolutionary leaders of the present regime in Iraq and the Communists all over the Arab world.

Arab nationalism as represented by Nasser is facing a dilemma. Internationally it seeks to be on best of terms with communist countries, and internally it regards the Arab communists as its most vicious enemies. The dilemma exposes the fact that President Nasser's international alignments are not based on sound political wisdom. It would be naive on the part of President Nasser to imagine that the Arab Communists are not acting on the dictates of international communism. The very fact that no communist party in the world can function independently on its own, must convince Nasser that the Arab Communists not only enjoy the confidence but the active support and sympathy of Moscow. If the Arab Communists are doing what they have been asked to do by Kremlin, it is obvious that Russia, China and other Communist countries are no friends of Arab unity. Whatever might have been their singsong with regard to Arab nationalism in the past, the dilemma of Nasser and his friends can be solved only by the extension of distrust of communists from the field of internal affairs to that of the external ones. The solution of the dilemma, this way, will help Nasser to win back the friendship of President Bourguiba, Saud, Hussain and other Arab leaders, including President Kassam of Iraq, who, in view of the united Arab hostility towards communism, will have no alternative but to cease leaning on Iraqi Communists for support. Kassam will have also Col. Aref back in his fold. Thus, the edifice of Arab unity will be on more solid and permanent foundation than at present.

The sinister aim of the communists in West Asia is obvious. Apart from their clandestine pamphleteering strongly advocating the dissolution of the Union of Syria and Egypt, they have left no stone unturned to undermine the sentiment of Arab nationalism with a view to ultimately bring the Arab countries under complete surveillance to Moscow. Communists fear that in the event of an Arab unity becoming a reality, all hopes of Arabs playing in the hands of Moscow will be dashed to the ground. Only a divided Arab world can suit the Russian strategy in the cold war. Further, Moscow will be able to lay hands on the rich oil reserves of the desert kingdoms. Therefore, Moscow, can never tolerate a strong, united, independent and prosperous Arab world.

Writing recently in "World Marxist Review" the Moscow-trained head of the Syrian Communist Party, Mr. Khalid Bakdash, states that though it is necessary for the Arab communists to join hands with Arab bourgeois nationalists (meaning Nasser, Kassam and others) they must never forget the "key role of the party of the proletariat and its ultimate aim—the liberation of the Arabs". What does the word "liberation" imply from Communist point of view in the present context of the Arab world? It implies, as it always does in Communist parlance, the Soviet or Chinese domination of the non-communist countries. No one in the Arab countries can be so naive as to miss the real meaning of the term "liberation" when used by the communists.

In view of the treacherous role of the communist parties in the Arab countries, the massive crack down on the communists in the United Arab Republic was an expected event. As a matter of fact, the arrest of nearly 150 communists in Egypt and about 300 in Syria during the last three weeks augers well not only for Arab unity but for the freedom of West Asia. It is true that the Communists in Egypt or Syria are not as strong or politically significant as they are in Iraq; yet it cannot be denied that being a party of conspiracy with extra-territorial loyalties and with the entire communist world to back them, they constitute a potential threat to the freedom and stability not only of the U.A.R. but the whole of West Asia.

Communists are particularly strong in Iraq, although the communist party membership there is only 5000 as against 10,000 in Syria, 7000 in Egypt and 9000 in Lebanon. They are an organised and compact body capable of doing immense harm to the regime by disciplined action. Since the fall of Nuri es-said, Communists in Iraq have emerged with great advantages which they have been quick to consolidate; and this fact has made Brigadier Kassam lean heavily upon them. At present, they control Iraqi press, radio and television all of which openly and consistently carry on Communist propaganda. They are handling

the 'people's courts' (typically a communist phrase) cleverly to liquidate their own opponents, they command a coterie of well-placed agents who carry favour with the Prime Minister, for instance, Brigadier Kassam's aide de-camp, Col. Wasfi Tahir, the Director General of Broadcasting and Chief Censor, Major Salim Kakhar, the Minister of Economy, Dr. Ebrahim Kubha, President of the High Military Court, Col. Fahdil Mehdawi are all communists and near communists; they have a well trained and highly developed and widely spread net-work of cells for promoting political activity and breed discontent amongst the most vital sections of the Iraqi community: students and Baghdad mobs; they are backed by a huge supply of communist literature from Russia which goes to flood every book-stall in the country, and above all they are encouraged and patronized by a spate of various kinds of delegations from Iron Curtain countries.

As against communists, the nationalists in Iraq are not well-knit or well organised, although they may claim to be more numerous. They do not hold any key positions. Even in the Ministry of Information, which was supposed to be the citadel of nationalists, Siddiq Shanshal, the prominent nationalist leader has found his function usurped by the Communists. The nationalists are a group of individuals working for an object which is not yet clear and precise. They are, no doubt, men of character, and enjoy great reputation and even following; but, they lack the machinery to resist Communist encroachment on people's freedom.

Nationalists throughout the Arab world are worried over Communist entrenchment in Iraq. In an interview to a leading British paper recently, Mr. Saeb Salem, one of the leaders of the Lebanese revolt against President Chamoun for being too pro-Western, said that the growth of Communism in Iraq was "the greatest danger in the Arab world." He also confirmed that President Nasser, whom he had met a few days earlier, was of the same opinion. The danger becomes all the more serious because of Kassam's reliance upon the communists for support. It is possible as it is believed in certain quarters that Kassam does not really trust the communists, and like Nasser, would strike at them at proper time. But it is feared that by the time Kassam decides to strike, it might be too late.

The growing discontent in Syria against the merger with Egypt, which was so vigorously welcomed in the first flush of enthusiasm—the discontent is primarily due to economic causes rather than political—is also likely to make that country susceptible to communist ideas from Iraq. Nasser himself is not unaware of this danger and he has bluntly admitted that all is not well with Syria. To make the matters worse, a severe drought has ruined the Syrian crops, almost wiping out the exportable surplus grains of the country. The cotton crop is also 30% less than that of previous years. Farmers, businessmen, middle men have been hit by the fall in prices, especially of cotton in international market. Syria is, thus, facing a slump which has made it more vulnerable to Communists influence.

In view of the Communist threat in West Asia, it

would be in the interest of the Arab countries to improve their relations with the free world. In the past decade, the West Asia has seen a long struggle between Arab nationalism and the West. Now, while the West is reconciling itself to the aspirations of Arab countries, a struggle is developing between Arab nationalism and the Communist East. And the Arab nationalists are not unaware that the Communist totalitarianism, which is growing, is far more ruthless and tyrannical than Western imperialism, which is on the decline.

Due to the good offices of the World Bank President, Mr. Eugene Black, a financial agreement has been reached between Britain and United Arab Republic and Mr. Abdel Moneim, the U.A.R. Minister of Economy has declared that the agreement would mark a "big step forward towards the normalisation of Britain's relations with the United Arab Republic." A similar agreement is likely to be forged between France and U.A.R. It would be, therefore, legitimate to expect that these agreements between the Western European countries and United Arab Republic would open a way for better understanding and friendship between the free world and West Asia.

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“Victory” At A Price

by K. A. Jelenski

THE secret stenographic record of the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, which was published in Warsaw in November 1958 for the exclusive use of Party organisations, has now reached the West.

This document contains important revelations concerning political developments in Poland and the Soviet bloc in general.

The most pressing problem facing the Committee concerned the economic development of Poland during the next seven years.

The new Polish economic model, adopted by Gomulka in 1956 after the failure of collectivisation and Stalinist industrialisation, was violently attacked by the neo-Stalinist members of the Central Committee who—and the fact is significant—pointed to the example, not of the Soviet Union, but of China.

Gomulka who has a majority in the Central Committee, rebuffed these attacks by declaring in his final statement that “what is being accomplished at the present time in China is a specific phenomenon determined by the historical development of China” and that it would be “absolutely impossible to transplant mechanically the Chinese experiment to our land. Thus, it seems that, even after his recent visit to Moscow, Gomulka managed to retain the basic elements of his economic policy, that is, a considerable reduction of the investment rate and decollectivisation of the countryside.

The discussions indicate, moreover, that this “Gomulkist victory” in the economic sphere was obtained at the cost of falling into line in the cultural and ideological fields. In the attack upon “revisionism” and in the decisions restricting cultural freedom, Gomulkists and neo-Stalinists expressed substantial agreement, differing only with respect to methods.

A large part of Gomulka’s report was devoted to “revisionism,” a term which is used by Gomulka—and the other members of the Central Committee—in a very precise way: it pertains to intellectuals who favour socialism and the nationalisation of industry but who refuse the Party the right to have complete control over life and the human conscience. Gomulka did not conceal the fact that this “revisionist opposition” was important:

“In the present state of affairs, the Party’s chief effort should be directed towards a total elimination of post-revisionist poison, which is still in the atmosphere breathed by certain circles. This poison continues to harm the minds and ambitions of many writers and intellectuals, with the result that they are divorced from the working class, the nation and socialism.

“It continues to act upon many comrades whose talent is needed for our ideological campaign, and it does not allow them to join our Marxist-Leninist offensive. The weakness of the ideological front of the Marxist-Leninist Worker’s Party is food for revisionism; the strengthening of this front is our most urgent task, today and tomorrow.”

It is forgotten that if Gomulka’s Poland has enjoyed—and still enjoys—a certain credit in the West, she does so thanks to her “revisionists,” that the sympathy of the free world went out to these people who, precisely because they were in favour of socialism, wanted to restore to it the elements of freedom and truth without which it is a mere caricature.

The Marxist philosopher Adam Schaff stated quite frankly that the West’s sympathy for the revisionists was “an element that must not be overlooked, that, in fact, we must use it with all our force and energy. . . . The way in which the enemy or the opponent evaluates revisionism and the Polish revisionists is an important element in characterizing this movement and these men. The comrades who also make this error must realize this fact, and we too must realize it and draw all the inferences from it.”

Schaff Goes On To Say: “Comrades who are unfamiliar with this milieu cannot realize the force that is represented by the snobbishness of a certain attitude of leftist intellectuals. Opinions, so to speak, are shaped and determined by a few leftist comrades sitting around a table in a café, and for most intellectuals, these opinions have more weight than all our appeals, all our persuasion.”

The Stalinist writer Leon Kruczkowski approves this statement and denounces “the terror referred to by comrades Schaff, a terror that is practised by a powerful mafia in our literary circles”. Furthermore, Kruczkowski is of the opinion that “administrative” methods are better than methods of persuasion in putting down efforts “to destroy our Party”. He says:

“We should not underestimate the means of administrative pressure. Let us say so frankly: all the undermining, all the effort to destroy our Party, was interrupted by action of a rather administrative kind. We all know when the turning-point was reached. It was at the moment of ‘Po Prostu’ affair, of the ‘Europa’ affair. We put an end to it by administrative means, including the activity of the censorship. . . .”

In his final report, Gomulka opposed this pure and simple return to administrative methods suggested by Kruczkowski. The methods he recommended for forcing writers to cooperate with the regime were a mixture of “social pressure”—obviously government-ins-

pired—and material pressure. If writers were not allowed to publish what they wrote, material need might lead them to write otherwise. This statement of Gomulka's has such a timely ring—in view of the Pasternak case in the U.S.S.R. — that it should be quoted:

"We must absolutely not give up the method of persuasion.

"To give up persuasion and use only administrative methods would be the worst possible error.

"We must keep trying. . . . Couldn't we, for example, bring together in a factory about fifteen persons who read, who are interested in these problems and who might write a letter to the editors of a weekly magazine criticizing their attitude? Or even quite simply visit the editorial staff of the weekly and perhaps even the authors to ask them why they write such harmful things?

"If, in the course of a month, a writer met, for example, a dozen such groups from a dozen factories, he might come to realize—especially if he offends the dignity of the working class—that the world is somewhat different from the way he sees it from his little window.

"Many intellectuals who railed against us at little tables in cafés already feel morally isolated, feel as if they were in a kind of ghetto. They know that they have no contact with the masses, with the nation, that they have no possibility of influencing public opinion.

"These people are reduced to talking in their own small circle. They are bound to lose all their creative possibilities. They are bound quite simply to degenerate.

"In the long run, they will be unable to put up with the situation. This is confirmed by experience, not only ours but that of other countries as well. For what is left for them to do?

"Either they must break their pens and look for other work, another source of livelihood, and hence break with their milieu, or else, if they want to continue writing, they will be unable to maintain their present position very long."

One need not conclude from these statements that the new "ideological offensive" which is being announced in Poland will be successful. The "maffia" of which Kruczkowski speaks, the "leftist snobs" whom Schaff refers to, the "intellectuals in their ghetto café" whom Gomulka threatens, are the Polish writers who so courageously denounced the crimes and lies of Stalinism.

One of them, a famous poet, wrote the following in 1956: "Freedom of speech is at the same time freedom of conscience, that is, the primary condition for all creative work."

And he added: "The fight for freedom of speech is more than worth the cost one must pay. But though its triumph may be brief—is a man's life so long? — that moment of life will pay us for all our pains."

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Some Wonders Of Chinese Statistics

DURING the current so-called 'big leap forward' in the Chinese Communists' industrial and agricultural production, it has not been unusual to hear of astronomical figures in the statistical reports that have been coming out continuously.

The Shanghai *Wen Hui Pao* of September 5 reported a record yield of more than 60,000 katties of paddy per mow by the Tienpe cooperative of Singtze hsien in Lien Hsien of Kwangtung Province. It gave an average production of 60,437 katties per mow. In the Peking People's Daily of September 27, steel production of 10.7 million tons for the current year with native methods had been reported. These figures are fantastic and it will be interesting to learn how the figures are being compiled.

A New China News Agency despatch of July 31 from Paoting, reporting the on-the-spot conference called at Paoting by the Bureau of State Statistics on statistical work in all provinces and municipalities of China to change the outlook of national statistical work in three months, reveals the actual conditions under which the statistics are compiled.

It said: "Statistical work should be reformed to combine statistical work with the political and production movements of the masses so as to bring into play the part of statistical work in pressing forward production."

"Statistical work is an instrument to serve the political struggle and the struggle of production, and must be led by the local Party committees. Statistical workers should see to it that the statistical data should conform with the requirements of the Party."

This is to say that statistical figures issued by the Chinese Communists are only meant to serve their political ends, and are not records from actual conditions. This is a vital revelation which serves to remind us of the true intent of the Chinese Communists in their statistical reports.

An NCNA despatch of September 23 from Peking gave a report on "The exhibition of latest scientific and technical achievements." It said: "Tobacco plants as tall as a man of average stature and bean pods more than two metres long are among the striking achievements in agriculture exhibited. How the fantastic yield of 130,000 katties of rice per mow, or 975 tons per hectare, was harvested by the Red Flag People's Commune in Huankiang, Kwangsi, is also shown". The figures are really fantastic beyond belief.

Another instance is an article by Feng Ping on "How many rice plants can be grown on a mow of land" appearing in the Peking People's Daily of September 9. It said: "There were 340,000 mow of land planted with rice in the Yingste hsien of Kwangtung Province. It grew an average of 1,300,000 plants per mow with 38,525 mow having over 1,500,000 plants. Most of the experimental farms had 2,000,000

to 3,000,000 plants per mow, in some cases as many as 10,000,000 to 20,000,000." These are indeed astronomical figures and who could possibly believe in such wild claims?

The article further revealed: "in our hsien, we use fertiliser averaging 3,000 pikuls of manure (including green manure mixed with water and human manure), 2,000 katties of native chemical fertilizer, and 1500 katties of wood and grass ash per mow supplying a total of 200 katties of nitrogenous elements." The amount of fertiliser used per mow of land is alarmingly high, but on the other hand, does it pay to spend so much on fertiliser alone?

An NCNA despatch of October 16 from Nanking reporting on a record daily coal output said: "A record daily coal output of 671,490 tons, equivalent to its original target for two years, has been registered by a small country, Sincheng, in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, after struggling for 19 hours with 70,000 people, led by the First Secretary of the County Party Committee."

This claim is in a similar vein to that claimed for pig iron production in which a day's output overfulfilled a year's production quota. According to the report, the hourly output of coal would work out to be 35,242 tons when they put 70,000 people to work to complete two years' quota in a day. A better claim would be to conscript 70 million people and claim to have over fulfilled 200 years quota in a single day!

An NCNA despatch of October 22 from Tsinan in Shantung Province reporting on a record yield of soya beans said: "A national record yield of soya beans, amounting to 7,507.5 kilograms per mow, has been achieved by the people's commune of Fan hsien in Shantung Province on an experimental plot of 1.45 mow. The yield is 143 times the 1957 national and 17 times the national record yield of the same year."

It went on to state that "this experimental plot was cultivated by 14 commune members including several Communist cadres. Before the sowing last spring, they ploughed the land two feet eight inches deep, applied 170,000 tons of manure, harrowed the soil nine times. They used selected seeds and sowed 25 kilograms of such seed, so that the plot was covered with more than 84,000 plants. They sub-fed the land with one ton of manure and some 82 kilograms of chemical fertilizer."

The total yield of 1.45 mow would amount to 10,885 kilograms, which is 10 metric tons, or a little over 10 tons. However, in order to have a yield slightly over 10 tons of soya beans, it was necessary to apply more than 170,000 tons of manure. Whether this is economical to do so? Would the cost of the manure and the labour involved in ploughing and harrowing offset the value of the yield they can get from the land?

CHINESE COMMUNES

THE Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Mr. Loh Keng-mo has in an article published in *Ching Chi Yen Chin* thrown considerable light on the functioning of the Communes and the purpose they are to serve in the national economy of China. The article is entitled "On Supply System — The Embryo of our Communistic Distribution System." It discusses the advantages of the new system of payment (a fixed quantity of food and clothing and a variable sum in cash) adopted by the Communes and the complicated problems arising from it. Mr. Loh has written the article on the basis of the information collected by him after going round the Communes in the Honan province.

Mr. Loh found different proportions of consumption and accumulation in different Communes. For instance, in the Five Love Commune in Kaifeng country, the average income (both in cash and in kind) of a Commune member was 65 Yuan per year, which represented 36.7 per cent of the Commune's total output value. Accumulation represented 27.5 per cent. In Hsiangcheng country, on the other hand, while the average income (69.5 Yuan) was slightly higher, it represented only 13.5 per cent of the output value, because it is a tobacco-producing commune with bumper harvests: Accumulation in this Commune represented as high as 70 per cent. Similarly in the potatoe-producing Malou Commune in Lushan country each member was receiving 70 Yuan per year, representing a consumption level of 16 per cent while accumulation took away 66.6 per cent of the total output value.

Discussing advantages of the Commune System, Lo underlines the importance of such high rates of accumulation. He points out that in Communes "accumulation can be appropriated in a unified manner," and "secondly, the income of members of various Communes is generally the same and has no relation with the amount of the collective income of the Commune."

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Communes enable the communists to compel peasants to work hard and to extend the working time to its maximum limit. The supply system of remuneration permits them to peg the level of consumption at a very low and see that it does not rise with the rise in production. The collective kitchens, dining halls nurseries and kindergartens make it possible to mobilize all women for productive labour and for accumulation. The abolition of various types of private and personal property acts as a form of primitive accumulation.

According to Mr. Loh's calculations in the whole Honan province the average income of each Commune member was about 74 Yuan in 1958. In terms of purchasing power that works out to about 74 rupees or a little more than six rupees per month. This means that only thirty per cent of the total output value of agriculture and subsidiary occupations is consumed by the members of the Communes. The balance of seventy per cent goes into accumulation or into taxes payable to the Government.

It appears therefore that the main purpose of the Communes is to make a very large part of the produce of agriculture directly available to the Government and according to the report of Mr. Loh the Government seems to have succeeded in its objectives.

QUEST

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Why "Co-operative" Farming?

by M. A. Venkata Rao

ON the food front, the battle for freedom seems about to be lost. For State Governments are being hustled to implement the so-called land-reforms. Low ceilings on land holdings, transfer of ownership to tenants and grant of land holdings, transfer of ownership to tenants, and grant of land to the landless are the integral aspects of the plan adopted. To the objection that this will lead to increase of uneconomic holdings, the official answer is "cooperative" farming.

The real secret of this insistence on "cooperative" farming falsely so-called (collective farming is the more honest appellation) is the socialistic motive of capturing the harvest for the State. It is not the freedom of the agricultural producer that the Government has in view—nor the maximisation of his produce through helping him with credit and scientific advice. The object of the Socialist State is to steal the farms from the control of the peasant and to transfer them to its own unfettered sway!

The Chinese Reds introduced a preliminary phase of land reforms. What an innocent phrase! It does not mean a reform whereby peasants were enabled to overcome the age-long handicaps and anxieties from which they were suffering. Land Reforms in Red China meant the killing off of the richest class of landlords, a class marked off by an arbitrary fixation of acreage. They were tortured before liquidation, both by communist party cadres and smaller peasants who were incited to share in the good work with their appetites stimulated with the prospect of obtaining a share in their lands for nothing.

Next, the new peasant holders were eliminated by landless labourers who were enabled to have bits of land out of the second wave of spoils. And when the bulk of landlords were the new peasants who were landless, but a short while ago, the stage had arrived to deprive them of their new possession by herding them into cooperative farms, albeit by preparatory steps of mutual aid teams and "low and high grade" cooperatives. In the first two stages, farmers retained ownership but in the high (?) grade they surrender everything, land and implements and cattle to the collective farms. This is still a stage where there is some semblance of democracy; for the cooperative or collective farm is to be managed by a committee of elected representatives guided by "kanons" of Communist Party cadres and government servants.

Then to make up for the lost incentive of the farmer who now is no longer a farmer but only a hand, the "scientific" administrators impose a class of supervisors who watch everybody's work in terms of prescribed work norms and work loads. There will be deductions for shortcomings in these standards! The

peasant is no longer the master of his time and work but a wage slave.

Mao Tse-tung had promised a long time for the implementation of this delectable policy. But three years ago, he saw that payment to Soviet Russia for its aid in machinery and technical know-how (so essential for the rapid fulfilment of high targets of the Five-Year Plan of militarisation and industrialisation) could be made only in accelerated supplies of food and industrial raw materials. Hence the new ukase to step up cooperativisation and to telescope the programme of two generations into five years! It was carried out at a fearful cost of oppression and violence, discrimination and all manners of chicanery. These discreditable measures have been white-washed and reported to be non-violent and democratic in character by the Indian delegations led by Mr. R. K. Patil and Mr. Krishnappa. This certificate given by these official bodies are an example of defending through sophistry conclusions already arrived at for ideological reasons.

These manoeuvres are justified in Red China by the communist goal of complete centralisation of all production—industrial, commercial, tertiary, agricultural as well as all intellectual and artistic culture—in a word, totalitarianism. And Indian Government (elected and re-elected through fair democratic processes) have obtained the sanction of the electorate for this goal and policy of socialism in the Marxist-Stalinist and Maoist sense! And they are proceeding deliberately and with no let-up, to initiate measures with a perfect awareness of their objective—namely the total destruction of all forms of private property in industry and commerce as well as in land and transport.

Cooperativisation, falsely so-called, is the tactic on the agricultural front. The public should see the inevitable consequence of the measures now being taken relentlessly in defiance of informed opinion.

The motive that impelled Mao Tse-tung to hasten the formation of cooperatives for shortening the work of generations into three years, is operating powerfully on the Indian policymakers (or maker). For we too are landed into a quandary on account of the high targets of the Second Five Year Plan. We have created a foreign exchange crisis for ourselves but we are unwilling to swallow our pride and spread the Plan over a longer period. Meanwhile we are constrained to enter into an arms race with Pakistan which spells the complete ruin of our theoretical psychology of fearlessness and indifference to the cold war of the blocs.

So now cooperativisation is intended to deprive the peasant landholder of his property rights in land which

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Subversion Of The Police?

by Ravi Prasad

THE Government of Kerala have appointed a committee to report on "the role of the Police in a welfare state." The news has aroused interest all over the country. Some information on the events leading to the appointment of the Committee and about its terms of reference may not be therefore inappropriate.

Last year, there was a strike in the Tea Plantations. It was alleged that for days together, the Communist-led strikers indulged in violence and intimidatory tactics against the loyal workers. Some of the foreign management personnel also were not spared, it was reported. The situation became tense when every effort at a quick settlement of the dispute ended in failure. The Police opened fire at two places and the number of dead according to official reports was one. This was followed by a hue and cry against the Police. The Communist leaders all over the country came out with statements condemning the Police for "blackening the face" of the Communist Government. They demanded action against the "offending policemen." It was in this context that a thorough examination of the police system was promised by the Government, mainly to appease the genuinely offended members of the Communist Party and the Trade Unions not only in Kerala but also elsewhere; for the news of Munnar firing had reached everywhere and it exposed the Communist propaganda elsewhere that Kerala was verily a workers' paradise under their administration.

This is the background to the appointment of the Committee to report on "the role of Police in a welfare State."

The terms of reference of the Committee are innocent-looking and high-sounding. It is fairly, even unduly, long and covers a very wide range of subjects. That the Committee is required to do more than revise the Police Code or standing orders is clear from the following five points it is asked to go into.

The Committee has been asked to report on: whether the existing provisions of law are adequate to help realise and secure the fulfilment of the objectives laid down in the Directive Principles of the Constitution and the public aspirations, in particular in the sphere of employer-employee, landlord-tenant and capital-labour relations.

It is worthwhile to remember in this connection that the Committee does not carry any representative of the employers, landlords or capital, while the words "public aspirations" appear to be somewhat baffling. Is it sought to be impressed upon the Policemen that in tackling problems before them they should not only

be guided by the rules and regulations in force, but also by "public aspirations," which in Communist interpretation may only mean "the aspirations of the Communist Party?" The impression is somehow created that an attempt is being made to confuse and cloud the minds of the "custodians of law and order" by bringing in extraneous considerations and purely partisan attitudes in the discharge of their duties.

Another question referred to the Committee is the much expected one: whether in view of public criticisms in recent times against firing by the Police, the use of fire arms by the Police should be totally excluded and if not the circumstances and conditions under which it should be allowed.

If, as is feared, the Communists want to start "fire works" again, the advantages of "totally excluding the use of firearms by the Police" can well be realised. The Committee, let us hope, will give due consideration to this point.

Another question relates to: the feasibility of associating the public with the work of the Police and the setting up of Police Advisory Committees for the purpose.

The idea of associating the public with the work of Police cannot be opposed by champions and lovers of democracy, though they may do well to heed the innumerable complaints received from almost every nook and corner of Kerala that the local bosses of the Communist Party and even some red M.L.A.s have been making their presence felt in police stations. It has been alleged that these "self appointed" "Police Advisory Committee" have been giving the necessary directions to the local policemen as to which cases should be charged and which are not to be charged. Some "telegraphic transfers" and "twenty-four-hours transfers" have also been attributed to the power wielded by these local "commissars." Therefore, this point also deserves very favourable consideration. Why not make the *de facto* things *de jure* as well?

The Committee will also consider the question of creating a village police or at least associating village Panchayats in some form with the Police. The provocation for including an item like this in the questionnaire is really beyond one's comprehension. If the petty political factors and the personal feuds now reigning supreme in our village panchayats are to be associated with the Police "in some form" or if the Panchayats are to have their own Police force under their control, the resulting misery and misfortune of village life can well be imagined. But if the mammoth

efforts and clever plans of the Communist Party to capture at least 75% of the Panchayats in Kerala at the elections scheduled to be held in August this year, succeed the "village police" might come in handy in the implementation of "several progressive schemes." So let this point also not be poohpoohed or belittled.

Here is another question before the Committee: reorganisation of the administrative set-up of the Police in the State including recruitment, training and promotion, special training for duty in emergencies like famine, fire, strike, or sabotage relating to essential services or public utility services.

What fresh matter for examination on the subject there is has not been made clear. But strong rumours current in Trivandrum and other parts of the State say that "progressive literature" and "study classes" have been introduced in the camps of the Special Police Establishments in a systematic manner under the guise of cultural and recreational programmes. Whether regularisation of this is expected to be achieved by reorganised training is not known. Besides, the Chief Minister, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, had defined the functions of the Police in the past as two: firstly, to track down crimes and bring anti-social elements to book; and secondly, to act for the political ends of the existing Government by obstructing the free functioning of other Political Parties. In Kerala, there is already a "general" I.G. of Police and a "Special" I.G. of Police. Do the Communists plan to create two Police forces as well—a General Police to do the first function mentioned by the Chief Minister and a Special Police to attend to the second? "Reorganisation, recruitment, training, special training, promotion, emergencies like famine, fire, strike, sabotage," these words may mean that, and they may not. Yet it is always better to be on the safe side of meanings.

The terms of reference also include other important questions like the duties of Police in the conduct of free exercise of civil liberties and political rights, of freedom of speech, of platform and association in a democracy consistent with the paramount security of State; the use of the regulatory and restrictive powers under the Police Act, security provisions under Chapter 10 and Sections 144 and 151 of the Cr. P.C.—these two questions appear to be too ambitious and unwieldy for a State Government to tackle. Other items to be enquired into by the Committee are: women police,

dress and uniform, welfare measures, tackling juvenile delinquency, demonstrations and agitations with or without the support of Political Parties in property disputes etc. etc. Most of the changes and reforms are hard to secure, for they smack of a Utopia; but their propaganda value is, nevertheless, immense.

During the last 21 months of their rule in Kerala, the Communists have achieved practically none of their ambitious election promises. But they have fairly successfully made a complete mess of the educational system in the State. They have very nearly jeopardised the administrative machinery and wrecked the financial foundations of the State. The cooperative movement and trade union movement have been corrupted and corroded from within, let alone the industrial enterprises in the State. Is the Police Department going to be the next item on the agenda, many wonder.

(Continued from page 9)

gives him control over his harvest. The harvest—whether of food or cash crop (tobacco, cotton, jute, rubber, oil seeds etc.) will go straight into the hands of the Government, for the village managing committee is but a thin barrier between Government and peasant. The Government of India, like Mao, will then be enabled to exchange grains and agricultural raw materials like cotton and oilseeds for the needed machinery and know-how irrespective of the size of the harvest. We shall have solved the problem of foreign exchanges!

The alternative is to give up the idea of forcing peasant serfdom. It is to adopt the policy of creating a strong independent class of peasant proprietors and of helping them through service cooperatives of the Rochdale and of Danish kind. They may be helped with credits on their grains delivered into the warehouses of local cooperative (multi purpose) societies. City cooperatives will be encouraged to buy from village cooperatives and save the middle man's profit and hoarding prices. The function of the State is to remove hindrances in the way of free movement of grains without supplanting the peasant and private trader. A study of Japanese and West German post-war reconstruction, as well as of the ways of little democratic Denmark, will suggest the much needed alternative. The denial of an alternative is only an excuse (in the mouth of official apologists) because of the goal already accepted, namely, socialistic pattern of society!

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With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

Time is fast approaching when sophisticated thinkers of India should begin to talk about some of the harmful legacies of Gandhism.

—Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, December 29.

Slowly we are witnessing the emergence of a State capitalism—a bureaucratic capitalism—thriving on the rise of the Big State and which is wasteful, inefficient and unresponsive to public criticism.

—*Free Press Journal*, January 5.

A little dose of military efficiency can be a good thing in an Asian country where parliamentary rule has been accompanied by corruption, untidiness, and incompetence.

—*Economist*, London, January 3.

Africa is not an extension of Europe or any other continent.

—Dr. Nkrumah, *Thought*, January 10.

Dr. Nkrumah arrived in India as the Nehru of Africa.

—*Economist*, London, January 3.

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If the country is to return to more decisive, practical ways, the people must salvage it from politicians.

—*Indian Express*, January 16.

Defending Krishna Menon is defending socialism and democracy in this land.

—K. P. Joseph, *Blitz*, January 10.

I am pessimistic enough to believe that anything can happen to India, even Menon and T.T.K.

—“Cassius”, *Hindustan Standard*, January 17.

Personally I do not consider that in the nuclear age American capitalism is interested in war-mongering.

—Anastas Mikoyan, *Hindustan Times*, January 12.

African countries are not fighting to eradicate colonialism only to have it replaced by another form of imperialism.

—Dr. Nkrumah, *Thought*, January 10.

If the present violent socialism is to be persisted in, we must take it that it is the Communist Party that rules India by laying down policies for the Congress to follow, without themselves undertaking the risk or the blame.

—C Rajagopalachari, *Current*, January 26.

There is no denying the fact that because of the heritage of Satyagraha, Indian people are more prone than others to resort to direct action even while democratic processes are available to them.

—Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, December 29.

Agricultural science and experience of countries like Japan and China tell us that farming efficiency and not farm size is responsible for productivity.

—M. V. Krishnappa, Union Deputy Minister for Food, *Current*, January 28.