

A Lesson For Us

by V. B. Karnik

THERE IS a lesson for us in the reports that are appearing about recent developments in China. It is clear that China is in the grip of a severe and widespread famine. For the last three years a number of natural calamities have befallen that country and the year 1960 was, according to all reports, the worst amongst the last three. There has been a drop of a hundred million tons in the production of food grains. Naturally, there are grave shortages of food and in many parts of the country the people are suffering the pangs of hunger and starvation. The people of China deserve the support and sympathy of all in this hour of their need and it is to be hoped that no efforts will be spared all over the world to render them as much help as possible.

It is no longer possible to dismiss these reports of famine and starvation as hostile propaganda of capitalists and imperialists. The communist rulers of the country have been themselves required to state these facts and openly admit their failure on the agricultural front. A communique issued after a meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party held in the middle of January stated *inter alia* that "the agricultural plan for 1960 was not fulfilled because the country suffered the most severe natural calamities in a century following upon the serious natural calamities of 1959." The resolution adopted at the meeting admitted that acute shortages of foodstuffs and other essential commodities were being experienced by the people. The fact is also borne out by the efforts that are being made to secure imports of foodstuffs from various countries.

It is natural for the communist leaders to place the entire blame for the situation on natural calamities. There were, no doubt, some grave natural calamities like floods and typhoons and draughts. But they do not provide an adequate explanation of the situation as it has developed. Natural calamities were, no doubt, a contributory factor; the main cause was, however, the economic and social policies of communist rulers. The forced drive towards industrialisation, the overemphasis on heavy and basic industries and the imposition of such institutions as "communes" are mainly responsible for the reverses on the agricultural and also on the industrial front. It is admitted that there have been reverses on the latter front as well.

The communist rulers cannot, of course, admit this. But the changes that they have decided to bring about are enough to convince a dispassionate observer that it is those economic and social policies which are primarily at the root of the present calamity.

The meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party has now decided to concentrate on agriculture and light industries and to lessen the emphasis on capital construction in heavy and basic industries. A communique issued after the meeting stated: "In view of the serious natural calamities which have affected agricultural production for two successive years, the whole nation in 1961 must concentrate on strengthening the agricultural front". The programme that was drawn up includes plans "to reduce capital construction in heavy industry and increase output of light industry and the supply of consumer goods and non-staple food-stuffs". As is usual in communist countries, the meeting also talked of "reactionaries" and "bad elements", held them partly responsible for the failures and decided to organise a purge to rid the society of those enemies.

The material part of the resolution is the recognition of the failure on the agricultural front and the decision to concentrate on agricultural production as the basis for the economic progress of the country. Concentration on industrialisation, meaning thereby the development of heavy and basic industries, has since long been the distinguishing feature of communist planning. Involved in the rapid development of heavy industry, communist planning has all along paid scant attention to agriculture and light industries. It has consequently resulted in merciless exploitation of the people and the denial to them of even the elementary amenities of civilized existence. A totalitarian system of government enabled communist rulers to impose that type of planning. But the social laws of production and the forces of nature were too strong for them; and they have now been required to admit that, if agricultural development is neglected, there will not be enough food for the people and enough raw materials for industries. Apart from the rulers of China, the rulers of Russia are also now learning that lesson. Recently the latter were required to reconsider their economic policies and to decide to give due importance to agriculture and consumer goods industries. The lesson is being learnt by them but after dragging the people through a purgatory of inhuman exploitation, and ruthless police regime.

Can we, and more particularly our planners, not learn that lesson without going through all those

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Bhavnagar Congress Convention

by S. R. Mohan Das

IN terms of reporting and coverage, the 66th session of the Congress at Bhavnagar obtained the usual and adequate publicity. But in terms of political analysis, very little has been done. This article proposes to deal with such issues and place them for an analysis.

The first issue is quite well-known. This is the role of Mr. Nehru vis-a-vis the ruling party. Perhaps because it is already so well understood that the Prime Minister's determination of the ruling Party's thinking and its functioning are taken for granted as having evolved into a "natural order of things". The desirability or otherwise of this situation in the ruling party in the context of its subscription to democratic and liberal values, is no longer even discussed.

Mr. Harekrishna Mahtab, the Chief Minister of Orissa, revealed with great admiration that every manifesto of the Congress Party since 1936 was the handiwork of Mr. Nehru. A few years ago, Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, paying a similar tribute to Mr. Nehru, extravagantly stated: "The hand that drafted this must be kissed!" This time, however, Mr. Nehru was rather embarrassed at this revelation by Mr. Mahtab and hastened to assure his audience that his role in drafting the manifestoes was only that of a clerk! There was roaring laughter at this comment of Mr. Nehru!

With such a background, it was natural that every resolution in its semantic content would reflect Mr. Nehru's wishes. The resolution on national integration, on foreign policy, on planning etc., faithfully echoed Mr. Nehru's views. In short, it was not as though the Prime Minister was implementing or giving shape to a considered view of the Party on any matter, as it should be with any virile democratic party. It was the other way about.

The second important issue that exercised the party was that of national integration. Implying that forces

of disintegration were becoming dominant, the resolution called for serious measures to preserve national unity. Here again, Mr. Nehru took the initiative. Two days before his departure to Bhavnagar, addressing a meeting in Bombay, Mr. Nehru dramatically proclaimed: "If there is no unity, I am prepared to throw away everything, even the Five Year Plans." The moment Mr. Nehru said this the issue developed enough importance and concern for the Convention. The year 1960 had brought about such sores as the Assam riots, the Punjabi Suba agitation, Berubari Transfer resistance in West Bengal, conflicts between States over such issues as river water allocations, greater share in projects and project allotments, etc.

These issues have had their impact not only on a national level but also on the structure and functioning of the ruling party in the various States. Since there has always been an equation by the ruling party leaders of their party with the Nation-at-large, its inner-party factions often became manifestations of "National" ailments, which so exercised Mr. Nehru as to make him even give up the five-year plans he holds so dear, and devote his entire energies to bring about unity.

Once again the ruling party and the Prime Minister were escaping facing of the issue in its proper perspective. Failing to realise that many of the apparent manifestations of conflict were natural and normal processes in a heterogeneously composed nation like India, they attributed to these developments a slur which only made the party and its leader appear self-righteous. Exhortations and challenges were no longer the solutions for these questions which needed a radically different perspective. The art of successfully promoting unity amidst the diversity of India seemed to be incapable of emergence from either the fountain-head or ranks of the ruling party.

In this atmosphere of abstract and verbose generalities covering up the failure to understand the problems, the ginger group once again made a futile attempt to emerge as a reckonable force. The ginger group mistook and misread the acquiescence of the ruling party to the personality cult of Mr. Nehru. It assumed that since the party bosses readily echoed Mr. Nehru's line on every issue, all it had to do to capture the organisation was to gather under the umbrella of Mr. Nehru's leadership. Had he not supported them in their demand for the principle of elective element in the composition of the Working Committee? They failed to realise that formal acceptance of Mr. Nehru's line on all questions was the most convenient thing to do for the party, and was valid only so far as Mr. Nehru personally was concerned. If the ginger group tried to jump on the bandwagon of Mr. Nehru's personality without his active and open

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Notes

Spying For Friendship

THE recent uncovering of espionage activities carried on by the Soviet and other communist diplomatic missions in India serves to underline the basic subversive aims of communist diplomatic representatives in any country and the identity of purpose between Russia and China in spite of the much-publicised Sino-Soviet differences on international issues. The press reports, though perfunctory and deliberately vague, have shown unmistakably that there have been at least two spy-rings in operation for a long time and that both of them have been working for the Soviet Union. It is reported that one of the two cases, at present under investigation, goes back to 1951, that is, the Soviet espionage activity has been allowed to continue undisturbed for the past nine years! The reports indicate that the spying groups have been trying to secure information about India's arms and weapons, progress of atomic energy and of the new roads India is building in border areas in the North since Chinese invasion and occupation of Indian territory.

The episode is remarkable because it throws revealing light on the Soviet professions of friendship with this country and her so-called neutral attitude with regard to the Sino-Indian border conflict. Much has been made by our leaders of the Soviet reluctance to comment on the Chinese violation of our territorial integrity and their refusal to support openly the Chinese claims to large chunks of our territory. The reported Soviet assistance to the Chinese communist regime in the past in constructing strategic roads in Tibet along the Himalayan borders should have convinced any discriminating observer of the Soviet complicity in the Chinese aggressive designs. But the Indian Government chose not to doubt the Soviet bona fides in the face of this overwhelming evidence to the contrary; and when the Chinese forcibly occupied thousands of square miles of our territory, it hoped to defend the country against Chinese aggression with no other weapon than that of Indo-Soviet friendship. But the exposure of the Soviet espionage activity has once again shown that the Soviet Union and Red China both have designs against our country and that the former is not only an ally but also accomplice of the latter in this respect.

Unfortunately, the Indian Government even now seems reluctant to face the fact and draw the obvious conclusion. The excessive caution shown by the Government and the official silence in the matter in spite of the publication of the reports in the press about Soviet espionage activity have shown the solicitude of our leaders for Soviet susceptibilities. Prime Minister Nehru, besides, tried to minimise the gravity

of the episode by stating, at a press conference last month, that the secrets sought to be given over "were of no importance". The reason for this excessive concern of our Government not to embarrass the Soviet Union has been explicitly stated by Mr. Krishna Menon, that perennial apologist for the communist bloc. Addressing a meeting in New Delhi on January 17, Mr. Menon is reported to have said: "I am certain that when it comes to the issue (Sino-Indian border conflict), the Soviet Union would do everything she can perhaps to resolve it". The patent absurdity of this wishful thinking needs no comment.

Last Chance In Algeria

THOUGH the results of the last month's referendum in France did not give General de Gaulle the clear and massive support he wanted to his Algerian policy, it has, beyond doubt, strengthened his position *vis à vis* the white extremists both in France and Algeria. The magnitude of the General's victory has clearly demonstrated that the country has placed its full confidence in him to solve the Algerian problem. With the country behind him and the army in Algeria prepared to carry out his orders, de Gaulle can now continue, with renewed vigour and confidence, his quest for a peaceful solution. But this can be done only by recognising the representative character of the FLN which has equally emerged from the referendum as the truly representative body of the Algerian Muslims, majority of whom abstained from voting. It appears that the General has recognised this verdict and it is reported that secret contacts have already taken place between the French Government and the Provisional Algerian Government in Tunis.

The Algerian nationalist leaders this time have, fortunately, shown willingness to negotiate with the French Government, thus giving rise to hopes of a peaceful end to the Algerian war. The Provisional Algerian Government in Tunis has declared that it is ready to open negotiations with the French Government "on the conditions of a free consultation of the Algerian people". It has no doubt rejected the referendum in Algeria as "organised and controlled by the French Army", but, nevertheless, it has emphasised that there is in Algeria as well as in France "a desire for a negotiated solution". The studied moderation of the tone and language of the communique, issued by the Algerian leaders on January 16, provides a reassuring contrast to the belligerent and intransigent attitude adopted by both sides in the past. This has greatly helped to create the proper climate for a peaceful negotiated settlement.

Though there are still great many obstacles in the way, and they should not be minimised, the realisation on both sides that this is, perhaps, the last chance to bring about a settlement and that failure this time would be final, has had a sobering effect on both. Already the threat of the Chinese and Soviet intervention in North Africa, with its disastrous effects on

internal politics in France and on the French and the Western position in whole of Africa, has emphasised the urgency of the problem and the need for its early settlement. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the French Government as well as the Algerian Nationalist leaders would show constructive statesmanship and accommodating spirit in order to put an end, once for all, to this cruel war of attrition and open a new chapter of cooperative venture to build a free and multi-racial Algeria bound to France with no other ties than those of friendship.

Reversal Of A Trend?

IT is strange that very little notice has been taken in the country of the arrest in Russia of Madame Olga Ivinskaya, the close collaborator of Boris Pasternak and the inspiration behind *Lara*, the heroine of *Dr. Zhivago*. It stands to the credit of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan that he amongst all public men in the country was moved by the news and thought it necessary to issue a public statement.

Apart from being a collaborator of Pasternak, Madame Ivinskaya is herself a writer. She had, it seems, incurred the displeasure of communist rulers by her literary productions and Pasternak was all along afraid that the Government might trouble her after his death. His apprehension has now come true. Along with Madame Ivinskaya, the Government have also arrested her young daughter.

These arrests and the subsequent sentence of eight years' imprisonment inflicted upon Madame Ivinskaya remind one of the cruel police regime that existed under Stalin. There were indications during the last few years that under the new rulers a less repressive regime was at last emerging in Russia. Do the arrests and the savage sentence indicate a reversal of that trend? Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has raised that question. He has stated that the arrests "must come as a terrible shock to those of us in this country who had pinned considerable hope on the dim beginning of a new enlightenment in that country".

It is to be hoped that the new rulers of Russia will have some regard for the conscience of the world. It is bound to be shocked and outraged by the arrests and the sentences inflicted upon Madame Ivinskaya and her daughter after a secret trial.

Djilas Freed

IT is heartening to note that the Yugoslav Government released Mr. Milovan Djilas from jail on January 20. The news of his release will be welcomed by freedom-loving people all over the world. Mr. Djilas, the former Vice-President of Yugoslavia, was arrested on November 19, 1956 and sentenced, at a secret trial, to three years' imprisonment. The charge against him was that he had carried on hostile activities against the State. The Yugoslav Government was particularly angered by his article on the Hungarian

revolution published in the American socialist weekly, *New Leader*. Even before that, Djilas had fallen from grace; he was expelled from the Party and deprived of his privileges in 1954 for his outspoken criticism of the bureaucratic tyranny established by the Communist Party. But undaunted by the restrictions placed on his activities and persecution he had to suffer because of his heresy, Mr. Djilas continued to propound his views in his writings and utterances. The communist dictatorship of Yugoslavia naturally could not tolerate his anti-party, and therefore anti-state, activity, especially after the rude shock of the Polish and Hungarian uprisings. It is a tribute to his courage of conviction and devotion to the cause of freedom that Mr. Djilas refused to be intimidated or silenced in spite of the hardships he had to undergo.

The Yugoslav Government, it is reported, has set him at liberty "conditionally". It is wellknown that he has been keeping indifferent health for quite some time; this might have prompted the Yugoslav authorities to free him. Mr. Djilas is, in a sense, a symbol of the unquenchable spirit of freedom which refuses to be smothered even under a communist dictatorship. By releasing him, though belatedly, Tito and his colleagues have only mitigated, to some extent, the harshness of the inequitable treatment meted out to him.

Power Blocs In Africa

IT is rather a sad commentary on the present realities of international politics, and especially in Africa particularly, that even before the whole of the continent could become free from colonial bondage, there have emerged rival groups of independent African countries competing for the leadership of Africa. There are already two rival groups of countries making efforts at inter-African co-operation and tackling current African problems in the light of their own ideologies and past experience. The group led by Ivory Coast and Senegal consists of 12 countries, all of them former French colonies. The other group, led by Ghana and the United Arab Republic, includes, besides the two, Guinea, Morocco, Mali, Libya and the Provisional Algerian Government. These two groups had their separate "summit" conferences recently. The first was held at Brazzaville, capital of the former French Congo, while the latter was held at Casablanca in Morocco.

The Brazzaville conference decided to take steps towards closer cooperation between their members in political and economic matters and even discussed the feasibility of a common defence programme. At the Casablanca conference, similarly, the other group decided to "cooperate in political, economic, cultural and military affairs" and to set up an African High Command "to ensure the common defense of Africa against aggression." These two rival groups, with their conflicting ambitions, are thus competing for the allegiance of the African people in general. They have

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Towards Party-less Democracy

by M. A. Venkata Rao

DISTRESSED by the Himalayan evils that have corrupted public life and administration during these years of self-rule, thoughtful people are suggesting a form of parliamentary democracy without the party system. The late Mr. M. N. Roy had worked out the idea in some detail. And now Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan is mobilising public opinion by means of seminars and the circulation of concrete proposals among uncommitted thinkers.

The first question whether such a system is desirable does not need much persuasion to those aware of the evils that the party system has brought in its wake. The first casualty is that of moral and intellectual conscience. The party whip demands loyal support even when the member disapproves of the measure under contention. The fear of losing his parliamentary seat with the defeat of the party (that has been won at great expense) brings many a member to heel. Majority rule is prostituted too often to pass measures to win the suffrage of the people or a class of the people, like the astronomical subsidies paid in the USA to farmers to refrain from producing too much, whether grains or commercial crops. The American

way of life with its sacred principle of free competition is thus flagrantly violated and no party has been able to end the policy for fear of losing the farmer's vote.

In India, even grave excesses committed by the administration like police firing ending in the death of dozens of citizens have been refused judicial review for fear of revealing the extent of the enormity indulged in. The unprecedented provincial jealousy in Assam issuing in riot and arson to drive a section of population out of the State has escaped inquiry and punishment for fear of losing party popularity.

In the financial sphere, the way in which the ruling party is collecting campaign funds from industrialists has been a scandal.

The narrow-minded feelings of caste solidarity have had such a field day since independence that all ideals of integral nationalism and individual merit have been shamefully jettisoned. The natural process of transcending tribalism and extending social competition and emulation to the whole arena of the nation, under the principle that every one in the nation is to have an equal chance on the ground of merit and service, has been halted by party men rallying caste support in return for jobs and other favours.

Indeed the extent of dissatisfaction with the role of the ruling party is so great today that many fear that India too may follow (suddenly without warning) the way of the rest the newly independent countries of Asia and succumb to dictatorship. The situation today here is not much superior to that of the regime of Chiang Kai Shek on the eve of the communist takeover in 1949.

What then is the remedy? Mr. Narayan's suggestion is that of jettisoning party altogether. What the administration in a democracy needs is a number of representatives of the people to whom the tasks of government are to be entrusted. It has been the solid result of history that no individual or family can be entrusted permanently with the powers and privileges of government. Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Monarchies, aristocracies or oligarchies belong to the immaturity of political evolution.

People's representatives elected on the widest franchise possible should elect the governors of the country, watch their policies and doings from day to day and dismiss them if they are found unworthy or incompetent. Democracy has come into existence to enforce such responsibility on the holders of power.

Representatives also interpret the interests of the people and help in translating them into practicable policies from time to time. The permanent civil servant will not concern himself with policy making but will occupy himself with the expert task of realising policy in the details of administration. The combina-

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been formed under the stimulus of issues facing Africa now, viz., the Congo, the French atomic explosion in Sahara and Mauritania.

The Brazzaville group is generally moderate in its outlook and pro-West in its policies. They desire the Algerian issue to be decided through peaceful negotiations and, in the Congo, they are backing President Kasavubu as against Patrice Lumumba. On the other hand, the Casablanca group is more militant in its postures and more vociferous in its proclamations. Its attitude has been militantly anti-West bordering, in case of Guinea, on fellow-travelling with the communist bloc. It wants to help the Algerian nationalist rebels actively by sending "volunteers" from outside. But it is less homogeneous than the Brazzaville group, as there is rivalry between Nasser and Nkrumah for the leadership and there is no real unanimity among its members on the question of the continuance of the U.N. troops in the Congo, and on the attitude to be adopted towards Mauritania and Israel.

The countries like Nigeria, Tunisia, Liberia, Sudan and Ethiopia have remained outside these groups, but are generally moderate in their policies and want to bring together these rival groups in the interest of African unity. The shape of politics in Africa very much depends on the future course of action and influence of these various groups but, in the meanwhile, the emergence of these rival groups of countries has rendered the talk of "African unity" quite meaningless.

tion of the amateur representative and expert administrator has been found beneficial in democratic administration.

These functions can be performed, it is felt by the sponsors of party-less democracy, without the organisation of rival political parties, each appealing to the people as if public salvation depended exclusively on returning them to power in preference to the others. There is something false and undignified in such claims. Power should be conferred unsought on worthy persons by a discerning public. It should not be sought with passion and the pledging of exclusive loyalties to groups.

The party system has been so ingrained everywhere in the modern world where democracy prevails that an alternative way of electing and supervising leaders of government seems unthinkable.

But there is nothing unthinkable or contrary to human nature or political actuality or possibility in the idea of democracy without parties.

It is suggested that voters' associations be formed in each polling booth area. Voters in such areas will meet some time before the elections and discuss the several ideas, principles and policies before the public mind from the standpoint of immediate realisation by the next government to be elected. Teachers, political thinkers and men of experience in every line—doctors, lawyers, cooperators, merchants, industrialists and workers sufficiently awake to the appeal of public questions and good government will bring their minds and experience to bear on current ideas.

The *small community* of the polling booth district will revive the *primary community* corresponding to the village panchayat community.

They may function like a club with departments to cater to the other interests of culture and develop a face-to-face community in which members get interested in each other as full persons and not merely representatives of a narrow line of business or occupation. Democracy in government by public discussion and the voters' association can provide a forum for discussion and healthy clash of ideas from all points of view. Abstract ideas from books and accounts of experience from other countries may be tested in the light of common sense, experience and current needs of the country as they appear to the voters.

The function performed by the party of formulating clear-cut programmes out of the floating welter of ideas and proposals may be performed by leading members of the voters' association. Voters' associations from all the different districts of the city may meet periodically for discussion so that ideas could be pooled and currents of public opinion may pervade the whole city in all the constituencies. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan envisages full discussion and the canvass of all relevant ideas but without the distorting influence of party. Ideas will be discussed and entertained on their own merit as affording guidance to policy makers.

One great advantage of this system if adopted is that the people of the locality can meet as *citizens* without incurring the displeasure of ruling parties. At

present many people, particularly from the commercial and industrial classes, are afraid of seeming to support opposition parties. I know of authentic cases where the police have called upon wealthy people who had attended meetings of the Swatantra or Jana Sangh parties on the pretext of private enquiries. There is intimidation at many levels and in different degrees today vitiating the atmosphere. A party-less democracy will certainly clear the air. In fact, some prominent members of the suburbs in many cities have asked for such non-party associations under whose auspices they could all meet and hear the views of different leaders without fear of seeming to support the opposition.

The voters' association will function all the time following current problems, Indian and foreign, as a discussion club but at election time, it will consider the choice of representatives. Mr. Narayan suggests that each voters' association might nominate three of their members. All these members from all the constituencies can then meet in an electoral college which will nominate candidates. The scramble for tickets so deleterious to political morals will be eliminated.

To provide choice, they will have to nominate three or four persons for each constituency as competing candidates. They will have become known to each other through the meetings of the voters association held throughout the year. People with clear views and with a capacity for forceful expression will easily stand out from the rest of the citizen body.

The elections will perform the final function of choosing the legislators. The legislators, say some 200 in number in the States of the Union, will then choose the Ministers by election from among themselves. The present system of the party choosing the Chief Minister and he nominating his colleagues will not be resorted to, naturally, in the absence of parties. All Ministers will be elected by the whole body of legislators who will all have equal status. A chief will be chosen by the Ministers from among themselves. He will not have the power of appointing his colleagues and will not have much more power than the rest.

The legislators will discuss all relevant proposals and under the lead of Ministers will formulate policies and programmes for being carried out in their term of office. They will not be divided into different groups on the basis of parties each committed to certain principles or party programmes. The programmes will be shaped on the basis of the merits of ideas from the standpoint of national interest as a whole. The deliberations will have the character of scientific discussion, taking all facts and possibilities into account. Administrative experts and special commissions for studying difficult and complex proposals and questions will furnish the data necessary for a wise decision. The procedure of formulating programmes will not be distorted by the inward anxiety to promise more than is possible or desirable to win support for the party at the next elections.

The press and pamphlet and platform will also

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Soviet Economic Growth & the West

(Contributed)

RUSSIA started industrialising much later than the West and although considerable progress was made from the 1880's onwards, she was still far behind when the Revolution came. The drive for industrial development began with the first Five-Year Plan in October, 1928, and has pressed forward ever since, interrupted only by the Second World War. By 1957, the USSR had reached a level of industrial production about double that of Britain (one-half in *per capita* production), about the same as the Common Market Six, and less than one-half of the United States. In terms of the gross national product, Soviet rates of growth since the Second World War have been six to seven per cent per annum against about three per cent in the U.S.

The faster rates of growth in the USSR are determined, first, by the differences in the structure and objectives of the Soviet and Western societies; and secondly, by certain factors which apply to the USSR because it still retains features of an under-developed country though they no longer operate in Western countries.

Soviet society is centrally directed and governed by a dictatorship which protects the ruling group in the fulfilment of its long-term objectives. As one of these is to outstrip the United States in economic power to achieve world supremacy, economic resources are concentrated on industrial growth, particularly in heavy and defence industry, and a low priority is accorded to consumer industries and raising the standard of living. Concentration on the production of capital goods is likely to yield higher rates of growth than the economies which cater for the consumer.

In Western societies political and economic power is dispersed. Their leaders recognise that rates of economic growth are necessary standards of comparison, but they measure their material progress also in terms of the well-being of the population. The implicit objectives of their economies are the raising of the standard of living of the majority and free political, educational and social institutions. The allocation of their economic resources is decided by the way people choose to spend their incomes. Western economies, unlike that of the USSR, are guided primarily by consumer choice.

Here are three examples, illustrating in terms of the standard of living, differences between the economies geared to consumer and producer needs.

HOUSING. Britain has been building 300,000 houses a year and in the seven-year period 1952-58 has provided nearly 4 square metres of living space per head of population. The cost of house-building in Britain is about £600 million a year which is equivalent to about half her industrial investment. The USSR, with its much greater needs due to the growth of the urban

population and war-time devastation, has been providing only about 2½ square metres of living space per head. Yet throughout this period Soviet investment *per capita* greatly exceeded that of Britain.

WOMEN'S WORK. In the USSR it is normal for women to work and to do heavy labouring jobs. Over 30 per cent. of the building workers are women. It is only fair to add that there is a corresponding expenditure on creches, dining-rooms and other facilities for working women. On the other hand, the great Western industries to satisfy women's needs, such as home-making, furnishing, fashion, beauty treatment and cosmetics, washing machines, etc., exist in the USSR only in the most rudimentary form and are enjoyed by a small minority.

PERSONAL TRANSPORT. The British public spends about £500 million a year on private motoring and cycles. There are about five million cars and 1½ million motor cycles among about 14 million households. In the USSR, personal transport is virtually non-existent and cars are mainly used for official and business purposes. In 1959 the output of cars was just over 124,000. Motor-cycles made their appearance about two years ago and bicycles about five years ago.

Among the factors that operate to the advantage of the Soviet Union, because it retains some of the features of an under-developed country, is the existence of a vast reservoir of potential industrial labour in the countryside. The extent to which the Soviet Union has relied on this factor to transform a backward agricultural community into an industrial Power is illustrated by the growth of the urban population, shown by 1959 census figures:

	1913 Millions	1959 Millions
Population (present frontiers)	159	208.8
Urban	28	100
Rural	131	108.8

It must also be recalled that Stalin laid the foundations for Soviet economic progress and accumulated savings by the use of the unpaid labour of political prisoners camps and by the displacement of peasants through collectivisation. Under Mr. Khrushchev the economic development of Siberia and Kazakhstan has also entailed major displacements of the population.

Another characteristic of communist economies is that agriculture has always lagged behind industrial development. Agriculture was the great failure of the Stalin era. In 1913 (present USSR territory), grain output was 82 million tons. By 1953 it rose only to about 92 million tons, an increase of less than 25 per cent. of the population growth. Under Mr. Khrushchev there has been a tremendous drive and it is estimated that output has increased by five to six per cent. The results seem to be out of proportion to the

effort made and it is unlikely that the 1965 target figure of 180 million tons of grain will be achieved. In his speech of November 6, Mr. Kozlov volunteered the information that in 1960 State grain purchases would be "no smaller than last year". In 1959, however, the size of the harvest was not disclosed and it was described as being "higher than the annual average last year". This average, according to Soviet statistics, is 113.2 million tons. This year's harvest must therefore be well below the target of 150 million tons.

Such are the factors which must be taken into account in evaluating the Soviet Union's fast rates of industrial growth. If both the Soviet *bloc* and the West maintain their respective rates of growth, the gap between them will narrow, but it will remain. At present the gross national product of the USSR is about half of that of the United States. The Seven-Year Plan with its ambitious targets is a formidable challenge and will narrow the gap by 1965 to the Soviet Union's advantage. But even so, it is unlikely that by 1970-75 the Soviet Union will outstrip the

United States. Gross national product in the Soviet *bloc* per head of the population is unlikely to amount to more than \$1,600 (at current prices) against \$2,700 in the countries of the Atlantic Alliance. The gross product of the Soviet Union might be about \$1,800, but this will still be well below the figure of \$3,800 to \$4,000 likely to be attained by the United States by 1975.

The Soviet leaders are thus still far from their objective of overtaking the United States, and the rapid industrial growth of the USSR has been deliberately secured at the cost of the welfare of the population. In the urban half of the Soviet community, real wages are still not more than half the British level and probably about one-third of the American level. Though the conditions of the Soviet workers have improved, they are still far from participating in the well-being which the American and, in a greater or lesser degree, the British and West European workers have secured in the last half century.

TOWARDS PARTYLESS DEMOCRACY—(Cont'd from page 6)

contribute as now to the mobilisation of ideas relating to public needs and programmes.

There is nothing to prevent the Government from combining ideas from different philosophies into practicable programmes. For instance, it is possible to have a mixed economy programme combining socialist and individualist outlooks. The question of the priority or otherwise of heavy industries in the Plan can be discussed in terms of immediate effects on the economy such as the level of prices, inflation and so on without taking a final decision on the theoretical value of communism. It is possible to evolve social security programmes without paying hostages to socialism and centralising all economic power. It can be done through private insurance aided by Government if necessary.

It is known that expenditures on social security such as old age pensions, socialised medicine, unemployment and sickness insurance have risen so high that it has become more profitable for the beneficiaries to ask for their abolition in return for tax reliefs! Parties are tempted to increase these benefits to win the support of pressure groups and the mass of voters, particularly the most numerous of them, namely, the lower middle class.

In some countries welfare legislation has advanced so much that the classes contributing to the public exchequer in their period of earning are beginning to resent such a large proportion of their earnings being spent on those who have passed the age of work!

The slogan of "social justice" has obliterated all restrictions stemming from merit, individual contribution and self-reliance. The process of soaking the rich has given place to that of soaking the poor through indirect taxation on all goods of common use.

These temptations will disappear if party-less democracy can be got into working order. Instead of each party trying to stand well with the public as exclusive givers of plenty, deserved or undeserved, individual

Ministers will stand out in the public eye for efficiency and integrity and devotion to public duty.

The immense expense of party organisation, not only during election time but also during ordinary times for maintaining party bosses while out of office (and those out of office when their colleagues are enjoying office) will be saved. Pressure groups can be resisted more by individual Ministers and exposed than by party leaders anxious for augmenting party finances. Such Ministers will be in demand and will be elected again and again without the interruptions of party exigencies.

In Switzerland, some such system of democratic functioning has been in existence for a long time. Parties exist there but are not regarded as exclusive and sacrosanct. Ministers are chosen by the elected representatives more for personal merit cutting across party alignments. It has been possible there on account of some favourable circumstances prevailing in that country. The cantons are little democracies in themselves wherein individual merit stands out in the primary community. Also, there is a high level of employment so that disappointed party men need not put pressure for illegal and unworthy gratifications from the ruling party. Also, Ministers need not accumulate enough to last them for the rest of their lives! They can get employment any time. Moreover, the great thing making such a system possible is the psychology of public service and simple living prevailing among the Swiss. These are virtues congenial to our best tradition and can be captured again.

The difficulty stems from the fact that it is very difficult to effect a change from the present system. A body of volunteers have to set about organising voters' associations throughout the country and the Government should be persuaded to cease recognising parties during elections. But if it can be realised, the gain to political life will be immense.

The Moscow Soap Opera

MR. KHRUSHCHEV has closed his run at the United Nations and left us emotionally spent. Attesting his success with the free press are bulging file envelopes in every newspaper morgue, and some memories that are worth the thoughtful consideration of all communicators as well as the public they strive to reach.

Mr. K. is not exactly a straight man. Apparently, the real Mr. K. may be letting himself go when he is photographed pinching a buxom ear of Iowa corn or kissing an unprotected 100% American baby. So far, so good. Some fine American statesmen will do no less at the click of a shutter.

This homely aspect of Mr. K. is a small challenge to us American amateurs. There are captains of industry who really love babies and some top professional men who are as much at home at a county fair as a ribbon winning steer. Yet, when projecting themselves to the public they are about as warm and real as one of Mme. Tussaud's tableaux. When corn comes naturally it's an effective way of communicating, and public relations people should be the first to convince their customers to be as impulsive as Mr. K., even though their chance of getting equal time or space is slight.

Beyond making the above point, we are not concerned with Mr. K's loveable self. What bothers us is a new twist to the communist propaganda technique; this is the use of histrionics at a high level as a means of confusing democratic peoples, who are accustomed to be led by statesmen and not by actors. When we see Mr. Macmillan or Mr. Eisenhower we have confidence in their mien and utterances as true projections of leadership. We can't feel the same about Mr. K., who starred as a third-rate Hamlet in the UN and as the Park Avenue Cyrano. Since this new role is not the K. impulsiveness but a zig in the party line, followed by other communist leaders, it poses some real problems for the press and its readers.

According to some writers, an "angry", "furious", Khrushchev "vented his fury" on the President and thus wrecked the Summit Conference. The U-2 incident was the ostensible cause. Strict reporting would have noted K's "apparent anger" or his "semblance of rage", etc. Mr. K's symptoms could have been a reaction to wolfing some tainted caviar or to an overdose of vodka. No real emotion could be established in his now notorious tirade. As subsequently developed, the U-2 mission was no surprise—either Russian intelligence is completely incompetent or Mr. K. was able to bottle his indignation for four long years, including his baby-kissing swing around the U.S. The whole business was marked by an unreality which presaged the K. show at the U.N.

Here Mr. K. "angrily" thumped the desk. "impul-

sively" heckled speakers, and "excitedly" waved his shoe in "protest". Lesser attention was given to the Soviet chorus who emoted with him. Should the key to the outburst be sought, it is in a speech by George V. Allen, director of the U.S. Information Agency, which, although delivered during the Khrushchev visit, was largely lost in the K-dominated headlines. Quoting Communist International directives governing communist behaviour at parliamentary bodies, Mr. Allen noted these points:

"Communism repudiates parliamentarianism..... It is only possible to speak of utilizing bourgeois state organisations with the object of destroying them". "The Communist Party enters such institutions..... in order to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within." "This work consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform."

Few members of Mr. K's big American audience were taken behind scenes with Ambassador Allen or compared the road show with a curious incident which occurred a few days later in Bonn, where an 'angry' or 'impulsive' Russian ambassador broke up an address of the German Minister of Economics who was welcoming the representatives of 24 African states. It was quite a show. The Russian menaced the speaker with his fists, was apparently so agitated that he carried on a bilingual tirade as he was forcibly evicted. Yet, he managed to shout the "right" sentiments for the record—the Russian party line against "Colonialism", and the approved anti-West German propaganda. Reporting the uproar calmly, the *Manchester Guardian* noted that the ambassador appeared fidgety before the outburst, moved to centre-stage just before the comments to which he apparently took exception, and presumably had received an advance copy of the speech.

With the Russians adding such histrionics to their propaganda tricks, this side of the world needs some protection. Nothing in the restrained domestic dissemination of ideas prepares us for such theatrics. Journalists must stick to the business of reporting facts, which does not include the interpretation of emotions as genuine as a \$3 Bill. Editors must soul-search to determine what is legitimate front page coverage of a statesman and what properly belongs in the amusement column. And the rest of us should develop an abiding skepticism to prevent serious consideration of any hokum escaping editorial diligence. Let's await the next episode in the Moscow soap opera completely dry of eye.

—Reproduced from *Public Relations Journal*,
New York, December 1960.

Review

National Review

What is the relation between Moscow and Peking? New York, November 5, 1960.

LIKE Fascist leaders during the inter-war period, communists, since their advent to power in the Soviet Union, have given characteristic advance notice of their intentions to enslave the entire world. Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Mao and others made no secret of their plans to "bury" all non-communists and establish their hegemony all over the globe. But every time the communists have loudly proclaimed their unshakable determination, the non-communist opinion has refused to take the warnings seriously, hoping that the communists did not mean what they had said and that, after all, sooner or later the communists were bound to return to "normalcy". Nowhere this self-deluding process has been more evident than in the sphere of the Sino-Soviet relations. The Chinese communists captured power on the mainland mainly with the help of their Soviet comrades and even now it is beyond dispute that they have to rely exclusively on the Soviet assistance for their economic, military and political advancement. The Chinese and the Soviet leaders, besides, have always emphasised their "monolithic solidarity", and the identity of their purpose *vis-a-vis* the outside world. But, in spite of this, there has always been a strong tendency among students of communism, journalists and expert commentators to regard the Chinese as different from the rest of the bloc and detect signs, where there are none, of differences whenever there is a slight variation in statements or postures of the two partners, hopefully predicting the differences to develop into "rifts" and culminate in a "rupture". This wishful thinking could have been ignored as a harmless pastime if it had no bearing on the policy-planning of the non-communist world. But, unfortunately, many leaders of the democratic world have fallen victim to this illusion and in some cases, like that of India, the process has gone even to the extent of expecting Soviet assistance against the expansionist designs of the Chinese communists. The publication of a symposium on the subject of the Sino-Soviet relations, as the one brought out by the journal *National Review* should, therefore, help to view the facts in a proper and historical perspective.

This is a collection of eight essays on the subject by eminent scholars. Each one analyses the central subject from the perspective of his special field of study. The perspective ranges from that of world history, Chinese and Russian history to that of communist history, strategy, demography and semantics. The articles provide a fund of relevant data, analysis and interpretation which throws revealing light on the different facets of the problem. Historically, the relations between China and Russia have swung between extremes of conflict and friendship, and their relations have always been marked by certain common mental and

psychological traits which helped to bring them closer together. The Russian revolution began a new era in Sino-Soviet relations. The Russian communist leaders, from the beginning, recognised the significance of China in their global strategy. Intimate contacts between the two communist parties date from 1921, when the Soviet Party assisted in the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party. In contrast to several Asian and European countries, China had no socialist party before October 1917. The Communist Party in China was brought into being mainly with the help of the Russian leaders. It had no roots in Marxism or Western Socialism. "Everything came from Moscow and everything was presented in the Bolshevik version". In fact, the Soviet Communist Party directed the Chinese Communist Party till the establishment of the People's Republic on the mainland, as has been pointed out by Branco Kazitch in his article on the Communist History. But in spite of the concrete evidence, there were always commentators propounding various theses regarding the "non-communist" or even "anti-Stalinist" character of the Chinese Party and the "inherent conflict" that was bound to develop between the two parties. They were helped and encouraged by Soviet and Chinese communist leaders in fostering this illusion through various statements and hints deliberately made to mislead the outside world. As Natalie Grant has shown in her article, the conflict between Moscow and Peking is only the "synthetic product" of a deliberate communist campaign of "inspiration" and "misinformation".

To be sure, there are some differences in the strategy of the Chinese communists and that of the Moscow communists. But the differences pertain only to the internal situation, rather than to the over-all strategy. This is inevitable owing to the difference in the levels of socio-technological developments and military problems of the two countries. It is dictated by the logic of the internal situation and the resultant concrete operational planning which has, of necessity, to be different in each country. But in so far as the global strategy is concerned, China, for the next ten to twenty years, will lack sufficient material and scientific resources to pursue a course of its own independent of Moscow. As Stefan Possony points out, "the impression that China is on the verge of becoming a first rate military power is entirely unwarranted. Actually, because of technology, China's military power has been declining relatively to that of the Soviet Union and the U.S. In terms of genuine strategic capacities, China is nothing but a Russian satellite. It will remain such for at least ten to twenty years." To talk of a Sino-Soviet rift or rupture under such circumstances, is to overlook this basic relationship and the identity of their goals. The two parties differ not in the essentials of policy, not about the necessity of cooperation and for the pursuit of common objectives, but about some methods for realising the Marxist-Leninist aims, and for reaching in the shortest possible time the next stage on the road to the final goal. Mr. James Burnham, editor of the *National Review*, should be congratulated for this excellent publication which should help

readers to have a clear idea about the problem, especially at present when there is so much loose talk and wild speculation about the "impending" Sino-Soviet split.

B. K. DESAI

Foreign Policy of India

by S. R. Patel, Published by N. M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 15/-.

BOOKS on foreign policy of India are rather rare, and good books on the subject are rarer still. Paucity of good books on India's foreign-policy can be understandable in view of the fact that India has been in a position to evolve independent foreign policy of its own only for the last thirteen years or so. The present publication is indeed a valuable addition to the literature on the subject. In its own way it meets the need of a thoughtful study of India's foreign policy and her position in international affairs.

The author makes a discerning analysis of our foreign policy and brings a fund of significant information to substantiate his conclusions. One of the main conclusions of the book is that the foreign policy of India is a one-man show and that all its limitations flow from this cardinal fact.

The author seeks to show that with the advent of freedom, India began its foreign affairs with a clean slate. This had its advantages as well as disadvantages. The past did not burden India with its weight and nor did it prejudice its vision or the freshness of the outlook. The author, however, recognises the norms of foreign policy which the Indian National Congress had evolved prior to freedom, but they were "no substitute for sound and responsible policy-making."

The author is critical of what he calls "the obsession with peace which has characterised India's present policy" and regards it as a "direct result of wrong Gandhian vein". To him, India's policy is that of "peace at any price" which is dangerous to human freedom, especially in the context of polarisation of forces of democracy on the one side and of communism on the other.

The author points out that while India has adopted a strong position against the declining colonialism of West, it has not taken an equally strong attitude towards the newly emerging colonialism represented by the totalitarian communism of Russia and China.

The author appreciates the principles of Panchshila and co-existence, but he is certain that in the hands of communists these principles lose their meaning and are blatantly used as a subterfuge for world domination. Regarding India's advocacy of the Panchshila in relation to communist countries, the author points out that Mr. Nehru was made "a propaganda tool of Khrushchev and Chou".

It seems, however, that the book was rather written in a hurry. The language and tone could have been much improved. A simpler style would have eminently suited the erudite character of the book.

—SAADI

BHAVNAGAR CONGRESS CONVENTION

(Continued from page 2)

promotion of their group, they were not going to be given the same consideration as Mr. Nehru would always get. In fact, on both the questions which the ginger group championed vehemently, it got a trouncing from the Convention. In the election of the Election Committee, as also the election of Working Committee members, the ginger group was soundly defeated. Furthermore, the election of Dr. Ram Subhag Singh to the Working Committee actually represented a quiet but operational revolt of the A.I.C.C. against Mr. Nehru and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon.

As though smarting under these developments, Mr. Nehru, while speaking on the resolution on Chinese aggression, reserved all his anger not for the Chinese aggressors, but for the irrepressible Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, who dared to demand more effective measures to meet Chinese aggression.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi obtained the largest number of votes, not necessarily because of her being the Prime Minister's daughter, but because she had established her stature as a competent, interim President of the organisation. Of course, there will be conjectures that this process might be the forerunner of the "Elective principle" becoming the "succession principle". Quite a large body of public opinion, particularly in the South, actually propagate this theory!!

Somewhat strangely, Mr. Krishna Menon did not get as much stage at the Convention as he would have wished. He provided his own, by dramatically requesting the Gujarat Chief Minister to tighten up security arrangements for Mr. Nehru as he was very much concerned about Mr. Nehru's safety! He had to establish his exclusive representation for Mr. Nehru's welfare and subtly imply that existing arrangements and concern in other quarters for Mr. Nehru fell very short of what he would have wanted. There is quite an amount of sinister implication in this drama and one wouldn't be surprised if there were banner headlines in pro-communist sensation weeklies in future of plots against Mr. Nehru and the saviour of the Jewel of India by Krishna Menon.

There was then the declaration by Mr. Nehru that elections were not very important. Promptly from corner to corner this sentiment was echoed. For a party that scorned the vulgarities of fighting in the elections, and following the straight and narrow path of national reconstruction, the alacrity with which a high-powered Election panel was set up, the hurry with which the manifesto was drafted before all other parties, and the anxiety to somehow patch up regional party rifts, were strange.

These, in short, were some of the interesting aspects of the Bhavnagar session. Each one of these has interesting political and ideological over-tones which could be fruitfully analysed.

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

Co-existence is connivance at immorality.

—N. D. Mazumdar, former Law Minister of West
Bengal, *Indian Express*, January 5.

Saving the Russian face seems a lot more important
to us than it is to them.

—“S.M.” *Hindustan Times*, January 5.

The Nehru strategy in defending India against
China is to rely upon Russia.

—*Mysindia*, January 15.

There is no reason to believe that Khrushchev
exempts India from his recently reiterated plans for
the triumph of world communism.

—*Washington Post*, January 24.

✓ We agree with them (the Chinese Government)
that the (Tibetan) rebellion as such must be crushed,
but repression is another matter.

—Prime Minister Nehru, quoted in the
Manchester Guardian Weekly, December 29.

I do not advocate that workers should give up that
right (to strike). But, at the same time, I believe that
the use of strike in the present conditions of India
would cause great harm to the country.

• —Prime Minister Nehru, *Hindustan Times*,
January 5.

To the Editor,
FREEDOM FIRST,
C/o Democratic Research Service,
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 1.

Please enrol me as a subscriber to FREEDOM FIRST.

I remit the annual subscription of Rs. 3!

Name:

Address:

Signature

It appears that members of three spy groups have
been arrested and are being tried. One group is alleg-
ed to have spied for P...; one for a West European
firm and one for R...; but they are all alleged to
have been inter-linked, and to have been really work-
ing for C....., since what they tried to find out was
the progress of the new military roads in L..... and
the N.....E.....F.....A.....

—*Mysindia*, January 15.

At squalid as any other vignette that comes to mind
was the triumphant last laugh this morning of Mr.
Krishna Menon as he pounded his palms to lead the
applause for the defeat of the U.S.-British proposal.
(in the U.N. General Assembly).

—Alistair Cooke, *Manchester Guardian
Weekly*, December 29.

In our eleventh year as a Republic, far from being
an asset in the cause of world peace, India is a heavy
liability in the cold war.

—*Indian Express*, January 26

(Continued from page 1)

gruesome experiences? We are naturally keen on deve-
loping our industries and on making our country as
self-sufficient as possible. In order to attain that end
we must necessarily have a plan. But if our plan is,
as it should be, directed towards increasing the
welfare of the people, it will have to pay as much
attention to agriculture and light industries as to basic
and heavy industries. The second Five Year Plan,
which is now nearing its end, erred in that respect and
the result was the growth of widespread poverty and
distress. In the third Plan that is now being drawn up,
some attempt has been made to correct the mistake.
But the pull in the direction of ambitious building up
of heavy and basic industries is still very strong. That
is evidenced by the insistence on the establishment of a
fourth Steel Plant at Bokaro. Steel is no doubt neces-
sary; but far more urgently necessary are the food-
stuffs and other essential goods that the people need
for their daily existence. Failure to provide them will
generate discontent and frustration which may under-
mine the very foundation of our democracy. The les-
son that China has provided is of greater significance
to us as ours is a unique endeavour to combine demo-
cracy with rapid economic development.