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**THE GENERAL ELECTIONS
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SOCIAL ACTION

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THE NEW YEAR AND THE ELECTIONS

1962 is election year. Once again the largest democracy in the world will be going to the polls. The excitement of uncertainty will be lacking, for the results seem to be a foregone conclusion. There is no doubt that the Congress Party will be returned to power, after having governed the country for nearly two decades. What is in doubt however is the number of votes the Party polls and the number of seats it captures in the legislature both at the Centre and in the States. Equally important will be the structure of the Opposition. Who will come out best? The Communist Party, or the Praja Socialist Party, the Jan Sangh or the Swatantra Party? There is ample room here for speculation. At this time of crisis when India is menaced by trouble on her borders in the North and rejoicing over the liberation of Goa, it is difficult to predict with any certainty how the Opposition Parties are likely to fare. Already there is a growing volume of opinion in favour of backing the Government in power. A time of crisis always brings the people together around leaders whom they already know.

An Opposition

It seems to be a tragic event in the history of the democratic experiment in this country that after 15 years of democracy, there is no real opposition party that can effectively challenge the ruling party. A powerful, united opposition with a clear-cut platform of its own, ready to

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step into power in case the ruling party loses the confidence of the people has always been regarded as one of the essentials of the parliamentary system. India has failed to produce an opposition of this kind and the country is suffering from this vacuum. It is sometimes said that the opposition to the Congress Party comes from within its own ranks. This may be true to some extent. All the same a vigorous opposition with a clear-cut programme around which the people can rally always remains an urgent necessity. Other reasons for the lack of an effective opposition party have been suggested. Perhaps one of the most important of them is that only a small percentage of India's millions is politically conscious enough to realise the significance of the vote, and the apathy and indifference of the masses towards matters of national importance hinders the growth of organised bodies who dare to think differently from Congress.

Confusion

Over and above such political backwardness, there is the ideological confusion that prevails in the platforms of various parties. Except the Communist Party whose policies are geared to the political dogmas of an international character, the other parties have no consistent ideologies, which do not in one way or another greatly overlap each other. Thus the electorate is faced with a difficult problem in selection. In the face of this impasse, personality will count more than principles; and to a vast mass of illiterate people, a name that is well known will conjure much more loyalty than that of some unknown antagonist.

The Relics of History

Historically, again with the exception of the Communists, every other political body had its origin or has been closely linked with the Indian National Congress, which in pre-independent days was a nationalist movement rather than a political party. This initial welding together of strong personalities and the consequent sharing of political ideas in

a revolutionary atmosphere has produced in Indian political life such complex personalities as Prime Minister Nehru, who combines in himself a deep attachment to democratic methods and the values of non-violence with a prejudice for ownership and a belief in the omniscience of the state. Similarly, there is Jai Prakash Narayan, who was once an ardent Marxist, but now dedicated to Sarvodaya. Another controversial figure is Kripalani, once an ardent socialist, but now accused of having bourgeois and rightist tendencies. Apart from the Congress, the old terrorist organisations are now mainly dominated by militant communalism and supported by a hard core of irreconcilables who still believe in Akhand Bharat as the only solution for the ills of this country.

Controversial Issues

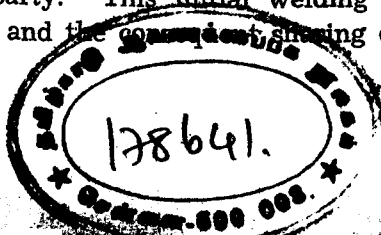
Despite the great prestige and popularity of the Congress, one of the most outstanding contests for the Lok Sabha will be that between the present Defence Minister, V. K. Krishna Menon, set up by the Congress and favoured by the Prime Minister, and Sri J. Kripalani, an Independent member, who however is being strongly canvassed by the opposition parties. Menon has been strongly attacked in the press for his leftist tendencies and his weak Chinese policy, but he has the backing of Mr. Nehru; and this does make a difference in Indian politics.* If the vote goes against Menon, it will really be a vote against the foreign policy of the Prime Minister. The constituency in which Menon stands is by no means made up of illiterate people. Quite the contrary. It is for this reason that this conflict at the polls will be watched with particular interest by the people of India.

Other interesting highlights will be the manner in which both the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra parties show up at

* The successful liberation of Goa will certainly sway the electorate in favour of Menon.

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the polls. Kerala too will be watched with marked attention, because of the growing unpopularity of the present coalition.

In This Issue

The following pages will present to the reader a brief summary of the manifestos of some of the most important political parties in the country. A word of comment on each of the programmes is also added. As far as possible, the criterion by which the contents of the programmes are judged is the social philosophy outlined in the papal encyclicals and the social teaching of the Catholic Church. It should be noted however that the principles contained in this teaching are based to a large extent on Natural Law, to which persons of whatever belief and persuasion will readily subscribe, unless they are Communists or anarchists. India is a free country and the ballot is a free ballot. It is highly desirable that the voter should exercise his vote in a responsible manner, because on every single vote depends the destiny of the nation. It is to help the voter in this task that the programmes of the parties have been examined and criticised.

The New Year

One last word. The Editor would like to take this opportunity to wish all his readers a very happy and prosperous New Year. He is deeply grateful to them for their continued support and he hopes that the issues of Social Action that will see the light of day this year will be to their entire satisfaction.

The Editor

SOCIAL ACTION

THE ELECTION MANIFESTOS

ELECTION MANIFESTO OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Since the Congress was the chief agent of India's liberation and has been guiding the destiny of the country for the last two decades, it is but natural that the manifesto should refer mainly to the great difficulties in social and political life that have been encountered and overcome successfully, and the great tasks that still lie ahead.

Referring to the past, the manifesto invokes the great name of Gandhiji, his struggle for independence and his assassination in his hour of triumph. Gandhiji's name will always be associated with the Congress, and will continue to exercise its spell over the Indian mind for generations to come. The Congress should not be grudged the privilege of this connection, for it was Gandhiji who transformed the Congress into a force for liberating the country from foreign rule, and placing India among the ranks of the

free nations. His policy of non-violence and his friendly and co-operative approach to both friend and foe have been the inspiration of India's domestic and foreign policy, and the manifesto emphasises the significance of the Gandhian tradition in the present and future policy of the Congress.

The five year plans and their objectives of building up a "social pattern of society" and the many achievements of the plans are heavily underscored, in the manifesto. At the same time, the struggle against economic stagnation, a caste and faction-ridden society, and the growth of communalism is not yet over. The increased opportunities for education have unfortunately led to greater unemployment, while the attraction of power has led to factions and numerous political groupings. Even language has become a source

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of friction. National integration is in peril. But the Congress is aware of these problems and has tried to steer the country safely through these various dangers.

The Third Five Year Plan is being built on the successes of the two previous plans, and while great poverty and unemployment still exist, statistical information shows the growth of basic and heavy industries, the marked improvement in our agricultural methods and in agricultural production, the advance of our science and technology, and the progress made by the country in a variety of fields of human activity, says the manifesto.

The manifesto proposes an all-round, balanced growth of the economy, although this is difficult to achieve in actual practice. The bright spots in the Indian picture are three. The first is the fast increase in the number of educated children. In 1950-51, 24 million boys and girls went to school and college. This figure has now gone up to 46 million. By the end of the Third Plan the figure should reach 65 million. Secondly, the expectation of life in India has

risen from about 32 years in the nineteen forties to 47.5 now. This is no doubt due to better living conditions and better food. The third is the growth of the Community Development Programme. Nearly 72 per cent of the villages have been covered by this programme which deals not only with agriculture, but also with other activities such as animal husbandry, village industries, social education, health and rural sanitation. The spread of Panchayati raj comes in for special mention, for it implies the spread of democratic methods at the lowest levels in the community.

The manifesto then makes a spirited defence of the *principles of planning* and the hopes and probable achievements of the Third Five Year Plan. It is intended to plan not only for short periods of five years but for longer periods of fifteen years. This becomes necessary in view of the fact that a co-ordination of the needs and development of the various sectors has to be borne in mind during the period of planning. Economic growth is a continuous process, and therefore planning must take

a long-term perspective if it is to be successfully applied.

In the industrialisation of the country, *the public sector will increasingly expand and play a dominant role*. The reason for this policy is to achieve social and economic equality, to accelerate the speed of industrialisation, and to yield additional resources for investment.

Public and private sectors should function in unison as parts of a single mechanism. The manifesto observes that during the past ten years however, the growth of the corporate private sector has raised new problems. How can economic growth be secured without the growth of monopolist tendencies and the concentration of economic power? The Congress intends to prevent this tendency by keeping the larger enterprises in the public sector, by encouraging medium-and small-scale, and co-operative industries in the private sector, and by appropriate fiscal measures.

In recent years, notes the manifesto, a number of financial and promotional institutions have been established.

In the light of experience gained, both these institutions as well as public sector enterprises should improve their organisation and administration.

Turning to agriculture, the manifesto says that the essence of progress in agriculture depends upon co-operatives. Especially where holdings are small, co-operatives are essential. Industrial growth itself depends on the growth in agriculture.

The manifesto proposes to spread service co-operatives throughout the rural areas, and wherever possible and agreed to, co-operative farming also. Training facilities for better farming techniques will be provided and rural electrification schemes implemented.

The ending of unemployment is a vital problem and rural manpower will be utilised by creating employment opportunities in national-buildings activities.

The manifesto calls for the expansion of the social services, especially health and education. Low income groups irrespective of castes and communities, should receive

special consideration. Free education up to the age of 11 is envisaged in the third five year plan.

Training of industrial workers and their progressive association in the management of enterprises is accepted in the manifesto.

Prices of essential commodities should be stabilised and trading on State Account should be undertaken wherever this is found possible. The establishment of consumers' co-operatives should be encouraged.

It is proposed to place a ceiling on land and similarly on high urban incomes, in order to secure a better distribution of wealth.

In the national set-up, based on a planned economy, the *administration* plays a vital role and should avoid delays, improve its quality, and fulfil its tasks adequately. For this purpose there should be greater decentralisation of authority, allocation of responsibility and proper appraisals of the work done.

The Congress stand for birth control and family planning to lower the growth in popula-

tion. Similarly, prohibition is to be encouraged and effectively implemented.

Finally, in foreign policy, the Congress stands for peace and friendship for all countries, non-alignment with military blocs and alliances, the ending of colonialism, and the achievement of wide-spread disarmament. Congress also pledges to the Indian people to maintain the integrity of Indian territory and to compel the China, Pakistan and Portugal to vacate territories occupied by them.

Comment

The Congress manifesto is an excellent summary of the policy, the objectives and the achievements of the Party during the last fourteen years since independence. The Congress has given the country a stable government, an economic programme, social and welfare ideals, and a leadership in world affairs. The manifesto likewise is no petty document, but a broad challenging statement and reminder of what has been achieved and what still remains to be done. Judged for breadth of vision and grasp of facts, it stands far above any other party manifesto. Obviously,

having governed the country for nearly two decades, the Congress has at its command a wealth of experience and a richness of ideology that has been worked into the manifesto.

The most telling criticism of the manifesto is pointing out the gap between the ideal as set down in this document and its actual implementation in practice. It is on this point that the opposition parties are clamorous, as will be seen in the following pages. There is therefore no need to dilate here on a critical evaluation of the Congress programme.

Still one or two points need emphasising. The Congress is wedded to the expansion of the public sector, and despite its plea for a balanced economy, the development of heavy industry takes priority over agriculture and the lighter types of industry. There is here a definite ideological clinging to a concept of development in which state monopolies are tolerated with naive satisfaction, as fulfilling the social requirements of a just distribution of wealth and economic power. Of course it is slowly being realised that

unless the public sector enterprises are made more responsible and independent of government interference the hopes of the planners are not likely to be realised. We are still in the stage of a vital experiment and the third five year plan may possibly tell us whether the experiment has been a success. That is why the third plan is a critical one. With the growth of the public sector, there is the corresponding growth of bureaucracy, and unless a new administrative ideal of efficiency is inculcated in our public sector officials, the growth of the economy will suffer despite long-term perspective planning.

Secondly, co-operative farming in agriculture, where agreed to, is to be encouraged. But considering that even in Mr. Krushchev's country the experiment has failed, why should the Congress leaders be so keen about trying it out here.

Behind these economic measures to increase material welfare, there seems to be an implicit distrust of ownership in private hands. It is not ownership, however, but the abuse of ownership, which should

be counteracted. And that is the essential work of the state. In his remarkable encyclical on the social question, Pope John XXIII insists on every individual being given opportunities for the exercise of his initiative and responsibility. The whole economic structure both in industry and agriculture should be transformed with this end in view. Will the expansion of the public sector secure this objective? Possibly, in there are fundamental changes in the structure of the sector, such as an independent and responsible management, joint consultation decentralisation of responsibility.

To curb population growth, the Congress plumps for birth control. This is a pity, because such a policy flouts Gandhiji's dearest principles of self-con-

trol and purity of means in achieving ends.

Perspective planning becoming necessary in the modern world. But perhaps we could put to good use the experience of the French in planning and not only that of the Russians and the Chinese.

Finally, the foreign policy of the Congress has come in for a good deal of criticism recently. The electorate would be satisfied if the party leaders strictly adhered to the policy outlined in the manifesto.

All in all, the Congress manifesto is a splendid document despite its shortcomings, one can only wish that its implementation will be on a level with its promises.

MANIFESTO OF THE PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY

This is an important document for more than one reason. It contains the programme of the party that stands second to the Communists in the ranks of the opposition. Though it has been deeply influenced by the recent changes in Socialist

ideology abroad, (Cf. *Social Action*, October, 1961), it still maintains its national outlook on many world problems. Nor is it marked by the extremes that are characteristic of the communal parties.

The manifesto strikes a strong note on the necessity

of preserving India's territorial integrity, whether the occupying forces be Pakistan, China or Portugal. The Indian people have risen to the defence of the country, states the manifesto, but the Government lead has been hesitant and uninspiring. It is a tragedy that while our frontiers are menaced, our national unity too should be in peril.

The manifesto notes the many failures of the Congress Party in government. There is continuous vacillation in taking decisions. Our national integration is threatened by linguistic and other minorities, who suffer from discriminatory treatment at the hands of the respective majorities. Caste and communal loyalties are still strong. The economic policies of the Government have sharpened inequalities, and the lack of employment, housing, educational facilities, etc. have coarsened men's lives and embittered mutual relations. These failures stem from the stresses and strains within the Congress Party, and the PSP believe that only a powerful opposition party can stop the rot from spreading. Indeed it is of the very essence of democracy to have a strong oppo-

sition party to criticise the government and take over when it can transform itself into a majority.

The Party in power speaks much of the Socialist pattern of society, but its understanding of the term is restricted to the adoption of modern techniques of production. On the contrary the PSP claim that they will work to ensure a social organism in which there will be equality of opportunity, reduction of inequalities of income and the participation by the people in the development of the country.

The Party feels that the next five years will indeed be a crucial one for the country. The plans have created an increase in the aggregate wealth, but the welfare of the people has not improved. Both in the agricultural as well as the industrial sectors, the rich have benefited at the expense of the poorer elements in the community. The manifesto decries the growth of oligopolies in the private sector.

The Socialist Party therefore offers the people a programme to combat class distinctions of all kinds, whether

they relate to economic position, social status or cultural advantages. The Party abhors differences in income caused by social or economic power, and accepts only those differentials which are due to differences in skill, responsibility initiative and output. Secondly, it promises the electorate economic and social security, and thirdly, participation in making decisions in economic life, which determine the direction of production and the pattern of distribution of the national product. On these three foundations, the people will tend to unify in defence of the nation.

Further, planning should be done not only at the apex but also at the lowest levels. In other words, democratically organised district administration should be the principal unit of economic planning.

Highlights: In the agricultural sphere, assistance will be weighted in favour of rehabilitating the six crores of village poor whose per capita income today hovers around 25 naya Paisa per day. By providing the needed inducements and incentives the holders of dwarf holdings will be invited into co-

operatives. Through rural-re-development projects, rural housing will be improved. The PSP believes it imperative to involve the rural people in the process of industrialisation.

Investment, not in capital, but in labour has to be the crucial technique of development. In totalitarian countries such investment is imposed and extracted. In democratic India it will be achieved through diffusion of equality, provision of incentives, and creation of administrative and economic institutions wherein the people share power and shape objectives.

The party is in favour of encouraging new enterprises, of compelling big industries to farm out considerable work to small producers brought together in industrial estates. In view of the acute shortage of capital, our industrial and labour equipment should be used to full capacity. There should be co-determination in industry. In general, the party favours the break-up of giant corporations in the public sector, the encouragement of competition, skilled management and a trained labour force within the sector.

Minorities. All minorities must have an equal right to participate in all spheres of social, economic and political life. Simultaneously, they will have the right to practise their religion, organise educational institutions, and cultural associations for promotion of their language, script and literature. Such institutions will be entitled to state aid. Where linguistic minorities form a suitable proportion, education would be imparted in the mother tongue, while the regional language, with the national language, will be taught side by side. **Economic Democracy.** The PSP demands the right of free association for wage and salary workers and Government employees. They believe that only strong, autonomous and democratic unions can enable the worker to be the pace-setter of economic development and social transformation. To ensure industrial peace, they would have to devise quick, inexpensive impartial and permanent negotiation and arbitration machinery, establish inviolable codes of conduct and build up social and moral pressures against misuse of strength. Mere legislation will not do. **Foreign Policy.** The PSP

has always been in favour of an independent foreign policy for the country. Non-involvement in power blocs is a good thing only so long as the vital interests of the nation are safe. But the policy of non-alignment does not mean for the PSP condoning international injustice or oppression. A firm uncompromising stand must be taken on such occasions.

Comment

As a manifesto, the PSP programme is a balanced, cautious document based on many sound principles and shrewd observations of the Indian political situation. But much of the froth and fire of former PSP manifestos is missing. Their repeated failure to make an impression on the electorate have had a dampening effect on the enthusiasm of the party leaders. Moreover the upsetting changes in the ideology of the European Socialist Parties have profoundly influenced socialist thinking in India. That is one reason why there is little talk of the Socialist millennium, or of class warfare, or of private property. Instead the party plumps for the removal of inequalities, and the guarantee

of social security and greater participation by the citizen in the policies that concern his economic and social uplift.

On the whole the manifesto is remarkably moderate in tone. It is also free from any narrow, sectional outlook that mars the programmes of the

Jan Sangh or the Hindu Mahasabha. Nor does the Party propose to win the elections. At best it hopes to form the spearhead of the opposition, although at present there are strong competitors for that honour - the Swatantra and the Communist parties.

THE C. P. I. ELECTION MANIFESTO

Released on 12th October 1961 the Election Manifesto of the Communist Party of India pledges:—

1. to bring to the people of India 'happiness, prosperity and a cultural resurgence',
2. to ensure that 'the tiller of the soil must be given land, every job seeker a job and people food, clothes and other essentials necessities at cheap prices',
3. to build 'a broad national democratic front of all parties and democratic forces',
4. to strengthen 'India's nascent parliamentary system' and
5. to discharge 'with greater strength and assurance,

its responsibilities in the service of the Indian people and world peace'.

In order to fulfil this sacred pledge to the people of India, the manifesto outlines the following policies and proposals:—

Domestic Policy

Business. The elimination of foreign monopolies from our national economy and the acceptance of foreign economic aid only when it helped in nation building projects. Scrapping the Managing Agency System, the levying of higher taxes on 'big business' and stronger action against profiteers, speculators and the former princes. The manifesto also recommended breaking the grip of big business on the news-paper indus-

try, and a guarantee of trade union rights unequivocally.

Agriculture. The distribution of land to the landless labourer and poor peasant, a raise in the minimum wages for them, reduction of the economic burden and a guarantee of fair prices for their produce.

Constitutionally, the Party contemplates some radical amendments to the Constitution specially annulling the many powers of the President and a curtailment of the powers of the Centre applicable to its dismissal of State Governments etc. The manifesto asks for recognition of Sindhi in the Eighth Schedule and the safeguarding of languages of linguistic minorities in different states.

At the national level. The feeling of the CPI is marked by an insistence on linguistic states, the liberation of political prisoners and the creation of Commissions to study the problems of the minorities. The manifesto asks for a greater financial allocation for education particularly in the scientific and technical field. Improving the present condition of teachers specially

primary school teachers and the launching of an all out national campaign against illiteracy. The party promises to work for equal rights of women in every sphere of life and to raise the status of women in every way possible.

At the cultural level the CPI is determined to work for the development of a people's democratic culture and to this end asks for generous and unbiased help to be given to literary and cultural bodies. It asks for the establishment of major national theatres and cultural centres, and an expansion of the Cinema Industry on progressive lines. The manifesto pleads also for the economic rehabilitation of thousands of writers, artists and workers in the various cultural fields and for rescuing our culture from the grip of profiteers and foreign and Indian reactionary influences.

Foreign Policy

The CPI stands for unilateral disarmament for the Western Powers, recognition of the East German Republic, the Algerian Provisional Government and all out assistance to them in their struggle for independence. The CPI also calls for a peace treaty

with Germany and for the creation of a de-militarised free city of West Berlin.

The U.S. is condemned as an imperialist war-monger and in particular the manifesto denounces the U.S. military aid to Pakistan as an unfriendly act towards this country. The CPI calls for arousing public opinion against the U.S. military build-up in South Vietnam, the ejection by force if necessary of the Portuguese from Goa at the same time pleading for a friendly settlement of our border dispute with China. The manifesto asks for a recognition of our frontier in the Eastern Sector along the McMahon Line, and on the Western Sector according to traditional frontiers. The manifesto demands the recognition of the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, including the part occupied by Pakistan and asks the country to work constantly for the territorial integrity of the country.

Finally the CPI manifesto says 'for the advance of all these noble objectives, the friendship and cooperation between the two great countries of the world - India and China - has become an imperative need of history.

It is with this programme and objective that the Communist Party of India has decided to approach the people for a renewal of their confidence and support in the Third General Elections to be held in 1962.

Comment

The Election Manifesto of the Communist Party cleverly masks in the usual democratic phraseology the real aims of the Party. It is clear that the Party receives its directives from Moscow and its fundamental objective is and will always remain the establishment of Communist dictatorship in India. The proposed amendments to the Constitution, and especially the curtailing of the powers of the President and the weakening of the Centre, are aimed at preserving Communist hegemony in the States where they may capture power. Their failure in Kerala still rankles in their minds.

No loyal Indian can ever subscribe to the foreign policy outlined in the Manifesto. While the Western powers and especially the USA are severely castigated for war-mongering, the Chinese, who have swallowed some 12,000

square miles of Indian territory and are busily entrenching themselves, are referred to as friends. It is strange how Indian communists can be so blind to the interests of their own country and welcome the new colonialism of Russia or China in place of the freedom they now enjoy.

There is much talk in the manifesto about the fostering of linguistic states and the promotion of the means of propaganda for developing democratic culture. It is obvious that the Communists would like to have at their disposal every possible opportunity to sow their pernicious doctrines.

They believe is using freedom to destroy freedom.

The fight for fundamental rights, for judicial enquiries, for protecting the rights of the minorities, and the backward classes are merely sops to win over these portions of the electorate who have a grievance. However, the manifesto reveals the likely tactics of the Indian Communist Party in the near future, and the ugly blots in Indian democracy that they will try to exploit. These are the privileged groups in industry and agriculture, and the aggrieved groups among the minorities and the backward classes.

THE SWATANTRA ELECTION MANIFESTO

It is only a couple of years ago that the Swatantra Party was formed. Its leaders, among whom the most outstanding is Rajaji, a former Congressman and the first Indian Governor General of the Dominion of India, have constituted the party with the essential idea of providing the country with a vocal and influential opposition to the Congress. This objective is clearly enunciated in the Manifesto. According to the Swatantra Party, both

the Communists and the Socialist parties have failed in this respect from the very nature of their ideologies. The Communists are fifth-columnists in disguise, and the Socialists have nothing new to offer to the advanced socialist ideology of the ruling party.

During the last fourteen years, the Congress government has degenerated. reads the manifesto. Our biggest problem is how to curb the

almost overwhelming powers of the bureaucracy, combined with maladministration and intrigue, nepotism, the seeking of self-interest and the growth of materialism. But the Swatantra Party places the blame for this sorry state of affairs on the indifference and lack of courage of the vast majority of those with means.

The main fault of the Congress Party at present is that it stands for a system where all real political and economic power and all responsibility is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a party in office. The Swatantra Party, on the contrary, intends "to keep the individual citizen, with his unquenchable impulse towards self-expression in the centre of the picture. All governance must subserve this end."

The means

To achieve its end, the Swatantra Party will provide the common man with food, clothing and shelter, fuller employment, more foodgrains, more schools, more small industries, clean drinking water and medical facilities and better communications both in the urban as well as the rural areas. Much of the

money that is being poured into our gigantic schemes could be profitably utilized to finance these needs. Such expenditure would also help to prevent the inflationary trends in prices. Further there should be a drastic reduction of taxation, which is a heavy burden on the poor man, and often proves a real disincentive to small industry. This is the reason why both in the villages and towns, the middle and working classes are stagnating economically. Our efforts at planning our economy have only sanctified misery in the name of progress, and attempted to build the uncertain prosperity of the future on the privations of today. These are methods borrowed from countries under totalitarian dictatorship, says the manifesto.

Hence the party proposes to give *agriculture the priority*, because the village economy needs to be vitalised. Such vitality is only possible in the basis of peasant proprietorship. The Party guarantees to respect the property rights of the peasants in their holding, big or small, and thereby remove uncertainties and provide incentives. The independent farmer will be helped

with facilities for the intensive cultivation of his land, in the form of water, tools, fertiliser, seed, credit and improved techniques. The party stands for land reforms without expropriation and is therefore against collective farms. But genuine co-operative efforts such as service, industrial, consumer, and marketing co-operatives will be encouraged. To the landless agricultural labourer, the Party promises an adequate wage, and the protection of the permanently employed labourer. Similarly, the Party favours rapid rural electrification, the abolition of taxes on land, fixation of agricultural prices in parity with those of industrial commodities and setting up an insurance fund against natural calamities.

To *Industry and Trade*, the Party promises the widest possible distribution of industrial ownership to enable employees to take shares in the concerns for which they work. The role of government should be restricted to help rather than run business, because that is not the function of government. The Party calls for a balanced development of capital goods industries, consumer goods industries and

rural industries. The present priority given to heavy industry produced a lop-sided economy. The Party is opposed to nationalisation on principle. It prefers to encourage private enterprise, but will battle against monopolies whether in the public or private sector. In its view the Planning Commission has become a kind of non-responsible super-government, and therefore the Party will seek to restore the real and effective supremacy of Parliament and people by abolishing the Commission. The Soviet type of planning must be rejected, because it calls for intolerable restrictions. The Cabinet should be responsible for planning. Foreign loans should not become a burden on the future generation of Indians.

As for *Industrial Labour*, the Party desires strong and responsible unions, free from political influence. Labour should be closely associated with management so as to develop a spirit of partnership in industry. There should be 'progress sharing' by labour on the basis of increased productivity.

The Party stands for clean administration in the Public

services, and for the preservation of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, and an independent judiciary.

In the field of *International Relations and Defence*, the Party stands for a realistic approach in these matters and firm policy of dealing with China. No political influence should be allowed to weaken the morale of the Defence Forces.

Finally, the Party will try to foster the integration of such a multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-linguistic country as is India. The Minorities and Backward classes will be helped and protected. A spiritual element needs to be introduced into education in order to provide an adequate background of human values for the citizen. But the Universities should be free and independent and the media of mass communication such as the radio, and the newspapers should not be turned into government monopolies. The Swatantra Party thinks that every citizen should be free to choose his religious beliefs, and enjoy his religious freedom unrestrictedly. Hence the Party will not tax religious endowments,

or charities; on the contrary, religious observance will be given opportunities to develop, because it secures right conduct better than any government regulation.

Comment

Regarding the principles on which it is based, the manifesto of the Swatantra Party is far nearer the pattern outlined in the papal social encyclicals than any of the other parties. It shows respect for the rights of property; it demands its widest possible diffusion; it upholds the subsidiarity function of the state, and keeps the individual citizen in the centre of the picture. The priority for agriculture is a step in the right direction and planning on the Soviet model has been repudiated. Labour is to get a larger share of the prosperity of industry, and the labour contract tempered by the contract of partnership. Indeed the whole document is rather striking in its close approximation to the requirements laid down by the encyclicals. Perhaps those who drafted the manifesto are well acquainted with Catholic social philosophy.

Writing on the manifesto of the Swatantra Party, the

Eastern Economist of Nov. 10, 1961 says, "The draft election manifesto of the Swatantra Party which carries the appropriate heading "To Prosperity through Freedom" is a well argued and consistent piece of political presentation. The current abuse of the party as 'reactionary' and 'big business' dominated' is certainly unfair in the light of the presentation here of a wide area of 'sharing of prosperity', particularly in terms of the small man, agricultural labour and indeed 'progress-sharing' in general. Article 45 makes the fairly revolutionary proposal for precise provision for a progress sharing through increased wages, alongside an increase in productivity through the reduction of costs. There is here no evidence of exploitation of the poor by the rich which is part of the stock-in-trade criticism by the Congress of this new party." And the article continues, "All in all, this is an attractive theoretical document. One's disappointment with it is that it has moved a little too much to the Right for the current appetite of the Indian people."

Indeed this movement to the Right could be easily be

cured by a concentration of the social obligations of property and an admission that the State can play a very useful role in the economic development of an underdeveloped country. The modern tendency towards 'socialisation' as understood in the latest papal encyclical 'Mater et Magistra' points out to the benefits obtained from such close and active intervention of the state to provide for social security, employment, and education. Even in the use of the term 'nationalisation' distinctions have to be made. An autonomous body like the British Broadcasting Corporation is an example of a public corporation which is not a government department.

Further there can be no doubt that the five year plans have helped the country in the road to progress and that the aberrations of the previous plans are subject to rectification. One big favourable factor of the Swatantra Party manifesto is that its adherents are free from that blind adoration of the omniscient state to which many of our people, especially the intellectuals, are prone. And if the Swatantra Party does not

come out successful at the polls, the ideas that have been sown by the Manifesto will certainly influence the electo-

rate, for these ideas are a very useful corrective to the leftist tendencies in the Congress.

ELECTION MANIFESTO OF THE BHARATIYA JANA SANGH

After criticising the present government for its failure to protect the country from external aggression and internal subversion and providing the people with the basic necessities of food, clothing and housing, the manifesto blames the Congress party for having fallen from its high ideals and become the resort of opportunists, bent on seeking and preserving power for themselves by unscrupulous methods.

The Jana Sangh pledges itself instead to the solution of these four main problems:

1. The defence of our frontiers and national unity
2. Efficiency and purity of administration
3. Stabilisation of prices and eradication of unemployment, and
4. Reorientation of education.

Pakistan and China have violated our territorial inte-

grity and the party will see that every inch of our land is liberated.

Corruption in administration has become chronic and contagious. The Jana Sangh will check the growing tendency towards centralisation. It will seek to give the man on the spot greater discretion and responsibility. It will also try to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth and will modify the plans accordingly.

Employment is a fundamental right of every citizen. This is a principle that the Jana Sangh strongly upholds, and will seek to implement.

Education is intimately connected with employment. The Jana Sangh will in the next five years will provide free education up to the secondary stage for every child.

In order to develop national unity, the Jana Sangh guar-

antees full freedom of faith and worship but religion should not be dragged into politics. Indeed it is wrong to divide the people of Bharat into a majority and minorities on the basis of religion. National unity can be secured by the spread of Bharatiya culture.

However, an enquiry into the conduct and working of every foreign missionary will be instituted, and those found engaged in proselytisation through objectionable methods or in political activities will be externed from Bharat. Recommendations of the Neogi and Rege Committees will be implemented. Foreign missionaries will not be allowed to enter tribal and frontier areas.

Further, the Constitution will be amended to make India a unitary state, with provision for decentralisation of power to the lowest levels.

The Jana Sangh considers the whole of Kashmir to be an integral part of Bharat, and one of the States as defined under the Indian Constitution.

To reform the administration, the manifesto promises

to root out corruption by the appointment of a high powered commission in addition to the Anti-corruption squad. Employees in government service will be made permanent if they are temporary workers, and government servants will be allowed to form associations to protect their economic interests. Strong measures will be taken to reduce government expenditure, which in recent years has risen enormously. No minister or official will receive a salary of more than Rs. 2000 a month. Justice will be cheap, speedy and within the reach of every citizen. The State will provide for the legal defence of the poor. Displaced persons will be quickly rehabilitated.

The Jana Sangh will take steps to introduce Hindi and the other regional languages in their respective spheres within the period prescribed by the Constitution. Secondary and higher education will be through the regional language with Hindi as a compulsory second language.

As for planning, the party proposes to give the first priority to agriculture; to encourage small scale and con-

sumer goods industries; to consolidate rather than extend the public sector; to abolish the distinction between the public and the private sectors and to introduce instead the concept of the national sector; and finally, to secure maximum production, guarantee a minimum standard to all, maximise employment opportunities, and co-ordinate the development of all regions and sections of society.

The Planning Commission and the National Development Council will be re-constituted and freed from all political entanglements.

In regard to land-reforms, the Jana Sangh will make the farmer the master of his land, by stopping ejectments and restoring to the tenant all lands from which he has been illegally or improperly ejected. The Jana Sangh will encourage the formation of economic holdings, service co-operatives but considers joint co-operative farming as detrimental to democracy and unsuited to the needs of increasing production. Land to the landless will be given on an ownership basis and not in the name of a joint co-operative farming society.

The Jana Sangh will encourage animal husbandry and amend the Constitution to prohibit the slaughter of cows. Cow protection and development will form an integral part of the agricultural plan.

In regard to industry, the Jana Sangh will make small-scale and cottage industry the basis of its programme of industrialisation. Large scale industry will take second place. Defence and basic industries will be nationalised. Autonomous corporations will be set up to run public enterprise. As far as possible the country should be made independent of foreign capital, which will be welcomed in case of need, however. Labour will be co-sharers in the management and profits of the industrial concern. And a permanent wage board will be set up to fix wages. The minimum wage of the worker should be Rs. 125 a month. Finally the Jana Sangh will pay special attention to the expansion and co-ordinated development of road, rail and water transport.

Comment

Little need be said about the platform of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. Like the Hindu Maha-

sabha, it is a strongly communal minded party that considers Hindu and Indian as equivalent and interchangeable terms. It is bent on promoting Bharatiya culture which will mean the extinction of the religious minorities. Its strong emphasis on Hindi will frighten many non-Hindi speaking people.

There is much talk in the manifesto about corruption in the administration, but the Jana Sangh does not propose any effective measures to reduce such a state of affairs.

Nor is the economic programme so easy of fulfilment. It is not difficult to put out a lot of fine schemes when one has never been in office and has no experience of the difficulties of implementing them.

As for our defence policy, there is a point in the criticism of the Congress vacillation. But it would be dangerous to leave the country in the hands of such an ardent group of fanatics as the leaders of the Jana Sangh, who might plunge the country into war for their own prejudices and primitive traditions.

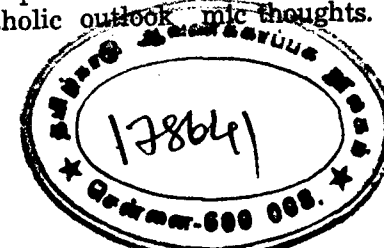
HINDU MAHASABHA ELECTION MANIFESTO

The all India Hindu Mahasabha in its election manifesto claims that the party is pledged to reestablish 'akhand Bharat' by 'all legitimate means'. "This reunification of Hindustan is an article of faith with the Hindu Mahasabha and it stands by it" says V. G. Deshpande the Sabha's Vice President.

The manifesto maintains that "The Hindu Mahasabha intends to develop Hindustan into a State based on Hindu ideology which possesses a characteristic catholic outlook

of life, with a well defined cultural background which is easily distinguishable from the cultures of other nations. Such a state alone, which may be conveniently referred to as Hindu rashtra, can keep the people of Bharat, irrespective of their religion, caste, creed and language, united for the purpose of building up a true democracy with a dynamic force and progressive conception capable of assimilating all modern scientific inventions and modern social and economic thoughts.

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The manifesto added that the Hindu Mahasabha stood for recasting the entire Constitution of India 'with a view of bringing it in consonance with the traditions and culture of the Hindus'. The present Constitution was altogether unsuited to the genius of the people of Hindustan.

The amended Constitution would declare the country as a democratic Hindu State and the study of Hinduism a compulsory subject all through the period of education. It called for changes in the nomenclature of the present States, into provinces (India being one state) taking out of the provision in regard to cow protection, from the directive principle to State policy, to guaranteeing the fullest civil liberties to all citizens of Hindustan and scrapping the Preventive Detention Act and imposing restrictions on the employment of judges of the Supreme Court, High Courts and members of the Election Commission, after their retirement.

Dealing with foreign policy the manifesto expressed the view that India should enter into 'suitable military pacts with other Powers' both

'Hindu and non-Hindu' while at the same time 'militarising the Hindu nation within the country, both in spirit as well as with arms'. It recommended that India should shed its passive neutrality and pointed that the Congress had failed to secure the implementation of its agreements entered into with foreign powers in the name of Panch Shila. The Sabha stood for the complete repudiation of the Indo-Chinese treaty of 1954 which accepted Tibet as a region of China. It also opposed the admission of Communist China into the U. N.

The Sabha gave five basic principles for India's foreign policy and stated that it should be based on the 'enlightened self-interest of the nation', with preparedness to defend its frontiers, non-involvement in the affairs of other countries like Korea, Laos and the Congo, reorientation of the country's policy towards Communist China, liberation of every inch of land from the control of all foreigners, and adoption of a policy of reciprocity towards Pakistan.

The Sabha stood for the country's withdrawal 'from the so-called British Common-

wealth of nations' particularly in view of the recent decision of the British Government to join the European Common Market.

Dealing with the economic policy of the country, the manifesto in a ten point programme stressed that all the key industries should be State owned or under State control, and the other industries whether private or under corporate ownership, must form an integral part of the national economic plan.

The primary and immediate objectives of economic policy would be to satisfy the most elementary needs of the people and avoid evils of capitalism and secure all benefits of socialism. The manifesto favoured cooperative farming and said that all agricultural improvements should be carried out to increase productivity by improved methods of agriculture.

On Industrial policy the manifesto urged the utilisation of raw materials and indigenous talent in every field to ensure utmost production and to secure equitable distribution of industrial profits between workers and entrepreneurs without detriment to the

interests of consumers. Security of employment and minimum wages for maintaining a decent standard of living should be guaranteed to workers. Cottage industries should be especially encouraged independently as well as a supplement of large scale industry.

As regards agricultural policy, the Sabha stood for the ultimate ownership of land by the State on behalf of the people.

Comment

The manifesto reveals the strong attitude of a section of the majority community. The country can never forget that it was one of the fanatical adherents of this party that put Gandhiji to death. It is the presence of such parties in India that rouses the fears and creates the antagonism of the minorities. The Hindu Mahasabhis have never understood the significance of the secular state, one of the outstanding features of the Constitution, which is so modern in its outlook. On the contrary, the Hindu Mahasabha clings to a dead tradition of the past that it hopes will live once again. But this

is hardly possible in a dynamic world.

The party would like to have the Constitution radically altered to suit its own primitive illusions. This only shows how excellent and liberal are the clauses of the Constitution, which has been framed by men with a catholic outlook, who have chosen the best political safeguards prescribed by the traditions of both East and West. If anything, every elector should undertake to preserve the Constitution in its present form. Even at this moment, amendments are too many and too frequent. The Constitution should be regarded as a sacred document that may not be tampered with to satisfy every whim of any section of the community.

On foreign policy, the Hindu Mahasabha has consistently abandoned Gandhian non-violence which is certainly a cherished Indian heritage coming down to us from the

depths of the past. It is strange that a party professing cent-per-cent orthodoxy should embrace violence with such fervour. The world admired Gandhiji precisely because of his peculiar method of achieving independence, and with the terrible destructiveness of the megaton bomb, can violence be of any avail in solving international problems? Indeed, in the context of the megaton bomb, can any war be justifiable? Fortunately, the people of India have not been attracted by hot-heads as the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, who live in a dream world of their own which is slowly crumbling with the industrial progress of the country and the unifying forces of modern civilisation.

Finally, its economic policy is based on the fallacious belief of the benefits of an omni-competent state. The sabha seemed to forget that it stands for the freedom of the citizen.

ELECTION RESULTS 1952

Table — 1

Popular votes for the House of the People	Votes Polled	Percentage of total	Seats Won
Congress	47,665,875	45.0	362
Socialists	11,216,779	10.6	12
KMPP	6,156,558	5.8	9
Communists (a)	3,484,401	3.3	23
Jana Sangh	3,246,288	3.1	3
Schedule Caste Federation	2,501,964	2.3	2
Ram Rajya Parishad	2,151,603	2.0	3
Krishikar Lok	1,489,615	1.4	1
Hindu Mahasabha	1,003,034	.9	4
Independents	16,778,749	15.8	41
Other parties	10,249,629	9.8	29
	105,944,495	100.0	489

(a) The unofficial CPI vote, which includes CPI allies was 5,723,000 or 5.4% of the total vote, and the unofficial total of CPI and allied seats in the House of the People was 27. (Source Party Politics in India - Myron Weiner)

Table — 2

General Election results for the Legislative Assemblies

Congress Social KMPP Hindu (a) CPI and Others Ind. Total
allies

Assam	76	4	1		1	9	14	105
Bihar	240	23	1	1		52	13	330
Bombay	269	9				19	18	315
M. Pradesh	194	2	8	3		2	23	232
Madras	152	13	35		62	51	62	375
Orissa	67	10			7	35	21	140
Punjab	97	1			4	20	4	126
U. P.	390	18	1	3		3	14	429
W. Bengal	151		15	13	28	16	15	238
Hyderabad	93	11			42	15	14	175
M. Bharat	75	4		17			3	99
Mysore	74	3	8		1	2	11	99
PEPSU	26		1	2	2	21	8	60
Rajasthan	82	1	1	34		7	35	160
Saurashtra	55	2				1	2	60
T. Cochin	43	11				16	38(b)	108
Ajmer	20			3		3	4	30
Bhopal	25			1			4	30
Coorg	15						9	24
Delhi	39	2		4			3	48
H. Pradesh	24		3				8	36
V. Pradesh	41	10	3	4			2	60
	2248	124	77	85	147	273	325	3279

(a) Hindu parties include Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and Ram Rajya Parishad.

(b) 32 of these were won by Communist dominated alliances
(Source as above)

ELECTION RESULTS 1957

Popular votes for the House of the People	Votes Polled	Percentage of total	Seats won
Congress	54,056,646	46.5	366
Praja Socialist Party	11,659,225	10.0	18
Communist Party of India	11,447,345	9.8	29
Jan Sangh	6,731,098	5.7	4
Others	30,596,260	28.0	71
	114,490,574		488

State-wise — House of the People

States	No. of Seats	Congress	PSP	CPI	JS	OP*	Ind.
Andhra Pradesh	43**	37		2		2	1
Assam	12	9	2				1
Bihar	53	40	3			9	1
Bombay	66	37	5	4	2	9	9
Kerala	18	6	1	9			2
Madhya Pradesh	36**	34				1	
Madras	41	31		2			9
Mysore	26	23	1			1	1
Orissa	20	7	2	1		7	3
Punjab	22**	20		1			
Rajasthan	22	19					3
Uttar Pradesh	86	70	4	1	2		9
West Bengal	36**	22	2	6		2	3
Jammu & Kashmir	6					6	
Delhi	5	5					
Himachal Pradesh	4	4					
Manipur	2	1					1
Tripura	2	1		1			
	500	366	20	27	4	37	42

* Other Parties

** One seat vacant

State-wise — Legislative Assemblies

States	No. of Seats	Congress	PSP	CPI	JS	OP	Ind.
Andhra Pradesh	30(1)**	213	11	12		27	37
Assam	108(3)	70	8	4			23
Bihar	318(1)	208	32	7		55	15
Bombay	396(3)	231	35	13	4	44	66
Kerala	126	43	9	60			14
Madhya Pradesh	288	232	12	2	10	12	20
Madras	205(1)	151	2	4			47
Mysore	208(1)	147	18	1		4	37
Orissa	140	56	11	9		51	13
Punjab	154(1)	119	1	6	9	5	13
Rajasthan	176(1)	119	1		6	17	32
Uttar Pradesh	430(7)	284	44	7	17		71
West Bengal	252	152	21	46		8	25
Jammu & Kashmir	75†					74	1
	3177(19)	2026	205	171	46	297	414

** Figures in brackets indicate the number of vacant seats

† 25 seats for Pakistan occupies areas kept in abeyance.

Theory to Practice

A CO-OPERATIVE VENTURE IN CALCUTTA

It is a well known fact that many young boys remain unemployed because they are not "employable" — they do not know a trade, while there is a great demand for mechanics, welders, carpenters and other technical men, the large number of school leavers possessing no other qualification but of having completed the matriculation standard or less, remain unemployed for months, nay sometimes for years together. In these days when there is so much of unemployment it is next to impossible to secure work if one is not qualified. In the labour market too, it is the worker who has experience or knowledge of some technical trade that stands a better chance to secure a job because he has something to offer, something to sell — his services which the employers are ever ready to employ.

It was observed, because of the Five Year Plans and the consequent expansion in in-

dustry, many firms are expanding their capacities and extending their works and there is an ever increasing demand for skilled technicians. Welders are much in demand in the Docks Structural Engineering and wagon Building firms, etc. The Wagon Manufacturers are now producing a large number of "BOX" Wagons which involves extensive welding. Structural Engineering firms too are now switching over to the manufacture of welded steelwork in preference to the conventional rivetted steelwork. Hence there is a regular demand for welders.

The idea of starting a centre to train welders which was sown by the Works Manager of a leading Engineering concern in Calcutta was quickly picked up by the YCW and a letter to the Editor of the local Catholic Weekly, "The Herald" was sent by one of the Members, mentioning about the possibi-

lities of starting a Training Centre for Welders and requesting those interested to contact the YCW Office. Many youngsters turned up and were eager to take up the course, if started. At their Leaders Meeting held on 4th September, 1960 the YCW Boys decided to put the idea into effect. It was latter agreed to run a Co-operative Works with the assistance of Ex. YCWs and Associate Members to do business during the day by undertaking welding jobs and teach welding in the evening so that the expenses of the course could be subsidised in order that the poor may avail themselves of the opportunity.

Mr. Clifford Noronha, the General Manager of the Christian Credit Union gave every encouragement to the scheme and backed it wholeheartedly by inducing the Christian Credit Union to make a substantial donation out of its General Purpose Fund. Thanks to this donation and the encouragement given by His Grace, the Archbishop of Calcutta, two rooms were rented, a welding set, portable grinder, shearing machine and an electric drill were bought and the Training Centre made

a quiet beginning on the 1st of February, 1961. The YCW girls gave invaluable help by raising a substantial portion — more than 75% of the Share Capital subscribed so far. The Promoters of the Co-operative unanimously agreed to name the Works "Cardijn Co-Operative Works Ltd." to signify the spirit behind the Co-Operative, viz. the spirit of the YCW and its founder, Mgr. Joseph Cardijn the spirit of dedication to the cause of the Workers, of service, love, friendliness, mutual help and co-operation.

Mr. Michael Tang, a Welding Specialist was appointed as Works Manager and a staff of experienced men was recruited. Rev. Father de Steenhault, S.J., the Regional Chaplain of the YCW was appointed Superintendent of the Technical School. Classes were commenced on 1st February, 1961 and are being held every evening between 5-30 and 8-30 P.M. A nominal fee of Rs. 75/- is charged for the three months course. On the recommendation of the YCW some of the welders who passed the special test given them were able to secure employment in a leading engineering firm in Calcutta.

The first contract undertaken by the Works was for repair of welded Water Troughs for Messrs. Talbot & Co., which was followed by orders from various Catholic Institutions and individuals for Window Grills, Iron Gates, Roof Trusses, etc. which were executed to the entire satisfaction of the customers.

Membership of the Co-Operative is open to Active and Associate Members of the YCW and Members of the Christian Credit Union. Shares are offered at Rs. 5/- each to be accompanied by an application fee of Re. 1/- per memebre.

The main aims of the Co-Operative are:—

1. To make our unemployed "employable" by training welders

2. To inculcate among the workers the spirit of self-help and service to their less fortunate brethren

3. To give an opportunity to Young Workers to learn the art of running a Co-Operative, a business enterprise and a technical school.

4. To encourage among them the virtues of thrift and investment.

With faith deeper than the depths of the seas we face an unknown future, hoping that the charity that lies deep in our hearts — God's own Love for humanity, may bring rays of sunshine in the lives of at least a few of His unemployed children around.

BOOK REVIEWS

MONTESSORI METHOD by Srimathi Leelavati M'Rao, M.A., M.Ed.,
Mont Dip. (Available with the author at 'Dhammapada' Kumara
Park, West Extension, Bangalore 20).

By her timely publication, Srimati Leelavati M'Rao has rendered a distinct service not only to the Montessori Method, but also to the Child, who is 'Humanity to be.'

From the Upanishadic Philosopher who exhorts us to live in child-like simplicity of heart, and the Chinese thinker, Mencius, who states that a great man is one who has not lost the child's heart, right down to the late Dr. Montessori, who hails the child as the "Eternal Messiah continuously descending upon fallen men to lead them to the kingdom of heaven," every sound-thinking man has realized the greatness of the little one, has felt with Wordsworth that "the child is father of the man," has felt with Plato and Aristotle, therefore, that the education of children cannot start too early.

The Montessori Movement — a very practical and scientific system, based upon sound child psychology and a sincere and ardent love for children — was started in Italy about the beginning of this century and spread rapidly

throughout the western world. Dr. Montessori also visited India and established a training institute at Madras. During her stay in India, Srimati Leelavati M'Rao had the unique privileges of being instructed and guided by her. No wonder, then, that Srimati Leelavati, herself a qualified scholar and an experienced teacher, should have done such a fine job in portraying the Montessori Method.

In this book, whose style, like its printing and get-up, is as clear as it is simple, the author, after tracing the evolution of child education from the earliest times to the present day in both the east and the west, proceeds first of all to expound the psychology of the Montessori system, and then, with the aid of several charts and diagrams, to illustrate in all its details the Montessori Method. All in all, it is a very informative and practical handbook for every Montessori teacher.

In her concluding chapter, the author, while answering the main difficulties — psychological as well as practical — that may be brought up against the Montes-

sori Method, rightly remarks that "where there's a will, there's a way" and that the Montessori Method can be adopted in India too, as it has been adopted with considerable success in several western countries. But it will be a long time before we can have an adequate supply of trained Montessori teachers and good schools. It is, however, felt that if every parent strives to become a

Montessori teacher and to make every home in its little way a Montessori school, India will soon have a generation of every fine citizens.

Wherefore, we heartily commend this book not only to all teachers, but also, and especially, to every parent.

J. Rosario, S.J.

THE CULT OF VITHOBĀ. By G. A. Deleury, S.J., Ph.D. (Deccan College, Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona) .

In this doctoral, thesis published under the joint sponsorship of the University of Poona and the Deccan College, the author discusses the origin of Viththala, the deity of Pandharpur and its cult. A scholarly study has been made of the evidence from the etymology of the name, iconography of the image, and inscriptions. Traditionally, Viththala is believed to be an avātar of Visnu, being none other than Krsna himself who, so goes the popular legend, went to Pandharpur to watch the devotion of a certain ascetic, Pundalika for his aged parents. Traditional etymology links the word Viththala with vit, a brick, since the image stands on a brick. From an etymological study of the word, the author concludes that Viththala has no philological connection either with Visnu or with vit, but it appears to be of Kannada origin. The evidence of ins-

criptions confirms this conclusion. The author has made a thorough study of the Pandharpur image, as well as of other ancient images of Viththala. Comparison of their iconography with that of other images shows that the main features of Viththala, in particular its erect posture with arms akimbo, are unlike those of Visnu or Krsna. The only images with arms akimbo are on the one hand those of Bir Kaur, a cattle-god of West Bihar and on the other hand the figure carved on hero-stones in Mahārāstra and Karnāṭaka. Hero-stones are mostly erected in the memory of brave men killed while trying to protect or recover the cattle of their village from thieves. The statue of Viththala is probably a later development of such a hero-stone.

Apart from its value to research scholars, the book would

amply repay the effort of the general reader. It contains an account of the Varkari panth, the sect of Vithoba bhaktas that counts numerous adherents all over Maharashtra. The book also gives a first-hand description of Pandharpur, with its numerous temples and the elaborate ritual performed in the Great Temple. Those who have not witnessed the annual pilgrimages of the Varkari

to Pandharpur will read with interest an eye-witness account given by the author. An attractive feature of the book are the many English translations of poems of Maharashtra saints which will whet the appetite of many of those unacquainted with classical Marathi poetry.

John Misquitta

FROM THE WORLD OF JOURNALS

Although India will soon undergo the democratic process of holding general election Mr. Frank Moraes, writing in Foreign Affairs has this to say about the country. "In India as in some other Asian countries where democratic forms and the apparatus of parliamentary government subsist, democracy has still to take firm roots in the people and the rulers."

Mr. Moraes devotes some space to Prime Minister Nehru and his achievements in international politics. 'Despite her lack of military power and her developing but still underdeveloped economy...' he continues, 'India exercises a moral influence in world affairs out of all proportion to her material strength. Much of the credit for this must go to Mr. Nehru.' However, Mr. Moraes goes on to point out the paradox of a Prime Minister of the internationally political stature of Mr. Nehru who has nevertheless lost much of his prestige and reputation at home. One of the reasons is that 'Tibet followed by China's territorial incursions into India (some of which, as in Ladakh, had preceded China's aggression on Tibet but were not at the time disclosed to the Indian Parliament or people), stirred public opinion

deeply and generated the first defined cohesive rumblings of criticism and opposition against the establishment."

Sometime ago Mr. Moraes had asked the Prime Minister which of our foreign missions he considered the most important and was most surprised when the answer was 'Pakistan.' Mr. Nehru explained this by saying that the success of a country's foreign policy was determined largely by the relations it evolved with its immediate neighbors. Mr. Moraes goes on to conclude that judged by this yardstick India's foreign policy had failed, for while our relations with China had deteriorated, our relations with Pakistan had not improved. Further Mr. Moraes feels that in spite of all this the vast majority of Indians still support a policy of non-alignment though there is a growing body of opinion both within and outside Parliament who feel that the scales should not always be weighted heavily in favour of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

Commenting on India's domestic policy Mr. Moraes says... 'while the shibboleths of socialism, the welfare state, planning for prosperity, and peace were initially taken at their face value by

the vast majority of the Indian people a growing minority has started to question the real purport and motivations behind these slogans. Need socialism sail so dangerously near Communism?... He further states that the linguistic rivalries and clashes, the internal strife in the Congress Party and the growing indiscipline in the country, particularly among the youth have had a demoralizing effect on the country, besides damaging the prestige of the Congress.

Mr. Moraes highlights the factionalism at the Center and draws particular attention to the unseemly controversy within the highest Congress echelons on the appointment of a deputy leader. On the appointment of Mr. Morarji Desai during Mr. Nehru's visit abroad Mr. Jagjivan Ram's party were not slow to point out that in terms of seniority the Communications Minister ranked foremost and that he had been overlooked. The Prime Minister however, with his political guile and canniness had appointed Mr. Desai on the strict understanding that all decisions would be arrived at through consultation.

Mr. Moraes then goes on to reiterate the old question — After Nehru, what and who? He believes that Mr. Nehru's reluctance to face this issue is partly a confession that he himself sees no one on whom he can

confidently bestow the mantle of leadership. Commenting on Mr. Krishna Menon's chances, Mr. Moraes quite frankly states that Mr. Menon is a person without any roots in this country and that the Prime Minister realises that '...the Congress pack will descend on Krishna Menon like hungry wolves once he himself is gone, and tear him politically apart...' Mr. Moraes himself feels that Mr. Nehru would prefer Lal Bahadur Shastri as his successor.

Reviewing the past history of the country and the factionalism now prevailing in India Mr. Moraes blames this state of affairs on the major blunder of Mr. Nehru's acceptance of Andhra State on linguistic grounds following the fast unto death ultimatum of the Telugu Congressman, Potti Sriramulu in 1953. Mr. Moraes says '...logically this generated a movement for linguistic states which at times found explosive expression, as between Maharashtra and Gujarat, and which could still erupt in the Punjab...' 'Plainly' Mr. Moraes continues '...the monolithic foundations on which the Congress Party reared its Government over the entire country are being badly shaken. The basic mistake of the Congress was to identify the party with the country in the national process of reconstruction, for once the cracks showed in its own facade and foundation they were

bound to be reflected in the country...'

Mr. Moraes concludes '... But the Congress, already straining at the seams, is likely to burst apart with Nehru's demission from the political stage. It may then conceivably split into two main groups representing the Right and Left, for only Nehru's presence holds the two wings uneasily together. In a sense that would be an improvement on the present position of artificial unity, for it might lead to the growth of a two-party system which would stimulate the healthy development of democracy in India. But there is also the likelihood that along with it the divisive tendencies now very much to the fore will assert themselves more actively. Only the glow of battle for independence, according to Mr. Morarji Desai, controlled and concealed the disunity in the Congress ranks which was prevalent even before Independence. It is ironic that Nehru, who throughout his political career has fought to maintain the unity and stability of India, should have failed during his long years in office to ensure it. Indeed history, one fears, will indict him for not having more consciously restrained the divisive forces which after more than a decade of Independence threaten the unity and stability of India'...

* * *

NON-ALIGNMENT

Following Indian example the newly emerging nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America have lost no opportunity in making clear their non-alignment policy says the author of an article in Freedom First. The Belgrade conference of the non-aligned nations was almost a natural outcome of this political phenomenon. Yet, and in spite of their professed policy of non-alignment, many of the representative nations were sharply criticised for taking a soft line on Soviet imperialism and at the same time Prime Minister Nehru played down as far as possible the old type anti-imperialists. It becomes obvious then that non-alignment in the cold war context becomes very difficult and often dangerous.

The lessons of two fruitless world wars and the threat of a third one of total destruction have sowed the seeds of an over-riding fear, specially in the hearts of the new nations. The motivating factor behind non-alignment is this fear of being dragged into conflict while still internally insecure, weak and dependent on the richer and more powerful nations for economic progress and stability. The very dependence on others, who are themselves parties in a cold war, which at any moment may erupt into a world holocaust, leaves little or no ground for diplomatic manoeuvre.

vering to avoid commitment on either side. Quite naturally corns are stepped on and feelings hurt. When a situation like this exists it would obviously be safer to hurt the feelings of a friend at heart and say 'sorry old chap' rather than make the mistake of offending an already offensive customer. Sometimes, however, even the friendly worm will turn and our Defense Minister came in for a lot of sharp criticism on his positively 'aligned' statements.

It is unthinkable that anyone, with the exception of the Chinese possibly, would advocate or pursue such a policy that would sacrifice the world in a nuclear war just for the sake of an ideology, or once and for all to determine the ultimate strength of either of the power blocs. Yet the balance of power is being kept so perfectly that tipping the scales either way might tempt one of the parties into forcing the issue. The world, and more so the power blocs, are fast coming to realise that it is the non-aligned nations that have the power to tip the scales. Where India is concerned how far can we tolerate overt suppression and quite often the outright aggression of Communist imperialism for the sake of non-alignment? We are accepting and begging for millions of rupees in foreign aid to help us get on our feet, and most of this comes from the 'Aid India Club' of the Western bloc. Naturally they do

expect some returns; If not a financial benefit, then at least support of their democratic policies which are so closely related to ours. The Americans cannot be blamed, therefore, for their views of Mr. Krishna Menon's controversial statements blaming both Russia and the USA as equally responsible for the megaton scare, when obviously one party was to blame. Fortunately Mr. Nehru was able to compromise and more likely forced into admitting a diplomatic blunder from purely economic considerations. He went further than he usually does by condemning Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe and added that 'it sometimes is worse from the human point of view than the other.'

To make ours a policy of true non-alignment it is not sufficient to move through devious and vague diplomatic channels, flirting with the good intentions of those who help us. We must be able to accept immediately and unequivocally the right and wrong of any given situation, not out of weakness or because we are forced to do so from outside pressure, but from moral strength and a sense of justice. If we are morally certain that Communist expansionism is a danger to world peace — and they have repeatedly admitted their aim to be world domination by the Communist ideology — then there is no other alternative but to block them,

whenever and wherever possible. We cannot possibly continue condemning the cold war atmosphere and on this condemnation build up a policy. We will have to, if not immediately, accept the situation as it is, and in a realistic manner shape our policy in the light of this fact.

Ours being a democracy, we are in spirit aligned with the nations

following a similar policy. It would be sheer folly to hurt their feelings by disregarding and sacrificing democratic principles for the sake of the immediate advantage of placating for a short while the Communists, who unfortunately are our immediate neighbours. It would be safer to keep the real and genuine friends we have at some risk than follow a policy ridden with fear.

"It is with charity as with chastity. *One must be capable of being an enemy*, said Nietzsche. One must be capable of it in order to go beyond it. If it was Nietzsche's madness to see goodness and virtue only under the aspects of weakness and ennui, it was in revenge against the mania of so many virtuous people have of classing everything that manifests strength, power, affirmation shock, as evil. *Their conclusion is that only the emasculated man is virtuous*. His conclusion is that the pitiless savage is a man. Each is as good as the other, and the two are complementary.

E. Mounier

NEWS AND COMMENT

Goa

The liberation of Goa after over 400 years of colonial rule has been well received all over the country. For many Goans in particular it will mean a relief from the suspicion associated with their dubious status of belonging to India and yet somehow being subject or loyal to Portugal. The difficulties of communicating with kinsmen in Goa and even of entering Goa will now be removed. The town of Goa will benefit from the rapid development of its industrial-wealth. Its fine harbour will now throw open to foreign trade the rich hinterlands with which it communicates. The autonomy of the government and the institutions of the city have been guaranteed by the Centre in the person of the Prime Minister. There is therefore every reason to hope that Goa will soon play a very active part in the development of

India and that its peculiar Goan charm and culture will blend with the rich diversity of Indian culture.

The only fly in the ointment at present is the angry discussion about '*means and ends*'. The question whether force was necessary to liberate the Portuguese colony has to be faced. Rajaji has come out with a strong indictment of the Government's policy of using violence to gain its ends. Indian foreign policy has always been wedded to non-violence and we are expected to practise what we preach. Fortunately the actual taking of Goa from the Portuguese was practically without bloodshed. And it has given the people some relief in so far as it has brought about a resurgence of prestige so badly lost through the advance on the Chinese on our northern frontier. The Portuguese should have walked out of Goa

long ago; they should have read the signs of the times. All the same it will be difficult for our Government in future to appeal to peaceful non-violent methods to settle international problems. The liberation of Goa may well herald a change in foreign policy. But it would be a great pity if we were to give up the methods non-violent struggle so that truth may prevail.

Family Planning

It is interesting to note the advice which the Family Planning Board of the Madras State has formulated to be conveyed to every married couple. After every confinement atleast three years should elapse before the next pregnancy occurs. The interval should be longer in case the wife is anemic or ill. Family planning methods, described in a special publication, are advised to prevent conception. During the last five years, nearly four and a half lakh copies of the Family Planning Manual were distributed and nearly one lakh copies in English were circulated. The demand is still

continuing and the family planners find satisfaction in the fact that the principle of family planning is being accepted more and more by the people.

Besides contraceptive methods the Manual also recommends the use of sterilisation of husband and wife, when no more children are desired. This is stated to be the most efficacious method of contraception. However during the first decade of married life only *spacing* of children is to be recommended. After that period, sterilisation may become necessary.

Experience seems to show that by the bare use of 'appliance methods,' it is unlikely that family planning would spread beyond at best a third of the population. Similarly, 'natural' methods have only a limited acceptability. 'Surgical' methods are the best and can be made acceptable to the vast majority of the people, among whom it would be vain to propagate the other methods.

Sterilisation in the Madras State is rapidly gaining

ground as an effective method of limiting the population. The number of sterilisations performed was 695 in 1956, 1804 in 1957, 2850 in 1958, 3343 in 1959 and 7856 in 1960. During the first ten months of 1961, the number has risen to 19,388, which exceeds the combined total of the five preceding years quite substantially.

In Madras City, it is calculated that if the number of sterilisations which will be reached this year be maintained year after year, there will be a definite fall in the population of the City. The experience of Japan is quoted in support. Japan is stated to have succeeded in reducing its birth rate over a ten year period mainly as a result of a large-scale resort to induced abortion. Similarly it is intended that the birth rate of Madras City will be halved mainly as a result of sterilisation.

Another important result of experience is the superiority of vasectomy or Husband-Sterilisation over Salpingectomy or Wife-Sterilisation. It is found easier to sterilise the

husband. The operation is simpler can be performed at any time and the husband walks off from the table at the end of the operation. It is significant that during the year 1961, the number of vasectomies was six times of salpingectomies.

Comment

It is obvious that the propaganda for family planning is achieving singular success and gaining momentum each year. There is much to admire in the great zeal with which the movement is carried on by many well meaning persons. But it is tragic that the ethical and human consequences of family planning through contraceptives and sterilisation are blindly glossed over. Only the immediate advantages are contemplated; the possible breakdown of morality and the serious consequences for the children and the family are passed over in silence. It is time that those who deplore such unwholesome methods of limiting the family should bestir themselves and make their voice heard among the millions of our countrymen who

are often seduced into this vice through sheer ignorance and deceit.

Education and Emotional Integration

The Emotional Integration Committee, headed by Dr. Sampurnanand has emphasised that the three language formula recommended by the Chief Ministers' Conference should be clearly understood to mean that all students beyond the primary stage should learn both Hindi and English. The Committee regretted that the formula had been misapplied in various ways by certain States.

The variations result in either the three language formula operating in practice as a two-language formula or in ignoring the need to study the two 'link languages' Hindi and English. The Committee have made certain preliminary suggestions for the next academic year which have been circulated to the State Governments prior to discussion by the Central Advisory Board of Education on January 1st and 2nd.

In the main report, which

the Committee expects to submit within the next few months, a more detailed study is made of the various problems facing the country and discusses schemes for the promotion of emotional integration. For this purpose it was suggested that a World Seminar be held as part of the United Nations Day Programme in October 1962.

Rather than confine itself to immediately available data and information the Committee began work by issuing more than 9,000 copies of a questionnaire to all heads of schools, colleges, and other educational officials. The replies that came in were closely analysed as a basis for the recommendations of the Committee. Readers of Social Action are referred to the December Issue wherein the reply to the questionnaire by H. E. Valerian Cardinal Gracias appears. His Eminence had very strongly stressed the need to develop a genuine love for the country. He says '.... the love of the land is a sure foundation and source of patriotism This opinion is reflected in the Committee's recommended pledge

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that 'India is my country. All Indians are my brothers and sisters. I love my country and I am proud of its rich and varied heritage. I shall always strive to be worthy of it. I shall give my parents, teachers and all elders respect and treat everyone with courtesy. I shall be kind to animals. To my country and my people, I pledge my devotion. In their well-being and prosperity alone lies my happiness.

The Committee has also recommended a mass meeting of students before the commencement of classes for short talks and singing of the national anthem. One important point stressed was that children should not only know how to sing the anthem but should be made aware of the full meaning of the words.

In its preliminary report, the committee reiterates the view of the national integration conference held in New Delhi in September this year that education properly orientated could prove the great

test cohesive force in the country.

The members of the committee have also suggested the institution of an all-India award for the best general essay in each state from high school and college students on any other state in India. A free all-India tour for the winner or each award has been suggested.

The Committee repeated what was said by the Prime Minister that "All over the world we see strange things happening and there are not many countries which can be considered to have real stability In spite of our failings and weaknesses and difficulties we are a stable country going ahead, which can compare favourably with any other country. But the fact also remains that the problems that face us are of a giant stature. I have no doubt that we have the capacity to solve them by faith in ourselves, faith in our people, faith in our capacity to work together."

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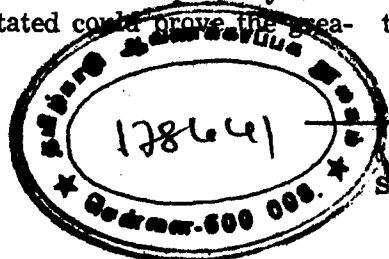
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