

*Silver Jubilee of the  
Socialist Movement in India*

## REPORT

OF THE

## FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

## PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY

செப்பனிருபவர் பெயர்

பி. ஜாமையா.

செப்பனிருவதற்காக எடுத்த  
கொள்ளப்பட்ட நாள் June-92.

Price Rs. 4/-

செப்பனிரு முடிந்த நாள் June-92

சுற்றாட்சிக்கு

மு. பா. எ.

கையொப்பம்.

ஆதித்யா

உதவினர்

கையொப்பம்.

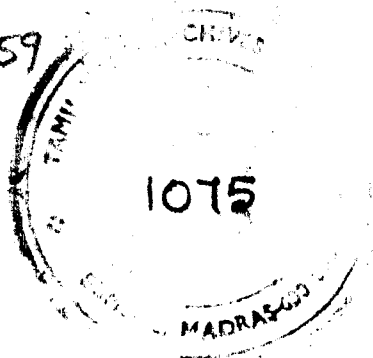
REPORTED and COMPILED by

SREEKUMAR NAIR  
SURENDRA MOHAN  
T. R. RAMAKRISHNAN  
R. P. PARASURAM  
SOM PRAKASH SHADIA

322.950  
Acc. no. 1075  
Dt 5.12.77

V2,4 N34 Y.

N59



Printed by S. Srinaman  
at Commercial Printing and Publishing House, Madras-1.  
and Published by Y. B. R. Murthy for the Praja Socialist Party,  
18, Windsor Place, New Delhi.

## CONTENTS

|                                                     | Page |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------|
| 1. Messages :                                       | 1    |
| 2. Proceedings :                                    |      |
| 5-11-1959                                           | 18   |
| 6-11-1959                                           | 40   |
| 7-11-1959                                           | 99   |
| 8-11-1959                                           | 133  |
| 9-11-1959                                           | 154  |
| 3. Statement of Accounts :                          | 192  |
| 4. Appendices :                                     |      |
| (a) Address by the Chairman,<br>Reception Committee | 193  |
| (b) Chairman's Address                              | 201  |
| (c) General Secretary's Report                      | 218  |
| (d) Resolutions on :                                |      |
| 1. National Situation                               | 237  |
| 2. Tasks before the Party                           | 240  |
| 3. India and Chinese Aggression                     | 243  |
| 4. Unilingual State of<br>Maharashtra & Gujarat     | 245  |
| 5. Kerala                                           | 245  |
| 6. Regional Economic<br>Planning                    | 246  |
| 7. Algeria                                          | 246  |
| 8. Condolence Resolution                            | 246  |
| 9. Food                                             | 247  |

Silver Jubilee of the  
Socialist Movement in India

## Messages

---

Mr. ANDERSON, *Chairman*, and Mr. ALBERT CARTHY, *Secretary*,  
of the *Socialist International*:

On behalf of the Socialist International we send to the Praja Socialist Party sincere congratulations on this occasion which marks the completion of the first twentyfive years of struggle for Socialism in India.

The International pays its tribute to your Party, which may justly take pride in the part it played in the struggle for Indian independence. The International also pays tribute to the gallant fight you have sustained, then and now, for the principles of Democratic Socialism in your country and in Asia.

The values set by the Praja Socialist Party in dealing with international issues as well as with those on the domestic plane, have drawn their inspiration from the principles which the Socialist International has been honoured to take as its guide. You have made progress, but a massive task remains. You will be looking to the next twenty-five years with the confidence of your experience, and with the increasing support of the Indian masses.

Please convey to your delegates, with these greetings, the sincere wishes for the future of your Party, for its activity in Parliament, in the provinces, and in the villages to bring the message of Socialism, its hopes and its achievements, to your people.

Victory will be yours, You will not fail the cause.

MARY SUTHERLAND, *Chairman*, and MARY SARAN, *Secretary*,  
*International Council of Social Democratic Women*:

On behalf of the International Council of Social Democratic Women we send best wishes to the Socialists in India on the 25th anniversary of the Praja Socialist Party.

At its recent Conference in Hamburg, our Council renewed its pledge to help its comrades in the developing countries. In India, as elsewhere in Asia, the task of drawing large numbers of women into active Party work is still unfulfilled. Yet it must be tackled, if democratic Socialism is to succeed.

This year in Hamburg, eight women delegates from Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and Japan were present, thanks to practical solidarity shown by our Nordic movements. Further action of this kind is being planned by our Council. We sincerely hope that it will enable us in the future to establish closer contact with our comrades in India as well.

HEINZ NITTEL, *Vice-President, and* KURT KRISTIANSSON, *General Secretary, of the International Union of Socialist Youth:*

On behalf of the International Union of Socialist Youth we should like to wish the Praja Socialist Party of India all the very best. We who are so closely united with you know and see, especially now in these difficult times, how ready the Praja Socialist Party is to shoulder its responsibility in the struggle for Peace and Democratic Socialism. You have set an example of constructive enthusiasm, of dedication to the cause of the masses. We are sure that your work will further bring about crowning of efforts by Socialists everywhere with the establishment of a world order based on justice and peace.

We find ourselves forced to forego the honour of participating with an international delegation in your Jubilee Celebrations. However, our thoughts are with you and we wish you the best of success.

U BA SWE, *General Secretary, Burma Socialist Party:*

We send our greetings to you on this happy occasion of the Silver Jubilee Conference of the Praja Socialist Party of India. We are quite sure that not only the people of India but also millions of people in Asia and Africa will rejoice over this happy celebration as a milestone of progress in our struggle for Freedom, Equality and Emancipation of Mankind.

We realise also how the Praja Socialist Party has successfully emerged out of the struggle for Indian independence after years of sacrifice and humiliations. The experience and the determination of your party has proved to the masses in your country that the Socialist Movement in India bears the historic responsibility in shaping the destiny of the country with a view to free the people from the yoke of Social, economic and political injustice and to march forward towards a new society of peace and security based on the principles of Humanity and Democracy.

For ourselves, as founders with you of Asian Socialist Conference and Anti-Colonial Movement, we are quite confident that our united and relentless efforts in discharging our historic duties and responsibilities as members of Asian Socialist Conference to champion the cause of peace and harmony in international community and to

promote social, economic and political justice for mankind will bear rich fruit.

Furthermore, on the eve of this historic occasion, we must review the recent developments in international situation. While there are signs of decreasing tensions in international relations because of the prospect of Summit Conference along with the rise of a new atmosphere, following discussions on disarmament programme in the United Nations, we regret to note that there are fresh disturbances in our part of the world, namely (1) incidents in Tibet, (2) border clashes between India and China and (3) troubles in Laos.

Moreover, the setbacks to parliamentary governments and the weakness of parliamentary forces in the newly independent countries along with outbursts of violence like political assassinations or attempted assassinations such as in Ceylon and Iraq remind us that the freedom and emancipation of mankind can be achieved only on the successful struggle of Socialist Movements in Asia and Africa.

Once again, on this happy occasion of the Silver Jubilee of Praja Socialist Party, we wish you every success in your relentless struggle for building a Democratic Socialist Society in India.

Long live Praja Socialist Party and the Democratic Socialist movement in India.

Dr. SUTAN SJAHRIR, *Chairman, Partai Socialis Indonesia:*

Twentyfive years have passed since from within the ranks of the Indian National Congress a socialist movement was started. And now the Praja Socialist Party is celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the democratic socialist movement at a special conference at Bombay. Looking back at these past twentyfive years, the socialist movement in India can indeed be proud of a great record of achievement and success. Not only has the Praja Socialist Party during the recent two general elections received more than ten million votes, but its impact has proven to stretch much further and over a wider field of political life. The Congress Party has absorbed socialist ideas to such an extent, that the Nehru government has adopted as its aim to establish by way of successive five year plans a socialist society. The future of Socialism in India seems assured. And yet many democratic socialists in India are worried and not happy. There seems to be looming a growing danger of totalitarianism. The Praja Socialist Party has for the last years almost predominantly been active in jealously guarding and fighting for the democratic freedom and rights. It has been criticising and fighting the centralistic and bureaucratic tendencies of government plans and policies. It has championed

decentralisation and regional planning. But it has also been fighting all the way long communist demagoguery and totalitarianism. It has not hesitated for one moment to line up together with Congress and other parties to the right in opposing the Communist tyranny and terror in Kerala. It has indeed been growingly and intensely aware of the communist danger in and for India. For in the fight against poverty and for prosperity and progress within a framework of a democratic society, the Praja Socialist Party is on the same side as the Government and the Congress Party. It is sometimes only criticising the Government and the Congress Party for not being democratic enough.

The Praja Socialist Party has simultaneously become also intensely aware of the deadly threat and danger of internal and foreign communistic totalitarianism. Often much more so than the Nehru government or the Congress Party are. Indeed democratic socialism has a record of service to the people of India worthy to be proud of, it is still doing fine and important work but certainly it has still a great task ahead in seeing that not only the march upwards to the realisation of a socialist society continues, that more successes are being won in the fight against poverty and backwardness of the masses, but also that the amount of democratic freedom does not wither away and get lost. In this world filled with totalitarian noise and demagoguery, this is certainly not an easy task.

Your fight for a democratic and socialist India, is the fight of Asian Socialism. Certainly victory can and will be ours.

Mr. D. S. RAMANATHAN, *Chairman, Labour Party of Malaya*:

On behalf of the Labour Party of Malaya, I have great pleasure in sending you a message of congratulations and fraternal greetings on the 25th anniversary of the establishment of your Party.

Yours is, I believe, the oldest democratic Socialist Party in the whole of Asia and we in Malaya, a very young Socialist Party, watch with great interest your efforts at introducing democratic socialism into your great country.

You are in the vanguard of Asian Socialism and it is our prayer and hope that your Party will grow from strength to strength and succeed in establishing democratic Socialism in India. We look forward to that day because that will be a great day not only for India but for Asia and, indeed, the whole world.

Mr. CHAKER CHAIBAN, *General Secretary, Socialist Progressive Party, Lebanon*:

Your struggle for social and international justice during 25 years is the best example of disinterestedness for all Socialist Parties in the world. Our congratulations. Wishing you reach all your aims.

MR. CO-VAN-HAI, *General Secretary, Vietnam Socialist Party*:

Wish Silver Jubilee full success. Please convey Vietnamese comrades greetings.

Time does travel with lightning rapidity, for on the 5th of November you will celebrate the Silver Jubilee. We are deeply honoured by your invitation to us to attend it. We had the great pleasure of receiving Prof. Samar Guha in our country some days ago and we shall have the privilege of visiting you soon.

We are going all out for reconstructing and rehabilitating our economy; raising the standard of living of our people and making their lives a little more cheerful and happier so far as material prosperity can make man happy. In this high endeavour, we have no ill-will or jealousy. We need in this enterprise the sympathy and co-operation of all and offer our own unstinted service for what it is worth to the service of humanity.

This attitude of mind arises out of recognition of our duty to serve all, which in its ultimate analysis is nothing but recognition of the freedom of every individual and every group or nation to develop to its maximum capacity without let or hindrance from others.

The years of your struggle for freedom were heroic years and living as you did under the great and inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, all life seemed charged with a strange power and an inexhaustible source of energy seemed to be yours. We wish you every success in the Silver Jubilee celebration.

Mr. DAVID BEN-GURION, *Prime Minister of Israel*:

It is with the deepest fraternal feelings that I am sending you warmest wishes to the Silver Jubilee of the Praja Socialist Party on behalf of Mapai, the Israel Labour Party, and of myself.

Our two Socialist Parties are, I believe, true representatives of the highest ideals and ideas of our ancient peoples and their best traditions. You have been part of the struggle for India's independence and freedom and you are now engaged in assuring that nationhood thus won will in theory and practice be true to India's great spiritual heritage and fulfil its main task and purpose the advancement of the people and the raising of their standard of living and create a labour free commonwealth. To these aims the Praja Socialist Party has dedicated itself these last 25 years. Believing as you do that these must be the continuous goals of any socialist movement, especially in the new developing countries and continents, I want to congratulate you on your past achievements while wishing you strength and success in the future.

May I assure you of our continued support and solidarity in the interest of the Asian Socialist movement and the people it represents.

Mr. USHIRO ITO, *Chairman, Japan Socialist Party Reconstruction League:*

Heartly congratulations for your historical convention and your achievements in democratic socialist movement. We are firmly convinced you would accomplish your great role in constructing prosperous India based on social justice and freedom.

Mr. MORGAN PHILLIPS, *Secretary, British Labour Party:*

On the occasion of your Silver Jubilee Conference, we, in the British Labour Party, send you our heartiest congratulations and best wishes for a successful conference. Unfortunately so soon after our General Election, it is not possible to send a representative of our party to your conference, but I hope you will let your officials and delegates know of our comradely greetings and personal interest in the welfare of your party.

Relations between Socialists in India and the British Labour Party have always been of the friendliest nature. We hope to strengthen our contacts with you in the future, to exchange ideas and to work together for the achievement of socialism in both Asia and Europe.

Every success to your conference and good luck in your future efforts to bring the socialist message to the people of India.

Mr. SVEN ASPLING, *General Secretary, Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party:*

We deeply regret that we cannot send any representative, but take, Comrades, the warmest congratulations from the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party on the occasion of the twentyfifth anniversary of the Democratic Socialist Movement of India.

The Praja Socialist Party, which has been the backbone of democratic socialism in India and still is, has an impressive and admirable record of service to the Indian people. In the new free self-governing India your young guard-duty of the democratic foundations is of vital interest to all democracies.

Wishing you still more victories in your successful struggle against the totalitarian forces and in the fight for a true political, social and economic democracy, we pay our greatest respect to the

Conference and to all Party Comrades pioneering and developing Socialism.

Mr. H. C. HANSEN, *Chairman, and ALSING ANDERSEN, Vice-Chairman, of the Danish Social Democratic Party:*

On occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Praja Socialist Party the Executive Committee of the Danish Social Democratic Party sends our Indian sister party the most hearty congratulations.

With the deepest interest we have followed your admirable fight for the liberation of the Indian people and for the victory of Democratic Socialism in your country.

We send you our sincere wishes in the firm conviction that the Praja Socialist Party in its fight for progress and social justice will conquer the confidence of the vast majority of the Indian people.

Mr. E. A. VERMEER, *Chairman, and Mr. VAN DER STOEL, International Secretary of the Dutch Labour Party:*

On behalf of the Dutch Labour Party and all democratic socialists in the Netherlands we send you our sincere congratulations on the occasion of your Silver Jubilee.

In the 25 years which passed since your movement was founded, you have often encountered difficulties which seemed nearly unsurmountable. But you have never given up the struggle. The torch of socialism which you raised 25 years ago is burning brightly, notwithstanding all efforts to bury it under the sands of colonialism and reaction. Ten millions of Indians have given you their confidence.

In the years to come you will face a hard fight to realise your ideals. But we are confident that your great cause will triumph in the end.

A great distance separates India and the Netherlands, but we are firmly unified in the struggle for our common ideals: freedom, a just peace and social justice.

Your party and our party agree that an equitable distribution of the riches of the earth and the raising of the standard of living in underprivileged areas of the world is the central problem of our time. United in a common effort, we must liberate the world from poverty and want. But in order to succeed, we must increase our co-operation and mutual understanding. We therefore sincerely hope that the

bond of friendship which unites us will be strengthened even more in the years to come.

*Belgian Socialist Party:*

On behalf of the Belgian Socialist working class, the Executive of the Belgian Socialist Party addresses to the Praja Socialist Party their best congratulations and warmest wishes.

We do hope that your Party will be in the position to lead more and more Indian citizens to an economic and social democracy, in the spirit of freedom and peace.

Mr. EDVARD KARDELIJ, *Secretary-General of the Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia:*

It is with great satisfaction that we avail ourselves of the opportunity of the celebration of the twentyfifth anniversary of your Movement and of the Jubilee Conference of the Praja Socialist Party of India to express to you the most cordial congratulations on behalf of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

The long struggle of the people of India for their independence, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and the victories achieved, have meant the historical turning point in the development of the peoples of Asia and speeded up the disintegration of colonialism in the world. In this way the development of mankind towards progress and socialism has received a new strong impulse. Our own development in Yugoslavia has been made easier by this as well.

Independent India and Socialist Yugoslavia have established ties of friendship and co-operation in different spheres of social, economic and political life. This co-operation, which is developing on the basis of principles of non-interference in internal affairs has given already very positive results. There is no doubt that this co-operation will successfully develop also in the future.

Within the framework of this broad co-operation for a number of years there have existed fruitful contacts between our two movements. This co-operation is serving and will serve the strengthening of the friendly relations between the peoples of India and Yugoslavia, the strengthening of the struggle for peace and the better understanding of the contemporary conditions of the struggle for socialism.

Please accept our best wishes for the successful work of your Jubilee Conference, for the further all round progress of the people

of India, for the further strengthening of peace in the world, for the further advance of the forces of progress and socialism.

*Dr. BRUNO PITTERMANN, Chairman, Socialist Party of Austria:*

The Socialist Party of Austria sends the Praja Socialist Party of India its brotherly greetings on the occasion of the latter's Silver Jubilee Conference. The Austrian Socialists are conscious of their responsibility to understand the efforts and anxieties of the Asian peoples, especially of the Indian people. We wish that your struggle for fundamental human rights and for the rise of the Indian people as a nation enjoying equal rights will achieve the success it deserves.

*Swiss Social Democratic Party:*

The Social Democratic Party of Switzerland sends the Praja Socialist Party of India its most cordial felicitations on the occasion of its 25th anniversary. The struggle for Socialism is especially difficult in the Indian continent, but is also particularly urgent: the Indian Socialists face the task of giving a Socialist direction to the reconstruction and the greatly needed industrialisation in their country, which has only just been liberated from the chains of colonial rule, and to lead the country along the path of Democratic Socialism, a development, which, if successful, will be of great significance for the whole of Asia.

That the Socialists of India should face this task with the same amount of courage and determination as hitherto is our wish for the next 25 years.

*Social Democratic Party of Finland:*

The Social Democratic Party of Finland congratulates her sister party in India on account of the accomplishments during the last 25 years and wishes the best success to the work of your Silver Jubilee Conference as well as to the activity of the Party as a whole in the interests of India.

*Mr. GIUSEPPE SARAGAT, General Secretary, Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano:*

It is my privilege to convey my congratulations, on behalf of the Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano, to you comrades of the Praja Socialist Party, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee at a Special Conference to be held from November 5 to 9 at Bombay.

We would have deemed it an honour to be present at this Conference. Unfortunately it will not be possible for us, at this distance, to send a spokesman.

We send, however, fraternal greetings and best wishes to the Praja Socialist Party, which had a so important part in the struggle for freedom in India, in strengthening democratic foundations of new India and in developing Indian democracy toward socialism. We trust that your Conference will be a step forward in the building of a world of peace, brotherhood and freedom.

Mr. PIETRO NENNI, *Secretary General, Italian Socialist Party:*

Owing Italian situation I regret very deeply being unable attend Socialist Silver Jubilee. All Italian Socialists wish to use this great occasion in order to send their warmest greetings to Indian Socialists for their successful fights in defence of Indian workers.

Mr. ANTON BUTTIGIEG, *President, and Mr. PATRIK HOLLAND, Secretary, Malta Labour Party:*

Malta Labour Party wishes outstanding success for your Silver Jubilee Conference.

*The President and Secretary, Greek Socialist League:*

We send you our best wishes for the success of your Party during the next twentyfive years and for the well-being of the people of India.

Mr. IMRE SZELIG, *Secretary, Social-Democratic Party of Hungary in exile:*

We thank you for your letter and appreciate your invitation to participate in the Silver Jubilee Congress of the Praja Socialist Party. We are a political party in exile. Taking this factor into consideration, we deeply regret that we cannot send our delegate to this Congress, which is important from the general view point of the workers' movement also.

Being unable to participate personally in your Congress, we take this opportunity to wish the fullest success to it. We sincerely hope that your Jubilee Congress will not only deal with the consideration of the glorious past, but will provide guidance for the preparation for the final victory.

Mr. VILEM BERNARD, *Secretary, Socialist Union of Central Eastern Europe:*

On behalf of the Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe I wish to extend fraternal greetings and best wishes to your Conference.

We have followed your endeavours with feelings of solidarity and we have rejoiced at all your successes. The ideas of Democratic Socialism to which your movement is dedicated are the same as those which inspire Socialists in the countries of Eastern Europe to persevere in their unceasing and heroic resistance to repression and exploitation by regimes which have no right to call themselves Socialist.

I wish on this occasion to express our warm appreciation of the stand your Party has taken so frequently in support of the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe and their aspirations for freedom.

Mr. IRWIN SUALL, *National Secretary, Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, U.S.A.:*

Warmest comradesly greetings to the Silver Jubilee Conference of the Praja Socialist Party. On behalf of the entire membership of the Socialist Party—Social Democratic Federation of the United States I wish you a most fruitful and successful gathering. American socialists are proud to have had the privilege recently of meeting with your brilliant spokesman, Asoka Mehta, when he visited the United States. A tape-recording of an interview of Comrade Mehta by Norman Thomas is now in its way to scores of radio stations in the United States and is assured of a listening audience of several million American families. This concrete example of fraternal co-operation between our parties is symbolic of the sense of international socialist solidarity which we share. Nothing binds the solidarity so much as our common stand for democracy everywhere. Whether in Spain, Tibet, Hungary, or South Korea, the only international force consistently championing the people's freedom is the democratic socialist movement. In this struggle we look to the Praja Socialist Party as the only political force in India which has shown itself capable of a forthright and principled position. You are India's best hope for peace, security and freedom. We confidently await the day when you will gain the support of a majority of your people.

Mr. CARL HAMILTON, *National Secretary, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation of Canada:*

Thank you very much for your kind invitation to join with you at your 25th Anniversary Conference. I am very happy to be able to inform you that we have a representative in India in the person of Prof. G. Rothney, who will attend your Conference as a fraternal delegate from our Party.

We in Canada and in the CCF, take great pride in your achievement and a great interest in your activities. Your contribution to

the Democratic Socialist Movement across the world has been most important, and you can well afford to look back on the past 25 years with a feeling of satisfaction.

In these very troubled times the strength and solidarity of Democratic Socialism remains our brightest hope. We trust you will enter the next 25 years with the confidence that springs from the knowledge of useful service and the dedication needed to meet the challenge ahead.

Mr. NICOLAS REPETTO, *Socialist Party, Argentina*:

We feel deeply grateful for the fraternal and most cordial invitation we have received from comrades who are geographically so far and yet spiritually so close to us, and it is not without regret that we must refuse it, due to several inconvenient circumstances.

Your quarter of a century of hard work has been directed towards the fulfilment of the ideal of democratic socialism in such a vast, interesting and populated country as India. We must indeed wish you all success.

Socialism of India and of Argentina will be united under the common ideal of achievement of liberty, peace and welfare for all people in the world.

Mr. EMANUEL NOWOGRUDSKY and Dr. EMANUEL SCHERER, *International Jewish Labour Bund, New York*:

We have always looked with admiration toward the fight for independence, freedom, democracy and socialism, waged by the Socialists of India. We convey our best wishes to the delegates of the Silver Jubilee Conference, worthy soldiers of this fight.

The Jewish Labour Movement, under the banner of the Bund, has already celebrated its 60th anniversary. During all this time we remained faithful to the ideals of democracy and socialism, and to the spirit of international brotherhood of nations. We are the only nonzionist socialists among Jews, who are convinced that the durable solution of the Jewish question lies in the world-wide victory of socialism and democracy. The Jewish Labor Bund in the State of Israel adheres to the same principles and advocates equal rights for the national minorities there. In this spirit we salute you.

Mr. ALLAN J. McDONALD, *National Secretary, The New Zealand Labour Party*:

On behalf of our National Executive I desire to extend to you, your officers and members, our very best wishes for a most successful

and fruitful Conference. We have followed your progress with keen interest, and look forward to your continued growth over the years.

The Labour and Socialist movement throughout the world is the greatest bulwark against totalitarianism, either from the right or from the left—its principles remain unchanged. We are all united in our determination to ensure that peace and freedom are enjoyed by all peoples.

May your Party proceed from strength to strength, and your efforts to achieve social justice for all be crowned with success.

*People's National Party, Jamaica*:

We send our fraternal greetings to your conference and heartiest congratulations on attaining Silver Jubilee.

Mr. SACHA VOLMAN, *Secretary, Institute of International Labour Research, Inc. New York*:

We are following with keen interest and absolute sense of fraternal solidarity the struggle which your Party carries out from day to day in India on behalf of the cause of socialism, democracy and national independence. Your struggle is a source of inspiration to many people throughout the world fighting for the same cause. Your victory will be also theirs.

Mr. HUGH GAITSKELL, *Leader, Parliamentary Labour Party of U.K.*:

On behalf of the British Labour Party I have much pleasure in sending to the Praja Socialist Party our warm congratulations on its 25th birthday.

We admire greatly the fine work done by the PSP in support of the ideals of democratic socialism. We express the fervent hope that the PSP will steadily grow in strength and eventually be entrusted by the people of India with the great responsibility of government. Meantime, we look forward to the PSP playing an ever more important part in the development of India as a democratic socialist state.

We rejoice at the close links which have been forged in recent years between our two Parties and look ahead to continuing co-operation in the pursuit of the same fundamental aims. We believe that through our joint endeavours we can make a great contribution to the peace and happiness of mankind.

the Democratic Socialist Movement across the world has been most important, and you can well afford to look back on the past 25 years with a feeling of satisfaction.

In these very troubled times the strength and solidarity of Democratic Socialism remains our brightest hope. We trust you will enter the next 25 years with the confidence that springs from the knowledge of useful service and the dedication needed to meet the challenge ahead.

Mr. NICOLAS REPETTO, *Socialist Party, Argentina*:

We feel deeply grateful for the fraternal and most cordial invitation we have received from comrades who are geographically so far and yet spiritually so close to us, and it is not without regret that we must refuse it, due to several inconvenient circumstances.

Your quarter of a century of hard work has been directed towards the fulfilment of the ideal of democratic socialism in such a vast, interesting and populated country as India. We must indeed wish you all success.

Socialism of India and of Argentina will be united under the common ideal of achievement of liberty, peace and welfare for all people in the world.

Mr. EMANUEL NOWOGRUDSKY and Dr. EMANUEL SCHERER, *International Jewish Labour Bund, New York*:

We have always looked with admiration toward the fight for independence, freedom, democracy and socialism, waged by the Socialists of India. We convey our best wishes to the delegates of the Silver Jubilee Conference, worthy soldiers of this fight.

The Jewish Labour Movement, under the banner of the Bund, has already celebrated its 60th anniversary. During all this time we remained faithful to the ideals of democracy and socialism, and to the spirit of international brotherhood of nations. We are the only nonzionist socialists among Jews, who are convinced that the durable solution of the Jewish question lies in the world-wide victory of socialism and democracy. The Jewish Labor Bund in the State of Israel adheres to the same principles and advocates equal rights for the national minorities there. In this spirit we salute you.

Mr. ALLAN J. McDONALD, *National Secretary, The New Zealand Labour Party*:

On behalf of our National Executive I desire to extend to you, your officers and members, our very best wishes for a most successful

and fruitful Conference. We have followed your progress with keen interest, and look forward to your continued growth over the years.

The Labour and Socialist movement throughout the world is the greatest bulwark against totalitarianism, either from the right or from the left—its principles remain unchanged. We are all united in our determination to ensure that peace and freedom are enjoyed by all peoples.

May your Party proceed from strength to strength, and your efforts to achieve social justice for all be crowned with success.

*People's National Party, Jamaica*:

We send our fraternal greetings to your conference and heartiest congratulations on attaining Silver Jubilee.

Mr. SACHA VOLMAN, *Secretary, Institute of International Labour Research, Inc. New York*:

We are following with keen interest and absolute sense of fraternal solidarity the struggle which your Party carries out from day to day in India on behalf of the cause of socialism, democracy and national independence. Your struggle is a source of inspiration to many people throughout the world fighting for the same cause. Your victory will be also theirs.

Mr. HUGH GAITSKELL, *Leader, Parliamentary Labour Party of U.K.*:

On behalf of the British Labour Party I have much pleasure in sending to the Praja Socialist Party our warm congratulations on its 25th birthday.

We admire greatly the fine work done by the PSP in support of the ideals of democratic socialism. We express the fervent hope that the PSP will steadily grow in strength and eventually be entrusted by the people of India with the great responsibility of government. Meantime, we look forward to the PSP playing an ever more important part in the development of India as a democratic socialist state.

We rejoice at the close links which have been forged in recent years between our two Parties and look ahead to continuing co-operation in the pursuit of the same fundamental aims. We believe that through our joint endeavours we can make a great contribution to the peace and happiness of mankind.

Mr. NORMAN THOMAS, U.S.A.:

The last hope of India—and India's hope is of enormous importance to mankind—is the achievement of democratic socialism. It is the one rational alternative to communism. The Praja Socialist Party seems to me far and away the principal organised force on which we must depend for socialist victory in these times of great anxiety but also of great opportunity.

I send my warmest greetings to the Party and to its members. I count such friendships as I have been able to make with Praja Socialists in India and America among my choicest treasures.

Mr. B. P. KOIRALA, Prime Minister of Nepal:

Unsteady world situation. Reaffirmation of Socialist ideals and dedication to them imperative. Sending my best wishes.

Mr. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIKE, Prime Minister of Ceylon:

I thank you for the kind invitation sent to me on behalf of your Party to your Conference to be held from 5th to 9th November 1959. I greatly regret that owing to heavy pressure of work I shall be unable to attend. If it is possible, I shall try to send a suitable representative on behalf of our Party.

Mr. TAGE ERLANDER, Prime Minister of Sweden:

Many thanks for your letter. In reply to this I want to say that it would have been a great pleasure for me to come to your conference at Bombay in November. However, I am sorry to say, it will not be possible for me to leave Sweden at that time. My best regards to the Conference.

Mr. H. C. HANSEN, Prime Minister of Denmark:

I deeply regret that owing to the meetings of the Danish Parliament I shall not be able to attend the conference of your party.

I ask you, however, to convey to the delegates of the conference my most sincere congratulations and my best wishes for a successful future of the Praja Socialist Party.

INDIAN SOCIALIST GROUP, LONDON:

Comradely greetings and best wishes for grand success of conference.

Acc. No. 1025  
Dt 5.12.77.

Mr. CHERIF GUELLAL, Representative of Algerian Front of National Federation at New Delhi:

On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Socialist Movement, it gives me great pleasure to convey, on behalf of the Algerian Front of National Liberation, our fraternal greetings.

The Indian Socialist Movement has always unhesitatingly stood for and upheld the fundamental and basic principles of democracy, justice and freedom. We are convinced that it will continue to lend us the support, as it has always done in the past, in our struggle for independence and human dignity.

We wish the celebrations all success.

SHRI ACHYUT PATWARDHAN:

Please convey to friends and co-workers whose kindness for years is a cherished memory. My warmest greetings and good wishes.

SHRI PURSHOTTAM TRIKAMDAS:

As one of those, who from the inception was an active participant, I cannot but feel proud of the many achievements of the Party and its role in the national movement. The Socialist Movement to me has never been something which could be built up from text book maxims as was imagined by many socialist parties in the world. In this connection I feel particularly happy to say that the Indian Party has done valuable work in clarifying the main ideas underlying the Socialist Movement.

To me, as to some of my esteemed colleagues, Socialism is an arch supported by the twin pillars of freedom and social justice. In the absence of either of those pillars the arch will not represent Socialism. I am happy that the Party is recognising this aspect more and more every day.

The occasion like the present is not meant merely for self-felicitation. A little bit of self-criticism would also be appropriate on such an occasion and I hope that this will not be forgotten. Unless a movement is willing to admit its mistakes and shortcomings it can never go forward and I do hope and trust that the Party will not neglect to give its consideration to this aspect of the matter.

Since I am no longer a member of the Party I refrain from any criticism which I would have otherwise offered. Let me however say that notwithstanding the fact that I am no longer a member of the PSP, I continue to be a socialist, and, therefore, I would like to say that the Socialist Movement should gain strength and prosper.

Finally, may I say that my esteem for my old colleagues and for the sincerity of their approach to problems is in no way diminished but continues as in the past. I wish that the Party should carry on its good and useful work and should help our country in choosing the right path towards the great goal which is near to the hearts of all socialists.

Mr. M. R. MASANI:

I am glad to know that the Silver Jubilee of the Praja Socialist Party will be celebrated at a conference to be held in Bombay from November 5 to 9, and I am happy to respond to the invitation of my old friend and colleague Ganga Babu, the Chairman of the Party, to send my message and greetings and good wishes on the occasion.

I well recall how, throughout 1933, some of us, including Jayaprakash Narayan, spent many weeks and months in the Nasik Road Central Prison trying to work out the programme and plan of action of what was to take shape as the Congress Socialist Party in the following year.

The years that followed were, for some of us, of dedication to an ideal that absorbed all our enthusiasm and our energies. What is most pleasant in one's recollection of those days is the wonderful sense of belonging to a fraternity between members of which there was a great deal of affection and mutual regard, quite apart from such community of thought as may have prevailed and despite the fairly marked differences of approach which existed from the very birth of the Party. The fact that the Party has been good enough on this occasion to remember one like me who has strayed from the fold is an indication of the fact that, even when some of us parted from the main body of the group, our personal relations and mutual esteem remained unimpaired.

Why then do some of us find ourselves outside the communion of the Party today? Without going into a detailed analysis of issues and measures, I think it will be fair to say that, in so far as those who have discarded the orthodox tenets of Marxism or even State Socialism are concerned, there have been two determining reasons. Firstly, the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. Secondly, a growing awareness of the unhappy implications of orthodox socialist policies, whether practised in totalitarian dictatorships or in democratic countries. In the result, some of us, while still accepting the ultimate ideal of a "free and equal society" feel that progress towards it can be made more expeditiously, more humanely and in greater freedom by policies other than those of State Socialism, which have by now made their contribution to present day thought. Those policies, in my own thinking, would be based on a synthesis of the principles of Western liberalism and Gandhiji's teachings.

It is often said that Generals are apt to fight the current war with the weapons and strategies of the last one. Political warriors may not be altogether immune from similar habits. There is such a thing as a conservatism of the "Left" as there is of the "Right". Socialists, Liberals, Conservatives and Gandhians all have the love of freedom at heart. Their relative effectiveness in defending freedom and expanding its bounds lies, however, in their capacity to shift their sights from the older and receding threats to freedom to the newer and more dangerous ones that emerge with the flux of time.

Even so, a great deal remains in common between us all. When Khrushchev recently went round the United States posing the alternative of Capitalism *versus* Socialism, he was, of course, trying to fog the issue. The U.S. today is hardly a capitalist country in the Marxist sense, while Soviet Russia is, at best, a cruel caricature of socialism as Milovan Djilas, our fellow-fighter for freedom, has so well testified. The real issue before the world and before us today is that of a Free Society *versus* Totalitarian Communism. Liberals and Socialists can stand together against the common foe. This is not merely a theoretical formulation. Do we not see this in actual practice in Kerala today? Do we not see this in our common attitude in regard to Tibet's struggle for freedom and the Chinese Communist incursions into our own territory? Let us by all means argue about our respective remedies for the country's economic ills. Let us, however, do so as friends and members of a community of free men, always remembering that the values we hold in common are much more seminal than the issues that divide us and that, whenever our democratic Constitution and our free society are threatened, we shall be found fighting together on the right side of the barricades. It is, therefore, as a fellow-fighter in the cause of freedom that I salute this Conference of the Praja Socialist Party.

THURSDAY - November 5, 1959

Afternoon

## INAUGURAL SESSION

The proceedings of the Fifth National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party, celebrated as the Silver Jubilee of Indian Socialist Movement, began at 6 p.m. in a gaily decorated pandal at Yusuf Meherally Nagar, Bombay, to the accompaniment of slogans "Long Live Democratic Socialism", "Long Live Praja Socialist Party".

Nearly one thousand delegates from all over the country, an equal number of member visitors, and a distinguished gathering of Bombay's elite packed the specially erected pandal.

Fraternal delegates from the Asian Socialist Conference, the Socialist International, the International Union of Socialist Youth, the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia, socialist parties of Burma, Indonesia, Malaya, Nepal, Japan, Israel and Canada, and a representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet attended the session. Also present were Shri Jayaprakash, Narayan, Shri Purshottam Trikamdas and other founder members of the Congress Socialist Party.

### *Torches of Nationalism and Democratic Socialism:*

The session began with the arrival of two torches, symbolising Nationalism and Democratic Socialism, brought in a procession from Nasik Central Jail, 147 miles from Bombay. The torches had been lighted in a jail cell by Asoka Mehta on October 25. It was in that cell a few members of the Indian National Congress, led by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and others, had founded the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. The torches were received by the Chairman, Ganga Sharan Sinha.

### *Welcome Address:*

Shri Moin-ud-din Harris, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates, fraternal delegates and guests. (Text of Address in Appendix.)

### *Chairman's Address:*

Ganga Sharan Sinha, Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party, then delivered his Address (See Appendix "A").

## FRATERNAL DELEGATE'S GREETINGS:

The Chairman then invited the fraternal delegates to address the Conference.

### U HLA AUNG (*Secretary, Asian Socialist Conference*):

Comrade Chairman and Friends: We are happy to be here with you today on this occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Praja Socialist Party and to give you our warm greetings personally on behalf of the Asian Socialist Conference.

While Comrade Wijono, Vice-Chairman, and myself represent the headquarters of the Asian Socialist Conference, delegates representing the Socialist Parties of Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Nepal, Japan and Israel, all members of the Asian Socialist Conference, and fraternal delegates from the Socialist International, the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation of Canada are also present here in person to convey the greetings of their respective organisations.

On this historic occasion, we want to recall our happy memories of the Second Congress of the Asian Socialist Conference in this beautiful City of Bombay. We are grateful to the Praja Socialist Party for giving us this opportunity to associate ourselves with you on this very important occasion of the Silver Jubilee Conference of the PSP.

The Praja Socialist Party is a founder member of the Asian Socialist Conference and, at the same time, it is an active and dynamic force in building democratic Socialist society in Asia and in Africa which is still struggling for its freedom and equal partnership in the family of nations. We are quite sure, therefore, that the Praja Socialist Party, with its long experience of freedom struggle in India and with its relentless effort to build democratic Socialist society in India for the last twenty-five years, will be a guiding factor for all Socialists in Asia and Africa.

Today, you can still find ugly forces opposed to our concepts of freedom and to our standard of democracy and international community and its responsibilities. The PSP today, after 25 years of its existence, has to bear its historic responsibilities to remove the illness of social, economic and political injustice from the face of India. In addition to these growing burdens, you have had recently to face the unexpected and unpleasant problem of border dispute and frontier clashes with an old friendly neighbouring country of the Asian community. Anyhow, we believe that with the support of the masses the PSP will be able to lead the people of India through

all stages in building socialism in India and to promote goodwill and friendship in the international brotherhood of mankind.

With these few words we wish you every success during the deliberations of this Silver Jubilee Conference.

Long live the Praja Socialist Party. Long Live Democratic Socialism in India.

ALBERT CARTHY (*Secretary, Socialist International*):

Mr. Chairman, comrades: I have the honour and privilege to bring to this great Congress of the Praja Socialist Party the greetings of the Socialist International, and to offer their congratulations at the end of the first twentyfive years of struggle for the cause of democratic Socialism in India.

You will be here with a complex of feelings. All of you will be thinking of the noble past, of the duties of the present and the opportunities of the future. All the parties of the International pay honour during these present days to the courage, devotion and single-mindedness of those who, in your struggle for freedom, declared that a free India which was not a Socialist India was a contradiction in terms. Of them, one can say that their influence has set a stamp on the character of the development of India's political life which no one could have foreseen.

Then, by expressing admiration, we offer encouragement to those who, now that India has achieved her independence, are making it their business that your great country shall in all respects have the example of democratic Socialism set before her. We can be proud of their bearing in all internal and external issues affecting your country. They have given enlightenment and encouragement to Socialists outside as well as inside your country, and have earned the respect of men of goodwill in all parties and all countries.

It is not for me to speak about the merits of the issue of Tibet in the presence of representatives of the Dalai Lama. But let me as a Socialist address our brothers of the Praja Socialist Party and say that we were filled with pride that its representatives spoke in your Parliament for India, to the honour of India. And let me refer to another occasion when they spoke with the voice of all of you here on the present frontier issue with China. On these two issues, indeed, the PSP spoke with the authentic voice of India.

Those of you who suffered loss of liberty during the struggle for self-rule—and perhaps it is appropriate that I as an Englishman refer to this—wear that imprisonment as a badge of honour.

We of the International welcome the success which has attended the efforts of the PSP in the first years of your country's independence. The parties opposing you had powerful influences of long-standing machinery. Your achievement is that, as a result of the work at all levels, but particularly by the rank and file, you are now the voice of twelve million voters in your country.

This concerns all of us. The health, vigour and power of the PSP are a matter of tremendous concern to Socialists in all countries. The solutions which India applies to the problems of economic structure have very great significance, particularly in Asia. I would go further. Success in India is an essential prerequisite of a democratic Asia tomorrow.

Nobody who considers India's experiments, India's trials, does so without regard to what happens in China. All countries, and particularly those which like India have achieved independence since 1945, and those for which it is imminent, watch and compare developments here and in China. It is the first time in history that a number of nations in a single continent have been inspired by a young and vigorous nationalism and share a profound belief in the spirit of democratic Socialism. They are anxious to learn whether your solutions can overcome the difficulties which all of them have and which China is meeting with the infliction of so much injustice.

India is a country with a vast potential, but not yet an industrial power. Your Third Five-Year Plan shows the anxiety which your planners feel about the financing of your great industrial effort. Agrarian problems remain your great pressing difficulty. And when I speak of agrarian problems, I do honour to Jayaprakash Narayan, as a man, and for the tremendous contribution he has made to put this issue on the moral plane.

The world is seeking to develop low-cost technology for the industrial exploitation of atomic power. Is it not paradoxical that at the same time the major problem for over one-third of the population of the world is how to cope with a bullock-cart economy, where almost the only capital is labour power?

I had the good fortune yesterday to visit a couple of villages of aborigines, and a unit of resettlement for them, in Chembur and Trombay, not a row-boat ride from this great modern city of Bombay. It was for me an incarnation of statistics. I was staggered by the extreme simplicity, indeed, the absolute primitiveness of their life. But another thing staggered me equally their adult political behaviour. I had been led to believe, by hearsay and rational deduction, that people in backward conditions were themselves mentally backward.

That was not my conclusion from yesterday's visit. They want schools—want them enough to build them with their own voluntary labour. Their welcome to the news that electric lights was coming in a year or two was tempered, so to speak, by the reflection which I may summarise in the remark that a "paddy" economy can never be an electric light economy. And they were prepared to draw the political conclusions. I was not surprised that they elected a PSP member, Comrade Tamhane, as their legislative member.

What I know about Asia is what the vast majority of you know about Europe—from study and from personal contact with representative leaders. I am at the beginning of what will, I am sure, be for me a voyage of great discovery, a great adventure, in which I shall learn much. It is in that spirit that I am attending here and am undertaking a number of visits to Socialist parties in other countries of Asia. And in this country there are many who *know* my own country and Party so well that I am fortunate to *begin* here. Indeed, many Indian Socialists were members of the Labour Party in the 'twenties and in the 'thirties. They were frequently restless and unruly members. They were never only nominal members. They were valued and valuable members. And when, therefore, we recall 25 years of Indian Socialism, allow me as an Englishman to add a remembrance of those Indian Socialists. They served our common Socialist cause outside India as well as inside.

I have had during my stay here many contacts with PSP members at all levels. This was my first contact with your members in the mass. No words of mine can faithfully record the warmth of the welcome, the extent of the hospitality, the true comradeship which men and women, young and old, have shown me. Let me thank them here. I have been touched by the reaching out of friendship to me and, through me, to the eleven millions I have the honour to represent.

I have said I bring greetings from the Socialist International. Let me say something about the International, of which the PSP is an honoured consultative member. We are joint heirs to nearly a century of struggle of Socialists, Socialists of diverse historical backgrounds. The member parties of the International today are likewise parties of very diverse character, experience and responsibility. The forces of capitalism are strong. But I present the greetings today of parties united in their determination to do everything in their power peacefully to transform the capitalist order of society. Capitalism, whether in its private or state form, has utterly failed society. Man desires to live the adventure of security, peace and freedom. He wants to share the full life.

The parties of the International were from the beginning firmly of the view that there should be one body, one International only.

But some parties in Asia, including some parties of former colonial rule, thought differently. We, of the International, respect and appreciate their apprehensions and reluctance. But our links are strengthening. We have within the International, as full members, Mapai in the West, the Social Democratic Party of Japan in the East. We have the closest association with the Asian Socialist Conference in its offices in Rangoon and Djakarta. Delegates from the Asian Socialist Conference attend Congresses and Council meetings of the International. They have a warm welcome from the delegates, who pay close attention to what they have to say. Co-operation is growing. We have worked together very successfully for a number of years. Our thinking on a number of major issues runs in similar channels. The Socialist International has firmly declared against colonialism; from the beginning we advocated summit talks; we were pioneers of the idea of the possibility of control and suspension of nuclear tests, to name a few. We have separately held common views, and separately sought to present a constructive line. It will be a great day when the parties now outside decide to join with us as full partners in the common task.

We have separately pursued the goals of democracy and Socialism; you have recently had object lessons that there is no Socialism without democracy, no Socialism without freedom, no Socialism without peace.

Democratic Socialism is not on the defensive; on this platform there are representatives of Japan and Indonesia, Burma and Malaya; they are certainly not retreating. Our Japanese comrades will get through their difficulties—I am confident of that. And the representatives of Nepal and Mapai, both fresh from victory, and resounding victories at that! In Europe, the Scandinavian countries have held, and held magnificently. The Austrian Party has for the first time taken the lead with the largest vote in the country. The German Party has shown its upward trend with an absolute majority in the enclave of Bremen—admittedly an enclave—but an absolute majority. And you will expect me to say something about my own country. There was no landslide, as some papers gleefully called it. Yes 23 seats were lost, all by narrow margins. But for every 20 votes the Conservatives got, Labour got 19. Hardly a landslide! Except for the Communists, who lost all their deposits. And Labour is in good heart. I forecast that in a few months Labour will start winning bye-elections.

And in Latin America which has so many economic problems in common with you, the remaining big dictators have been sent packing in the last couple of years. The only ones left have no economic

significance—Nicaragua, Dominica and Paraguay, where the dictators hold on by their eyebrows!

No, democratic Socialism is not on the way out, is not dead. The Socialist International has not sent me here to read the funeral oration. They have asked me to bring you the message of the sure hope—the hope that stirred in your enthusiastic reception which delegations gave in the wards through which the column passed, that hope which inspires our common purpose.

We are not complacent—the problems that confront us are too big. But if the problems of democracy seem to be heavy, do not let them daunt us. The processes of democracy are slow. Their effects sometimes seem inadequate. Those wielding totalitarian power, and those who seek totalitarian power, mock democratic Socialists, mock the processes we have to endure, and cynically seek to exploit these discussions and differences which are one fundamental source of our strength. But what they have established, by whatever name they call it, is a lesser stage of human development and responsibility than that which in our diverse ways we serve and which we are sworn to create. We can look to the future with a firm hope.

In that sense, I wish you well, your deliberations success and your labours in the next 25 years a mighty advance on the road to the Socialist goal. And in that advance, may the links between all the parties of the International grow stronger. We shall learn much, both the countries emerging from feudalism and those of traditional industrialism, from each other's experiences and experiments. Together we shall succeed.

MILENTIJE POPOVIC (*Member of the Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia*):

Dear comrades and friends: It is an honour for me to represent the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia at your convention and to bring you cordial greetings and best wishes for continued progress and achievement in serving the interests of your working people, your country and the cause of socialism. Twenty-five years is actually a short period of time when compared with the long history of your country. But this period has been of historic significance for your country and your movement, and has brought far-reaching and profound changes in India and the world, changes which open up brighter prospects for the more powerful development of society, economic progress and socialism.

Your movement has had an important share in the struggle to achieve these changes. Indian Socialists have been in the vanguard

of the struggle for the national independence and freedom of India. You may well be proud of the fact that your movement came into being during the fateful days of profound and historical developments in your country and that it was even at that time based on the awareness that the aim of your struggle could not be the achievement of national independence alone but that you were facing far more difficult and complicated tasks of the building up of a more just social order which would also make it possible for the country's economy to advance more rapidly. Thus, the Socialist movement of India introduced a more profound and broader outlook into the national liberation struggle of the Indian people and in this way helped to give the working people of India new perspectives during that struggle itself.

These twentyfive years have wrought great changes in your country, in Asia and in the world. Twentyfive years ago only the most conscious, the most progressive and the most militant of your people held socialist ideas. Today, after twentyfive years and after the achievement of independence, when your people themselves are determining the lines along which they will develop, these ideas have been accepted on a large scale. What is more, the leading political forces in India today are aware that only socialist ways of advancement and the development of socialist relationships in society can in the final analysis solve the difficult problems which the country has inherited from its past. Your movement has been a powerful factor in this moral victory of socialist ideas in India.

Today, your country finds itself at an historic turning point. It is playing an important role in international relations, in the struggle for peace in the world and in the attainment of just and equal international relations based on a policy of peaceful and active co-existence. The very fact that your country and population are enormous and have a long and significant history behind them keeps the eyes of the world turned upon you. By the same token, and perhaps of even more importance, is the internal development of India and the way it is solving its problems because although it can learn something from the experience of others, the complexity of the problems and their specific features make it necessary for India to seek to its own approach and solutions. Therein lies the great responsibility of the progressive forces which are fighting for socialism in your country at present. We know that in its development India's point of departure is a history rich and bright with tradition and a wealth of experience from the struggles in the past in which even the shortcomings and the mistakes can serve as valuable lesson and signpost. Not only your achievements so far, but also the ability and the talent of your people, offer convincing proof that India will justify the hopes of the progressive mankind.

In the past, the Yugoslav people have followed with great sympathy the struggle of the Indian people for liberation and it is with the same sympathy that they are today watching the great effort your country is making towards economic advancement and the establishment of a more just social system. We are particularly gladdened when we see that our two countries, although far apart geographically and with differing historical backgrounds, are sometimes faced with identical or similar problems of social development which they often set about solving in similar ways. This simply confirms our deep conviction regarding the unity and interconnected character of the present day world and social development, while at the same time representing proof of the force of the experience at which different countries and movements arrive in different ways. It is precisely such experience that make our co-operation so useful and beneficial on both sides. It gives me great satisfaction to be able to observe that your party, the Praja Socialist Party of India, has contributed a great deal towards acquainting the public here with the development and achievements of Yugoslavia.

This is a jubilee year in Yugoslavia as well for we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Yugoslav Communist Party, of which the present League of Communists of Yugoslavia is a consistent continuation. And, as you may know, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is a component part of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. For us, too, this past period has been of exceptional significance and has brought the fulfilment of far-reaching historical tasks. Yugoslavia today is a country of socialist democracy, of self-government by the people and of equality among national groups. It is known abroad both because of its achievements in the socialist construction and because of its dedication to peace and friendly co-operation with all nations and countries and its policy of independence. Today in our country, self-government has penetrated every sphere of social, economic, cultural and other aspects of life. There are tens of thousands of workers in workers' management bodies, while in various social self-governing bodies at different levels other thousands of citizens of socialist Yugoslavia are active today. Our system is no longer at the experimental stage because it has been built up into an integrated whole during the last ten years. Moreover, in practice it has yielded results which have convinced us that the road we are following is the right one. As a whole, Yugoslavia's economy has made considerable advance and this year the national income will be double that of 1939. Yugoslavia's production in industry is now four times what it was in 1939 while agricultural output this year will be fifty per cent higher than the pre-war average. During the past five years industrial production has gone up by 86 per cent which, according to the United Nations Statistical Services, puts Yugoslavia in the first place

in the world as regards the rate of economic development. And these results have been attained despite the devastation of the Second World War and the well-known difficulties which we faced during the period following war.

Positive tendencies for easing of tension and settlement of international problems by negotiation have been gaining in strength of late on the international scene. Such circumstances are favourable both for our future development and for the development of all countries, especially those that are advancing rapidly and accelerating the tempo of their social development as is the case in India and in Yugoslavia. The policy of peaceful and active co-existence, which both our countries support, has proved to be an imperative in international relations, although perhaps it has not yet been sufficiently realised that the orientation to the policy of co-existence requires also the implementation of the corresponding methods in the practice of the international relations.

In their foreign policy, Yugoslavia and India have sought out such methods and endeavoured to put them into practice and they have yielded already positive results. We must not, however, be discouraged by the existence of powerful remnants of the opposite kind of approach to international relations, since we know that the contemporary development of the world is inevitably leading to the transcending of such obsolete methods and forms of approach. The non-committed countries and especially the progressive forces in the world have, in such a situation, great possibilities for continuing to influence the development in a positive direction in order to overcome the negative heritage of the past in international relations. This makes it incumbent upon such forces to undertake special obligations and responsibility in their endeavours to find constructive and peaceful solutions to the existing international problems.

In conclusion, I should like to congratulate you once more on your anniversary and to wish you all the best for the development of your movement, the cause of socialism in India and the welfare of all the working people in India.

KURT RASMUSSEN (*International Union of Socialist Youth*):

The delegate from the International Union of Socialist Youth, while greeting the Convention, commented that only the PSP could be considered competent to establish a real democratic socialist society in India.

THAKIN SAN MYEINT (*Burma Socialist Party*):

We bring our greetings to you on this happy occasion of the Silver Jubilee Conference of the Praja Socialist Party of India. We

are quite sure that not only the people of India but also millions of people in Asia and Africa will rejoice over this happy celebration as a milestone of progress in our struggle for Freedom, Equality and Emancipation of mankind.

We realise also how the Praja Socialist Party has successfully emerged out of the struggle for Indian independence after years of sacrifice and humiliations. The experience and the determination of your party has proved to the masses in your country that the Socialist Movement in India bears the historic responsibility in shaping the destiny of the country with a view to free the people, from the yoke of social, economic and political injustice and to march forward towards a new society of peace and security based on the principles of humanity and democracy.

For ourselves, as founders with you of Asian Socialist Conference and Anti-Colonial Movement we are quite confident that our united and relentless efforts in discharging our historic duties and responsibilities as members of Asian Socialist Conference, to champion the cause of peace and harmony in international community and to promote social, economic and political justice for mankind will meet with success.

Furthermore, on the eve of this historic occasion, we must review the recent developments in international situation. While there are signs of decreasing tension in international relations because of the prospect of Summit Conference, along with the rise of a new atmosphere following discussions on Disarmament Programme in the United Nations, we regret to note that there are fresh disturbances in our part of the world, namely (1) incidents in Tibet, (2) border clashes between India and China, and (3) troubles in Laos.

Moreover, the setbacks to parliamentary forces in the newly independent countries along with outbursts of violence like political assassinations or attempted assassinations such as in Ceylon and Iraq remind us that the freedom and emancipation of mankind can be achieved only on the successful struggle of Socialist Movements in Asia and Africa.

Once again, on this happy occasion of the Silver Jubilee of Praja Socialist Party, we wish you every success in your relentless struggle for building a democratic Socialist society in India.

Long live Praja Socialist Party and the democratic Socialist Movement in India.

G. O. ROTHNEY (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation of Canada):

Comrade Chairman and Comrades of the Praja Socialist Party:

I am very pleased that I am able to be here tonight in order that at least one voice may be heard from the other side of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, bringing you greetings on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Socialist Movement in India. I was greatly touched by the welcome given to me at Bombay Central Station this morning by your representatives. It was a tribute to the Canadian C.C.F. and I shall see that they hear about it in Canada. They will appreciate your kindness and hospitality as much as I do.

My presence here will remind you that in one part of North America, in Canada, there is an active Socialist movement, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. It is the third strongest political party in the nation as a whole, and in one of the ten provinces, Saskatchewan, there has been a C.C.F. Government with a clear majority since 1944.

I need not remind an audience like this that Canadians of all parties like Indians. All Canadian political parties are sentimental about India and our last two Prime Ministers have visited this country. But C.C.F. Canadians are particularly interested in PSP Indians, for they are our comrades in the Socialist International.

Canada is a friend of India. If our governments, in one or two strictly Asian controversies, have seemed to you a little lukewarm, I hope you will put this down to a disinclination to get drawn into distant disputes about which our people are not very well informed, and not to any lack of goodwill for India. There is one principle particularly which is very important in both India and Canada—and that is the principle of racial equality. We are a bilingual nation. English and French are equally our official languages. But, in addition to that evidence of mutual toleration and appreciation, there is the further fact that Canadians come from every race in the world. Their ancestors have come from every part of the universe. Our Prime Minister bears a name which is neither English nor French, as do many thousands of our citizens. Thus Canadian spokesmen, like those of India, are devoted to the principle of racial equality. The character of our country, and its history, make this inevitable.

But with C.C.F. Canadians, one can go farther than that, and as that they have always sympathised with and spoken in support of the whole Indian national freedom movement. Even before the C.C.F. was founded, I personally was taught as a child to admire Gandhiji. The C.C.F. was formed by Labour, Farmer, and Intellect.

tual Socialist organisations in 1932, two years before your organisation began. The two movements, in Canada and India, were caused by the same world economic crisis. Throughout the capitalist and colonial world, the economy had broken down. You were not able to found the Congress Socialist Party in 1932 because most of your leaders were in jail at that time. Some of the founders of the C.C.F. had had that experience too, because of their activities on behalf of labour. In international affairs they were constantly anti-imperialist, and sympathised with those who struggled for freedom anywhere in the world, including the followers of Mahatma Gandhi in India.

After all, Canada, too, had had their struggle for self-government, and had, eventually, obtained it by non-violent means. Those North Americans who obtained their independence by means of violent revolution lived in the U.S.A. Canada is the country of North Americans who obtained their independence more patiently, through non-violent means. I think this background is one of the reasons why Canada and India have so often found themselves close together in international affairs. Anyway, this historical experience of a non-violent struggle for self-government in Canada was bound to create sympathy for the similar struggle for self-government and democracy in India. We have read with great interest of your efforts, and it is a thrilling experience for me to find myself on a platform tonight with so many people with whose names I had become very familiar while I was still in Canada.

The enemies of socialism these days are trying to spread the idea that social democracy is now "out of date". What this really means is that, in certain countries, a good many socialist ideas have now been put into practice. In some fortunate nations such as Canada, where social services are now taken for granted, the issue in internal politics may not seem as sharp as it used to. But people who say that socialism is out of date do not know the fundamental fact that socialists, if they are anything at all, must be internationalists. I am not referring, of course, to the kind of "internationalism" which really means subservience to the nationalism of some other country. I mean the kind of internationalism which is equally concerned with the needs of the people in every part of the world. So long as man-made inequality continues to exist anywhere in this universe, socialism is not out of date. The issue now is not so much between this class and that class in highly-developed countries with small populations, nor even between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. with their highly industrialised civilisations. From a socialist point of view, the issue is between the so-called developed and underdeveloped parts of the world. Socialists today cannot think so much in terms of the "proletariat" of this or that country. They have to think more in terms of the world "proletariat". The people who

form the majority in this world, and who therefore have the most to gain from world democracy,—the people who are the most in need, and who therefore have the most to gain from world socialism, are the people of Asia and Africa. It is with their welfare and their problems that social democrats in every country must be most concerned. What has changed during the past twentyfive years is that socialists in western countries, if they are to be true to socialism, must think more than before in world terms. In the future that is what will mark off western socialists most clearly from their opponents, if socialists remain true to socialist principles, to socialist morality. Socialism, if it is to continue to have its real meaning, must be international. I am glad that I can quite safely say that the C.C.F. is the most internationally-minded party in Canada.

At the same time, and in another sense, the C.C.F. is the most nationalist of Canadian parties,—the same anti-imperialist sense in which the PSP is nationalist. Wherever one nation seeks to dominate people of another nation, even by peaceful means,—wherever the relationship between people is not one of democratic equality, then, and in that sense only, a socialist must be nationalist too. Your powerful neighbour is China, with a communist government. Our powerful neighbour is the U.S.A. where old-fashioned capitalism is making its last stand. We have had to fight at times in the past to preserve Canada from armed conquest from the South. Today there is no question of an armed clash with our great neighbour. That stage in our relations has now passed. But there are some of us who regret that Canada has not been so successful as India in maintaining our economic and military independence. We have the misfortune to lie between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and our country is considered vital by the U.S.A. for her own defence. The U.S.A. is overwhelmingly more powerful than we are. Although we are very advanced in nuclear research, we have never tried to manufacture any nuclear bombs. We do not seek that kind of prestige. But we have not escaped the cold war, and we have United States based on our soil. It is in this sort of context that the C.C.F., like the PSP, is a nationalist party. The C.C.F. believes, for example that instead of bilateral agreements with the U.S.A. for a North American Air Defence Command, with authority over Canadian territory, such agreements should be integrated within the structure, of N.A.T.O. Responsibility would then at least be more widely distributed—a good socialist principle, and one which, though nationalist in relation to our huge neighbour, is internationalist in a broader sense.

If Canada is to avoid complete domination by the United States, she must do all she can to strengthen her ties with other countries. Thus the C.C.F. supports any policy which brings us close, in particular, to countries like New Zealand, where our Labour comrades now

form the government, and, above all, India. It seems inevitable that Indians from now on will assume more and more the leadership of international socialism, because India is the most important spokesman for the underprivileged masses of the world. Whatever may be said of Canada's friendship for India, there is no doubt but that from a socialist point of view, India's friendship is of tremendous value to Canada. It helps to keep us from going too far off the right track in international affairs.

And so we are thankful for what began here in Bombay in 1934. In that year things seemed to be going wrong in the world. Nazism was growing stronger in Germany, and western democracy was in the wasteland, bogged down in economic depression. Even in India the right wing was in control of Congress. In view of the relation of India to world socialism today, twentyfive years later, it was fortunate that in 1934 a group of Congress members were able to look ahead, beyond nationalism, to socialism, and to found a movement to influence Indian thinking in that direction.

It is great privilege to bring you greetings on the occasion of your Silver Jubilee celebration, and to assure you that the act works to build a co-operative commonwealth, not only for Canada, but also for India—and in the end for the whole world.

SOEDJOTMOKO (*Partai Sosialis Indonesia*):

Comrade Chairman, Comrades of the Praja Socialist Party:

I deem it an hour and a privilege to be able to bring to you tonight the greetings and the goodwishes of the Indonesian Socialist Party.

The exhibition we saw this morning has vividly brought to mind again the proud and eventful history of the Indian Socialists in their struggle for freedom and socialism.

It has also made us realise once again how great the political and social changes are, which you have helped to bring about since the inception of the socialist movement in India.

Now in most of Asia, independent countries have adopted socialism as their goal, even those countries where the Socialist Parties do not share in Governmental leadership and power. This in itself should not fail to give us a great degree of satisfaction, for this receptivity for the ideals and goals of socialism would not have been achieved without the presence and unceasing activities of vigorous and conscious Socialist parties in these countries. It should also serve us as a source of encouragement, for it is also a vindication of our belief, that the tide of history in Asia is with us.

Our Socialist parties have never faltered in their belief that, to our countries, socialism is the road, which will lead us away from the poverty and sloth of centuries, towards progress and social justice in freedom.

Our ability to reorganise these forces, in whatever shape or form they sometimes present themselves, to give substance and direction to these often unconscious and blind gropings for socialism, to relate them to our own endeavours, and finally to weld them all together into a broad national stream, flowing irresistibly and purposively towards the achievement of our goals, that, I submit, will be the measure by which history will judge us. We have no doubts that the Praja Socialist Party and its leadership will successfully stand this test.

We all know how much recent events along your northern border line have occupied your mind. We, of the Indonesian Socialist Party, wish to record tonight our sympathy and our applause for the firm stand your party has taken in this connection. This attitude of ours does not only stem from the feelings of friendship we have for you and your party, but it springs also from our firm conviction, that for our part of Asia, there is no future unless it is a socialist future, and that, again for our part of Asia, that future is to be achieved together, or not at all.

Bound together by our common fate, it is therefore our common duty, singly, each in his own country, and together, through our Asian Socialist Conference, to know each other and each others' problems as well as is humanly possible, to consult together, continuously to assess together the changing world situation, with all its dangers and opportunities, in order to work out our respective approaches to the achievement of our common goal.

It is with these thoughts and convictions in mind that I am happy to stand before you tonight, in order to give expression to our feelings of friendship and admiration, and to add our wishes for the successful outcome of your struggle.

RYUICHI INAMURA (*Socialist Party of Japan*):

I represent the Socialist Party of Japan; it is my greatest honour and pleasure to say words of greetings to comrades of the Praja Socialist Party of India on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Convention. The Japanese Socialists have been following the history of your party for the 25 years with the deepest respect. The history since you left the National Congress and formed an independent party of socialists was a history of strenuous struggle for independence and democracy in India as well as for socialism and peace in India.

The world of to-day stands at the crossroad. On the one hand, big powers are competing with an arms race of nuclear weapons which can annihilate the human beings on this earth and, on the other hand, we can see efforts for relaxing international tensions by talks. The delegates of countries in the General Assembly of the United Nations are engaging in the discussions of disarmament with the sincerity as was never seen before. We must decide in our mind which way we should take, whether peace or war.

I hope you can share my opinion that the Asian countries and peoples are playing a big role in this effort for peace. The people in Asia, Africa and Arabia want to be out of the blocs of the West and East, and, further, to dissolve these blocs themselves. The future of humanity depends on the success of the Asian peoples for peace.

However, we cannot deny the fact that there remain many problems to be settled in international and domestic fields of our Asian countries. They are very difficult ones because the East and West blocs are intervening for their egoistic purposes of achieving the world supremacy. For example, the split of Korean and Vietnamese people, disputes in Taiwan and Laos, border trouble of India and China and uneasiness in some Asian countries. Among these, we hope earnestly that the border trouble be settled by cool-minded talks by the two countries, because both countries are playing important role in this part of Asia.

Our Asian Socialist Conference was very correct when it pointed out that the basic reasons for these difficulties and troubles were the colonialism, economic inequality and bloc policies of big powers. We still firmly believe that only the Asian Socialists can tackle these factors of international and domestic uneasiness with success.

The history of your Praja Socialist Party is the very history of the struggle for achieving these aims. India is one of the most important countries in Asia and in the world. India under the Socialist leadership can bring real and ultimate peace and prosperity to Asia. And your Party is the backbone of India and Asia, not to say of the Asian Socialist Conference. We, Japanese Socialists, sincerely hope that this Silver Jubilee marks the fresh start for the coming of an admirable future.

Long live the Praja Socialist Party of India.

Long live Asian Socialism.

Long live Socialist solidarity of the world.

D. S. RAMANATHAN, (*Labour Party of Malaya*):

On behalf of the Labour Party of Malaya I bring to our fellow Socialists of the Praja Socialist Party of India the sincere greetings and good wishes of Malayan Socialists on this happy occasion when you are celebrating the twenty-fifth year of your existence.

The Praja Socialist Party is, I believe, the oldest democratic Socialist party in Asia. Your early activities and struggles, so ably demonstrated in the exhibition which we saw this morning, have been an inspiration and example to us, democratic Socialists, in other countries.

We in Malaya especially follow with keen interest the way in which your party attempts to solve your country's problems because, in so many ways, your problems are similar to our own, though ours are undoubtedly, on a smaller scale.

The greatest problem confronting Asia to-day is the question of the abolition of poverty, and what your party does in India with regard to this problem will be a source of great help and guidance to all the Socialists in the newly independent countries of Asia. Further, it will be an example to the whole world that, without resorting to totalitarian methods, democratic socialism can bring about our cherished Socialist aim of the greatest good of the greatest number.

The Socialists of Malaya wish your party well and trust that in the years to come, the Praja Socialist Party will grow in strength and power and be able to serve the people of India truly and well.

SHRI BHADRA SHARMA (*Nepali Congress*):

We have the honour to bring to you, the Socialists of India who are meeting to-day in this great city of Bombay to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of their Party, the fraternal greetings and message of goodwill and friendship from our Party—the Nepali Congress. The Praja Socialist Party completes to-day 25 years of its existence and this Silver Jubilee Convention is indicative of the maturity of the Socialist Movement in India. It may not be an exaggeration to state that the history of this Party which is celebrating its Silver Jubilee is the history of the Socialist Movement of this country. Its inspiring record of devoted work in the cause of socialism, its heroic role in the Indian liberation struggle and the part it is now playing in the socialist consolidation in the country are matters for which the Praja Socialist Party can take legitimate pride. We feel particularly happy to state that in its early period when the Party was writing a glorious chapter during the heroic days of national struggle

for India's freedom, some of our national leaders of Nepal were intimately associated with it. It is with equal pleasure we would like to remind ourselves that during the Nepalese Revolution of 1950-51, we received the much needed moral help and sympathy from this Party, when the Nepalese were engaged in a life and death struggle for democratic rights. The Nepalese people will never forget this expression by the Socialist Party of India, its solidarity with our cause of democracy in Nepal.

The Nepali Congress which we have the honour to represent here is the Socialist Party of Nepal. Under its leadership the Nepalese people rose in revolt against the tyranny of the Rana regime and overthrew it in 1951. Since then our Party has been working for the consolidation of the achievements of the revolution and for the establishment of the democratic institutions in Nepal. It is a matter of satisfaction to us all that after a period of instability and unsettledness following the revolution of 1950-51, Nepal is now well set on the road of democracy consequent upon the recent election which put the Nepali Congress in power. It augurs well for the infant democracy in Nepal that both the King and the people have expressed their unmistakable faith in the democratic system and its institutions. The recent general election which is the first election in our history—election held for the purpose of choosing the national parliament—has been an act of faith and courage. Those of you who have already the experience of the working of democratic institutions may be aware of what faith, what courage it requires to take the first step towards it, to embark as it were on an uncharted sea. In this connection we may be permitted to add that the present parliament elected on the basis of adult franchise derives its authority, apart from the verdict of the people, from some kind of a rigid constitution given as a gift to the nation by the King. Our Party has been in office for about five months. Even during this short period in office our Government has taken some steps towards the liquidation of feudalism in our country such as the abolition of Birta holdings, reforms in the judicial system, legislation giving occupancy rights to the tillers of the soil and a series of new taxations of progressive nature. Although there has been some opposition to these measures from a section of the feudal class, yet there is a disciplined acceptance of them by others and also acceptance of the fact that a Socialist Government is in office.

The basic problem facing us, as it faces Socialists in other countries in Asia, is one associated with raising the standard of living of the people without sacrificing democratic rights just made available to the individuals in our societies. Nepal is in a transitional period—it is about to enter what is called the industrial phase from

the feudal one. This transition from one social system to another brings about some social dislocation and calls for supreme effort and sacrifice from the entire society. In such a period temptation to resort to what appears to be a short cut of totalitarianism or dictatorship is great. When we analyse the Asian scene and failure of democratic experiment in some of the Asian countries, we come to the conclusion that underlying all this unhappy phenomenon is the question of how to secure total effort from the entire society towards building of a new society on a developing economic basis without taking recourse to totalitarianism. We have inherited a society of the seventeenth century and have to exist in a world of the twentieth century. The resources for our modern existence appear to be too inadequate. That is why in order to find out a satisfactory solution of this enigma various remedies are suggested. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's recent thesis in this regard is an important contribution to the general discussion on this question. We however like to affirm that development of a country at the price of human liberty is not worth a day's purchase.

Another problem which Asian countries have to face is the emergence of a new relationship among Asian nations which have overthrown domination of feudal, tyrannical systems and have acquired a new status. This fact invests the situation in Asia with new dynamism. The Asian Socialist Movement has to take cognisance of this historic fact. It will be an evil day for the Asian countries if they do not learn to live in peace and friendship with neighbours. For underdeveloped or undeveloped countries like ours co-operation and mutual help are the basis for relationship. It is in this context that we in Nepal view with great concern the exacerbation of feelings between our two great neighbours—India and China. If no speedy solution of the conflicts is obtained, Asia will lose much of its moral authority and the ideals of neutrality in the world power conflict. She will receive a serious setback. You will appreciate that being a friendly neighbour of both India and China, Nepal is particularly unhappy that such an unfortunate development has taken place. Nepal is understandably concerned over it. The unhappy development has arisen out of the border dispute between India and China. We very humbly feel that there is no reason why, given the goodwill on both sides, an amicable settlement could not be reached on the basis of the traditional border.

When the world is experiencing some relaxation of tension that this undesirable situation should develop nearer home is a matter of real concern. We hope the dark clouds will soon be lifted from the Asian horizon.

Comrades! we do not want more of your time. We have been asked to convey to you the greetings of our President Shri

B. P. Koirala who has been prevented from joining us on account of his preoccupation at home. He has asked us to convey his best wishes to the delegates here.

Long live Socialist solidarity. Long live World Peace.

MR. TSARONG (*Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama*):

Mr. Tsarong read out the message from His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The following is the message:

Chairman and members of the Praja Socialist Party:

I regret that I am unable to be personally present in response to your kind invitation to me as representing the Tibetan people on this occasion of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the birth of the organised Socialist Movement in this country.

I am, therefore, sending my warm greetings to all of you through a representative of mine, who carries this message to you.

Since its inception the Indian Socialist movement has worked not only for the welfare of the Indian people but by its activity has gained the esteem of Asian, African as well as other people, and I offer my sincere wishes for the spread and success of the admirable work that you are carrying on.

To us the people of Tibet in the midst of our miseries and sorrows the Indian people have given their kind sympathy and encouragement. I cannot forget that since 1950 when my country was invaded and overrun by the Chinese and ever since then the Praja Socialist Party has unfailingly raised its voice against the injustices perpetrated against my people and my country. I render to you my thanks for the stand that you have taken. Particular thanks are due to you for the active sympathy that you have also shown during the recent crisis. This has shown to us that the friendship that has existed between India and Tibet for centuries past is as warm and active as in the past.

These days the Tibetans are undergoing great hardship of inhuman treatment. This unbearable suffering made us appeal to the United Nations and I am glad to say that the majority of the civilised countries are supporting our righteous cause. By the force of "cause and effect" which is unchangeable, and by the support of the people of the world, I have faith that "Truth" will triumph.

Before I conclude I would like to thank you all once again for this kind invitation and I pray for the success of the great cause for which you are working.

## MESSAGES.

The Chairman then called upon K. K. Menon, Joint Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party, to read out the messages from fraternal parties abroad.

K. K. Menon then read out the messages (See Messages).

## CONDOLENCE RESOLUTIONS.

The Chairman moved condolence resolutions on the death of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, former Prime Minister of Ceylon, and Abul Hayat Chand and other members of the Praja Socialist Party. The condolence resolutions are given below:

### ON SHRI BANDARANAIKE.

This National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party dips its flag and records its deep sorrow at the tragic death of Shri Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon.

It conveys its deep sympathies to the family of the martyred Prime Minister and to the people of Ceylon.

This National Conference takes warning that the assassination of Shri Bandaranaike is of a series that imposed a threat and a challenge to the democratic development of all Asian nations.

### ON PARTY WORKERS.

This Conference of the Praja Socialist Party condoles the sad demise of Comrades Abul Hayat Chand (Bihar), Jagannath Prasad Maurya (Pipariya), Siddha Vinayk Dwivedy (Rewa), Raghunath Mal Kochar (Amaravati), Saraladevi Tiwari (Sidhi) and Surajnath Pandey (U.P.), all of whom had rendered valuable services in the cause of socialism. The Conference expresses its deep sympathies to the families of the bereaved.

Those gathered at the Conference paid their homage to the departed by standing up and observing silence for two minutes.

The inaugural session then concluded with the singing of the National Anthem.

FRIDAY - November 6, 1959

Morning Session

### MOSHE SHARETT'S ADDRESS.

The Chairman announced that Moshe Sharett, who arrived the day before, late in the evening, would personally read out the greetings of the MAPAI of Israel.

MOSHE SHARETT (*Mapai, Israel*):

"I regret it very much that on account of travel difficulties I missed, last night, my turn to address the Conference as one of the fraternal delegates and I deeply appreciate your courtesy Comrade Chairman, in enabling me to deliver my message of greetings this morning.

I feel extremely honoured by the personal invitation extended to me by the Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party to attend this Silver Jubilee Conference, as well as by the task assigned to me by my Party of representing it on this auspicious occasion and greeting the P.S.P. at an important landmark of its history.

It fills my heart with joy to be able, coincidentally, to appear here as a bearer of glad tidings. I refer to the marked electoral success just achieved by my Party in Israel. The MAPAI has, this time, scored better than it had done at any previous general election since the emergence of independent Israel. To appraise this result correctly, one has to bear in mind two basic facts: first, that our Party has continuously been in office for the last 11 1/2 years; second, that about one half of our country's population consists of newcomers, ever prone to blame the Government and the ruling party for all the innumerable difficulties of adjustment economic, social and psychological—which inevitably beset their path, difficulties of which certain opposition parties take full and not always fair advantage in damning the powers that be. We are still far from having a clear majority. Yet, with over 40 per cent of the seats in the legislature now at our command, our position as a central pillar of any Governmental coalition has been considerably strengthened and we shall henceforth be better able, even under a coalition, to assert our independence and act in accordance with our programme in the conduct of state affairs.

My friends, from our little corner in West Asia we look with awe at the shadow of the titanic struggle between rival political

philosophies, systems of Government and social ways of life, which seems to envelop the free countries of the Asian, and for that matter, also of the African continent. We are all occasionally witnessing sporadic but symptomatic eruption of that potential struggle, upon the ultimate outcome of which so much of universal happiness depends. We are all, I feel sure, profoundly depressed by the successive failures of democracy in so considerable a number of newly formed states. Fateful issues hang in the balance. Did the victorious movements of national liberation throw off the yoke of foreign rule only in order to make room for internal tyranny, even if it tries to take the form of enlightened despotism? Has the orthodox version of imperialism been liquidated only to provide scope for its new, so to say modern, edition? Is it or is it not possible to secure peace without sacrificing justice? Is it or is it not within our grasp to achieve economic progress without giving up individual and collective liberty?

Now it appears to us from afar that your great country is cast for the role of an historic arena over which some or all of these battles might have to be fought out, politically as well as spiritually, with effects registering far beyond its borders. We believe that, viewed from this angle, the fate of Asia and Africa—may be of the world at large—depends upon the depth and strength of the roots of democracy on the soul of the Indian people and upon the measure of its adherence to the principles and practices of constructive socialism. We feel that India's capacity of resolving, democratically and socialistically, its old problems of economic reconstruction, cultural uplifting, social unity and national integration, is not only a crucial factor, that social unity and national integration are not only a crucial question of India's own future, but is a world issue of most decisive importance.

The Praja Socialist Party, as a proud torch-bearer of democratic Socialism in India, and throughout Asia, must be a focus of hope, a natural addressee of the challenges of the epoch. It is our ardent desire to see this movement, so strong in conviction, play an increasingly practical and creative part in the shaping of India's destinies, both from above, by centralised state action, and from below, by a direct and widespread pioneering endeavour. It is in this spirit of expectation and hope that I wish this significant conference the fullest possible success.

I am deeply impressed, Mr. Chairman and friends, by the presence at your conference of such a large number of young people. To me they represent a tremendous reservoir of social idealism. May the spirit of their dedication constitute the living force of your movement's future! (loud applause).

The Chairman then requested Jayaprakash Narayan to address the gathering.

Jayaprakash Narayan rose to speak but was overwhelmed by the memories of departed friends and colleagues and the unbounded affection of those present at the Conference who greeted him with thunderous applause. He completely broke down and had to be escorted back to his seat by the Chairman so that he could collect himself.

The Chairman then called upon Purshottam Trikamdas to address the conference.

#### PURSHOTTAM TRIKAMDAS:

Mr. Chairman and Friends! When I received your kind invitation to attend this Jubilee Conference I thought that I will not be able to make it. I am however happy to be here this morning. Although I am no longer a member of this Party, yet let me assure you that I still claim to be a Socialist. And whatever the differences between the Party and myself which compelled me most reluctantly to leave the fold, to leave my friends with whom I had tried to build and nurture this Party, may I assure them that I shall never forget the kindness and the comradeship which existed in the Party while I was in the Party and which I have no doubt exists to-day. My friendship and respect for all my old comrades is undiminished. And although I may differ from them here and there yet I cannot help but offer the Party and its members my best wishes.

I am reminded, Sir, of twenty-five years ago when all of us emerged from different jails. The spirit of the times was such that people on coming out from different jails from different parts of the country came out with this idea that if the national movement is to go forward it will have to orient itself to the socialist thought. That is how the birth of the Party took place in 1934. I still remember the Readymoney Mansions where we held our first convention. I still remember all the old comrades, some of whom unfortunately are no longer with us. I can never forget the warm affection and friendship which I got from Yusuf and from Narendra Dev, although so far as Narendra Devji is concerned, on many occasions I had to differ from what he used to call the Marxist point of view. So far as Yusuf is concerned, we all miss him. So far as Yusuf is concerned, we all miss his warm and affectionate personality, his great knack of keeping people together, and also his forthrightness which is always a great asset to any movement or any party.

Sir, since I am not a member of this Party I do not think it is for me to criticise or make any suggestions regarding either the

organisation or the thought of the Party. But I certainly can say a few words with your permission about the socialist movement in this country. I might mention that when we organised the Congress Socialist Group first and the Congress Socialist Party thereafter we did not come to socialism as dogmatists, as text book socialists, mouth-ing slogans, using catchwords. We came to socialism of a conception which the Party has attempted to build up ever since and which I am happy to say the Party is continuing to do so. The socialism of my conception has always been, and will continue to be, if I may use a simile, an arch supported by two pillars. The two pillars are (i) democracy, or freedom if you prefer to call it that way, and (ii) social justice. If either of these pillars is missing, whatever the result may be, I cannot call it socialism. It might become State capitalism, it might become tyranny, it might become dictatorship, but it certainly ceases to be socialism. It is a conception of this type which the common man understands and appreciates, and the Socialist movement, if it has to go forward, has to put forward a conception in terms which the common man will understand. Theses and dogmas are all very well for pandits. But if the Socialist movement has to be a people's movement, and I say it must be a people's movement in that case it must be taken to the people in terms which they can understand.

Before I resume my seat I would like to put forward one or two suggestions for the Socialist movement. If the socialist movement is to be democratic we must apply our mind a little more seriously to the fundamental issues which to-day in this country are militating against democracy.

Democracy is not, to my mind, and has never been, one man one vote. It is something more than that. There must be mutual contact. There must be homogeneity. I am not suggesting a drab uniformity of thought. And I am not in the least against linguism in the sense of people wanting administration in languages which they can understand. But linguism expressing itself in the form of separatism is quite a different thing. We must remember that our country, unfortunately, for the last few centuries, has been broken up into compartments, social compartments of caste. To that is now being added sectionalism. If the socialist movement is to go forward it must deal with these things in a vigorous manner.

It is all very well to talk of socialism and democracy. But I see casteism growing and growing tremendously in the last ten years of independence. I do not think we shall go towards democracy, much less towards socialism, unless the youngmen sitting here and the older people as well are willing to recognise some of these facts. Unless they do so, all talk of democracy or socialism will become futile in this country. What might happen I cannot say—I am not

an astrologer and I never like to make predictions—that is in the lap of the Gods. But it is in the hands of these youngmen, determined people who know the goal to which they want to go, to give a direction and lead to the country and not evade the issues.

There are many other issues which the socialist movement has got to tackle. There is the strange brand of Congress Socialism which wants nationalisation of everything, the advocates of which do not realise that this would land us in the lap of a dictator. This menace of Congress socialism has to be dealt with in an appropriate manner by strengthening the genuine Socialist movement.

There are other problems. As far as our policy is concerned, look where we have been brought to to-day by the foreign policies of this Government, by the ultra-affectation and the ultra-soft manner in which our Prime Minister has been providing alibis for the Chinese aggressors and the amazing, were it not so tragic, and strange sight of our Defence Minister sitting in New York trying to bring about peace in the world, coming for a fleeting four days to India and I understand running away before Parliament meets. I wish our dumb members of Parliament would stand up and speak. If things are allowed to go on in this manner I am afraid Shri Menon would land us in the totalitarian camp.

#### SPEECH OF JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN.

Jayaprakash was then called upon to address the Conference.

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN:

I beg your forgiveness. I should not have allowed my feelings to overpower me in the midst of an assembly. But I was overwhelmed. What can I say to you now? What message can I give you? My heart has already conveyed to you whatever message I had for you. No words are adequate to express what heart really feels. Perhaps poets alone sometimes succeed in giving adequate expression to a man's emotions. But I am no poet. What shall I do?

Harris said something yesterday which I am not able to forget. To-day I want to open out my heart to you.

I separated from the Party not because I felt that there was no need for the Praja Socialist Party but because of a more fundamental reason. If I had retained my faith in the party system of Government I would have continued to be a member of the P.S.P. But I have lost that faith and I have come to believe that the Party

system of democracy is imperfect. Having come to believe that I could not have honestly remained a member of any political party, even the Praja Socialist Party, let there be no misunderstanding about it. I left the party not because of any differences with it but because of my differences with the party system as such.

I continue to be a socialist. What is then my conception of Socialism? I do not want to dilate on it on this occasion. I have said whatever I wanted to say on this subject in my paper on "A Plea for the Reconstruction of Human Polity". Suffice it to say for the present that I believe that Sarvodaya alone can help us solve our problems and that I have come to this conclusion after 25 years of practical experience in the socialist movement.

A word about socialism of the Congress Party. One of the objectives of the Congress Socialist Party when it was formed 25 years ago was to convert the Congress to Socialism. We tried to achieve this but failed and came out of it when the objective of National independence was achieved. But six years after we left it the Congress suddenly accepted Socialism as its goal.

It is all so bewildering. The Congress accepted Socialism at the bidding of one man, Jawaharlal Nehru, without being convinced about it. Never in the history of socialism has a socialist party been formed in this fashion. It is like Brahman's creation. No wonder that this act has not resulted in a consolidation of socialist forces in the country. While taking this decision it did not occur to the Congress leaders to consult those who had been in the Congress fold and had left it precisely because Congress would not accept socialism. It seemed as if Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to show that he had achieved single-handed what Yusuf Meharally, Narendra Deva, Achyut Patwardhan, Asoka Mehta, Jayaprakash and others put together could not achieve. He is welcome to this miracle. But what connection is there between scientific socialism and miracles? Socialism of the Congress is hollow precisely because of this. In 1953, just one year before the Congress inscribed Socialism on its banners at its Avadi Session, Jawaharlal Nehru had turned down the fourteen-point programme suggested by the PSP as a precondition for Congress—PSP coalition and told me that time was not yet ripe for it. His words still ring in my ears. "Let us come together", he had said, "Let us join hands and work together without any commitments or previous understanding about any programme, about what we shall do while we are together. As questions come up we shall deal with them and solve them". The talks ended at this point as it was not our way of doing things.

I thought it would be useful to recollect this episode today, when the whole context has changed. You will remember that we declined

Shri Nehru's offer at a time when the Congress was not even formally committed to socialism. It was the right thing to do at that time, for how could a Socialist Party agree to enter into a coalition government with another party which refused even to discuss a socialist programme? Things, however, have changed now. The Congress has officially adopted the goal of Democratic Socialism, and it is not my habit to doubt anyone's bonafides. I accept the Congress declaration at its face value. Having accepted Socialism, the Congress might have decided to renew the talks that had broken only on this point. It did not do so. But I am not concerned with that. I am also aware that there are quite a few amongst you, as there were at the time those talks took place, who would not think of co-operating with the Congress under any circumstances. In my humble opinion one should not enter the political field with such fixed sentiments. In politics one does not wage a battle of sentiments. Here one endeavours to look at everything from the point of view of the best way of achieving one's objectives. You will excuse me if I say that it had often appeared to me when I was in the Party, and even after I withdrew from it, that some of us have not acquired that maturity one associates with grown adults. There are party members who are obsessed with the suspicion that the National Executive is ever on the look-out for an opportunity to betray the party. So that the National Executive does not break loose, they are constantly devising means to keep it properly shackled. Purshottam did not exactly use these words but, I believe, this is what he wanted to say.

I want to submit that you should think over this point. It has become a complex with some. The socialist movement is now 25 years old. When shall we become mature and make a clean break with infantilism? It is an old Indian custom that when the son attains 25 years of age he is entrusted with full responsibility for managing the household. The elders go into comparative retirement, enter the stage of BANAPRASTHA. Purshottam and I have chosen to enter that stage. You have now to shoulder full responsibility. You can't afford to be slipshod in your methods or remain immature any longer. You will not achieve anything if you continue to imagine ghosts and skeletons at every corner, like my old friend Ram Manohar Lohia. You must be mature, deliberative and bold. Act with confidence. I will not want you to do anything that goes against your grain, which revolts your self-respect or degrades you in the public eye. Let no one ever be able to say that the Praja Socialists are going a begging. I can say with full confidence that whatever other shortcomings the Praja Socialists might have been suffering from they have never manoeuvred for place or positions of power. Temptations have come their way, but they have never succumbed to them. But, sometimes I have a feeling that in order that no one can raise the accusing finger against you, you tend to use language which betrays weakness rather

than strength. Your resolutions, statements of Policy and other documents are not very unoften replete with such utterances. I have gone through it and I know how it all happens. I, however, believe, and I want to repeat it, that if Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress Party want to build a system based on Democratic Socialism in India, it will be their duty to approach the PSP and secure its co-operation.

Socialist construction is not an easy task. What the Congress party is coming to is an open secret. The manner in which it is disintegrating is leaving its mark on all those who come into contact with it. It is affecting you also. The quarrels, the casteism, the cliques and other maladies the Congress is suffering from are spreading infection all around. This mighty structure is toppling over and it will not be possible for anyone to spend a lifetime under its roof. Time was when Congressmen used to look down on all others. They are, however, beginning to appreciate reality. In Kerala, they have already been forced to climb down from their high pedestal. They had no hesitation in joining hands with the PSP there. Kerala and Orissa seem to indicate that the Congress Party is arrogant and contemptuous of others where it is in a majority by itself, but is willing to seek terms of settlement wherever it is in a bad way. This is no high idealism of which the Congress even now sometimes boasts. Under these circumstances, you are faced with a queer situation. You have undoubted responsibility for the national good and reconstruction. But one cannot fail to appreciate that the responsibility of the Congress, and therefore of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, is much greater.

The concept of socialism is undergoing change and evolution all over the world. It is apparent that socialism cannot survive unless it changes and grows with time. Indian socialists have not made a mean contribution to this process of growth, although at times it appears to me as if that intellectual ferment that was our characteristic is beginning to dim. Discussion, research, argument, clash of ideas, however, still mark your deliberations. What is the position in the Congress? Have you ever heard of such discussions and clashes of ideas at the annual Sessions of the Congress or at A.I.C.C. meetings? Have you ever witnessed the spectacle of a grand ideological debate on the basis of opposing theses put forward by Nehru and others? I dare say you have not. There whatever Nehru says is accepted without discussion. How can then Nehru seek earnest co-operation of the Praja Socialists who are in the habit of questioning the ideas or policies put forward by their greatest leaders? Congressmen will not be comfortable in your company, more so Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who can, perhaps, be aptly described as a Democratic Dictator. It is, indeed, always difficult for a person of this temperament to work in an organisation where discussions and arguments take place at every step, at every turn on the way. Socialists, no

doubt, are prone to interminable discussions and arguments. A little less of these admirable qualities, and a little more of practical activity will, I am sure, do you no harm. I am saying all this because I strongly believe that socialist construction is no child's play. It requires the maximum concentration of all forces that can be gathered together. I make bold to suggest to my old friend Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia that even he should consider how the socialist forces can come together and grow.

We have on the one hand Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a Democratic Dictator, and on the other Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia whom I hesitate to describe thus, although he loves to be in an organisation where he predominates, where whatever he says goes, whatever he does is not questioned. This creates all manner of difficulties. Here we have the bearded Asoka Mehta, and others, who do not consider their intellect to be in any way inferior to that of Dr. Lohia. I tried once to bring together the PSP and the S.P., although even at that time I had ceased to be in partisan politics. I failed. It will not be possible for me to make another attempt. But, if you believe that such a thing should come about it is for you to take the initiative. I want these words to reach Pandit Nehru's ears because I believe that the initiative must come from him. It is for him to say that all democratic socialists should come together.

Friends, I am not in politics, but I do want to say one thing. Many persons, among of whom there are some who belong to the Congress, often ask this question: "What is the difference now? The Congress has accepted socialism. Why don't the socialists join it?" I wonder if there are any amongst you here who think along these lines. I am not referring to those who may, as individuals, think of joining the Congress. I am referring to those who may sponsor the idea of the PSP as such entering the Congress. I will be sorry if such an individual is found in this gathering. You will, perhaps, say that I am contradicting myself. But I am doing no such thing. The true state of the Congress cannot be imagined from this great city of Bombay or Parliamentary lobbies.—You must look around in the far-flung, interior areas of the country. You will then find how fast the structure of the Congress is crumbling to pieces. Try however we may we will not be able to arrest its downfall for long. It will be a mistake, a folly, if anyone imagines that the PSP can rebuild the Congress by joining it. I believe with comrade Albert Carthy that even if the PSP today is not a very big party, it will be wrong to underestimate its strength. The influence that this party has exercised over the course of events in the last 25 years of its existence, on the people at large, on the Congress, on other parties, will be estimated and correctly assessed by future historians. I can say only this much that you have more than justified your existence and that history will

justify your continued existence. Future is with you, I have no doubt about it.

Last year, when I went abroad to Europe, I was invited to the Council meeting of the Socialist International although I am no longer a member of any Socialist Party. I am grateful to them for this kindness, for this generosity. I would like to repeat here what I told my socialist friends in Europe. The greatest obstacle in the way of a speedy and decisive advance of socialism in India is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I say this with a full sense of responsibility. I am aware of the fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been a socialist. He has been constantly talking of Socialism for last three decades or more. But what is the character of the organisation that he leads? You will remember what Rajaji said at the time of the inauguration of the Swatantra Party here in Bombay, some time ago. I say, again with a full sense of responsibility, that at least eighty percent of Congress members agree with the points made by Rajaji against the Congress. In spite of what Pandit Nehru may say or wish, socialism cannot strike roots in the Congress, the hard core of which is in fact conservative. The Congress cannot be an instrument for the building up of socialism in India.

The mis-conception about the socialism of the Congress arises from the fact that Pandit Nehru is the sole arbiter of the Congress fate, and he is popularly believed to be a socialist. I would ardently wish the coming together of socialists inside the Congress, who do not number more than twenty per cent, the PSP and other democratic socialist elements in the country and thus founding a new and powerful socialist party. Such a consummation alone can give a push to the movement and give it a sweep that is lacking today among the many parties that are described as socialist. Will such a thing come to pass? Who knows? But history is not completely void of such fateful happenings. Let us hope it will. In that event, the P.S.P. will have a crucial role to play. It will form the hard core of the new movement. What will happen if it ceases to be just at the time when history may give the call? What will happen if you have ceased to exist as an effective party just at that crucial moment? That will be a catastrophe. Therefore you must continue to exist as a vital party of socialism. I am afraid Pandit Nehru may be the greatest opponent of such a consummation. But, I also believe that when he gives up the reins of power the evolution of the Congress towards socialism will stop. The socialists inside the Congress will then have to seek company outside and join hands with them. This is how I view the shape of things to come—provided the present system of party and parliamentary government does not crack before that. In this shape of things to come I can see you occupying an important place. In fact I see you at the centre of the stage. I believe that

you will be the main actor on the stage of politics in not too distant a future.

Sometimes when I talk to friends, my socialist friends, I have a feeling that they are beginning to lose confidence in themselves. I hope that is not so. I hope that you will go back with increased self-confidence from this Silver Jubilee of the Socialist movement in India. You are faced with great odds, the greatest of which are lack of press and financial resources. I have experience of these difficulties. Hope you will overcome them, I don't know. You have to think over the problem and solve it. Friends, I have deliberately placed these points before you because I hope you will give thought to them and pursue them with all your vigour. I can assure you that if you do so the whole picture will change and broad vistas will push present narrowness out of the view.

May I refer now to something that is personal? I know I have always enjoyed your love and affection. That I continue to do so is also apparent to me from your ovations and invitations. I fully reciprocate these sentiments. But sentiments apart, your invitations to me to rejoin you in your endeavours do not seem to me to be very relevant. As an illustration—and not because I have any illusions about or pretensions to greatness—I will ask you to recall what Shri Aurbindo told those who had gone to plead with him to return to Bengal and lead the country in the nationalist struggle: "I have changed. You want the old Aurbindo, who has long since ceased to exist. You don't want Aurbindo as he is today. He is useless to you." I could repeat the same words to you. I have never indulged in half measures. Half-heartedness has not been one of the traits of my character. Whatever I take up, I take up wholeheartedly and devote all my heart and soul to it. It was so when I was in politics.

"Jeevandan" is today used in a particular context. But as far as I am concerned I have always been a Jeevandani in practice. That is in my temperament. I dedicated myself to the Congress Socialist Party when I was working for it. Prabhavati knows how many days in a year I spent at home during those hectic days. Friends, I have no doubt in my mind that you do want me to return to the fold. You want me, but do you agree with my present mode of thinking? You want me but you don't accept my ideas. You want Jayaprakash that you knew more than ten years ago. You want the old Jayaprakash to be your comrade again, you want him to return to politics. But I tell you that the Jayaprakash you want has ceased to be. I can no longer function as a partyman. It is, perhaps, difficult for you to appreciate this. But I hope that before very long you will begin to appreciate it. I have not come here to expalin my new ideas to you or to convert you to them. I have already put down in writing what I have to say. I do hope that slowly, gradually,

you will begin to realise that the way that leads to socialism goes through a different route. I make bold to say that the old, beaten track to socialism has been tried and found wanting. Is it not time that we look for a new path, search for it, re-search for it? I am engaged in that pursuit. Will you join me in that? You want me to rejoin you, and I want you to come with me in search for new horizons, or at least new roads that lead to old, recognised, familiar horizons. You say you regard me as your leader still. If that is so, why don't you join me? I am not hiding myself anywhere. I haven't repaired to the Himalayas for silent meditation. My life continues to be as active as it ever was. Frankly, then, you are not prepared to come my way. But, friends, let me hasten to assure you that I do not consider the different paths that we are following as mutually contradictory, hostile or exclusive of each other. Had I believed that what you are doing is hostile to what I want to achieve you would not have found me here today to witness the sturdy tree that has grown out of the seeds I helped to plant twentyfive years ago. What we both are doing does not cancel each other but supplements each other. You will therefore be very much in the wrong if you think that what I am engaged in today is creating obstacles in your way. You want to establish Socialist institutions. I want to achieve a socialist man. That is the only difference between us. I want to see that socialist values inform the actions of every single individual in society. I am a small man. I was not referring to myself individually. I was thinking of the trail already blazed by Gandhiji and Vinoba in this field. Socialism cannot be achieved by means of and through State power. Today you are not in power. That's why perhaps, you don't seem to realise this fact. When you attain power you will see that a system of laws cannot lead to a system of genuine socialism, of social reconstruction. I regret to say that what you are doing will not, cannot, lead to a change in the fundamentals, to a basic revolution, to a structural change in human society. You know I am not given to boasting or making tall claims. But I can say it with confidence that I am engaged in precisely such a pursuit, that I am ahead of you, not behind you in the essential task of changing the fundamentals of man and society.

I have taken longer than I had intended to. But you will bear with me for a while more. I have been pressed by some friends to say something on the question of Chinese aggression. I hesitated a lot before agreeing to the suggestion because for one thing I am speaking in Hindi, and for another, I always try to put forward my views in a balanced way. There are pressmen here who will perhaps not be able to follow Hindi properly. I don't blame them for that, but I have often been a victim of misreporting. This is a delicate issue and I don't want to be misreported. However, I have been persuaded to take this risk by my friends.

Ganga Babu and Harris have already spoken here on this issue. Kripalaniji and Asoka have already spoken on it in the Parliament. Other PSP leaders have commented on it among the general public. What can I add to it all?

I want to say one thing which perhaps you may not be expecting from me. Talking on the issue of Chinese aggression on India I am, somehow, led to think of the Father of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi. If you have not completely forgotten him yet, you may also be thinking of him on this occasion. There will be many among you here who took active part in the struggle for our independence. Gathered together in Nasik Jail, in 1933-34 when we were thinking about the formation of the Congress Socialist Party, a question that had often come before us was whether it would be possible for India to win national independence by non-violent means. I remember I had at that time firmly believed that it would be impossible to do so. And yet it came to pass that we achieved our independence by non-violence. This fact has left a deep imprint on my mind. The force of non-violence. Events that took place in the world after that, the near disaster to which humanity has been driven since then only served to reinforce this new trend in my thinking. More and more people all over the world are coming to believe that war can solve no problems, settle no issues. War as an instrument of policy has to be given up and humanity is in search of an alternative. Gandhi demonstrated that national independence can be won by non-violent means. Do you think he would say that although we can win independence without the use of force yet we shall not be able to defend our independence without it? Did he ever say that? What is the PSP doing to recall this? What has it done so that the people at large are reminded of it?

All of us agree that war is not only destructive but has now become futile. The two giants in the international arena who stand poised against each other, even they have come to realise that if they collide it would mean universal destruction. Eisenhower and Khrushchev are both compelled to propagate for peace in distant corners of the world. Friends, I do not for a moment deny that non-violence has not gathered enough strength in this country to be able to defend it non-violently. Even this idea that if we could win independence non-violently we can defend it without brutal force has not gained much currency. The prevailing atmosphere is also not favourable. Our countrymen have a tendency to come to blows at the slightest irritation. We have thus not cultivated that discipline. But may I ask you if you know of any country in this wide world today which can hope to defend itself adequately by force of arms? I dare say you will not be able to spot one such nation which can be confident of successfully defending herself against foreign aggression. But I

can say with utmost confidence that even the smallest nation, even little Tibet, cannot be vanquished if she truly cultivates and practises the technique of non-violent resistance. Every single Tibetan may perish in the attempt, but Tibet will not be vanquished.

It was years ago that Gandhiji expounded this doctrine of national defence against foreign aggression by non-violent means. Public memory is proverbially short and it might have been forgotten. But have we not amongst us today Vinoba who is raising his perhaps yet feeble voice in favour of Shanti Sena or Peace Brigade? In the Parliament, whenever the question of the Military Budget comes up for discussion and approval all opposition parties and individuals, with the exception of Acharya Kripalani, line up behind the government. We talk of Gandhiji at every step, we invoke his blessings at every turn, we aspire for peace and non-violence, but we will not do anything to strengthen the roots of non-violence. It is a queer situation. But let us not forget that unless we consciously, deliberately do so, we shall be cheated of peace and head for sure destruction. Let us be warned in time. Friends, you will now appreciate why my thoughts inevitably go towards Gandhiji at this moment.

It is a pity that even after twelve years of achieving national independence we do not find ourselves in a position where we can hope to defend our country by peaceful and non-violent methods. Placed in this situation we may have no alternative but resorting to arms for this purpose. Gandhiji never at any time said—neither does Vinoba say it today—that we should not use arms to defend our country against foreign aggression even if we have not generated enough strength to defend it non-violently. I commended the first course to you because it is your responsibility as much as Vinoba's to see that the people acquire the necessary will and determination not to surrender to any one, not to co-operate with any aggressor, not to hesitate to lay down their lives without resorting to the force of arms. No one will dare attack our country if the four hundred million people of India make their determination manifest; for what can an aggressor hope to achieve by attacking a country of such resolute men and women! I have mentioned this here because I want to remind the people of this country that the advice to avoid war and resort to peaceful methods is not meant for others alone. If two thousand Shanti Sainiks or soldiers of peace were to reach Ladakh and interpose themselves between Chinese and Indian armies—if these soldiers of peace were able to reach an understanding with our army that it will not shoot until all of them have been shot dead first—were this to happen, an absolutely new situation will have been created and mankind will have added a new and glorious chapter to its history. As I see it we have no alternative but to prepare the country for this ordeal. I concede that today the people are not ready for this supreme effort of will. But here is an opportunity to learn and to

train ourselves in this discipline. Let us seize it and make the most of it.

Khrushchev and Eisenhower are not tired of talking of peace. Why do they do it? Not because they believe that the way of peace and non-violence is the noblest way but because they are afraid of violence and mass destruction. They are afraid of each others' power to destroy and to annihilate. We have, on the contrary, implicit faith in the way of peace and non-violence. We have achieved spectacular results by following it. We can boast of a tradition in this it is the noblest way and we have to tread on it come what may. It is your duty to propagate these ideas. I will be happy if you talk about it in your public and private utterances.

We can at least aspire to create an atmosphere in this country in which hatred does not grow. Let us hold on to every inch of our soil with unflinching determination, but let us at the same time conduct ourselves in such a manner that the atmosphere is not vitiated. Let us be rid of hatred, antagonism and enmity. Can we not achieve even this? Then, there are those who spread fear among the people. They talk of the Chinese might and our comparative weakness. You must counteract this vicious propaganda. Indians have to be bold brave and confident. They have to banish fear from their minds, for then alone can they hope to live upto the high ideals of fearless patriotism. As Gandhiji once said, we shall fight with a stout heart if we have to fight after all. It is from this point of view that I am a supporter of the policy being pursued by Pandit Nehru and the Government of India.

Purshottam referred to the role of Shri Krishna Menon. I must confess that it does appear to me somewhat queer that we are unable to find anyone except Krishna Menon to represent us at the United Nations. Why can't, for instance, our Ambassador to the United States, Shri Chagla, be entrusted with this responsibility? Why should our Defence Minister be required to absent himself from India for months together at this grave and crucial juncture? Why do we have a man at the helm of our defence who has to go out of the country so often and for so long for other purposes? I have tremendous personal regard and affection for Pandit Nehru. But I also happen to know, by virtue of my long association with him, his essential nature and temperament. It is his habit always to assail his critics mercilessly while at the same time to go on considering and reconsidering, slowly but surely, the points made by them. You will remember, for instance, how Panditji accepted most of what you had to say on Tibet although he never tired of saying that you were entirely in the wrong about it all. Take, again, this case of Chinese aggression. Who can deny that we have been caught napping. The

Chinese were making feverish preparations while we were blissfully ignorant and consequently unprepared to meet the danger. We had such implicit confidence in them that we did not care to even keep us informed about what they were doing on their borders. Panditji has to own responsibility for this lapse, and he will. More than him, however, it is Krishna Menon who is responsible for this state of utter unpreparedness on our part. It is nothing short of neglect and dereliction of duty.

Now, of course, they say that we are fully aware of the magnitude of the danger involved, that we are vigilant. We have no option but to accept their words at their face value, although we also need to be more vigilant considering what has happened in the past. China has already grabbed a part of our territory. It is not impossible that she will try to move forward. It is, therefore, incumbent on us to see that we are strong and prepared enough to repel them if they try to move by another inch into our territory. I am sorry to say that Pandit Nehru merely evades the issue when he says that it is not possible to police the entire 2500 mile long of our border with China. Who suggested that we should post a soldier at every foot of this long border? The question is of being so vigilant that the Chinese cannot make a move forward. I wonder how can the Prime Minister of a country allow himself to make such utterances. And if he persists in it, I hope the people of India will refuse to heed them. In no case should it come to pass again that the Chinese occupy another inch of our soil. We do not want to advance by an inch into their territory. If we have done so by mistake let us by all means investigate it and rectify our error. But we cannot allow them to come into our territory. Our task is therefore two-fold. We have to be vigilant enough not to allow them to advance further and we have to be strong enough to recover our lost territory.

You will ask me what are the means of recovering what we have already lost? Negotiations can be one way of doing it. If there is any chance of their seeing and vacating what they have occupied in our territory, let us by all means sit across the table and talk it over. Panditji likes to repeat that he will not surrender an inch of our land to forceful occupation. But, here it is. The Chinese have forcefully occupied an area of our land which cannot be measured in inches. What about it? I am compelled to say that if it may be necessary to recover it by fighting, let us fight. But I do want to emphasize that we should not close the door on negotiations to recover the lost territory while we are seeing to it that they do not advance further. We will perhaps even be justified in saying that we shall not negotiate until they vacate their aggression. But I will not insist on it. I will, however, insist that they vacate the territory that belongs to us at least after the negotiations are over. If they do not do it, we may have no option but to drive them out by force.

I believe there will be no war between India and China. Why are the Chinese doing all this? They are not foolish enough not to realise its consequences. Experts all over the world have tried to analyse their motives. This is not the place to go into it. We shall, however, have to take note of its military as well as political aspect. The people of Asia in general and India in particular must recognise the true character of Chinese communism and guard against it.

I don't think International Communism is such an organised movement or strategy as to allow of only one interpretation. After all, Yugoslavia, from which a goodwill mission has come here to attend this Conference, is also a party of international Communism. I have great respect for Yugoslav communism in spite of the fact that I regret the lack of personal freedom in it. It is a matter of great sorrow to me that Djilas is in a Yugoslav prison today. I am thus not unaware of this lack in their system. Nor do I belittle the many difficulties that beset their path. But I do hope and wish that they will rise further in their progress and allow individuals to criticise the government of the day.

Soviet Communism which has been responsible for a great transformation of society in Russia also forms part of international communism. It has seen the emergence of a new class which is concerned with securing their daily necessities and comforts and enjoying a peaceful life much more than with communism as an ideology. It is thus not possible to circumscribe international communism within the narrow confines of one interpretation, of one picture. Chinese, Russian and Yugoslav communism present different pictures. We will have to grasp this reality. They, of course, form one bloc, let us not forget that as well. But we shall be ignoring reality if we, at the same time, overlook the contradictions within that bloc. Chinese aggression provides us with an opportunity to make the people of Asia aware about all these aspects of the situation that faces them and us.

Two points more and I conclude. Panditji has laid great emphasis on the point that in spite of this Chinese question we stick to our international policy and cannot alter it. I support this assertion. But I also agree with what Purshottam and other friends have said that our international policy in practice intends to incline towards one side. Panditji, I am sure, will have to give up this inclining non-aligned posture. He will have to admit that this policy has failed. I believe that if Panditji can overcome this inclination he will begin to occupy a straight and correct position. Whether in that case Krishna Menon will be able to continue to stand with him I don't know; I personally doubt very much. There are some people in this country who have begun to say that in view of the Chinese menace

India should align itself with the other camp. But I consider it to be an argument of weakness.

My second point relates to Pakistan. I hope you will express yourself on it. We are in fact blood brothers. One can debate about whether Russians and Indians, Chinese and Indians are brothers or not. But no one can dispute the fact that Pakistanis and Indians are brothers. We have had our quarrels. A third party was there once to aggravate these quarrels, which is now no more. A new situation has arisen and I was happy to read what Pandit Nehru had to say about President Ayub Khan. I am indeed very happy to find the considerable improvement in the tone and attitude of the Government of Pakistan ever since President Ayub Khan has come to the helm of affairs in that country. He has expressed himself with utter seriousness on the various problems that plague our relations and he has every time emphasized the desirability of our drawing closer to each other.

I firmly believe that sooner or later India and Pakistan will come together. They cannot continue to be hostile to each other for long. President Ayub Khan has already raised the question of joint defence of the two countries. I must confess that I am not entirely satisfied with what Panditji has so far said on this subject. He has tended to dismiss it as a matter of no consequence. I don't believe that NATO or SEATO have any important place in the world as we find it today. What is their function? I may not be so sure about NATO, but one can legitimately enquire about the usefulness of SEATO. I fail to understand how will Pakistan, Iran and Turkey defend themselves by banding together, and against whom? I, therefore, hope that rulers of Pakistan will give thought to this question. Does this type of combination serve them any longer? Do they really need it? From Cairo to Djakarta, the nations of this important part of the world have non-aligned themselves with any bloc and have adopted an independent policy. Why can't Pakistan also adopt such a policy? Of whom is it afraid? What is it afraid of? And can it honestly hope to meet the danger if there is any, by banding itself together with Iran and Turkey? It can hope to meet this danger only by coming together with India, just as India can feel much more secure such a development. India cannot be defended without defending Pakistan just as Pakistan cannot feel secure if India is in danger. Those who understand military strategy will not deny the essential correctness of this premise.

# RESOLUTION ON CHINESE AGGRESSION:

The Chairman called upon H. V. Kamath to move the resolution on Chinese Aggression. (See Appendix "C") H. V. Kamath (Madhya Pradesh):

Let us first of all pay our homage to our compatriots who fell in Ladakh and NEFA while fighting the Chinese aggressor.

Friends, the military occupation of a big part of Ladakh by the Chinese Communists is the direct consequence of India's capitulation nine years ago. When the Chinese armies marched into Tibet in October 1950, our Prime Minister rightly denounced their conquest as "so-called liberation". Yet, India refused to support the Tibetans in the United Nations. And, today, when the Chinese have marched into our soil, we are all amazed. Not many of us realise that this is the studied strategy of world communism to expand. The Chinese attempts are part of their efforts at colonisation of the whole of Eastern and South Eastern Asia. It is important to remember this aspect of the situation. A failure to realise this would spell disaster.

The Chinese claim on our territory is equal to three times the size of Kerala, or the total area of the State of Kerala and West Bengal. They have occupied areas in Ladakh and NEFA, which should better be named as Naga Pradesh. Kailas, the abode of Siva and Parvati, has gone Red. While the Chinese are busy in their designs, the Government of India has taken a curious attitude. Our Prime Minister very rightly denounced the Anglo-French attack on the Suez three years ago. Yet, he has not denounced China for attacking Ladakh. He reposes a pathetic trust in China. He however has no faith in his own people, in the Indian people.

He knew of the Chinese machinations. But, had he then wisely acted, we would not have been helpless as we are to-day. He had in his possession vital information three, or may be, four years ago, when Sinkiang was declared a closed area. But even after that, police, and not military, was posted to guard the frontiers. In July last year, when I visited the area, the Chinese military had advanced to Nathula and on our side we only had the police to defend the area.

The Prime Minister failed to defend the integrity of the country. His policy led to a sorry state of affairs and brought the enemy into our territory. He kept away from the people information which they had the right to know. In a democratic country, where traditions of democracy are well laid and strong, a Prime Minister with such a dismal record of failure should have, on his own, tendered his resignation and asked his party to elect a new leader. Our Prime Minister

should have this honesty and courage. Our Defence Minister has lived in England, the mother of parliamentary democracy, for thirty years. Yet, from New York, he lashes out at the opposition and condemns it for exploiting the situation, instead of doing so in the Lok Sabha.

An estimate of Chinese intentions can be made by recalling that while the Soviet Union supported India's claim in Kashmir, and Khrushchev publicly expressed his support, the Chinese have maintained sinister silence. It is obvious that they had their eyes on Ladakh and therefore they did not admit India's claim.

However, it is a matter of gratification for us that the vast majority of our people, barring a few Communists, are determined to unitedly defend the country. On the other hand, it is a matter of shame that those who are equivocal on the issue and support of Chinese Communists are not the Communist rulers of the USSR or Czechoslovakia but the Communist Party of India. We are not at all surprised at this. Seventeen years ago these same persons had betrayed the freedom movement and had dubbed Gandhiji, Netaji and J.P. as Quislings. And, because Stalin ordered them so, they called the imperialist war as people's war. However, the people of India will take care to see that they do not have a place among us.

I suspect that the Chinese have a plan up their sleeves. Our Prime Minister accepted the Chinese condition that our soldiers will go unarmed to receive the dead bodies of our countrymen. By doing thus, he admitted the claim of the Chinese to that area. Our Government is not firm.

We have to mobilise popular opinion against such a vacillating policy. It is the duty of the press and of our public men to impress upon the Government our grave determination not to tolerate any weakness, any complacency against the aggressors. The Prime Minister, by his weak-kneed policy, is corroding the people's spirit of resistance.

He said: "don't be excited, be calm and cool." I wish he had followed this advice himself before giving it to others. Physician heal thyself. He has used a language which no other Prime Minister in the world has used. "Do you want me to dance, there want me to do?", he asked. Well, we don't want him to dance, there is the Lalit Kala Academy to do that for him. We want him to send the army to the border. We want him to prepare the people psychologically. We do not want to wage an aggressive war. We do not want to spread war phobia. But we want to defend ourselves and meet the Chinese threat. We want the Prime Minister to prepare the people for war, if war comes. But by his weak-kneed policy

he is corroding the will of the people for resistance and defence. China said that if we tried to recover our territory they would cross the McMahon Line, that is invade India. I ask you, if India is invaded, should we not fight? We shall fight if an inch of territory is taken from us. We need to-day the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi who could resist where resistance was necessary. In such circumstances, Mahatma Gandhi, whose name is often invoked by the Prime Minister, would never have advised us to surrender. This is what he said: "I do believe that where there is a choice between cowardice and violence I would advise violence . . . I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour. I would risk violence a thousand times rather than the emasculation of a whole race. I don't say 'eschew violence' in your dealings with robbers or with nations that may invade India."

Netaji said: "Comrades, India is calling you. The souls of your comrades are urging you on to still braver deeds. Gird up your loins for the hard battle that lies ahead. There can be no rest and no pause for us . . . Our gallant comrades have paid for India's liberty with their own blood. We are proud of them. But we too must be ready for that supreme sacrifice."

Jai Hind.

Chairman: Nath Pai will second the resolution.

NATH PAI (Maharashtra):

I am conscious that it is not possible to contribute substantially to the touching appeal Kamathji made to you all. At the outset, I would like to emphasise one fact about this resolution. For us in the P.S.P., resistance to Chinese aggression is not a party matter. This resolution tries to symbolise the reaction of an average Indian to the threat with which this country is confronted. This is the first thing I would like to humbly claim for this resolution.

I wish to point out to another fact. That is the fact of Chinese aggression, the meaning of that aggression and the consequence arising therefrom. I know there are some pandits of international law who perform some tricks of tight wire rope walking and pose the question as to whether what China has done should be called aggression or incursion. It is our conviction that what has happened on our border is a clear case of aggression by China against India. There is no scope for any other word.

The newly independent countries of Asia were full of hope that the new China would join them in the task of building a happy and

prosperous Asia. They expected to profit and benefit from the wisdom and experience of this land of Confucius. But they were shocked and disturbed when in the place where they expected the kindly old face of Confucius they found a Frankenstein with the worst features of Stalinism. It had been expected that communism in China would be of a Chinese variety, shorn of the ugly features it had developed in Russia, and that it would be more humane. But we find that Chinese communism is following the worst features of Stalinism. And this after Stalinism has been rejected in the land of its birth. The consequence of this is that the whole of Asia has been disturbed by what may be called the thud of the jackboot of the Frankenstein that has been treading across the Himalayas of India.

In the olden days the Chinese used to look at India with devotion reverence as the Heavenly land, the land which gave birth to the Buddha, the greatest man according to them. But the attitude of the new China is far different. It is one of insolence. This has come as a shock to India, especially because it had tried to be friend China on all occasions and had even gone out of its way to do so.

The quintessence of the foreign policy of Pandit Nehru was not the furtherance of the interests of India, which is the normal connotation of foreign policy, but the furtherance of the interests of China—I mean getting recognition and respectability in the comity of nations. Some time ago Mr. Harry Truman said that our Prime Minister was an extraordinary Prime Minister. And he was not complimenting our Prime Minister by that remark. India is faced with many problems—food shortage, unemployment, illiteracy, to mention only a few. Our Prime Minister could, if he wished, get Americans interested in extending their co-operation to us to overcome these difficulties. Besides we have got the problems of Kashmir and Goa. But our Prime Minister does not talk about these things. Instead he makes a passionate plea for the seating of China in the United Nations. He even talks of Formosa and mainland China's claim to it. This is what Truman meant by his ironical remark.

Panch Sheel is perhaps the embodiment of the idealism of the Prime Minister. There is an old proverb that a child born to one at one's old age is dearer than other children. Panch Sheel being a child born at the late age of our Prime Minister is perhaps dearer to him than any other thing. You can therefore imagine his agony when the baby lies bayoneted and bleeding by the person who was supposed to be its godfather. It is a bitter pill for any one to swallow.

The facts are very simple. I do not wish to exaggerate anything.

For a number of years China had been publishing maps showing no less than 1/30th of our territory as Chinese territory. When the Government of India raised objections to the circulation of these maps, it was told that these were old maps prepared in the days of Chiang Kai-Shek. All of you know that story. Only humble people like you and me wondered at this fondness for the maps of Chiang Kai-Shek when everything else associated with his name has been obliterated by Communist China. But the meaning of these maps has now become clear.

We had been expecting a friend across the border. We were awakened with a rude shock by the shrieks of the innocent Tibetans. And suddenly, before we had removed the cobwebs which the idealism of the Prime Minister had spun before our visions, we find the prick of the bayonet on our own neck.

There is nothing accidental in all this. I would submit that there is a deep plan behind all this. Look at the map from Ladakh to Naga Pradesh. The Himalayas stretch from Ladakh to Naga Pradesh and have been our sentinel against all invaders. Communist China has set before itself a military target—to advance its frontiers beyond this Himalayan border. They know that the entire sub-continent will be rendered vulnerable then and that the defence of our country will become a very hard task.

As we have pointed out in our resolution, in defending our borders we are not only defending the security and integrity of India which we humbly claim to be our duty. If our neighbours would not consider me presumptuous, I shall humbly submit to them that in defending the McMahon Line, India shall be defending the freedom of other nations in Asia too. (cheers). For, if the McMahon Line collapses, if we surrender on that line, if we fail to defend it, not India alone but the whole of free Asia will be rendered vulnerable. Their freedom and continued existence will be put in jeopardy too. That is what we have to guard against.

One more thing. I would submit that the McMahon Line is not merely a geographical line, a political line dividing China and India, but is the line which separates totalitarianism from democracy, freedom from slavery, dictatorship from democracy. And it is for this reason that we want to defend it.

And how has the Government of India been reacting? If the behaviour of China has shocked us, the behaviour of the India Government has shocked us much more. They have shown an amazing complacency. The ordinary prudence expected of Governments has not at all been displayed. The warning which came in the form of the rape of Tibet was ignored. And even when our own territory

was occupied, did the Government draw the correct inferences from that. Did they make adequate preparations for the defence of the country? No. Instead they have been ridiculing those very people who have been trying to rouse the country to the peril that faces it across the border. The defence of the country continues to be neglected.

Some people may ridicule us. They may say that the P.S.P. has got nothing else to do except bait the Communists. We don't care for such opinions. If the Communists co-operate with the Chinese aggressors, it is our business to expose them.

Now let us see what our Government is doing. Our Defence Minister is in New York defending some minor cause. Our Ambassador to the United States is in the Hague. The High Commissioner of London is on a lecture tour in the United States. These three key persons, who should be directly in touch with the Government, informing and warning them of developments in the world, are instead engaged in such trivial tasks.

We are not irresponsible party. We do not bring shallow charges against the Government. But look at this mockery of the Prime Minister telling us, after all that has happened in NEFA and Ladakh, that there was no serious design behind Chinese aggression. You don't need to be a Field Marshal to know the meaning of Chinese moves.

When it comes to the tragic fact of the shedding of the blood of Indian soldiers defending the Himalayan borders by one who is supposed to be our ally and friend, what are we told? "Don't get angry?" I say we will be small men if we do not get angry when the blood of our soldiers is spilt by the enemy. We are angry and shall continue to be angry.

I agree that we should not be panicky, that we should not be hysterical. It is bad to be panicky, I admit. But it is dangerous to be self-complacent as this Government is.

But this much I say in favour of our Prime Minister that he can be brought, though slowly but ultimately, on the right line. It was the P.S.P. that brought him on the right line in the case of Hungary. And I am proud to belong to a party which has a conscience, which has proved to the world that this nation had a conscience. It was so again on the question of Tibet.

I have no doubt that the Prime Minister will be compelled ultimately to follow the only course which the people of India have been demanding of him, of firm resistance to Chinese aggression against this country.

In this context, our Prime Minister reminds me of Arjuna at the beginning of the Mahabharata war. On seeing the enemy he says: "Oh! these are my friends, these are my cousins. This is Chou, that is Mao." (laughter). "We have had 2,000 years of unbroken cultural association. How shall I strike at them, how shall I fight them." What Krishna told Arjuna is what an average Indian is telling the Prime Minister to-day: "Give up this cowardice. Get up and meet the foe." If he does that, on behalf of my Party, I pledge that, whatever our differences, he shall find us standing behind him when he goes to meet Chou En-lai across the border. (cheers).

I come now to another small issue and that is the role of the Communist Party of India vis-a-vis the crisis facing our country. For the second time in a short period when it was subjected to the test of judging its pretensions of being a patriotic party, it has completely failed. That was so in 1942 and is now in 1959, seventeen years later. Even Russian Communists think that the McMahon Line will have to be the basis of negotiations. Not so our Indian Communists. Messrs. Ranadive and company tell us: "Why insist on that Line?" (cries of shame, shame.)

The Communist Party is again pretending that there is a patriotic section in it led by Dange and E. M. S. Namboodiripad and that these comrades want the McMahon Line to be firm. But Namboodiripad has let the cat out of the bag by saying that not being firm on the McMahon Line will cost the Communists the goodwill of the people. It is therefore to get the votes in the coming Kerala elections that this line is being put out.

For us, as we have said, the McMahon Line is not a carrot to get votes. It is something far more serious and far more sacred.

Let a call go from here for a new determination to defend the country. Sikkim, Nepal and Bhutan are watching us. We have a pledge to defend them. Their readiness to depend on our pledge will depend on our readiness to defend our country.

#### AMENDMENTS.

SUNIL DAS (West Bengal):

I intend to move the following amendments to the resolution on India and Chinese Aggression: In para 6 of the resolution, in line 6, after the words "McMahon Line", add the words "on NEFA—Tibet border and the rest of the traditionally recognised frontier between parts of U.P., Himachal Pradesh and Ladakh region of India and Tibet".

In para 6, line 15, after the words "all vacillations should end, and," the words "a psychology of defence against aggression should be grown and fostered throughout the country" be added.

In para 6, last sentence, add the words "procrastinating and" before the words "weak-kneed policy".

A new para 7 should be added, which will be as follows: "The Party further urges upon the Government to relieve Shri V. K. Krishna Menon from his responsibility as the Defence Minister for his policy of appeasement of the Communist Bloc and for his failure to initiate measures in good time to defend the territorial integrity of India in the Himalayan border region."

My first amendment seeks to fill an obvious gap in the resolution because the northern border of India extends from Ladakh to NEFA, while the McMahon Line is limited upto the area from Bhutan to NEFA. Therefore, if we do not expressly state in the resolution that we stand by the traditional border on the northern border from Ladakh region extending to portions of Himachal Pradesh and U.P., we leave a large portion of our border undefended and at the mercy of the invader. Therefore, I would request the mover of this resolution to accept this very pertinent amendment.

My second amendment relates to the need for raising the people to the needs of civil defence.

The idea behind this amendment is that there is an obvious inter-rugnum between the passage of this resolution and the taking of positive steps by the Government of India, as contemplated in this resolution. I am trying to draw the attention of this house to the fact that during this period of inter-rugnum, our Party has a duty to the people. That duty the party will serve by creating amongst the people a psychology of civil defence. The Party should go about and call on the people in rural and urban areas to prepare for civil defence, and, if possible, to create committees for civil defence embracing all people except those who have taken an attitude of fifth columnist in the matter of aggression on India by China.

My third amendment is a verbal amendment. I do not say that it is very important; nonetheless it will add force to the resolution. As you all know, and as the mover of the resolution has said, this matter has been hanging fire before us and we do not know when any positive steps would be taken. On the one hand, the Prime Minister has repeatedly said that firm steps shall be taken, and, on the other, he says that it does not mean war with China, each statement cancelling the other. This period of procrastination must end. That is why I am moving this amendment to bring this point of

view within the ambit of the resolution. I wish to add a new para to the resolution. This para should read as number 7.

I do not wish to waste your time in speaking on my amendment as the mover of the resolution and its supporter have substantially said what I have put in the form of an amendment. I wish to draw your attention to what Shri Krishna Menon said on October 30 in the United Nations. He has blatantly said that we shall not make issues of things in this particular context of Chinese aggression. He has been blowing hot and cold. What he has dramatised by saying that India shall not tolerate aggression he has minimised by saying that we shall not make issues of things beyond their size. Does he think that India is making a mountain of a molehill? In the same speech he has said that more than its military aspect, it is the political, diplomatic and international aspects of Chinese aggression on the Indian border that are important. In plain words, he seems to suggest that the Indian military should be paralysed, all preparation for the defence of the border and vacation of Chinese occupation in Ladakh should be suspended, while he pleads in the UN for China's admission.

NIKHIL GHATAK (*West Bengal*):

My amendment is: In para 5, line 2, after the words "danger to our country", add the words "both from without and within by the Chinese and their agents in India".

Comrades, my amendment is in line with the speeches made by the mover and supporter of the resolution. We have spoken about what the purpose of the existence of the Communist Party of India is, which is nothing else than expansion of the Russian bloc. If we do not say here that it works in the interests of the Soviet Bloc, the resolution would be incomplete. Secondly, we are giving a call to the people about the possible danger to the country. What is that danger? The danger is from outside, that is, from the Chinese Communists. The internal danger is from the Indian Communists. This danger should be exposed. It should be exposed that the different voices with which the Indian Communist leaders are speaking is nothing but an attempt to confuse the people of India. The reason for their speaking in different voices is best known to them and their masters outside. It should be clearly stated in the resolution. It is with this view that I have moved these amendments to the resolution and I hope that the mover will accept them.

RAM PRATAP GUPTA (*Punjab*):

I wish to move that the following should be added to the resolution at the end:

"Although Pandit Nehru knew that the Chinese had occupied thousands of miles of our territory in Ladakh since 1954, in spite of it, he not only did not take any active step but kept the country in the dark and even invited leaders of China and raised slogans of Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai. This is treason against the country. Very recently, new acts of Chinese aggression have occurred in the Ladakh area and NEFA, and again Pandit Nehru has not taken any measures and is following a Chamberlain-like policy. This is fatal to the country and, as our former Commander-in-Chief, General Cariappa had said, if no necessary steps are taken it would be hundredfold more harmful. But Pandit Nehru dismissed his suggestion as the ravings of a mad man. In view of this, it is essential that if the country has to be defended Shri Nehru must resign. If, however, he does not voluntarily step down, then we must launch a movement to achieve this throughout the country. If Pandit Nehru, with his present mentality, continues as the Prime Minister, history will repeat itself and the consequences of the attacks of the Huns, the Arabs and the Europeans will be repeated. Hence the good of the country demands his resignation.

AMUL DESAI (*Gujarat*):

My amendments are not really amendments, because I don't differ with the spirit and sentiments of the resolution. They are in the form of an addition.

My first amendment is in para 6, in the last sentence, after the words "the P.S.P. will support all steps it will take to defend the integrity and honour of our land", the following: "and immediate removal of aggressors from the area that they have occupied."

My second amendment is: add the following at the end of the resolution: "We demand withdrawal of Shri V. K. Krishna Menon as our UNO delegation leader and his resignation from defence portfolio because by his inclining neutralism he has created a great psychological diffidence in the minds of the people and has successfully dynamited dynamic neutralism."

In history, India has had sufficient number of Mir Jafars and Aminchands. In India the number of those who stabbed the country at the back is not too small. To-day we find the same phenomenon being repeated. Shri Krishna Menon has repeatedly proved by his action that if he is not a full-fledged communist, he is decidedly a fellow traveller. He has tried to bring as many fellow travellers as possible to the Congress in order to encircle Nehru with fellow-travellers. This is a sinister phenomenon.

Let us face realities. We cannot face Chinese aggression with a pro-Chinese Defence Minister. For five years we have been kept in

darkness. When the Chinese were marching Shri Menon was keeping silent. He is the counterpart of Mr. Chou En-Lai and wants more and more territory of India to be captured by China. Let us first fight this enemy within.

There has been a persistent demand that Shri Krishna Menon must not be our Defence Minister. But certain totalitarian elements within the country do not understand the simple fact that a minister who does not command the confidence of the people must not be retained.

Kamath has talked of defence. I would suggest that we must demand immediate action to throw out the Chinese. Then we must not be complacent about the Communist Party which is unpatriotic. We cannot ask for banning the party. But there is another alternative. We must boycott the Communists. We must give a call to the people to practice social boycott against Communists.

B. K. PUTTARAMAIIYA (*Karnatak*):

I want to move the following amendment: Add at the end of the resolution the following: "This conference is of the view that it is necessary that Shri Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister the confidence of the people to lead the country in the face of present danger to our security."

Friends, after the speeches of preceding speakers there is nothing for me to say about Krishna Menon. May I point that, however, that when China was proceeding to occupy our territory Krishna Menon was spending thousands of dollars to get China admitted into the U.N. I do not think we should now support China's claim to admission in the United Nations. I insist that Krishna Menon must be made to resign.

BALBHADRA NARAIN SINGH (*Bihar*):

My first amendment is that in para 1, line 6, the word "loyal" be substituted by the word "sincere". In para 6, the second sentence be written as follows: "The Government should take immediate and firm steps to drive out the aggressor who has wrongfully and forcefully occupied portions of our territory."

May I point out that we can be sincere to a friend, while loyalty is always towards kings and superiors. Secondly, I feel that my second amendment expresses more clearly the sentiments voiced by the mover and seconder of the resolution in their speeches.

NITIN MUKHERJEE (*West Bengal*):

My amendment is: Add after para 5 the following: The Party severely condemns the vacillating and unduly hesitant policy of the Government in regard to Chinese aggression. It also deeply regrets that this Government has utterly failed in its duty to awaken the country to this serious situation beforehand, especially when this aggression is continuing since 1954. It also criticises the defence policy of this Government and demands the immediate resignation of the Defence Minister who has deliberately sown the seeds of discord inside the army on ideological issues and has weakened our defence possibilities seriously. It urges that necessary defence measures should be taken to allay the deep-seated apprehension in the minds of the people and to rouse their energies for the defence of the country."

Friends, let us not stage another Munich by trying to appease China. The Prime Minister has said that China has been expansionist for 2,000 years. She never appreciated our concern for her friendship. A country of 600 millions is bent upon grabbing up territory of neighbouring countries, but she never can dare attack Formosa or Chiang Kai-Shek. She thinks that by attacking her Asian neighbours she can have access to greater resources.

Shri Krishna Menon has shown extra-territorial loyalties. He must immediately resign. Our weakness is making our smaller neighbours, Bhutan and Nepal, apprehensive and they cannot take a firm line on this issue.

KASHINATH MAITRA (*West Bengal*):

My amendment relates to para 6. I would like the following to be added at the end of this para:

"This Conference records its strong condemnation of the sinister attempt lurking behind the recent utterances of the Defence Minister to minimise the gravity of the situation and enormity of the danger by referring to the magnitude of the aggression committed in Kashmir. This Conference views with deepest concern the unpardonable and inexcusable silence of the Prime Minister and his Government to regard the portentous Sino-Indian frontier situation and vehemently condemns the utterly undemocratic, unconstitutional and anti-national policy of keeping the disquieting facts relating to cartographic aggression and actual forcible occupation of large chunks of our national territory by China a clearly guarded secret for a pretty long time and for further trying to negotiate with the aggressors behind the back of the nation and in particular the Parliament. It is time to emphasise that a flood-tide of socialist conscience and a

burning sense of patriotism alone can save the nation at this hour of crisis, and to this sacred task the P.S.P. gives a clarion call to the countrymen to dedicate themselves."

Shri Nehru pursued a policy which is grossly anti national. By encouraging complacency, he has allowed the Chinese to occupy our territory. He never took the people and the Parliament into confidence. This was a clear breach of democratic and constitutional rights. By fostering the illusion that India and China were friends he sacrificed the best interests of the country and promoted anti-national communists.

G. A. VADIVELU (Tamilnad):

Add the following before para 6 of the resolution: "This Conference regrets to note the attitude of the Government of India and condemns it for its weak-kneed policy towards the aggressor."

Moving the resolution, Shri Kamath had rightly criticised the policy of the Prime Minister and his Government. Yet, the resolution makes no reference at all to it. I wish that our resolution should express our sense of disappointment at the weak policy of the Government. Shri Nehru has pursued a policy which is not in the interest of the country.

VASANT SATHE (Maharashtra):

I want the following to be added after para 6: "The Party further demands the removal from his post of the present Defence Minister who is responsible for misleading the nation and keeping it in dark about the activities of the aggressor on our border for a long time. This is highly essential to restore the confidence and faith of the people in the resolve of the Government of India to take firm steps for the defence of our country."

Every speaker here has demanded the removal of Shri Krishna Menon. The country as a whole has no faith in him. A person who has forfeited the confidence of the people must not be the Defence Minister.

D. M. VAGAL (Maharashtra):

My amendment is that the following may be added at the end of para 6: "And in this respect, this conference calls upon the Government to realise that it is high time now to see that the continuation of Shri V. K. Krishna Menon in the post of Defence Ministership will be harmful to us while we are defending the integrity and honour of the country. As such this Conference asks for

the immediate removal of Shri V. K. Krishna Menon from the important post he holds, as continuance of the same will be more harmful to our country."

The purpose of this amendment is clear. It is entirely in the spirit of Kamath's speech. Shri Krishna Menon is busy with all other things but defence. He is our representative in the U.N. and devotes a lot of time there. The needs of defence are much too urgent. He therefore must be replaced.

KESHAV PRASAD SINGH (Madhya Pradesh):

My amendment is that in place of para 6 the following be substituted: "The Party views with grave concern the attitude of the Government of India towards this gravest danger to the freedom and integrity of the country. The Government has been guilty of concealing the fact of aggression in Ladakh, committed by Chinese three years ago by constructing a road through our territory. Even now no effective steps are being taken to defend the borders and the precious lives of our soldiers and our countrymen. Thus it has become crystal clear that security of India is not safe in the hands of the present Government."

"Therefore, this Silver Jubilee session of the P.S.P. demands the resignation of the Prime Minister of India immediately."

RAMSHARAN ANTYANUPRASI (Rajasthan):

I want the following to be added after para 6: "This Conference is of the opinion that in order to strength the defence policy of the country, a defence council should be formed with representatives from all those political elements who are loyal to the country and its constitution."

The repeated demands for dismissal of Krishna Menon have had no effect on the Government. Our resolution has warned the Government against showing any complacency towards the designs of a foreign Government which has responded to our repeated gestures of friendship by a treacherous aggression. I therefore wish that a council of all patriotic political parties be formed to review the defence situation on the borders and to press upon the Government the adoption of policies which some opposition parties might sponsor and which the Government might not neglect. This council will only have advisory functions, and the implementation shall be left to the Government. But the formulation of a defence policy, after consultation with all nationalist elements in the country, would be very desirable and will remove any danger of complacency.

I have stressed the word patriotic with regard to the political parties, as the Communist Party has clearly put itself out of the pale of trust where questions of security of the country are concerned. It may be loyal to China or Russia but it is a traitor to this country.

I request the mover of the resolution to accept my amendment.

### REPLY TO THE DEBATE.

The Chairman then called upon H. V. Kamath to reply to the debate.

H. M. KAMATH (*Madhya Pradesh*):

Ten or twelve amendments have been moved here. Some of them demand the resignation of the Cabinet or the Prime Minister. Some others call for the resignation or dismissal of our Defence Minister. Most of the amendments are concerned with these suggestions. Another amendment just moved by a comrade from Rajasthan calls for the establishment of a Defence Council of representatives of all patriotic parties.

Shri Sunil Das, our friend from West Bengal, has moved two or three amendments. One of them, the first, is proper and I am prepared to accept it. Although not very important, it does add to the resolution. Thus, in paragraph 6, after the words "McMahon Line" these words shall be added: "and the traditional Himalayan frontier governed by treaty, usage and geography, elsewhere from Ladakh to Sikkim." According to the treaty of 1914, our frontier is clearly defined by the McMahon Line from Bhutan to Burma. The other parts of our frontiers from Ladakh to Sikkim are not demarcated by that line. It is, therefore, proper to add these words.

I wish now to take up these amendments one by one and say a few words about each one of them. A few comrades have complained, and to some extent rightly also, that the sentiments expressed in the speech of Shri Nath Pai, and my speech, have not been put in the resolution; that the resolution does not express all of them. To some extent, they are correct. But I will submit to them to consider that it is difficult to put the sentiments expressed and the words used in a speech in a sober resolution.

May I recall that our Party has moved adjournment motions in the Parliament to highlight the issue. It moved adjournment motions with regard to the events in Hungary and Tibet, or lately in the

case of Chinese aggression on the border, or when it was reported that General Thimayya had tendered his resignation. Our leader, Shri Kripalani, has raised this question in the Parliament time and again. Wherever our Party held its meetings, whether in the Punjab or Bengal or Madras, it called for the resignation or dismissal of the Defence Minister. Yet, you should please consider how far it would be proper to make mention of a particular person in a resolution of our Silver Jubilee Conference and thus immortalise this person.

I fully agree with the sentiments expressed here and the demand raised here. I have myself urged this demand while moving the resolution in a language no less strong than used by comrades who have tabled these amendments. I strongly feel on this point. The National Executive had gone into this question. But it unanimously came to the conclusion that mention of a particular name would be improper and it would give immortality to the person concerned. This resolution is of an international and national importance, and all of us should consider this fact. Let us not do anything to detract from the sobriety and the significance of the resolution.

I therefore respectfully and humbly request these friends who have tabled amendments to this effect to withdraw the amendments. I assure them that hereafter, in every meeting which the Party holds, whether in factory or farm, village or town, this question will be raised emphatically and the demand of Mr. Krishna Menon's removal underlined (cheers). I hope these comrades will accede to my request and withdraw their amendments.

The second type of amendments calls for the resignation of the Prime Minister or the Government of India. If the movers of these amendments had read the resolution with attention, they would have not tabled their amendments. You will find that there is a marked difference in the text of the resolution sent to you after the meeting of the Executive a few weeks ago and the text of the present resolution. I request you to consider the following sentence in the last paragraph of the resolution. "In these circumstances all vacillations should end . . . as to compel China to quit Indian territory." In 1942 Gandhiji had raised the slogan of Quit India against the British imperialists. To-day we have been compelled to raise the same slogan again against the Chinese. Let the country resound with the slogan: "Chinese, Quit India."

The resolution also includes the following: "The Party regards it as its duty to warn the Government against the dangers of a weak-kneed policy." Those of our comrades who are anxious that we should criticise, condemn and deplore the weak policies of the Government will please mark the strong warning that the resolution administers to the Government. The resolution clearly describes this

Government as cowardly and fear-stricken. This would satisfy those of our friends who wish to criticise the Government.

May I recall that while moving the resolution I had demanded that the Government should tender a token resignation. I asked for a token resignation only because, even after Nehru's resignation, the Congress Party will elect him alone as the leader of the party in Parliament. Thus there is no alternative. That is why we have not included the demand for Nehru's or his cabinets resignation in our resolution. But a time may come when we shall raise this demand. We have urged upon the Government to accept the Chinese challenge. Our Party has accepted the challenge thrown by China to the self-respect and integrity of India, and we have asked the Government to accept this challenge and clearly tell the Chinese that they must vacate the Indian territory within a specified period. It may be fifteen days or a month or two months. Since the Himalayan terrain and hills are difficult to vacate at once, it may take time; yet the process must start; the process of the withdrawal of the Chinese must begin, let us say, within a fortnight. We wish the period to be specified. It should not be indefinite, for the greater the time you allow them, the deeper will they penetrate. They must be emphatically told to start the process of withdrawal, as a token, whether from Ladakh or other areas, and they must vacate within "not more time than if necessary" as the resolution makes clear.

We have not demanded the resignation of the Government to-day. But if the Government fails to accept the Chinese challenge, and if the Chinese do not vacate the entire Indian border, every inch of the border from Ladakh to NEFA, or the pass they have captured in Lahaul, then a new situation will arise. Then, the Party will identify itself with this demand completely and with all firmness. It shall then demand the resignation of the Prime Minister.

#### RESOLUTION ADOPTED.

The Chairman then put the amendments to vote.

The amendments were put to vote one by one and were rejected.

The amended resolution was then put to vote by the Chairman and was carried unanimously.

#### RESOLUTION ON ALGERIA.

The Chairman called upon Som Prakash Shaida to move the resolution on Algeria (See Appendix).

SOM PRAKASH SHAIKA (Punjab):

In moving this resolution on Algeria, there is no need for me to stress how much we all value freedom. We consider it a fundamental human value. We are tortured when this value is mutilated and trampled down. It is with great sorrow that we view the developments in Algeria, where six lakh Algerians had to lay down their lives in the cause of freedom. In doing so, we commend and applaud the great heroism of the Algerian people and wish to underline their great assertion for freedom.

While we welcome the fact that France has recognised Algeria's right to self determination, we emphatically demand that the provisional Algerian government be recognised as it represents the aspirations of the Algerian people.

Freedom is our first concern and we are deeply interested in the independence of Algeria. It is a human question. Wherever freedom wins, humanity progresses one step forward.

Chairman: M. HARRIS will second the resolution.

M. HARRIS (Maharashtra):

In seconding this resolution, I wish to recall our long association with this struggle for three decades. Our great freedom fighter, Maulana Mohammad Ali, had pledged his support to the Algerians in the early twenties.

India has always been deeply interested in the struggle for freedom anywhere in the world; yet, the struggle of the Middle Eastern and North African countries has particularly interested us. We express our solidarity with our Algerian friends and wish them success in achieving independence. We extend them all our support.

Chairman: Since there are no more speakers, I wish to put the resolution to vote.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### RESOLUTION ON REGIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION.

Mukut Behari Lal was called upon by the Chairman to move the resolution on Regional Economic co-operation (See Appendix).

MUKUT BEHARI LAL (U.P.):

In a world getting closer everyday, the needs of building a welfare economy necessitate a wider regional economic co-operation.

Sometimes economic co-operation is made an instrument of economic imperialism. Yet, co-operation which is based on equality and which is mutually beneficial is always to be desired.

No country should be permitted to dominate less developed countries; on the other hand, they could mutually develop their economies. This makes for easier and quicker economic development. This conference desires that the countries of Asia should evolve such co-operation in their mutual interest.

*Chairman:* Surendra Mohan will second the resolution.

SURENDRA MOHAN (U.P.):

I rise to second the resolution.

India has always been interested in freedom in economic co-operation that this resolution conceives. The countries involved are all, more or less, underdeveloped. While advanced countries of Western European are essaying closer economic co-operation, there is much more reason for the countries of South Asia, who are making tremendous efforts for rapid economic development, to work out their own pattern of such regional economic co-operation. Let us hope that closer co-operation will further Asia's unity and strengthen its freedom.

The Chairman then put the resolution to vote. It was carried unanimously.

The conference was adjourned for lunch, to reassemble at 3 p.m.

NOVEMBER 6, 1959 (AFTERNOON)

*General Secretary's Report:*

The Chairman called upon N. G. Goray, General Secretary of the Party, to present his report.

Goray read out the report (See Appendix).

The Chairman then invited the delegates to speak on the report of the General Secretary.

KAPILDEV SINGH (Bihar):

The General Secretary has stated on page 5 of the report that this is a brief report of the activities of the Party during the past 18 months. In this report, he has said on page 17, that the final battle between democratic socialism and communism will be fought in India,

He has, however, failed to indicate what would be the shape of that democratic socialist party which can come out victorious in this struggle. As an humble member of this party, I wish to say that with the picture of the party which is before us, I am doubtful whether we can win this great battle. The General Secretary, in my opinion, should have given us the organisational picture of the party which could correspond to the needs of the coming battle.

The report should also indicate the measures which the Central office might have adopted during the past year to organise our workers in various states and the tours undertaken by the leaders. After Jayaprakashji left our party, we do not have leaders who would visit the country from one corner to the other; and those what we have lack self-confidence. Yet, there are friends other than Jayaprakashji and Asoka Mehta, who can undertake this job.

Our party suffers from shortage of funds. Earlier, we used to collect purses. Some means should be devised by which money can be raised to help run the local, district and provincial branches.

How is it that instead of reaching the target of enrolling 5 lakh members, which we set before us at Poona, we have enrolled only 2.5 lakhs? We must discuss why we have failed. In the beginning, a team had been formed, consisting of the Chairman, the General Secretary and Asoka Mehta, which had visited U.P. and Bihar. It was expected that they would tour round the country. Our leaders should go round the country to energise party comrades.

We must analyse our defects, formulate a plan of action for the next year and issue a call to our comrades, as was done by Gandhiji in 1942, to work hard. The report should cover all these points.

SURESH GANGRADE (M.P.):

I wish to address my leaders, the gentlemen on the stage. The tears of Jayaprakashji have once again watered the withered plant of our party. We need to give our sweat and blood to nourish it and to see it bloom. After the second general elections, this party has been kept alive only by the efforts of ordinary workers of the party.

*Chairman:* Please speak on the report.

The General Secretary has said that we have not been able to fulfil our targets. This is our weakness. But the responsibility for this lies on the All India leadership and not on ordinary workers. If the targets have not been fulfilled, it is because the people consider the party opportunist. When our workers meet the people for enrolment of membership, they raise questions regarding our policy of

alliance with the Ganatantra in Orissa, the Congress and the Muslim League in Kerala, and the Communist in Maharashtra and West Bengal. This is a sad enough situation.

R. V. SWAMY (*Tamilnad*):

The report of the General Secretary is discussed in every conference. But, the views expressed by the delegates are not given consideration. Again, decisions taken at conference are not carried out. We had, in our resolution on "Tasks Before us", decided to contact 6 lakh agricultural workers during the year. But we did not formulate detailed proposals to implement it. It is not clear from the report as to what has been done with regard to the organisation of the Kisan Panchayat.

Then, a reference has been made to Socialist Unity. In the report, the General Secretary has mentioned the efforts initiated by certain prominent members of the Socialist Party. We think of unity only when others approach us. Unity of all democratic socialists is essential. We, as the bigger party, should deem it our duty to make efforts to build that unity.

CHHABILIDAS MEHTA (*Gujarat*):

In his report, the General Secretary had discussed the activities of the Party after Poona Conference and has referred to activities in Bengal, U.P. and Kerala. But we wish to know what is the attitude of our Party towards the Congress party. Do we consider it a capitalist or a Socialist party? We have seen the real face of the communists in Kerala, but what is the real face of the congress? I feel that the Congress is also following a policy like that of the communists; there may be a difference of degree in the execution of policies between the two parties, but essentially they are the same.

The General Secretary has not referred to the deteriorating economic condition in the country and the failure of the Second Five Year Plan. He should have indicated how we should work for the progress of our underdeveloped country. If the Congress sincerely loves democracy and if it really seeks our co-operation in the planning effort, what shall be our response to it? I wish the report had made this clear.

The Party had adopted a policy of alliance and adjustments. This has rendered the features of our Party indistinct. We have gone back on our policy of having no alliance with Congressmen, communists and communalists, by forming an alliance with the Muslim League.

I wish to record my appreciation of the fine work of the National Executive and commend its success in taking the Party forward. It removed the confusion prevailing in the country, and in the party, and gave a new inspiration to the cadre of the party.

LAKSHMI NARAYAN NAYAK (M.P.):

The General Secretary, has referred to the importance of local bodies. At certain places, we have local bodies in the control of our party. I wish to know what guidance and directions the Central Office of the Party gave them. The report should have mentioned the officials' non-co-operation to such local bodies. I commend the remark in the report that the local bodies are the bases of our democratic life, but I submit that we lose control of these local bodies because we get no guidance from above.

In M.P. there are local bodies in Jabalpur, Sagaur and Tikamgarh which are under our influence. Although I do not expect the General Secretary to give us here a list, we should at least know which of them are doing good work.

We must analyse our mistakes. We must clarify our ideals and should be able to stress our distinguishing features.

Struggles for the people are the backbone of our Party. The report should mention all struggles launched by us, whether big or small. In Tikamgarh, four thousand kisans were evicted and then, leadership of the party, they took possession of 10,000 acres of land. They courted arrest peacefully, faced violence and also resorted to hunger strike. I am informed only today that their crops have been confiscated. The government gave many assurances and pledges, but it has gone back on them. The party should help the Kisans of Tikamgarh.

I regret that the report does not even mention the heroic struggle of Pardi where 20,000 kisans resorted to Satyagraha and some of them went on fast. The report should also mention which members of the National Executive fail to attend its meeting.

I suggest that a board of such comrades as have successfully run their local bodies should be formed. This board should give directions to our comrades in local bodies. It is a matter of deep regret that our comrades fight amongst themselves for the supersession of local bodies which sometimes leads to their supersession.

V. P. SATHE (*Maharashtra*):

I can hardly consider it a report by the General Secretary of the party. He says that he does not wish to crowd the report with

ideals. That can hardly be an explanation for what we have before us for a report. And, although, the responsibility of running the organisation is that of all of us, the ultimate responsibility is of the leaders who will have to make the Party a moving vehicle. It is sad that the report has referred only to the Akali Dal, Ganatantra Parishad and the Sino-Indian issue, and there it ends.

The report of the General Secretary should be a report of activities for the whole year. It should be a detailed report and may include an analysis of our shortcomings as well. It is not that the Party has not gone ahead. Lot of work has been put in, and Nana Saheb also toured as much as he could. But a feeling has come to endure that although we hold the rein, the horse has bolted. We have to take steps to alter the situation.

I hope that this report will not establish a precedent for such reports to be presented at future conferences.

**RAM PRATAB GUHA (Punjab):**

In Poona, Asoka Mehta had asked us to build our Party as an alternative to the Congress Party. Have we been able to contact the people to achieve this end? On the other hand, we were beaten by the Jana Sangh in U.P., and in Madhya Pradesh, even Kanath lost the election.

The zonal scheme for food has failed. Embazzlement has been alleged in Bankra; there was a leakage in the dam also. While our members in the Lok Sabha took lead in exposing and nailing corruption in Kerala, nothing has been done to point to corruption in the Punjab. Our comrades kept quiet even when Congress M.L.As. raised their voices against it.

Many Acts with regards to the land have been passed. How are we to profit by them? How are we to fight against social evils? We get no guidance from the report on these issues.

The tendency to compromise and to "adjust" is on the increase. We have, as a result, failed to contact the people.

May I request the leaders to try to understand the minds of the small and petty workers of the Party?

**GAURI SHANKAR RAI (U.P.):**

The report has been hurriedly compiled. I do not consider it to be a report. Reports should be written giving facts about organisation, about the number of full time workers, and the like, so that a picture of the organisation of the Party may emerge before our eyes.

The General Secretary referred to certain decisions which we took at Poona and said that they could not be carried out. Year after year we take certain decisions. Year after year we hear that they have not been, could not be, implemented. Why do we not analyse the reasons of the failure and remove them?

There is going to be a big struggle, a battle, between powerful ideologies in the country. But do we have an adequate picture of our organisation which is to carry on the battle? We have no data on our trade union strength or kisan panchayats.

We must clearly define our policy for the reconstruction of the country. Future of half a million villages and the village panchayats, district boards and the co-operatives—do we have any information about the work the Party is carrying out in these institution? The General Secretary has failed to give us a picture of this because he does not get reports. But why is it that the provincial or district offices do not send reports to the Central Office? What steps were taken to collect the data and facts about these things? I wish the General Secretary had informed us on these points.

**BIBHASH BANERJEE (West Bengal):**

This report gives some indication of the relations between the Central Office and Provincial offices of the Party. Although we do not know as to which of them is working to carry the country forward, it is, however, obvious that between these offices the sort of co-operation which the situation in the country warrants does not obtain.

There is talk of extending co-operation and support to the Prime Minister in the event of danger to the nation. But if such a danger exists, it does not arise from the communists but from the Congress and its administration. The communist party had done nothing either in West Bengal or in the country to win over the sympathies of the people, but the actions of the Congress party in India, more particularly in West Bengal, are driving the people towards the communists. In West Bengal, for instance, the government arrested the PSP workers, as also the CPI workers, who had gone for relief work for the flood-affected people and while the communist workers were later released, the PSP workers were kept in detention.

I cannot say about U.P. or Bihar, but in West Bengal Government there is not a single Minister having socialist ideas.

We must not accept the role of gate-keepers in order to defend democracy; or pass resolutions of support to Mr. Nehru for this purpose. We must impress upon Mr. Nehru, by launching a strong

movement, that for the defence of democracy he will have to move forward and that he does not need to beck us on to help him.

G. D. PRADHAN (*Maharashtra*):

The report is an objective document and is a reflection of the method of work of the Central Office and the General Secretary and his personality. He has not advised any complacency and there is no effort at affectation in the report. Yet, though brilliant in fragments, the report lacks in organic unity. There is no thread in its various parts.

The role of the PSP can be beautifully summed up in the phrase "Constructive Opposition". Yet, one would have expected the General Secretary to make pertinent references to the various activities which the Party pursued in the Parliament and various State legislatures to project that role; and to the reactions of the party at the lowest economic and social legislations. The role of the party at the lowest levels of administration, the district boards and village panchayats, and its contribution to constructive opposition should have also been referred to.

Although the report has rightly been political in content, I feel that sufficient cognizance has not been taken of the social and economic factors. The second five year plan—whatever we may think of it—is changing the face of the country. We can hardly remain mute spectators and make purely negative criticism. Or we will defeat our purpose. It would have been better if the General Secretary had indicated how we are to react to these changes when the new co-operative movement is being launched in the country. Whatever be our attitude to the policies of Pandit Nehru, we will have to state how exactly we would participate or co-operate with the co-operative movement or what will be our reactions to service co-operatives. It is true that people are interested in political programmes. But it is also true that they are interested in the social and economic content of our policies. I, therefore, feel that the General Secretary's report has rather been negative.

I wish that a list of our papers and magazines should have been given. For, after all, people ask what is the basis of socialism, and our comrades who, as editors and journalists are striving to spread the doctrine of socialism through their writings should have been mentioned. The absence of a reference to them is certainly unjust.

SIBNATH BANERJEE (*West Bengal*):

Whatever the report has said it has said correctly; much, however, has been left unsaid. It should have atleast indicated our basic approach.

It was Meherally who had attracted me to the Party. His warmth was irresistible. There is, in fact, no opportunity to establish these relationships now. We meet but once a year. Unless we work on a cell system, we cannot progress. Inspite of the shortcomings of the communists, we can learn from their way of functioning.

I suggest that the system of ballot be introduced from bottom to top.

The report makes a brief reference to struggles on page 11. Our socialism differs from the European Socialism in that it is not only parliamentary, but believes in launching mass struggles. We came out of the '42 struggle with great strength. But since then we have not progressed. The reason is that we are turning from the path of struggles. I am proud of the role played by the Party in U.P. and Kerala. But our role in West Bengal was disappointing.

I suggest that in order to raise funds, all active members must pay one day's income; if they do, we can appoint one wholtime for every 30 ordinary members.

I also wish to refer to J.P.'s suggestion. We should try to bring other socialist forces with us, so that the fight against the Congress and the communists can be fought with greater strength.

SUNIL DAS (*West Bengal*):

The report deals with ideological and organisational questions and the National Situation of the past few months.

The ideological problems should have been discussed more comprehensively. In 1931, Netaji, presiding over A.I.T.U.C. annual conference, had said: "Indian Socialism shall be of a different variety. India should learn from other countries but find its own method".

This concept of Indian Socialism should be developed to fruition and the PSP has been called upon to do it.

The report leaves out mention of the Kisans, workers and students. It should have also delineated the part played by the PSP in organising them.

On page 9, reference has been made to the food movement in Bengal. We took a leading role in the food movement in 1952. Then, the front was composed of K.M.P.P., S.P. and F.B. (forward Bloc) Till 1958, we led it. But later we associated with the communists. However, this year, on searching our hearts we found it wrong and came out of the front.

B. P. SINHA (*Bihar*):

This report does not indicate whether our Party carried on any work amongst the workers, Kisans and the youths; and if it carries on any work, how is it carried on? In the appendix to the report, the work and position of the Party in the Parliament and Legislatures has been given. I am happy over it; yet there is no reference in the appendix to our work amongst workers, Kisan and the youths. I can appreciate the General Secretary's difficulty, as I guess that the State Offices did not submit reports to the Central office.

Our work has suffered. We do not have contact with workers in the factories and do not engage in the work of protecting them. We have also given up working amongst and protecting the interests of the Kisans. The party has also given up going to work amongst the youths. Hence, they do not join the party, neither do we encourage them to do so. If this condition continues, how will the party grow? What will happen if it?

Jayaprakashji has said that in the country, there is no strong socialist movement; we only have a socialist party which has shrunk into a mere parliamentary party. This process of shrinking of the party into a parliamentary party, and an ineffective party at that, augurs ill for the future of the party. I am pained to say that even in legislatures we do not function effectively and efficiently. Neither does the party carry on the work of agitations in order to highlight popular issues, a task which is so important for parliamentary parties.

Fortunately, we have many comrades working in the villages. But, whatever work is done there it is not the protection of the interests of the masses, but is oriented towards building a constituency with an eye on the election. But this would neither help them in winning the elections, nor would the Party make progress on the Parliamentary front. Unless we work amongst the labourers, kisans and the youth, we cannot even win elections; it is a far cry indeed to think of building a socialist society which is our ultimate goal. I should have felt happy if the General Secretary had referred to these points.

The task of ideological and political education and training of the workers should also be done with greater care and efficiency. The leaders of the national level should devote greater attention to it.

The General Secretary should have shed light on the policy of having adjustments with different parties in different States, a policy which has come in for criticism.

Chairman: It is a repetition, please.

SINHA:

There is no repetition, Sir. I wish to point out that India is a large country and there has been uneven development of various areas. In such a situation, it is absurd to expect uniformity in the pattern of politics in different states. If the General Secretary had elucidated these points, this criticism would have been adequately dealt with.

MITHILESH KUMAR SINGH (*Bihar*):

The report is unsatisfactory and I do not wish to repeat it. I wish specifically to point out that the report should have mentioned cases of laxity shown by comrades in adhering to the constitution and code of conduct of the party; it should have also stated the actions taken by the Central Secretariat in dealing with such cases.

In referring to the work of the Party in Legislatures, it has been pointed out that there has been a lack of discipline. I feel that the legislature parties are becoming independent of the control of the party. I had expected that the General Secretary would suggest in his report ways and means to check this tendency and to ensure discipline in their work.

I wish the General Secretary had included in this report a reference to the successful one day strike in seventy market centres in Bihar, against the Sales Tax Act, observed on the call of our party. He should also have mentioned of the cane growers' movement and work in the trade union movement in Bihar.

Mrs. SUMATI GORAY (*Maharashtra*):

This is a balanced report (laughter). I am not commenting on the report as the report of my husband, but as the report of the General Secretary. He has referred to the activities of the Party and has also suggested how we can take the Party forward.

The report has, however, made no mention of women. There are very few women in the party; and in the legislatures also, their number is very small. It is true that you do not find women candidates, but then you should make a serious effort to get them. I do not say that you should lose seats on that account, but my wish is that you encourage them to come forward in larger numbers.

Women are burdened with work, sometimes with the work of their husbands also. You should help them work in the Party.

We have set up our own organisation, Samajwadi Mahila Sabha. We will be holding meetings also, I request you all to help and guide

us in this endeavour. I request you to bring them forward and make them politically conscious.

#### SURAJ NARAIN SINGH (Bihar):

Generally I don't speak on General Secretary's report. But as comrade Saihe has said, we are going to establish some new traditions together with the celebration of our Silver Jubilee. Not only that the report does not include many things which a report should, it seems that the report, and the resolutions prepared for this conference, would take us in a contrary direction to the one set for us in the Gaya Policy Statement.

The first paragraph of the report says that we are not Gandhists, nor are we orthodox Marxists. But in Gaya, we had clearly stated that we believe in Class organisations and class conflict. It is rather queer that in the report of the General Secretary, no mention has been made of any class struggle.

On the second page of the report, the General Secretary says that our organisational strength is weak and yet he says on the same page that the socialism which we espoused has become a call of the time. Is it that our socialism does not need organisational strength for its propagation; and, as Jayaprakashji has said about Mr. Nehru's socialism that it was created by Brahma, is our socialism also of a similar variety?

The General Secretary has said that we could not fulfil our target set in Poona to enrol 5 lakh members. He has, however, not stated the reasons of this failure. He has nowhere mentioned that discipline is an integral part of an organisation. I, as provincial Secretary of the Party in Bihar, find that in Bihar—I do not know of the condition in other States—the legislative wing considers itself as a separate party, and members of the legislature consider it an insult to enrol as members of the party. Such is the condition of the Party.

Since 1952, Asoka Mehta and you have been talking of co-operation with the Congress and have made efforts also. But it has led to certain developments. It could not be imagined that a member of Parliament belonging to our party would join the Swatantra Party. The Chairman of the Andhra Party has also left us.

We saw the feelings that were expressed when Jayaprakashji came on the stage. If we look at the past 25 years of the Party, we find that not a single leader of those days is with us. This is neither a matter of joy nor of surprise. However the fact remains that whichever the party, Swatantra, Congress or Communist, its leadership is in the hands of a leader who was once amongst us. Is it a surprise that this movement of ours has become leaderless?

Why is this so? In the General Secretary's report, and in the exhibition also, leaders have been mentioned, but the movement has not been sketched; Jayaprakash is presented, but not his socialism. The General Secretary has said that the final battle will be between socialism and communism. In that battle, all the workers assembled here will be found fighting, while no one knows how many more leaders would have by that time left the party. If that is the attitude of party leaders, the result of the battle will not be dissimilar from what obtains in Eastern Europe. You have high intellectual calibre and can, by analysing the situation, make a right about turn. But the rank and file of the Party cannot make an about turn at every turn. It is because of these zigzags and right-about-turns that socialist parties the world over have faced sorry days. Let it not be said that socialist movement with a rank and file such as ours, and with such a golden history, was destroyed because of the policies of its leaders. This is the warning of history to which I wish to invite your attention.

#### DHIREN BHOWMICK (West Bengal):

I am attending a PSP Conference for the first time. I was in the Forward Bloc till 1957, but when General Mohan Singh and Shree Sheel Bhadra Yajee joined Congress, and the other section of the Forward Bloc was found to be a stooge of the CPI, we joined the PSP. We drew our inspiration from comrades like Mrs. Leela Roy who had joined the PSP in 1953.

I am overjoyed to see that Socialist leaders from all over the world have come to attend this conference. But I am also pained to see that there is vacillation in our leadership. I feel that they are pro-Congress.

I wish also to point out that while the history of the CSP has been displayed, Netaji's contribution to socialism has not been referred to. The role played by the INA should have also found a place. No history of the Socialist movement can be complete without making reference to the role of Netaji since 1928.

It seems to me that the General Secretary was too busy—busy in the preparation of the Conference—to place a deliberative and detailed report.

It is only by following the ideals of Gandhiji and Netaji that we can build socialism.

The General Secretary has said that the Party in Bengal did not join the food agitation. The Party there launched a big movement on the refugee's problem, and 40,000 persons participated in it. The Party also participated in food agitations and the student

agitation earlier. It is a pity that the Party did not launch a struggle on the question of food. The reason for this is that the Party leadership is going away from the masses. It is by working amongst them and following the path of mass struggles that we can prove alternative to the Congress Party and also drive away the communists.

RUDRA NARAIN JHA (Bihar):

When we all assemble in a conference, we do so in order to take stock of our organisation, its achievement during the preceding year, its failures and its shortcomings, and in the light of our analysis, to formulate our plans and programmes for the next year. While the executive meets periodically to draft resolutions, the conference meets annually for the purpose of organisation. The resolutions will be moved here and delegates will move amendments to them; Yet, such resolutions can be adopted by the executive also. But the conference should devote more than half of its time to discussing the organisational problems. It is a pity that only three hours have been allotted to the discussion of the report and only thirty speakers out of one thousand delegates assembled here will have the opportunity to participate in the debate. That more speakers have not come forward is a manifestation of the lack of interest on the part of delegates in the report. A party which faces such difficulties and which holds aloft the banner of such lofty ideals, should give more time and evince more interest in discussing problems of organisation.

During these conferences, neither does the secretariat place a clear picture of organisation and its proposals before us, nor is an opportunity given to us to discuss it in detail and give our suggestions. The method of presenting a report by depending on platitudes must be changed and the secretariat should view the state of organisation in retrospect and prospect. The delegates also should spend a couple of days in deeply analysing it.

The organisation of the Kisan panchayat has almost been given up. Everytime it is said that a start will be made but that is not done. We in our districts feel like doing it on our own, but then we find it to be a botheration. How long can we go on like this?

The provincial units send complaints against indiscipline to the central office; investigations take a lot of time and complications multiply. No party can be built by such hesitant steps and weak hearts and if the leaders would not alter their ways, if matters will not be dealt with firmness for fear of offending an M.L.A. here or a trade unionist there, the party shall be reduced to isolated individuals.

PADMAKARLAL (U.P.):

Personally the General Secretary has done whatever was possible to strengthen the organisation. This report is the report of the

National Executive as it has been adopted by it. The report should not merely be an account of our activities, but it should be a comprehensive report of our achievements and our failures. It should make an analysis of the causes of our failures and give a detailed account of the responsibilities in this behalf, whether of the leadership or of the workers.

The General Secretary has admitted that we have not fulfilled our targets adopted last year in Poona. The reason for that is the policy of that section of our leadership who have for years been making a continuous and an unsuccessful effort at politics of co-operation. I ask these gentlemen not to play with the party and its ideals, the ideals of democratic socialism. The workers of the Party believe in its ideology, policy and programme, and if the party has been gaining in strength, it is not because of leadership which has rather contributed to its downfall but due to the tremendous loyalty, steadfastness and sense of devotion of our workers at the district and the provincial level who have carried aloft the banner of the Party in spite of serious handicaps and the grievous loss of leaders in the death of Acharya Narendra Deva, desertion of Jayaprakashji for Sarvodaya work and of Dr. Lohia to form a new party.

It is a tragic that, time and again, a move for co-operation is initiated, and it is picked up by the press for wide publicity and comment. This disheartens the workers and the work of the party suffers. I appeal to such leaders and workers alike, who are inclined to pursue a policy of co-operation, to leave this party to its fate and walk out of it at the first opportunity. They will serve the cause of democratic socialism better by leaving the party.

KARPURI THAKUR (Bihar):

The General Secretary, in his report, referred in very beautiful words, to the ideology of the party, the struggles launched by it during the last year, and, after underscoring the danger of Chinese aggression and the fifth columnist activities of the communist party, he has called upon our workers to work hard in the name of liberty, equality and fraternity. Yet, howsoever inspiring these words may be, the report does not at all place before us a picture of the organisation of the party. Is it because the state of our organisation is unsatisfactory?

What do we mean by organisation? That there should be units of the party at primary, district and provincial levels, that they should have functioning offices, should hold meetings to frequently discuss questions of concern to the people and should engage in activities design to help the people and spread the party organisation amongst them. Are these activities carried out? If not, what are

the reasons? Where are the shortcomings and who is responsible for them? But these problems have found no place in the report.

May I submit that the state of our organisation is in no way satisfactory. After our glorious role in 1942, the period between 1948 and 1952 was a period of hope and inspiration, and the party spread its organisation and its appeal. We were confident that the future of socialism was bright not only in India but in Asia.

Since 1952, there has been a sense of despondency, a feeling of frustration. Whether you ask the workers of the party or the common man, there is a feeling of hopelessness about the Party. For during the last six years, our organisation has loosened and grown weak. On the other hand, although the present resentment and indignation against the Chinese activities has rightly brought it into disfavour, the communist party has generally grown in strength and influence. In the West, wherever the democratic socialist movement is strongly entrenched the communists are weak. Here in India, it is we who are weak.

The General Secretary should have analysed the causes of this weakness; he should have said something on looking ahead, on the future programme, and should have given us guidance and direction.

This conference is being attended by a larger number of delegates than was expected. It shows their loyalty to the Party. Let us go from this conference with determination and with a clear sense of direction.

In my opinion, three or four tasks should be undertaken by the comrades. First, on whichever level a comrade may be working, he should be made responsible for party organisation in a specific area or region, provided he is prepared to devote time. It should be underlined that there is a grim struggle ahead and we must all work hard. Secondly, the work of training the workers should be done on a large scale. The objective of this party is not only to capture power but also to generate power. We have to create power of the people. Training, not of party workers alone, but training of the labourers, Kisans, youths and students, in fact of all those who are expected to be the instruments of the establishment of socialism should be undertaken through camps, seminars and symposiums.

Thirdly, publication of literature on all sorts of questions of ideology and popular interest with the help of teachers and scholars who would like to co-operate with us, should be organised on a large scale to spread and popularise the party.

By engaging in parliamentary work, by organising training programmes and publishing literature, we must try to build the organisation of the party, and build for socialism.

KASHIKANT MOITRA (*West Bengal*):

I must congratulate the General Secretary on his report. He has traced the history of the socialist movement since 1934 upto date. I disagree with him, however, when he says that those people who believed in democracy and socialism assembled in 1934 to form the CSP; for there were many people inside the Congress then who considered it to be a greater allying centre of anti-imperialist forces, who believed in democracy and socialism. Let us not say or do anything which will create fissures in socialist ranks.

Secondly, referring to the ideology of the party, the General Secretary has stated that we are neither orthodox Marxists nor full-fledged Gandhians. He says that we accepted democratic socialism, and that Gandhiji's way of life has made a great impact on us. I think this is going against the Gaya thesis of the party, drafted by Acharya Narendra Deva. I do not consider the Gaya thesis to be the last word or that it cannot be amended and changed. But I think the conclusions of that thesis are valid even today. I do not find there is any need to make a departure from that. And then, when we say the Gandhian way of life, what do we really mean? Do we accept going back to the village economy? Are we to go back to the Bullock-cart economy? What do we exactly mean by this? The General Secretary seems to have made a negative contribution only.

He has also said that even the communalist and parochial parties have accepted socialism. This is misleading. These communal forces are trying to come forward by talking of socialism. They can now confuse the people by pointing out that even the General Secretary of the P.S.P. says we have accepted clean socialist schemes of life.

The General Secretary has not found time to mention the class organisations even while the P.S.P. has accepted class struggle. The P.S.P. is to be a rallying force of militant democratic socialist forces of the have-nots and has to wage a relentless struggle against the haves. It is amusing that the report does not analyse our strength in the class organisations, in trade unions and kisan panchayats. The P.S.P. must include more and more workers from the working class people and less and less middle class people.

The report refers to the parliamentary wing of the party. Generally it is the dog that wags the tail. In the Party, it is the legislative wing tail that wags the party dog.

I wish to point out that the General Secretary has not alluded to propaganda and publicity. I do not want to use the word propaganda. But I have to use it. We wish the truth to be known to the people. We must therefore start our weeklies and dailies. The Janata has been working as a forum of intellectual activities but sometimes most indisciplined intellectual activities find a large space in it. This must be stopped.

We, in this conference, must give a call to all democratic socialists to join hands; we must not try to eliminate each other. The revolutionary communist party in West Bengal is prepared to form a programmatic alliance with us. It will therefore be in the fitness of things for this historic conference to give a call to all socialist forces believing in democracy, socialism and nationalism to join together on a broad-based democratic socialist platform.

ARUN DAS GUPTA (W. Bengal):

I have found that all delegates who have spoken here are totally against the report of the General Secretary. The reason is that we came here to draw inspiration from this historic conference.

It is amazing, and painful, to see that the old theory of the areas of agreement in an underdeveloped economy or "compulsions of backward economy", being pushed forward again. Comrades, it is a warning to you; if you want to save the party and its existence, if you wish to build the party to withstand the onslaught of the Congress and the communists, you have to beware of such phrase-mongering. The General Secretary's report does not make a mention of the failure of the Congress, of the refugee problem or of the unemployment problem. The entire report makes only one mention of West Bengal. That is, our non-participation in the food movement launched by the Communists. There is a fear complex in our minds. Why do we fear the communists? Because we only talk, we do not lead the struggles, we don't join them. The communists, in spite of the fact that they did not join the national struggles are strong. When we denounce them on their stand about China and Tibet, we cannot campaign against them since we have no organisation. The only thing that we can say to the people is that we did not join the food agitation.

How can we distinguish ourselves? How can we establish the character of an opposition party? As socialists, we are against capitalism. But if socialism means a milder fight against capitalism and a harsher fight against communism, I would beg to differ. This is a serious conference and we have come to draw inspiration, not from a personality, however big it may be, but from the historical

role of the party. We have to fight against capitalism, for the establishment of a casteless and classless society free from exploitation. Only as soldiers of socialism can we defeat the onslaught of communism; not by organising forums or agencies, but by combatting the capitalist and communist forces.

DEVENDRA BORA (Assam):

I wish to raise two questions. One is about the merger talks with the Socialist Unity Forum held six months ago. After the emergence of the Swatantra Party, Indian political life is divided into three distinct forces; the capitalists who are in the Swatantra Party, the totalitarian communist forces in the communist party and the democratic forces in the P.S.P. and other parties. While the first two forces have their blocks in the two parties, the democratic socialist forces are divided into groups and factions. If the P.S.P. wishes to build a democratic socialist society, it should try to collect all these scattered forces. I, therefore, wish to ask the General Secretary what were the proposals for merger put forward by the socialist Unity Forum and what were the reactions from our side.

Secondly, the General Secretary has not mentioned in his report the affiliated membership. There are many organisations which, as we know, are affiliated to the party. Their strength, their working and state of organisation should have been given in the report of the General Secretary.

Chairman:—The HMS is not affiliated to the P.S.P.

Devendra Bora:—I know that the HMS is not affiliated to the P.S.P.; but I know that the HMS is being organised by the P.S.P. I know of unions in Assam tea gardens where the workers in the unions belong to the P.S.P. I should have liked the General Secretary to give a report of these organisations.

SUJIT BANERJEE (West Bengal):

I wish to point out two or three things. This report is incomplete. We are a socialist party. We work amongst the labourers, kisans, students, youngmen and women. We have delegates from all these sections. The General Secretary should have given in his report the reports of various spheres of party activity.

We are particularly weak amongst women and students. Mrs. Goray has pointed out the need to strengthen women's organisation. The General Secretary could have referred to the work among women being carried on in Bengal and Maharashtra so that comrades from other parts of the country could take inspiration from them.

The General Secretary has said that we have failed to fulfill our pledge taken at Poona. He has not gone into the reasons. We should know which provincial or district committees or members of executive committees failed to work. Where is our weakness, what are our difficulties? At this historic conference we must make our assessment of these problems.

Reference has been made to Kerala in the report. It has been said that a front has been formed. We must know who are the constituents of the front, whether it is an election adjustment or an alliance, or whether it would lead to the formation of a coalition ministry. Only a brief one sentence reference to this front is not enough. Please don't only say that you appeal to us to support that front; but discuss it in detail. What is it all about?

While discussing Tibet, the General Secretary has made no reference to the All-India Tibet Convention held in Calcutta which had a profound impact on Indian and world opinion. The question of Tibet is not only a concern of Tibetans but of India and of the world at large.

RAM JANAM OJHA (Bihar):

On the second page of the report, two mutually contradictory statements have been made. It has been said that the communal parties deriving their sustenance from the communal outlook have begun to profess their faith in socialism. A communalist party can never be a socialist party. But is it that by saying this, the Muslim League in the South and the Jana Sangh in the North have been characterised as socialist? And, is it in the wake of our party's defeat in the Municipal elections in U.P., where our party is considered as the second party, we have to make an alliance with the Jana Sangh in the same manner as we have made an alliance with the Muslim League and the Congress in Kerala?

I am happy that Suraj Babu and Kamal Devji from Bihar, and several comrades from Bengal, have drawn attention to this fact and lessened my task. If we do not attend to class struggle, we will be dismantling our organisation. The report mentions the food satyagraha of U.P., but it makes no reference to the second biggest agitation, the sugar cane agitation, which affected forty of the sixty-seven sugar mills in U.P. and Bihar. In this agitation, a member of the National Executive, several members of the Provincial Executive and legislators and many workers of the Party courted arrest. It was a proof of the success of this struggle that the Government had to announce an increase in the rate of sugar cane. But while the whole country acclaims the party for its success, the General Secretary's report does not even mention it. I request the General Secretary to

please consider our sentiments and make additions in the report about the sugarcane strike.

KALPANATH SINGH (U.P.):

On the one hand the General Secretary has expressed opposition to communalism at the beginning of the report and on the other, the party has entered into an alliance with the Muslim League. Is it not queer?

In U.P., we have been defeated by the Jana Sangh in the Corporation elections. The Jana Sangh is emerging as a strong force. Should we then have to enter into an alliance with it also?

Class struggle is being ignored. But unless the party treads the path of class struggle, socialist forces cannot emerge.

MUNESHWAR PRASAD SING (Bihar):

I wish to discuss only two or three points. In the appendix, report on the activities of every front should have been given so that a picture of the progress of our organisation could emerge. Again, in Poona we had declared that when we assemble for the Silver Jubilee Conference after 18 months, we will have by then built the Party as an objective party. It is in this expectation that such a large number of delegates and visitors have arrived here. The report should have been prepared by keeping this end in view and the line of our work in the future should have been suggested in detail.

I wish to point out that although in the Gaya thesis, the party has pledged faith in the class struggle and has included a separate chapter on it, some of our topmost and respected leaders have no faith in it.

SHRI NAGENDRA NATH SINGH (U.P.):

The report should have considered of three parts. It should first be a record of our past activities; secondly it should indicate the programme for future activity and, lastly, it should make self-introspection into our own working.

The assessment of the present situation, as made by the General Secretary, is wholly correct. I agree with the General Secretary, when he says that it is due to our persistent efforts that the concept of democratic socialism has found universal acceptance. But as the General Secretary rightly says, we are organisationally not very strong. But any attempt at self-introspection as to why we are organisationally not strong is lacking in the report. Often this question confronts the

workers. Have we got any constitution and rules? Have they got any meaning for us? Are the rules and code of conduct prescribed in the constitution followed or not? This question has to be deeply gone into. If this question had been examined, if this self-criticism and self-introspection had been made, I am sure, it would have helped us a great deal in overcoming our difficulties. Without this self-introspection, I feel, we cannot remove our shortcomings and I fear that even in future we will not be able to build a strong organisation.

I feel that there is no frank discussion on questions where we disagree honestly. There is a tendency to show agreement to what has been said by somebody. It may be a virtue for an individual, but for an organisation, it is plain disaster. These things do not allow us to grow.

*Chairman:* The General Secretary will now reply to the debate.

**N. G. GORAY** (*General Secretary*):

I have listened to the debate with great attention. Two, or three, things I would like to accept at the very beginning. A comrade complained that the report has not made mention of several good things like Sugarcane struggle that the Party can take credit for. The Party has conducted several struggles of this kind and a list of these would be fairly long. But if you wish these to be referred to in this report, they shall be included.

Then, reference has been made to the Central Fund. I was surprised that friends have asked about it. Well, the financial situation of the Party is grave indeed. We had issued an appeal for funds and some friends came forward to help us.

What do we really want the General Secretary's report to be? I think that it should furnish the account of Party activities as well as problems we had to face last year. That is what I have tried to do.

I do not think that the report should try to characterise various political parties. This should be done through Conference resolutions which will be adopted after a thorough and a searching debate. There is a resolution on the National Situation and it tries to make a political analysis.

Then, certain friends pointed out that the Provincial offices do not furnish reports to the Central Office. The complaint of the provincial offices is that they do not receive reports from the District Offices. This situation ought to be corrected at all levels.

Some theoretical questions have been raised. I have always insisted that we have to forsake age old orthodoxies. But then questions are asked: do you mean to forsake class struggle? Comrades in U.P. and Bihar believe in class struggle but how many class struggles have they conducted? Ishwarbhai may or may not believe in class struggle; but he led the biggest class struggle. Of course, he does not practise adventurism. And may I say that there are those also who start struggles and in the midstream aspire for compromise through Asoka, and now Asoka is criticised.

In your lack of faith in us, you appear to be Rama and we are in the position of Sita. You always put us in fire to test our fidelity and chastity. Well, we are small leaders, you have been criticising J.P. as well. He was accused of wanting to join the Cabinet. Has he done it?

Does this report make any reference to "compulsions of backward economy"? And yet a comrade got the smell of it. He must have had a long nose. In the report, I have tried to analyse the situation arising out of the threat of Chinese aggression. China is fast developing her war potential through rapid industrialisation. I have stressed that in order to meet that challenge and threat, we have also to industrialise rapidly. Does it mean compulsion of backward economy? Does it mean co-operation?

You have referred to the organisational situation of the Party. The report has not included a discussion of organisational tasks. We had passed a resolution on "Tasks before the Party" at Poona. We will place a resolution on "Tasks" in this conference also. Suggestions about organisation and tasks, including Kerala, should come at that stage. May I here remind you that the question of alliance with the Muslim League had been discussed in detail at Poona and comrades from Kerala had explained the situation there. There is nothing new that is sought to be done now.

Several friends have said that our resolve at Poona to achieve the membership target has not been fulfilled. It is not the fault of a few persons. It is a collective failure. It may also be due to the circumstances. We had visited U.P. and Bihar and other places. Camps were held, targets were fixed but they could not be fulfilled. For this, rains and floods in Bihar may have been responsible. But for this failure, all of us are in the docks. When we fix membership targets, we sometimes indulge in wishful thinking. Let us in this Conference make a realistic assessment and fix targets accordingly.

Why are we dissatisfied at our performance? It is a common habit to praise the past. Our childhoods appear to us more roman

tic. J.P., Lohia, Masani and many of us here were together in giving birth to the C.S.P. I had also worked at that time. With due respect to all friends, I submit that we are comparatively more efficient and we are more disciplined. Then our defects were covered by big leaders like J.P. Why do our friends suffer from a past complex, an inferiority complex. May I incidentally mention that we are circulating resolutions and reports in advances, is it lack of efficiency? There is so much worry here about discipline. But before too much disciplining is done, force and strength will have to be created.

Our correct policy has served us well in the past. Our policy on Tibet and China has been widely appreciated and applauded. But still we are dissatisfied. We have been making progress. Of course, we are a democratic party and differences of opinion are bound to exist in it. The party cannot submit either to the mental dictatorship of a leader like Nehru or to the totalitarian conformity like that of the Communist Party. The Party will have to go ahead and become a vital force despite differences. We have to go to villages with a firm resolve to work for socialism, for the propagation of our ideals.

*Chairman:*—As is our practice, the General Secretary's Report is only generally approved by the Conference. The report will be finalised and amended wherever necessary in the light of the discussion that has taken place.

The Conference then gave its general approval to the report, and adjourned for the day.

November 7, 1959

Morning Session 9-30 a. m.

# CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT DAY.

M. HARRIS (*Chairman Reception Committee*):

To-day is the International Co-operative Day and the beginning of the week. With the permission of the Chairman, I place before you the manifesto of the International Co-operative Movement. I would request the Chairman to unfurl the flag of the Co-operative movement.

The Chairman then unfurled the flag of the Co-operative movement amidst loud and continuous applause.

## RESOLUTION ON "NATIONAL SITUATION".

*Chairman:*—We shall now take up the resolution on the NATIONAL SITUATION. I request N. G. Goray to move the resolution (see appendix).

N. G. GORAY (*Maharashtra*):

This resolution is the axis, the centre of all other resolutions. In it we clearly state the point of view from which we look at the situation. Our policy and our programme are based on it. Hence, the importance of this resolution. The National Executive has sat long hours discussing it, and it is an amalgam of the points of view of all its members.

I request you to give serious consideration to it and discuss it fully. It will help us all to know how comrades look at the present difficulties, how they approach the problem of Chinese threat and what is their appraisal of various aspects of the present political situation. We should also examine the various alternative solutions and clearly bring out how we visualise meeting the manifold challenges that the situation has posed before the country and the party.

Since the problems we are faced with are grave, I urge upon you to give serious thought. Slogans and clichés or ready made answers would not do. We must demonstrate the maturity of our movement.

May I invite your attention to the structure of the resolution. In the opening six paragraphs, we have given an outline of the situation. New developments have taken place in our political life and conditions obtaining at the time of Poona Conference. New threats have emerged. To meet them it would be necessary to strengthen the country from within. Otherwise, we will find it hard to face them.

After that we have outlined a few points on which the country can be built and strengthened. These are but a few points; naturally many more could be suggested. We have kept them to a fair minimum. And after that, we have appealed to the like-minded parties that we all should work together. But if it does not happen, we affirm our confidence that we will go it alone.

We have put a full picture before you and have not tried to hide anything. Those delegates who will speak or propose amendments should also keep this full perspective before them, and if they do not find our appraisal satisfying they should give their own estimation of the situation. I trust that comrades will make balanced speeches while expressing their considered views.

Chairman: Mukut Behari Lal will second the resolution.

MUKUT BEHARI LAL (U.P.):

I rise to second the resolution. The country is faced with a crisis. Social tensions have increased. Casteism is corroding democracy, and smaller regional and group loyalties are weakening the national spirit. Unless a national consciousness overpowers our smaller commitments, it will be difficult for democracy to function.

There is also a multi-phase economic crisis. Unemployment mounts. The real incomes of common men are shrinking. The problem of food is becoming more acute. This worsening situation is inimical to the growth of democracy and democratic socialism.

This crisis, which is rooted in our underdeveloped economy, has been considerably deepened by the misrule of the ruling party, its undemocratic ways and pursuance by it of policies ignoring the interests of the people. The ruling party failed to protect vital national interests and to convey proper awareness of the danger to the people. While it talks of Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth or of full democracy and socialism, the big gap in its profession and practices is the despair of many within the Congress. Its policies have undermined the faith of the people in the values of democracy and socialism and have created a moral crisis and ideological confusion.

The crisis before the country has been further deepened by the anti-national attitude of the communist party and its extra-territorial loyalties. In the second World War, it organised revolutionary defeatism in France and England in the name of revolution because Germany and Russia had signed a pact. Later, this was turned into people's war. The Indian people cannot forget their treacherous role in supporting the British and opposing national struggle.

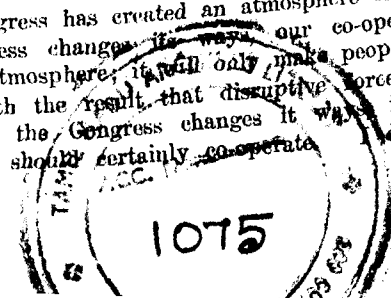
The C.P.I. has shown a lot of vacillation in the present Sino-Indian crisis. Under pressure of public opinion it had to say that it considers McMahon Line as India's border, yet it cannot be trusted. The integrity and honour of India are at stake against China's aggression, and our communist friends can be depended upon for organisation, and our communist friends can be depended upon for organising internal subversion against our freedom.

Certain reactionaries are taking advantage of this crisis. The Congress has weakened people's faith in socialism so that the Swatantra Party is emerging as a distinct political force. Its leaders talk of Gandhism and trusteeship but forget that Gandhiji preferred co-operation to competition and that trusteeship of his conception implied liquidation of private ownership.

This crisis has to be handled as best as we can. Faced with foreign aggression, P.S.P. and Congress have to work together for the defence of freedom and democracy. In para 8, we have said that there is some common agreement in certain fundamental matters. Yet, in practice, differences continue. They are both on policy and on its execution. Till such time as these differences exist, co-operation with Congress will harm nation. The co-operationists must understand our clear stand.

How can we co-operate with the Congress when it is group-centred? Even ordinary courtesies are not extended to opposition parties. If opposition parties point out to certain grievances of the people, these are not redressed as this might enhance the prestige of the opposition parties. On the other hand, during the World War I, the Liberal Prime Minister of Great Britain always consulted the Leader of the Conservative Party and he used to show confidential despatches to him. Can this happen in our country?

Misbehaviour of the Congress has created an atmosphere of frustration. Unless the Congress changes its way, our co-operation with it will not change the atmosphere, it will only make people lose confidence in the P.S.P., with the result that disruptive forces will get more strength. Yet, if the Congress changes its way, if our differences are composed, we should certainly co-operate. We do not find anything wrong in it.



We are faced with a national crisis which demands that the whole country should pull together for defence. Can we say that we will not co-operate in this task? So, if the Congress modifies its policy, what is wrong in co-operating with it?

There are three different attitudes to defence. In the face of national danger, the conservatives talk only of defence and cease to talk of reform. Under cover of crisis, they try to stop all progress in economic and social spheres. The Communists, with their loyalty to international communism, can advise revolutionary defeatism and raise a partisan army in order to help the aggressor. The socialist conception of national defence is different from both these attitudes.

The socialists consider the problem of defence to be inter-related with the problem of economic reform. Unless basic needs of the people are met they cannot be mobilized for effective defence. In para 9, the resolution stresses that the present danger can be met by developing the country internally. Let us not, under the stress of danger, forget that the miserable plight of the people has to be redressed. Even a progressive liberal will agree that, as J. S. Mill said, progress and order are inter-linked, just as defence and amelioration of the conditions of the people are inter-related. We must, therefore, try for full employment and egalitarian social order, and must not lose our sense of direction towards democratic socialism.

The programme in para 9 has been outlined with these considerations in view. The items need to be rearranged. Some friends feel that it is an insipid programme. Please remember that in Gaya, we admitted that the task of reconstruction of the country is an insipid task. If this programme is followed, considerable progress towards democratic socialism shall have been made.

Some friends feel nervous that if Congress accepts our programme, we will have to co-operate. Such was J.P.'s faith. He placed his fourteen points before the Prime Minister and the reply was that time was not yet ripe for it. Can P.S.P. hope to get a better reply now? Suggestions by a person of the status of General Cariappa have been brushed aside by Nehru. His vanity will not allow him to accept our programme. We need have no apprehension on this score. We have to create a strong pressure of public opinion so that it is forced to accept this programme.

The defence potential of the country has to be developed but the Government has failed to do so. Chandra Shekhar's repeated offer of co-operation in this task was not even attended to. Then, the danger is ideological as well as military. An awareness has to be created amongst the people living near the border areas that they are part of us all, and their economic reconstruction has to be attend-

ed to. We have also to solve the food problem. This conference is discussing this problem separately, and if there are comrades who feel that we are forgetting the socialist approach to the problem, they should see the resolution on Food. Since we wish to build an egalitarian society, we are suggesting curbs on incomes, limitation on profits and abolition of managing agency system. Yet, this programme is not perfect and I invite you to suggest additions and changes.

## AMENDMENTS

The Chairman then called upon the delegates to move the amendments.

B. P. Sinha (Bihar):

I wish to replace para 7 with a new paragraph as it does not state our case clearly and does not adequately stress socialist policy and programme, neither does it reflect our socialist determination.

The Swatantra Party, which has not been named but is alluded to, is consolidating the landed interests and big business under a conservative-liberal leadership. The Congress is adopting half-hearted socialist and co-operative methods in industry and agriculture; and the Swatantra Party is an attempt to demoralise the Congress and deflect it from its path.

There are friends who tell us that in order to protect socialism and strengthen the socialist forces, we must join the Congress. I think this is a wrong way. We have to work hard to sharpen our own distinctive character; we have to strive hard to bring pressure on the Congress in order to develop it and push it further on the road to socialism. By this means we shall be able to meet the challenge of the Swatantra Party. We have to consistently enunciate and pursue socialist objectives so that when the time comes and the Congress is prepared to adopt socialist policies and fully co-operate with us, we can place clearly formulated socialist policies before it and the people.

Time is not yet opportune to work in co-operation with the Congress Party. We have to build pressure by agitations on the Congress so that such opportunity arrives soon. I believe that the acceptance of my amendments will bring clarity and strength to the resolution.

I wish also to add the word 'social' before the word 'policy' and the word 'political' before 'democracy', in para 8. It has been said in that para that we share the fundamental of democracy with the

**Congress.** I cannot accept this. Democracy cannot be complete without its economic content. Unless Congress accepts socialism, we can share only political democracy with it. Again, when I wish to add the world social before policy, I am trying to emphasise its economic content. Social of course, implies economic.

I trust the mover will be kind enough to accept these amendments.

RAM SARAN YADAV (U.P.):

I wish to move the following amendments to para 9(a) last line of the resolution on National Situation. Words 'all possible' be deleted.

My second amendment relates to para 9(d) line one, of the resolution. I want that words 'other backward classes' be added.

We must never forget the backward classes. It is an All-India problem and the facilities given to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes should also be extended to them.

Then, there is the problem of service co-operatives. There is a tendency for the Government to become share holders of co-operatives and then resort to nominations. This would take away from the co-operatives their voluntary character. They will no more remain co-operatives. The Party must discuss the procedure and rules of co-operatives and organise a camp for this purpose. Party Legislators should be provided with detailed knowledge of the technical problems involved in legislation about co-operatives.

KESHARI PANDEY (U.P.):

I have two amendments:

(1) Para 8 should be deleted.

(2) In Para 10, line 1, after parties add 'specially the Socialist Party'. I wish by my amendment to delete para 8, as this para creates confusion. I also request you to add the word 'socialist' before the word parties in the last para. By this I wish to refer to the Socialist Party of Dr. Lohia. We have talked of co-operation with the Congress. But Dr. Lohia's party is the nearest to us; not long ago, they were amongst us. We must try to bring them back to us. Let this conference make an earnest appeal to them to join us.

This resolution does not give any direction, neither can it be reformed by amendments. We cannot share our nationalism with a Party which has sacrificed national interests in Goa, Kashmir and on the northern border. Is the government not guilty of a great betrayal

of the nation in having kept it ignorant about the occupation of 14,000 miles of our territory by the Chinese? We cannot also share its corrupt democracy. We understand which direction the resolution points to.

The press carried a news that a member of the National Executive had talked of a broadbased socialist front on ideological and political grounds. And the press reaction was that the PSP favours merger with the Congress party. We, in U.P. had to suffer its consequences in the corporation elections; for this speculation created confusion. Some of our leaders take big, dizzy, intellectual flights, but lose touch with realities. They can hardly appreciate the sentiments of the workers of the Party.

We must have the courage to go it alone. Let us have that faith in ourselves.

ASHWARLAL DESAI (Gujarat):

My amendment is as follows:

In place of the sentence beginning with 'ceiling on land', please substitute the following:

"Ceiling on land should be so fixed and enforced as to create a surplus of at least five crore acres of land for distribution among the landless in the villages. Malafide partitions, transfers and alienations effected with a view to defeat the purpose of ceiling should be declared void".

My second amendment seeks to add in para 10, after line 9, after the words 'go it alone' the following "and will forge mass sanctions in the country for the implementation of the above programme".

Fortunately or unfortunately, I am a member of the National Executive. The Executive, and the Chairman, have been kind enough to permit me to move these amendments. I request the Chairman to kindly give me more time. Our country is facing a socio-economic national crisis. Events in Kerala have widened the democratic front and we are fighting the communists in co-operation with the Congress. The emergence of the Swatantra Party is an effort to consolidate the forces of conservatism. These developments, and the Chinese danger on our borders, have changed the pattern of Indian politics. While from one end, international communism has posed a threat on our borders, the conservative forces, from the other end, threaten the progress towards socialism. We have thus reached a stage when our policy has to be formulated anew.

In this changed context, I believe that our theory of equidistance between Congress and the communists has lost its relevance. We are

nearer the Congress Party than the Communists. This resolution is placed in this perspective and I am entirely in agreement with it. Again, while the Congress Party has accepted socialism, its policies do not reflect this. There is no change in the economic attitude of the Congress Party. In the economic policy sphere, the statement on industrial policy adopted in 1948 remains the sheet anchor even now. The adoption of the resolution on ceiling has not in practice been implemented by the state governments. Here again I agree with this perspective of the resolution on National Situation.

To face socio-economic national crisis, I would submit that we must build up a democratic and national front by facing national issues. We must mobilise our people to press for the solution of national issues and, if need be, to fight the Congress on these issues. Our people are agitated by local issues but fundamental national issues have to be placed before them. When in the II World War, the frustrated people of India might have looked to imperialism or to Japan, Gandhiji placed before them the slogan of "Quit India" and channelized their energy in the right direction.

Communists will not enter India by the front door. We can win our battle against it by waging a struggle of ideas and not by tactics alone.

GAURI SHANKAR RAI (U.P.):

I want to move two amendments. One is to add the following: "The Conference notes that under the pressure of social forces the Congress Party has been compelled to profess faith in democratic socialist principles. But in the absence of any positive ideology the Congress lacks the necessary will to follow them in practice. Consequently, increasing bureaucratisation, curbing of the democratic rights of the people and local institutions and sectarianism that are emerging will not only retard the pace towards socialism but put in the reverse direction. The Congress has done little to communicate to the people the growing dangers, internal and external, to India, and the allowed complacency to spread. The wide gulf between profession and practice of the ruling party has only tended to undermine people's faith in the values of democratic socialism. It is the task of the socialist movement to resist the danger inherent in the illusions sought to be created by the Congress Party by mobilising popular will on the basis of the policies and programme of the PSP".

My other amendment is that paras 8 and 9 should be deleted.

I am in agreement with the sentiments so ably expressed by Professor Mukut Behari Lal, the seconder of the resolution. But I am afraid that the resolution does not embody those sentiments. The

characterisation of the Congress as it has been made here is faulty. The Congress has been forced by the situation, by increasing public pressure, to profess its faith in socialism. But its actions are quite contrary to its professions. The gulf between the two has vitiated popular faith in socialism. The ceiling on land, for instance, has been enforced in U.P. But it has only blocked the reform of the land system. The implementation of the measure is not likely to give land to the landless cultivators.

While the Nagpur resolutions were progressive in content, the way they are implemented contradicts the spirit of the resolution. All this exposes the confused class character of the Congress party. In view of this, it is futile to hope that the Congress can usher in a socialist society. Its class character precludes any genuine march towards socialism.

Then, there is the question of co-operation with the Congress. The Congress party observes complete silence over this while we go on talking about it. Such talk only weakens the party and tends to corrode people's faith in it. I submit that para 8 should be deleted, and together with it para 9 too, since there is no point in proposing a programme for working together with the Congress.

SIBNATH BANERJEE (West Bengal):

I have three amendments. First, to para 9, clause 8, the following should be added: "and make the maximum almost ten times the minimum".

My second amendment is to para 9, clause P. Add the following: "Fix the minimum wage in all occupations including agriculture".

Thirdly, in para 9 clause Q, this is to be added: "Fix unemployment benefit at half the minimum wage in all occupations".

I feel that the programme in para 9 is rather insipid. It lacks courage. My amendments will improve it. We must call for definite steps to be taken for putting curbs on incomes.

In our country, the problem of employment is acute. That is why I propose that in order to give relief to the unemployed, unemployment insurance must be enacted.

I trust the mover will accept my amendments.

SUJIT BANERJEE (West Bengal):

I propose three amendments. They are in paras 5, 9 and 10. In para 5, line 3, after the word 'corruption' add 'and anti-people policies'.

In para 9, line 4, after the word 'development' add 'in both the sectors in a balanced way'. In para 10, line 1, after the word 'parties' add 'and individuals'.

I wish to emphasise that there should be balanced development in both sectors of the economy. Let not agricultural sector, which is the mainstay of a large number of people, be neglected in our efforts to industrialise the country. That would be disastrous.

Then, I wish to point out that there are a large number of individuals who have faith in socialism but are not aligned with any party. I request that we should address our appeal for coming together with us to them as well.

KARPOORI THAKUR (Bihar):

I wish to move the following amendments: (1) In page 2, para 9, item (a) add the following after 'production' and before the word 'measure', 'agriculturists should be induced to make maximum use of irrigation facilities and'.

(2) There should be a new item (c) "Peasants should be encouraged to adopt mixed farming, (agriculture, cattle and poultry) which may go a long way to ensure them a good living".

(3) There should be two new items:

(d) "in order to ensure fair price to the agriculturists, the prices of agricultural products should be fixed at remunerative level".

(e) "planned establishment of cottage industries, preferably on co-operative basis, should be encouraged in the rural areas on a large scale."

(4) Delete item (e) as it stands at present.

(5) Rearrange the later items.

SUNIL DAS (West Bengal):

I intend to move the following amendments:

(1) in para 3, line 7, in place of the word 'chosen' the word 'democratic' be substituted.

(2) in para 4, line 2, after the word 'amounts' the words "deficit financing and price level are on the increase" be inserted.

(3) in para 6, line 8, after the words 'in the country' the words 'and signs are not wanting, which would warrant the inference that they are busy with preparing for unleashing a civil war in the land' be inserted.

(4) para 8 shall be rewritten as follows:

"In spite of certain fundamentals we share with the Congress, such as the flood-tide of socialism, which is the only solvent to our problems—both economic and political—has failed to emerge out of Congress policies and their execution. The Conference wishes to emphasise that so long as such differences on policies and their implementation remain, co-operation with the Congress cannot help the nation by strengthening the forces of democracy and socialism while it will strengthen the disruptive forces and deepen the frustration of the people".

(5) At the end of subsection (F) of para 9, the following should be added: 'bearing in mind that the Rajasthan Act in this regard has been a model of delegation and not of decentralisation'.

The resolution has omitted an analysis of the root cause of economic crisis. Deficit financing is deepening the crisis. Additional taxation is going to be levied which will put further strains on the poor people. These factors should be mentioned in the resolution since they are accentuating the crisis.

I feel that in the context of the present crisis, with which the country is faced, co-operation between our Party and the Congress is necessary. We must not belittle the crisis. We cannot meet it alone.

Chairman: Although Asoka Mehta has no amendment to move, I have requested him to give his views on the subject today, before we adjourn for lunch. I am sure I represented the sentiments of the delegates when I made the request. I am glad to say he has agreed to speak. Asoka Mehta.

ASOKA MEHTA (Maharashtra):

Before I place before you some views on the present situation of the country, I wish to make two requests. Let us not view the present situation in the light of old controversies and prejudices. That may not help us. Let us analyse the prevalent conditions and then devise ways to meet them. Secondly, please do not give too much attention to words; for the major question is not of words but of attitudes. It is not by concentrating on one or the other aspect, but by placing the whole picture before us, that we will arrive at the correct conclusions. In certain things, we will be in

agreement, but in others we may disagree. Yet, in a grave situation such as this, it is necessary that we have a clear vision and have no differences in attitudes.

We had passed a resolution on the National situation in Poona. How does the situation today differ from last year and what are we going to do? Last year, we had underlined the deterioration in the country, analysed it and assessed the role of political parties. We had said that a national effort was needed to arrest this deterioration and that the PSP would be prepared to do all it could to help such effort. We had pledged ourselves to the task of strengthening the PSP and make it an effective instrument to serve the country.

Since then, the condition has changed rapidly. A serious and dangerous situation has arisen. During the last year, democracy was replaced in Pakistan and Burma by military dictatorships; in Sudan, Ceylon and Indonesia similar developments appeared. Why did all this happen? While we have to look at what is happening within the country or our State or district, we cannot ignore these developments in the neighbouring countries.

Do we not suffer from the same weaknesses which led to the defeat of democracy in Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon? Are these ills not common to all our political parties? If we do not remove these shortcomings how shall we save the country from ruin?

Then, on our borders there is Chinese aggression. The Chinese are pursuing an aggressive policy in all neighbouring States. Comrades from Nepal will tell you that because there is Chinese pressure on their borders, a small country like Nepal finds it hard to express its opinion. In Indonesia, the presence of 2 million Chinese nationals in the country has been exploited by the Chinese communist government to exert tremendous pressure and to influence the policies of the Indonesian government. This policy has been pursued by China for three years, yet its full impact is being realised only now. Is this new threat a matter of weeks or months? Or is it that for the next five or ten years, we have to face this crisis?

What is the nature of this crisis? Why is the might of China increasing? The purpose of the Chinese aggression is to expand communist ideology. In Western Europe, the unity of the non-communist countries made communist disruption ineffective. But in Asia, this policy of disruption has been adopted again after ten years and the Chinese communists are trying to divert the attention of the people in Burma, India, Egypt, Pakistan and Nepal away from the tasks of national reconstruction; they are trying to weaken, subvert, exert pressure from without, organise sabotage from within and thus to block the fulfilment of the cherished desires of the people in these

countries. What would be the results of this policy? We must give a serious consideration to it.

If the situation had remained as it was when we had met in Poona, we could have pursued our old policy. But the situation has rapidly deteriorated. Yet, in the speeches delivered here I have failed to find a sense of awareness of the new developments. We must discuss as to how best we shall meet this grave menace, this new challenge? We passed a strong resolution against the Chinese aggression. But let us consider how the military, ideological and economic challenge of the Chinese would be faced. In Poona, we had said that the PSP should take increasing burdens on its shoulders. This year, we have to decide to shoulder even a larger burden. We have to build our organisation and we shall have to devote greater effort during the next two years than we have done in the past 25 years. Not for elections—no one knows whether elections will be held or not. We will have to mobilize all our strength to face the danger which is imminent. If the Party cannot harness all its organisational potential for the defence of the country, then it has no right to express itself on small or big issues facing the country.

The threat of external danger and the deepening crisis within call for greater organisational efforts. Our defence expenditure will increase. When Yugoslavia faced a similar crisis, she had to give up the task of economic development for five years and transfer her resources to defence. But if we may be forced to do the same, the pace of economic growth will slacken and the imbalance between our economic development and the Chinese economic development shall become wider. We have therefore to change our way of working in this country. China began her aggression in 1954. And since then, events have pointed to the need of building the country speedily and of rising above smaller loyalties. Unless we devote all our attention and energy to these tasks, the whole of Asia will be threatened. At that time we ignored those demands. But even if at such a grave moment, we fail to respond to this claim, fail to heed the danger signal, then who will save the country?

In the present political situation, can we alone arrest the deterioration and build the country? Can we harness sufficient strength and potential? The PSP has to go to the villagers, sustain their declining self-confidence and inspire them with a new spirit. Can we do all this alone and overcome this crisis? Can any Party alone, single handed, do it? In the event of a national crisis, national effort alone will have any chance of success.

There are four political forces in the country. The communists will continue to mislead the people and subvert their loyalties. If the might of the Chinese goes on increasing and if in its reflected

glory, the Indian communists inflate their strength, where shall we be? The Chinese rulers and their Indian communist friends do not wish that the democratic countries stabilize and prosper; they try to foment troubles so that they can fish in the troubled waters. As the European countries had come together to repel the Nazi Hordes of Hitler, and to stem the red tide of Stalinism in 1948, the Asian countries also shall have to stand united and act in new ways if they wish to meet the challenge of the Yellow Menace. In such a situation, within the country also, we will have to work unitedly with various forces.

On the other hand, reactionary forces are on the offensive and advocate conservative policies. This might also hamper the task of development and reconstruction. We have to resist these forces and defeat them. We must, on the one hand, increase our strength and on the other, consider whether we would be prepared to work together with other forces in those areas where we agree with them. If the situation continues to deteriorate and the Congress Party and the government fail to increase food production, organise co-operatives and build the organisational potential of the nation, what will happen to the country in the next three or four years? Would not we face an ugly situation? The country must progress; economy must be developed rapidly. But by whom shall it be done? With whom shall we work together in this? Which is the force nearest to us? We are a distinct political party because we have differences with all other parties. Yet, in a national crisis, who will be our most likely friend? Not the Communists; the Swatantra is a nationalist force; if it joins this herculean effort, it is welcome. Even so, I believe that the co-operation which is possible between our Party and the Congress Party is not possible between our Party and any other party. The Congress has many a weakness; the wrong actions of the government also are too well known. We are not going to share their mistakes; or to me complacent in our work of organising the people or voice their grievances. But I believe that we are not enough for mobilising half-a-million villages. We should consider from which party the rest of workers who will co-operate with us in reaching these villages will come. In spite of the mistakes of the Congress, is it not a fact that we cannot alone muster enough strength to meet the crisis? We have eagerly desired that the handful of Lohia Socialists join us. But even with our united force with them, are we strong enough? We should give a deep thought to this problem.

We may differ as to whether the Congress Party is socialist or not. Yet, if they move towards socialism, shall we encourage them and draw them closer or shall we force them away from us by opposing them? Whether their socialism is correct or not, whether they only talk of co-operatives or do something practical—these are serious questions. But the point is this: since they talk of co-operatives, it

is easier to get them to build co-operatives than to influence those who oppose co-operatives.

Within our party, we resolve our differences with love and mutual confidence. We criticise and discuss, but we are determined to maintain our solidarity. In the same manner, if we feel that the crisis in the country cannot be met by any single party, then we should draw as many parties closer as possible and work together. Let us point out their shortcomings, by all means; let us criticise their mistakes; if opposition is necessary, let us oppose them. But let us be clear in our own minds; should we work in co-operation with others or should we plough our lonely furrow? This may be possible in normal conditions, but our times are abnormal. I am not suggesting that we begin to work with Congress tomorrow; I only want that we must not let obsession blink our vision. Last year, S. M. Joshi had said that we would try to change the communists also. If that may be possible, we will be all too happy. But we will not succeed in that. However, in order to reinforce national defence, rapid economic development, build the morale of the people and to arrest the deterioration that has set in, we should work with the Congress party. I do not know whether Congress will accept this. Yet, if sufficient popular pressure can be generated, every party will have to react to it.

Only a change of government is not going to solve national problems. Clean administration is necessary but not enough. In Pakistan the military government weeded out corruption and arrested the tax-dodgers. Yet, the price level rose. In India also, organisation has to be built for the fulfilment of fundamental economic tasks. The people have to be mobilized behind them. A whole national effort, a tremendous united will, has to be geared to the achievement of these objectives. To this, we must dedicate our energies and invite all those to work together who think this is an important task.

The Conference then adjourned for lunch.

NOVEMBER 7, 1959. AFTERNOON: 3-30 P.M.

*Chairman:* We shall resume our discussion on the resolution on National situation.

Sanat Mehta will now move his amendments.

SANAT MEHTA (*Gujarat*):

My amendments are three:

- (1) in the beginning of para 4, please add: "In spite of two five year plans".

(2) in para 8, add the following at the end: "because it will allow the communist and the communalist parties to become the only alternative democratic opposition parties and thereby endanger democracy".

(3) in para 9 (e), add the following after the words irrigation facilities: "By providing utilisation facilities such as field channels and concession in water rates".

With regards to my first amendment I submit that we must record our sense of disappointment with the Five Year Plans which have failed.

We must clearly define our role. We have to become an alternative to the Congress Party. We are not merely a corrective. Hence, there is no question of our co-operating with the Congress Party. As my amendment points out, our co-operation with the Congress will benefit anti-democratic forces and be harmful to democracy.

In the programme listed in para 9, I have suggested an amendment because I feel that the cultivators must be given incentives to utilise the irrigation facilities to the maximum. According to the government reports, all facilities have not been made use of by the farmers. Hence, water rates should be abolished or substantial concessions should be made in it.

R. V. SWAMY (*Tamilnad*):

I move that para 8 be deleted. It creates confusion by saying that we share certain fundamentals of democracy, secularism and nationalism with the Congress. We cannot co-operate with the Congress; it will not be in national interest.

JAMUNA PRASAD SINHA (*Bihar*):

In the programme outlined in Para 9, two amendments should be made:

1. In clause (j), add: "and enable it to take measures for quick justice" after the word executive.

2. A new clause should be added after (n): "policy of taxation is evenly distributed".

It is obvious that in a developing economy taxation has to be levied. Yet, care must be taken to see that development expenditure should not overstrain the poorer sections of the people. The tax structure should be reformed and its incidence should fall on the rich.

I had submitted two more amendments; but I find that the one regarding irrigation facilities has been included in the resolution on Food Problem, and the other suggesting ceiling on incomes and salaries has been included in the revised text of this resolution.

NITIN MUKERJI (*West Bengal*):

In para 4 line 2, add: "due to the misrule of the Congress government".

(2) Para 8 should be replaced by the following:

"The continuing misrule of the Congress and its faulty policies have led the country to a dangerous situation. The utter political apathy and frustration are now leading the people to seek drastic remedies, whether it be of Left variety or Right. The lack of progressive political and economic ideas on the part of the Congress are leading them to borrow some catch-words of nationalism, secularism and democracy, which cannot hoodwink the people, because the Congress, in their execution, is doing just the opposite. It is a regressive and decaying force with totalitarian tendencies for the dislodgement of which the PSP with its faith in the ultimate triumph of democratic socialism will have to strive hard. It is the duty of every democratic socialist to give opposition to the status-quoist Congress and to usher in the socialist society which can only lead the people in the right direction towards equality, fraternity and liberty without being an apologist to any reactionary force."

(3) In para 9, line 19, add after 'if' the following:

- (o) creation of a land army composed of unemployed youths of the country to raise the food production and also to bring under cultivation the fallow lands.
- (p) confiscation of lands under private ownership which are lying fallow without giving any compensation and the distribution of the same among the landless peasants.
- (q) to bring about a psychological transformation among the people for harnessing their energies for the country, the difference in income between man and man should be brought down to a proper level and should never be allowed to exceed ten times from the minimum income.
- (r) proper emphasis should be laid on developing heavy industry, which is the economic base for raising the standard of living of the people and on the development of which the economic freedom of the country rests.

We should provide an opposition and an alternative to both the forces of status-quo and totalitarianism. Co-operation with the Con-

gress would create a vacuum which will be easily filled by the communists.

JAMUNA PRASAD (*Madhya Pradesh*):

I wish to move the following amendments:

(1) Replace the words 'national unity' by the words 'the unity of democratic socialist forces'.

(2) Para 8, line 1. Replace the first sentence 'In spite of .....execution' by the following sentence:

"In spite of the fact that Congress pays lip service to the fundamentals of nationalism, secularism and democracy, it has to be emphasised that the differences between the Congress and the PSP have been both on policies and on their execution".

((3) para 9, sub para (a) line 3. Replace the word 'one' by the word 'three'.

(4) In para 9, sub para (a), line 4, add the following words after 'co-operatives'.

"And irrigation facilities should be provided to the cultivators throughout the country within three years".

(5) In para 9, sub para (b) line 3. Replace the sentence "ceiling ..... village" by the following:

"Efforts should be made to ensure immediately that no cultivating family has less than an economic holding and that no peasant family will be allowed to possess land more than three times the size of an economic holding".

(6) In para 9, sub para (b) line 3, delete the word 'preferably' and add the words 'agricultural labour' after the word 'landless'.

(7) In para, 9 sub para (e), line 2, add the following words after 'facilities'.

"Through substantial reduction in irrigation rates."

(8) In para 9, sub para (e), line 3, delete the words "at remunerative level" and substitute it with the following: 'On the basis of parity with other essential commodities of life'.

(9) Add the following, after the last sentence in para 9:

"Land revenue should be abolished from uneconomic holdings. This should be replaced by graded agricultural income tax".

(10) In para 9, sub para (g) add the following sentence after the last sentence, "vocational co-operatives should be organised to carry on trade throughout the country".

(11) In para 9, sub para (n), add the following words after the last word 'industries'.

"And they should be assigned an exclusive non-competitive sphere of activity".

(12) In para 9, add the following sub para (o) after the last sub para (n):

(o) "Efforts should be made to reduce the existing disparity between the maximum and minimum incomes and bring it to the level of ten to one within three years".

VASANTH SATHE (*Maharashtra*):

I wish to move the following amendments to the following paras of the resolution.

Delete para 8, and insert paras 8 to para 11, attached herewith, and change the order of remaining paras:

Para 8. Policy and Programme of the PSP.

The Praja Socialist Party is of the opinion that even after two Five Year Plans, it has not been possible to lay a firm foundation for the economic development of the nation. In fact, both on account of human and natural failures, the economic problems have become worse and the country has reached a critical stage particularly on the question of food. Along with this economic crisis, there is also the threat of external aggression which is aggravated by the existence and growth of an unpatriotic force within the country in the form of the communist Party of India. At the same time, anti-national communal forces, such as the Muslim League and the Jamiyat Islamia are also raising their heads. It is therefore absolutely necessary to consolidate our resources both economically and politically if our hard-won freedom is not to be endangered. The PSP feels that this is the main problem and it can only be solved by the united and enthusiastic co-operation of the people and their active participation in the nation-building activity. It cannot be tackled by any single party, even if it is a ruling party, all by itself. The PSP is of the opinion that, short of forming a coalition government which is neither desirable nor necessary for this purpose, a common policy and programme based on the basic principles of democratic socialism can be evolved and a common national machinery can be formed to prepare and execute schemes for its implementation. The PSP is,

however, clear in its mind about the implications of this proposal. It is obvious that such a National Body shall have to be completely independent and must have full authority in the sphere of Economic Development. To this extent, there will be limitations on the sovereign power of the ruling party and its Ministry, whether in the centre or in the States. Except for this limitation of its power, the ruling party will continue to enjoy its usual powers in other subjects such as External Affairs, Home Department, Law, Defence, etc. The PSP feels that the National Body which may be called National Economic Emergency Council, should be composed of men of recognised status from different fields and parties having faith in democratic socialism and Indian Nationalism. As said above, as this proposal involves temporary curtailment of the powers of the ruling party, it is for the Congress to consider this proposal which we place before the Nation.

#### Para 9. Formation of a National Cadre.

The PSP is also of the considered opinion that the present machinery of Civil Service is not sufficient to implement and execute a Nation-wide economic programme of co-operative and socialist effort. The formation of a national cadre of volunteers, inspired by ideals of co-operative programme and national zeal, both from urban and rural sectors, is therefore essential. This cadre which may be called Bharatiya Lok Sevak Sena i.e., Indian National Service Corps, shall become an Army of Nation builders. Every town or Tahsil having a population of more than 5,000 should be an area centre covering about 100 villages or groups of villages round about, having a population of 1000 persons each (village or village group). A squad of volunteers shall be in-charge of one village or group of villages described above and it shall help the local people to carry out the programme of Co-operative development by establishing a Service Co-operative Society to begin with. The volunteers who join the Lok Sevak Sena shall not take part in any party activity connected with this sphere and shall not be entitled to contest any elections unless they obtain a discharge from the Loka Sevak Sena. The volunteers shall be trained on the lines of regular Army discipline, so that it shall be a second line of national defence, although it will be the first line of nation-builders. This cadre shall work directly under the authority of the National Board suggested above in the first part of the resolution. The cadre should have a strength of at least one crore men, 50 lakh of whom should be between the age group of 18 to 36, and this should be achieved before the end of the 2nd Five-Year-Plan, so that we shall have a force on which we can rely both for national reconstruction and defence.

#### Para 10. Agricultural Structure.

The PSP having considered the proposals placed by the Congress at its Nagpur Convention, regarding Co-operative Farming, is of the opinion that if democratic transformation towards an egalitarian society is to be achieved, it should be done mainly through voluntary effort. Farmers should be encouraged to cultivate their lands in co-operation with each other in village Service Co-operative Societies, (i.e. Gram Seva Sahakari Samiti), without losing their ownership. The Service Co-operative should cater to all needs of the village, such as marketing and supplying the necessities and other requirements. It should eliminate the 'middleman'. Land reforms and fixation of ceilings should be undertaken forthwith by various States and should be completed by the end of 1960. The surplus land should be given to landless labour to be cultivated as a co-operative farm in which the right of work and wages will be secured to them. Subject to a fixed minimum he should be paid according to his work. The spheres of activity of the Gram Panchayat and the Co-operative Society should be clearly defined so that no conflict is created by duplication of the same machinery.

The main problem in the rural sector is to find employment to the vast population of landless labour and peasants with very small holdings. The first impact of Co-operative Farming and rationalization in agriculture would be in aggravating the question of employment of landless labour. No temporary schemes such as road building, housing or similar avocation can give a stable employment or avocation. The only solution therefore is to shift them to industrial occupations which should be established in the villages.

#### Para 11. Industrial Structure.

The PSP is of the considered opinion that the industrial policy of an underdeveloped country like ours with vast human force and limited material resources, must necessarily be shaped with a view to utilize the human power to its maximum advantage. Apart from strictly economic consideration, this has also human and political implications in as much as a people who are unemployed and starving cannot have patience for long and might upset the whole order in sheer frustration. It must be said to the credit of the people of our nation that they have shown great patience and tolerance for last 12 years although their condition has remained the same if not worse. The industrial pattern of production of our country is strictly a capitalist pattern in which maximum profit by reducing labour costs is the main consideration. That leads inevitably to more and more modern machines and less and less utilization of the human power. This in turn results in the growth of purchasing power in the hands of those few who are benefitting directly on account of these industries i.e., mainly the urban population of industrial class. This in turn leads to rise in demand of the articles of comfort or luxuries

required by this class and the natural desire of the industrialist and capitalist to invest in industries producing such goods, which do not add to the well being or needs of the villagers. The theory of capital formation and investment for further development in the hands of organised large scale sector as far as the production of consumer goods is concerned has thus proved to be a failure both in respect of capital formation, employment potential and production of necessities. We must under the circumstances of our country co-relate this can be achieved only by the decentralisation of the consumer goods and of the consumer goods industries such as cloth, leather tanning, edible oils, etc. Technology should be applied to run them on modern lines as cottage and small scale industries. Our advice to the consumer goods industries as to the educated men should be to go back to the villages and make them modern. The verticle centralised economy which results in concentration of population, power and economy in the hands of a few in big industrial centres is not suited to our economy. Decentralisation of economy has further advantages, both strategic and political, in as much as strategically a catastrophe like the war cannot easily upset such an economy, and politically, it prevents concentration of power and tendency towards dictatorship to which underdeveloped countries are highly susceptible. Thus although the capital goods industries and basic industries, such as power, must by their very nature be run on large scale centralised basis, the consumer goods industries must be systematically decentralised. There also we can reserve a percentage of production both for markets abroad and the sophisticated class within which can be produced in ultra-modern original units run in the private or public sector.

Even to-day when practically every village and cottage industry has been uprooted by competition from the organised large scale industrial sector, the surviving small scale and cottage industry continues to provide livelihood to more than two crore people, i.e., nearly 8 times that provided by the entire factory sector in India. Decentralisation of cloth industry alone can provide wage-earning employment to about 1 crore persons. If we look from the point of view of the purchasing power put in the hands of the community, it will be seen that the money put in the hands of the common man is much more in the small scale and cottage industry sector than in the factory sector. If the purchasing power of the common man increases, he can be expected and persuaded to save more in the form of small savings. In a co-operative society, we will have to depend more and more on the savings effort of the common man for Nation's capital formation as otherwise the whole co-operative economy will fail.

Y. N. JADHAV (Maharashtra):

I wish to move three amendments to para 9.

- (1) In clause (a), line 2, after 'peasants' add 'timely and prompt'.
- (2) In clause (b), in line 1, after 'reclaimed', add: 'by organising land army and tractor organisations'.
- (3) After clause (c), add a new clause (p): 'honest and vigorous efforts should be made for family planning and population control'.

The suggestion in my first amendment was included in the Poona resolution. The mover should have no difficulty in accepting it.

We had always urged the formation of the land army. We must stress it here also. I learn that the Government is winding up Central Tractor Organisation. We must emphasise that it would be a wrong step.

Then there is the problem of rapidly increasing population. This will aggravate other problems too. Hence, utmost importance should be attached to the efforts of family planning and population control.

PANNALAL SURANA (Maharashtra):

All the States must hasten ceiling legislation; and such legislation should aim at making land available in adequate quantity so as to match the number of landless labourer families in the respective states. Further, in framing such legislation, care must be taken in defining 'personal cultivation' which must include manual labour and personal supervision by the owner. No category of land should be exempted from the ceiling limit.

Shri Ishwerbhai Desai has moved an amendment on the same subject. But I have disagreement with his amendment, hence, these amendments.

The Congress Party had proclaimed to enforce ceiling by the end of 1959. It has not done so. We must press for quick action in this regard.

The ceiling must be such that enough land is available for the landless. I do not, however, agree with Isherbhai that a target of 5 crore acres should be fixed in our resolution.

The landlords might try to retain more and more land by making use of tax clauses. The definition of 'personal cultivation' should be made precise and exact.

**DHIREN BHOWMICK** (*West Bengal*):

I wish to move the following amendment to para 3 of page 1, line 3, of the resolution 'National Situation'. Add these lines:

"While the Conference views with great satisfaction the recent improvement of Indo-Pakistan relations, the Conference also feels that the problem of East Bengal minorities too should be solved satisfactorily and our Government should give pressure for this. It is reported minorities (Hindus) of East Bengal are being dislodged from trade and commerce, that they are not recruited either in important jobs of police and military; moreover they are treated 'B' class or to drive them from Pakistan. Systematic policy also is being pursued to muslimise Hindus the top of her voice for restoration of civil and political rights in other countries, we should not remain silent to the untold sufferings of East Bengal minorities. Moreover, Hindus of East Bengal rush to India thus they become refugees and burden the economy of India. Hence when India and Pakistan are going to solve border problems, canal-water dispute, etc., they should also meet together to solve minority problem of East Bengal to restore their (i) civil, (ii) political, and (iii) human rights".

Page 2, para 8:

First 3 lines should be deleted and it should be replaced thus:

"Congress Government has failed to solve economic miseries of the country. Unemployment problem, food and education problems remain unsolved. Rather Congress Government is being guided by Indian capitalists for their class interest. P.S.P. resolves to maintain equidistant policy regarding Congress and C.P.I., both of which are enemy of the common people of the country and resolves to replace the Congress Government by Socialist Raj under the leadership of P.S.P."

In para 9, after (N) another item should be added:—

(O) refugees coming from Pakistan should be economically rehabilitated.

after (O), there should be another line:

"We should also be guided and inspired by the teachings of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose".

**KESHAV LAKSHMAN DHURVE** (*Madhya Pradesh*):

My amendment is that para eight should be replaced by the following:—

"Looked at from the point of view of nationalism, democracy and socialism, there is a wide gap between the professions and actions of the Congress. The Prime Minister kept the people of India in dark, and did not even take the Parliament into confidence. Not only in small matters, but on fundamental issues as well, the P.S.P. and the Congress Party differ from each other. The Conference feels that as long as these differences on policy and their implementation remain as before, co-operation with the Congress cannot help the nation but merely strengthen the disruptive forces and deepen the frustration of the people".

**DEVENDRA BORA** (*Assam*):

I move the following amendments:

(1) In para 9 (b), the following words may be added after the word 'constituted'.

"procedure laws of the country should be amended to speed up disposal of such cases."

(2) in para 10, line 5, after the word, 'allegiance to' the word 'our' should be replaced by 'democratic socialist ideals'.

(3) in para 10, in line 8, after the sentence ending with 'will', please add these sentences:

"This Conference therefore further invites constructive suggestions for consolidation of the entire democratic socialist forces of the country, and this Silver Jubilee Conference of the P.S.P. empowers the National Executive to go ahead for implementing this task".

I wish to emphasise that we must work for socialist unity and to that end, make concerted efforts.

**K. KRISHNAN** (*Maharashtra*):

I wish to move the following amendment to para 10 last line of the resolution:

Add the following:—

"In the meantime the Conference directs all the units of the Party to recruit large number of Party volunteers within a period of six months for taking up the constructive work given to them by the Party's district committee from time to time".

**RADHESHYAM UPADHYAYA** (*Madhya Pradesh*):

I wish to move the following amendment to para 9 (B), line 4, of the resolution:—

The following words be added after the word 'should be'.

"Fixed on the basis of economic unit and it must be".

(2) and in line 5 of the same para the 'agriculture labour' be added after the word 'landless' (of line 4).

(3) in para 9 (L), in line 2, the following words should be added after the words 'dealt with':—

"the people are requested not to involve themselves in corrupt practices".

(4) In line 3 of the same para, after the word 'to this end', the word 'non-official' be added.

**AUDHESH NARAIN SINGH** (*U.P.*):

I wish to move the following amendments to para 5, line 9, of the resolution.

The word 'democratic socialism' in para 5, line 9, should be replaced by the word 'democracy'. Let it be read as follows:—

"The wide gap between its profession and practice, which has been the despair of many even in its own ranks, has tended to undermine the people's faith in the values of democracy".

**YOGINDRA N. SINGH** (*Bihar*):

I wish to move the following amendment to para 3, line 2, of the resolution on National Situation.

Instead of 'lessening of tension', 'growing good sense' should be written.

**KALPANATH SINGH** (*U.P.*):

My amendments are to Para 10.

(1) In line 2, after the word 'socialism', add:—

"But not the Congress, communalists or communist parties".

(2) In line 8, after the sentence ending with the word 'will', this should be added: "And the conference constitutes

a committee to start negotiations for the unity of all democratic socialist forces".

**CHHABILIDAS MEHTA** (*Bombay*):

I wish to move the following amendments to para 8, line 2—5 of the resolution:—

(1) Add the word 'socialism' after the word 'secularism'.

(2) Add these words, after line 4:—"While on policies the differences might have narrowed down to some extent, on execution the old gulf continues".

(3) Instead of the words 'total mobilization of the people' insert words 'any party by itself'.

**RAM DAYAL SINGH** (*Bihar*):

I wish to move the following amendments to para 5 of the resolution on National Situation. My first amendment relates to para 5 and the second seeks to delete paras 8 and 9:

(1) "The Conference is of opinion that the wide gap between the bold designs and little achievements of the ruling party has created a sense of complete frustration and sense of complacency in the country. The idea of co-operation with Congress at such a moment enhances the chances of strengthening of conservatism within and dictatorial systems without. The independent political entity of social forces for democratic socialism under the banner of P.S.P. is the historical necessity of the hour to counteract both the conservative forces within and totalitarian forces without".

(2) Delete paras 8 and 9.

**DASARATH TIWARI** (*Bihar*):

I wish to move the following amendment to para 8 of the resolution on National Situation.

That the item 8 on page 2 be deleted.

**BRIJLAL VERMA** (*Madhya Pradesh*):

I wish to move the following amendment to para 4, line 5, of the resolution.

"and fix a ceiling on all type and source of income at not more than Rs. 3,600 per year, i.e., in industry, business, service and agriculture; which will lessen the disparity in income.

(2) My amendment is to para 9 (f). In line 2, delete the words 'Balwan'trai Mehta Team' and add the following, in between the following:

"Gandhiji for making village as unit of administration". And at the end of the same sub-para (f), the following words be added:—

"and the constitution of India be amended to give definite power and separate source of income to village local bodies".

DIHIREN PRATAP SINGH (U.P.):

I move an amendment to clause (k) in Para 9. After the words 'rural areas', please add the words 'and urban slums' and replace the words 'for a year after graduation' by 'after graduation for a suitable length of time'.

RAJENDRA SINGH CHOUDHURY (Rajasthan):

I wish to move the following amendments to paras 8 and 9 (c).

- (1) Delete para 8.
- (2) Kindly add in para 9 (c) the following at the end "and no revenue should be collected from uneconomic holdings".

GOURMOHAN GHOSH (W. Bengal):

I wish to move the following amendment to para 9 (p) after the sub-para (o).

"Complete stoppage of import of such essential commodities in which the country is self-sufficient".

KASHIKANT MAITRA (West Bengal):

Para 8 should be substituted by the following:—"In spite of Congress's nationalism, secularism and democracy it requires to be re-emphasised unequivocally that there are fundamental differences between Congress and P.S.P. in regard to the basic approach to these broad issues and fundamental objectives—their objectives and ideas are not only a measure of the growing popularity of the Socialist democratic thought, the inculcation of which in public mind has been the chief endeavour and pride of P.S.P., but also awakening against complacency and attempt of the ruling party to fence it up by present effort and phrase mongering. It is utterly disastrous to think that the fate of democratic experiment in India is linked up with

the success or failure of the Congress. The gulf yawning up between the Congress profession and practice is a constant reminder that the loyalty to socialism and democracy is to be tested on the touch stone of actual practice. This Conference is of the unshakable opinion that the triumph of socialist democracy is directly linked up with the growth, consolidation and survival of the P.S.P."

PRATAP SIIAH (Gujarat):

I wish to move the following amendments to para 5, line 3, of the resolution on National Situation.

- (1) Add these words after 'corruption', 'and its expenditure in pomp and show and the lack of austerity.'
- (2) In para 8, line 6, delete the word 'co-operation' and add the word 'coalition'.

RAM SHARAN ANTYANUPRASI (Rajasthan):

My amendment is very simple.

Para 8 should be deleted and subsequent paras numbered accordingly.

LAKSHMI NARAYAN NAYAK (Madhya Pradesh):

In para 5, line 2, after the word 'sectarianism' add 'favouritism'.

In para 9 (b), the last sentence should be re-written as: "As the ceiling on land fixed by the State legislatures would make available land for distribution only in name, it should be reduced and should be enforced without recognising sham partition and surplus land given gratis to the landless in the villages".

A. SUBRAMANIAM (Tamilnad):

My amendment is:

Delete paragraph 8.

It is a sorry state of affairs that the resolution says that we share the fundamentals of democracy, secularism, and nationalism with the Congress. The Congress has weakened nationalism and we find that casteism is mounting. The Congress Government has no faith in democracy and its actions lack any sense of democracy. It is due to its wrong policies, and lack of policies, that we have the crisis that we are facing. It is the P.S.P. alone which can lead the people to their cherished goal.

We are not against co-operation on particular issues or when occasion arises. After all, there must be some basis of co-operation. We have J.P.'s experience with us. Then, co-operation must be asked for by the ruling party and should be given on the basis of programme which can lead to the establishment of an ideal society. But in the Congress Party, as J.P. said, no more than 20 per cent believe in socialism.

The ruling party did not care to consult others on an issue like reorganisation of States and took hasty decision. But we go on offering unsolicited co-operation and weakening the P.S.P. Let us not go on knocking on the closed door. Instead, this para should be deleted. The Conference should instil a new hope and give a clarion call to workers of the Party.

V. K. TEMBE (*Maharashtra*):

This morning we celebrated the Co-operative Day. The importance of Co-operative movement cannot be over-emphasized. Our resolution also makes reference to co-operation. It calls on the people to organise service co-operatives in the villages and to organise agricultural sector on a co-operative basis. Our comrades must work hard to create an atmosphere in favour of co-operation. The co-operatives should be given a fundamental place in the country's economic life.

Not only in agriculture, but in other sectors of economy and social life, co-operation should be applied. There are various other institutions where this can be fruitful.

#### GENERAL SPEECHES.

*Chairman*:—All the amendments have been moved. I will now call upon those who want to speak in general on the resolution, whether in support or to oppose it. Rajkishore Samanthrai will begin:—

RAJKISHORE SAMANTHRAI (*Orissa*):

It is an uninspiring and cold resolution. When it was published in Janata as a draft, in October, we were apprehensive that it was a turning point for the Party. However, substantial improvements have been made thereafter.

Asoka has rightly placed the problems in a wider canvass. These problems can only be solved by the P.S.P. if it decides to launch a new offensive in a new direction. The conference must give a clear cut directive to the workers. The common people feel that our party would merge in the Congress.

Let us analyse the history of the C.P.I. It set fire to its doctrines, sacrificed principles and set its face against national interests. Yet, it is strong. The essence of the matter is that it has an organisation. We must also frame a bold programme to build our organisation.

The Congress has no sincerity in its professions. It violates all its professed principles. Take the case of food. The Food Minister has brazen-facedly called for scrapping of State Trading in grains. Earlier, this was hailed as a great socialist measure. Yet, the pressure of hoarders and capitalists was much too strong for the Congress.

The problems before the Party are herculean. I have to make a single request to the National Executive. They should seriously think about national and international problems, and with firmness lead the Party to its objectives.

R. A. KHEDGIKAR (*Maharashtra*):

I attended the first conference in 1934. I am happy to see the Silver Jubilee of the Party.

For twenty-five years, the Party has grown. Now it has matured. We have now to stand firmly on our feet. I do not see any necessity of this debate about co-operation with Congress Party. This sort of talk creates confusion.

We must have faith in the leadership of our Party and trust that it will lead us to the achievement of socialism.

The main problem is that of socio-economic reconstruction. The important para in the resolution is para 9. It has rightly stressed the need of maintaining balance in the pace of agricultural and industrial development.

I feel that party workers do not get training and guidance in trade union work. Again, illiteracy is a great check in the progress of our movement. In Bombay alone, a million workers are illiterate. They will not grasp democratic Socialism unless education spreads amongst them.

Unemployment is a big danger to society. It must be checked and removed. It is sad indeed that during the plans, unemployment has increased, even when new factories have been opened. In Nagpur alone six textile mills are lying idle.

## CHANDRASEKHAR (U.P.):

I wish to oppose the resolution. May I here again stress, as I did at Bangalore, that we should have an unambiguous policy. Absence of clarity leads to confusion. At Bangalore, I opposed the resolution regarding adjustment with the Communist Party. Yet, we submitted to the democratic decision of the Conference. If the Conference feels that the interests of the country cannot be served without co-operation with the Congress, we should say so clearly. Let us then not feel nervous about the reaction of our stand amongst the people. For if the Party does not have the courage to say what it feels to be correct, then it cannot become an instrument of social change.

The resolution has been changed twice and yet I feel unable to understand it. It is like the river Ganges which can give health but which is also the abode of dangerous animals. It does not look proper that a party which believes in honesty and in bringing about social change in a democratic manner should have a hotch-potch resolution in order to please a section of its members. It should assert with courage what it considers to be correct.

Everybody in the Party respects Asoka, and his thinking has left its imprint on the party. He has said that in the grave crisis that faces the country, the P.S.P. alone cannot adequately meet the situation. A larger, a bigger, organisation is required. Hence, we should co-operate with the Congress. We are asked to rise above party interests and adopt a nation-centred, not a party-centred, attitude.

The P.S.P. exists because we believe that it is by strengthening the P.S.P. that we can strengthen and serve the country. If the interests of the P.S.P. conflict with those of the country, then it must not exist. Those who consider that by serving the party, they are not serving the country, they should accept Jayaprakashji's thesis of non-party politics, the path of Sarvodaya. But let no one who works in the party do anything to weaken or disband the party. I submit that this method of analysis is incorrect.

Mention has been made of the danger of Chinese communist aggression. It has been said that those who do not agree with the resolution fail to realise this danger. This is incorrect. Defence can be organised with popular support. Yet what has the Congress done to enlist that support, arouse people's enthusiasm? The Congress has, on the other hand, disillusioned the people. The Congress have been imposed. The villagers have been hit hard. How can the empty slogans of nationalism enthuse them and remove their despondency?

Kamath has made an extensive tour of the border areas. I have also been there. The misery and poverty on the border are shocking. In Gubrian, a Bhotia, Padam Singh, who is a leader of the P.S.P. told me: "The Congress has ruined us. We have joined the P.S.P. with great expectations. But if you also join the Congress and betray our hopes, then I will avenge it with your blood." His emotion can be forgiven. The Government has not done anything to relieve their misery. I wrote to the Chief Secretary of the U.P. Government inviting his attention to some problems of the border area. Nothing was done. How will you co-operate with this sloth? Shri Ishwerbhai and Genda Singh will tell you about how ceilings are being enforced. Let us ask them how co-operation is possible.

The Congress party feels compelled, under popular pressure, to move towards progressive policies because of the demands of political democracy. It can easily delude the farmers into voting it into power. Why should we be charmed into walking into its parlour? It has no social philosophy; it cannot take us to the cherished goal. It is true that the direction is important; yet, in the absence of the desired speed, the march towards the objective will fail in achieving it.

As Jayaprakashji has said, 80 per cent of the people in the Congress are sympathisers of Rajaji. Among the other 20 per cent will be found persons like Mr. Krishna Menon and Shri Mala viya. There are not many democratic socialists. With whom shall we co-operate?

I am not obsessed with my opposition against Congress. We share so many things with the other parties also. We share nationalism with Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh, and secularism with the Communists. But where is the need of enumerating all this? Asoka has referred to our old resolution. One can cite the authorities of N. G. Goray, S. M. Joshi, Achyut Patwardhan and others to the effect that the Congress, by its class character and its opposition to class struggle, cannot work for socialism. Asoka has said that this resolution will help us in going further to some extent. I request you to adopt a resolution which helps us in achieving our objective. This resolution does not point to one direction, it indicates various directions. We will again be falling in the same old rut. The National Executive should withdraw this resolution and place before the conference a resolution which indicates one definite trend.

I appeal to the delegates to vote down this resolution or to amend it in such a manner that it makes a clear analysis of the class character of the Congress Party.

SHIV CHANDRA JHA (Bihar):

Shri Goray has said that we should not indulge in clichés or slogans. May I suggest that the Gaya thesis, which is a pillar of the Party, does not embody clichés. I am sorry that the resolution is contrary to the Gaya thesis. We have to make our opposition to the Congress more emphatic and not to think in terms of co-operating with it.

We have carried the torch of socialism for 25 years. We must not put it down, and must continue to strive towards our objectives.

Yesterday Shri Asoka Mehtra said—I at least got that impression—that we must try to keep the Congress on the right path. I wish to stress here that our objective is the establishment of socialism and we need not waste half of the time of our Silver Jubilee Conference in discussing how to keep the Congress on the right track.

We must make mention of our faith in social ownership of means of production.

Shri B. P. Sinha has moved an amendment to para 7. I am not satisfied with his amendment. We must clearly state that the relation between the Congress party and the Swatantra Party is that they are chips of the same block and would any time come closer together and hug each other. While the Congress party is disguised Swatantra, the Swatantra is Congress Party in its nakedness.

Chairman:—We shall now adjourn for the day and reassemble to-morrow morning.

November 8, 1959

Morning Session 9-30 a.m.

Chairman: We shall continue the discussion on the resolution on the "National Situation" Zaminpal Singh will begin.

ZAMINPAL SINGH (U.P.):

I strongly oppose the resolution. It is an attempt by the opponents of the Gaya thesis to push the party into the lap of the Congress by creating a scare through a jugglery of words. No new situation has arisen and the bogey of Chinese aggression is being used to frighten the Party into an alliance with the Congress. The Leaders have no courage to amend the policy statement in an open manner.

Shri Goray asked us how many times we shall put the leaders in the fire of test. On the other hand, we feel that we have, in fact, to save ourselves from the Maya, the illusions, created by Mr. Nehru which deludes our leaders rather too often.

It appears to me that Shri Nehru has dictated these points, listed in para 9, to our leaders and he wants that these should be passed here. All these points are in our policy statement. Yet, those points to which Mr. Nehru could take objection have been studiously avoided, so that after sometime we may be told that since the Congress accepts them, we must go back to it.

A delegate: I wish to raise a point of order. The speaker is levelling a charge against the National Executive.

ZAMINPAL SINGH: It is my personal opinion, if this is a charge, well, I am charging the Executive. I would emphasize that we must oppose the Congress party. Let us retain our equidistance from the Congress and the Communists.

RAM NAGINA SINGH (U.P.):

I find nothing objectionable in the resolution. The Party has constantly marched from strength to strength. It has progressively developed. Why are we afraid that it will be finished? Those comrades who think that by passing this resolution the party will be destroyed are labouring under false impressions. Doctor Lohia has

sought to create an impression that our Party will join the Congress. It is that scare created by him that is haunting the minds of these friends.

On the other hand, the policies advocated by the Party are becoming increasingly popular. The Congress is also following them. The Bhoodan and Shramadn—epitomised in our call of one hour to the country—were our leads which have now been accepted by the Congress. Of what are we afraid? Of our growing victory?

The Congress does not invite us for co-operation. Why should it do so? They know that we alone will take power from them. They are afraid of working with us.

This resolution is a fortnight resolution, warning the Congress that its misrule and injustice will be tolerated no longer. It must change its ways. This resolution gives a call to the people to build pressures against the Congress and to overthrow its rule.

PREM BHASIN (*Punjab*):

As I listened to the various speeches, I felt that many of them, both in opposition as well as in support of the resolution, were made without reading, or at least comprehending, the text of the resolution. Yesterday, when my friend Chandra Shekhar was speaking, I was wondering whether he had at the back of his mind the text of the resolution or the faces of certain gentlemen on the dias.

It is time to realise that conditions have changed radically since the Poona Conference. The events in Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia appear to suggest that the Asian people are losing faith in democracy. What shall we do to arrest such development in India? What led to the establishment of military rules in Pakistan and Burma? It was not only the failure to solve the internal economic problems that led to the fall of democratic regimes in these countries. In several other countries, democratic governments are functioning in spite of the failure to tackle economic problems. There have been different reasons for the failure of democracy in Pakistan and Burma. In Burma, for instance, one faction of the AFPEL entered into a united front with the communists to retain power. The military did not tolerate this as it was apprehensive that the rebel communists would soon take over the country. In Pakistan, the instability of parties and the opportunism of politicians enabled the military to dismiss them and assume the reins of power.

In Nepal, however, we have witnessed a contrary development. After years of political instability, at the first opportunity that the people had of asserting their democratic will, the Nepali Congress,

our sister Party, came to power with a strong majority. This indicates that the yardstick applicable to other countries cannot be used to measure our conditions. I will agree with those who say that such elements as are inimical to democracy must be positively checked. We cannot afford any complacency in combating their influence. But let us not hastily presume that what has happened elsewhere must happen here also. Please permit me to emphasize that in the developing political situation in the country, the PSP, which is not an insignificant force, will also play a role. If democracy is threatened, the outcome of that struggle will depend to an extent on what we do and how we behave.

My friend Professor Ram Joshi said that frustration was rapidly overtaking the country. That is true. But he also said that the failures of the Congress were the failures of stubborn situations. May I say that it is his personal opinion and that the resolution which he came to support does not express such an opinion? Neither the resolution anywhere says, or even implies, that whatever the Congress might have done, the situation would have remained as it obtains today. That, again, is his personal opinion. The resolution, on the other hand, clearly analyses, in a separate para, number five to be exact, the failures of the Congress.

I was surprised that some friends advocated the deletion of para 8 of the resolution. Where does this para suggest, even vaguely, that the National Executive is going away from the inheritance which Acharya Narendra Deva bequeathed to the party or that it is eagerly looking forward to a hint from the Congress Party? May I submit that, for the first time in the history of the party, this resolution has categorically said, in this para, that not only will there be no co-operation with the Congress, but any such co-operation will be detrimental to the national interests and will deepen the frustration of the people.

Some friends have objected to the first sentence of this para. They are critical of what has been said about our sharing certain fundamentals with the Congress Party. It has been argued that, as we share certain fundamentals with other parties also why have we singled out the Congress for specific mention? The reason is very simple. It has been done in the interests of clarity. The delegates will not be un-aware of the debate that goes on in public on our differences and affinities with the Congress. There is no such debate on our affinities with the Communist party or the Jana Sangh, for instance. There has never been any serious discussion in the country or in our party on the question whether we should merge or join hands with the Communist party or the Jana Sangh or not. With regard to these parties our position has been fully understood by the people at large. But we cannot say the same thing regarding our position vis-a-vis the Congress. On this question some confusion

Shri Asoka Mehta has, inspite of remaining in minority for several years, frankly argued out his case. It is gratifying that this discussion in uninhibited. But then everything has a limit. In an under-developed party, such as ours is, self-restraint must also accompany freedom of discussion. Shri Asoka Mehta has always shown that self-restraint even while criticising the ruling party and the Government of India. Yet, there are friends who have placed their views in such a manner that it has created an impression that the PSP is facing a big crisis. If you have seen the morning papers you will not have missed the screaming headlines to this effect.

Acharya Narendra Deva's name has very often been mentioned during the debate. One is bound to miss him badly today. He had infinite self-restraint. When the merger of the Socialist Party and the KMPP took place, he was not in its favour; and yet, he never, for once, put any obstacles in the process. He, in fact, signed the merger document. If our comrades learnt from his example, this party will flourish and prosper.

The danger to the existence of the party arises not so much from without as from within. unrestrained speeches produce the opposite effect. It will be an irony of fate indeed if some of the passionate advocates of the preservation of the separate entity of the Party and its independent functioning helped to destroy the party by their unrestrained speeches. Some of us, including important and valued colleagues, did not restrain themselves from suggesting a sinister, opportunistic, secret deal between the National Executive of the PSP and the Congress government. Will their statements not be exploited by the enemies of the Party? Will it not be enough to damn the Party to simply quote from their speeches? Was it this what they intended?

**SURENDRANATH DWIVEDI (Orissa):**

It has been said in the course of the debate that in this resolution there are indications of merger of the PSP in the Congress. This is a democratic party, and you can say whatever you like. But let me assure you that there is no such attempt or suggestion anywhere. I would go further and say that at present there are differences between the Congress and the PSP, but even if there were no differences whatsoever between these parties, even then, for the health of democracy, they should exist independently.

Yet, I believe that there have been certain developments which call for a clean enunciation of our policies. Not dogmatism but a pragmatic outlook should inform our policies. No ideological inhibitions or preconceived notions should be allowed to stand in our way as far as the country's defence is concerned. The Chinese aggression

across our borders is not only a military aggression, it has an ideological implication. The Chinese communists are afraid that if democracy could successfully solve the problems in South East Asian countries, communism would be doomed. Hence, they are out to disrupt the democratic experiment throughout these countries.

Obviously, a new situation has arisen. The resolution takes note of that situation. I wish to stress that you should have no misgivings about the resolution and you are free to support it after giving it due thought. We have been pursuing a policy of non-alignment, or no adjustments, with either the Congress or the communists. That was our policy of equidistance, as it has been called. Through this resolution we are introducing a great change in this policy. The communists are, from now onwards, our first enemy, for all times to come; because they are clearly anti-national and anti-democratic.

Acharya Narendra Deva wrote in an article, published in the "Sangarsh", that if democracy and nationalism were in danger, we should help the Congress in fighting out that danger. In that sense, we are nearer the Congress party. This does not mean that we shall go out of our way to co-operate with the Congress or enter into a coalition with it. But when there is a mounting threat to our freedom, we will make our people realise their duty. The communists are masquerading as patriots, but we have to expose the hollowness of their claim. We have to remove the impression that communism is the panacea for all evils.

Mr. Nehru's blind faith in the Chinese has landed us into this trouble. He has been hesitant to call China as aggressor. The Congress is still not clear what attitude to take towards international communism. It holds no meeting to meet the Chinese challenge on ideological levels. Nehru goes on making statements that in many respects he accepts communism. We shall have to educate our people. In this task, the PSP has played its part creditably, and we are proud of it.

We say that we share our faith in the fundamentals of democracy, nationalism and secularism with the Congress. That does not mean that we say the same things as the Congress says. The Congress only says these things in words, for it does not implement policies which strengthen these fundamentals. Their action in Kerala to withdraw support from the PSP government when agrarian bills were introduced was motivated by partisan ends and not by democratic convictions. Consequently, they gave Kerala to the Communists. The PSP does not accept Congress to be a Socialist party. In the comity of socialist parties, the congress party has not been accepted as a socialist party. No international socialist organisation today accepts

it as member. Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, when he came here, declared that he considered the PSP and not the Congress to be the Socialist party. But while we have our differences with the Congress, shall we not join hands with it on the face of Chinese aggression? We shall. But we are no 'B' team of the Congress. We shall not co-operate with the Congress if it pursues old policies. The PSP is not anxious to co-operation with the Congress.

Do you apprehend that somebody will influence your minds? I am glad that Shri Asoka Mehta, who has been advocating co-operation with the Congress for the last four years, is still in a minority in the party. I am also happy that inspite of this he has worked for the party in a disciplined and efficient manner, and has not gone the way others like him chose to go. Jayaprakash could not influence this party to go his way. We still differ from him when he says that political parties are not necessary. What is the apprehension in your minds. Does this resolution go beyond the policy statement which says that in case of emergency we shall support the Congress party and the government? But that situation has not arisen so far. Yet, there is this present danger. Some comrades ask us: "Why does the resolution contain the programme also?" We say that if the Congress does not know how to meet the danger, this the programme. Follow it, Let the Congress correct its mistakes. Then, we will see what we can do. Mr. Nehru, as Jayaprakashji said, has the habit of ridiculing policies put forward by other people, which he accepts at a later stage.

Please do not entertain any illusions that Congress wants your co-operation, and that after you pass this resolution, Mr. Nehru will come to your Chairman with folded hands and ask for co-operation. The Congress does not want any co-operation. No Congressman dare come to you. If Congressmen wanted co-operation, why did the talks between Jayaprakash and Nehru fail? No call is coming from the Congress for co-operation. It would be a great tragedy for the nation if in the face of danger, narrow, partisan considerations were allowed to dominate the Congress thinking. We must prevent it. We must create public pressure so that everybody has to work together to met the common threat to the country. The PSP has not to work for a smaller gain. We have to transcend smaller loyalties. We have to mobilise the people. For that, we have to place before them a specific programme. But in this programme, we are stressing our differences with the Congress. This programme stresses the tasks that should be given high priorities. We shall try to build a pressure so that the Congress accepts it; but if it does not, we shall not keep quiet. If the Congress does not realise the gravity of the situation, we shall, as the resolution says, go it alone and work for the people.

Alone we cannot meet this situation. All people who support us cannot alone meet its challenge. Even the Congress alone cannot meet it. And may I submit it to my friend Asoka Mehta that no united front of political parties would be enough? Even if the Congress and the PSP come together, they will not succeed if they do not have their heart in this programme. A great change of heart is needed.

It had been said that the Congress is not a democratic party. But in order to get support, it has to adjust to the pressure of the public opinion. Friends in Maharashtra and Gujarat will bear me out that it was the mobilisation of popular opinion which forced the Congress to change its decision on the issue of Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat.

*A Delegate:* The Congress accepted this demand not because it was democratic but because it knew it could not keep itself in power. It would have lost the elections.

*S. N. DWIVEDI:* My friend has anticipated my next sentence. I thank him for it. Congress was forced to accept the popular demand as it knew that not Chavan but somebody else would become the Chief Minister of Bombay. It had to adjust to popular demand. That shows that it can be compelled to respond to the people. Do we have no faith in the people? What then is this party for? I again submit that we alone are not enough. The entire people have to be mobilised. We must create pressure of national feeling so that our people realise the national danger. If the PSP in this Silver Jubilee Conference issues a call to the people to get united in the defence of the country, not only the future of the Party, of the socialist movement in this country, but the future of socialism in Asia will become brighter.

### REPLY TO THE DEBATE.

The Chairman, then, called upon N. G. Goray to reply to the debate.

*N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra):*

This resolution does not represent any particular individual like Asoka Mehta or Prem Bhasin, but is the result of the collective wisdom of the National Executive. When we had met in October, we devoted three days to discussing the national situation and adopted a draft resolution. Although I had counselled that it should not be published at that stage, we did it because of our own anxiety to work democratically and because we thought it better to take you into confidence and ensure a larger participation in discussion. In our

meeting in November, we discussed it again, and accepted certain amendments. It is this final draft which is before you.

A comrade here said, I believe he was not impetuous, that he gathered the impression that our leaders had earlier met Mr. Nehru and he had told them that although in the public eye, the fight between the two parties would continue, but in order to jointly work together, we should bring a programme for national reconstruction, and after it is passed here, Mr. Nehru would invite us to join the coalition.

I was shocked and surprised to hear this comrade's speech. So, far we, in the P.S.P., have been proud of the fact that we think ahead of others and the Congress party has invariably followed us in our thought. But our comrade has given up even that self-confidence. According to him, the P.S.P. now seeks light from Mr. Nehru. We are accused of working in league with the Prime Minister. Mr. Sathe has said that now we should decide once for all. I agree with him. Let there be a decision on it. If you suspect us, please remember we also have some self-respect. I have all respect for you and your sacrifices. But if you accuse of having some sort of a secret alliance with the Prime Minister, then I would submit that there is a limit to which both accusations and toleration can go. But, let us assume that, as you say, we are dishonest, that we don't have such prestige. But what about your prestige and self-respect if you elect us as your leaders?

Let me, however, warn those friends who might conclude from this debate that this party is rent with dissensions. This debate is an annual feature, almost a habit of this party. Comrades who assemble here after a year have every right to criticise the leadership. However, I suppose that our comrades wish to stress that if the resolution means our getting together with the Congress, it shall not be tolerated. If that is their feeling, I welcome it without hesitation. I assure them that this resolution does not mean that.

Please examine the structure of the resolution more closely. Every resolution has a unity of structure, a logical inner consistency, and the same ideological concept which runs in other resolutions runs through it as well. What is the ideological concept of this conference? It is the threat of Chinese aggression. This is what the people are talking about, what the papers are stuffed with. You will find that in the resolution on China, on Kerala and on the 'Tasks' resolution. This, then, is the central resolution. May I say that there are threads of the same thinking that are expressed in this when Kamath and Nath Pai referred to the Chinese threat and reiterated our resolve to stand up against it, you cheered them wildly. You applauded Nath Pai's reference to the Mahabharat when he

warned against the cowardice or fear. Whom did he warn? Mr. Nehru. With due respect to him, I shall submit that when it comes to taking decisions, Mr. Nehru is of no use. We have seen that in Kashmir as well as in Goa. And if Sardar Patel had not dealt with the problem of Hyderabad, we would have still found ourselves faced with it in some international tribunal. It is not Mr. Nehru that we call upon to resist aggression, to stand fearlessly and throw out the enemy, it is the people of India, that collectively, which is called India. It is a call to them that in the face of aggression we must all stand united as a wall behind the Government. Should we not inform our countrymen of these dangers and prepare them?

I request you to consider that, in separate paragraphs, from the second to the fifth, we have enumerated the dangers threatening the country. We have made a characterisation of the communist party, of the Congress Party, and of the Swatantra Party. Mr. B. P. Sinha has said that in characterising the Swatantra Party, we have not said enough, and not strongly enough. That is possible. We may change that. But the main premises are correct. Then, we come to para 8. This para is the most controversial and has aroused bitter opposition. Let us consider it then.

What is going to be the form of the Chinese attack? There will not be a major war; but the nibbling tactics of the Chinese shall continue and they shall continue to eat into our borders. On the other hand, there shall be a fight on ideological front. Chandra Shekhar has told us what a Bhotia said to him. He said that if the P.S.P. joins the Congress he will blacken his red cap with our blood. But if and then the Chinese eat into our borders near the Bhotias' home, may I know what he will say? Every Indian citizen would then call upon us to fight the enemy. The main fight shall have to be not against the Swatantra Party, but the communists. Deven Sen told us that the communists staged a rehearsal in Calcutta on the food front and tried their strength. There would be subversion. On the borders, a propaganda has already been got going that the Chinese communists have solved the problem of hunger in China; they are now coming to liberate us. This two-pronged effort shall have to be defeated. Shall we then not ask the people, other political parties in the country, the Congress party included, to come together to face the danger? Propaganda is being spread in the army that Menon is progressive and the army commanders are feudalists; and that the army should therefore follow Menon. The Blitz reaches the hands of thousands of army officers. Our Commander on the NEFA border is General Throat. If the army officers believe him to be a feudalism, will they follow him? How shall we resist such nibbling tactics? If we show weakness and there is an attack, what shall we do then? And shall not these same comrades chastise

us for having kept quite for such a long time? Should we wait till the disaster comes? Now this paragraph says:

"In spite of certain fundamentals we share with the Congress such as allegiance to Nationalism, Secularism, Democracy, it has to be emphasized that the differences between the Congress and the P.S.P. have been both on policies and on their execution. While on policies the differences might have narrowed down to some extent, on execution the old gulf continues. The conference is of the opinion that so long as differences on policy and implementation remain as before, co-operation with the Congress cannot help the nation but merely strengthen the disruptive forces and deepen the frustration of the people".

Some friends object that the Congress is not nationalist, secular or democratic. We all strongly criticise the Congress and its policies, and we emphatically point out to the fact that the sort of democracy it follows is incomplete and corrupt. But can we say that it does not believe in democracy? Could the communists come to power in Kerala if there were no democracy? In the Parliament, the P.S.P., the Communists and others sit beside the Congress party and criticise it. In Bombay Corporation, the S. M. S. (Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti) is in power. Shall we even then say this is not democracy? Let us not act like the proverbial Kalidasa who is reputed to have started cutting the branch on which he was perched.

Then, there is the question of communalism and secularism. I request you not to lose your grip on realities. When we put up our candidates, do we also not see which candidate will be better from caste and other points of view? Let us not throw stones on others when we are ourselves sitting in a house of glass. There are exceptions. In the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, we put Mahar candidates in high caste majority constituencies and got them elected.

*Interjection:—Two.*

*Goray:—*Not two but fifty. In Pandharpur, a seat of Brahmanism, a Mahar S.M.S. candidate defeated a Deshpande, the Congress candidate. But we merely exploited the situation. We got hold of it and rose above caste considerations. Let us not lose touch with facts.

I am surprised to hear that the Congress Party has no faith in nationalism. By accepting these arguments, we shall only be deluding ourselves. Do you think people will not laugh at us if we tell independence to China?

Much has been made of the word 'share'. It only means that these fundamentals are common amongst our and their thinking. To some extent we follow them, to some extent they also do so. There is no suggestion of parity involved here.

Now, what is the operative part of this paragraph? Not the statement in the first sentence but the rest of the paragraph which says that unless things change, co-operation with the Congress will not help the country. There is a clear affirmation in it of the P.S.P.'s policy that till such differences persist, there can be no co-operation with the Congress Party. Those friends who are keen to delete the paragraph seem to be anxious not to close the door against co-operation with Congress too strongly; they wish rather to keep it open. But we have by this resolution closed that door.

I consider the last paragraph to be the most important. We have called upon the people, called for a total mobilisation of the people; we are not appealing to a particular party. In the first paragraph of the resolution on 'Tasks Before the Party' also, we have said that the party workers should address themselves to the tasks of mobilising the people so that all vacillations of the Government on this vital national question must end. But if, as a result of popular pressure, the Congress is forced to change its policies, shall we welcome it or not? I found some friends worried when in its Nagpur resolution, the Congress Party accepted co-operative farming. If the Congress changes and accepts our policies, how shall we react to that phenomenon?

Nobody advocates suspension of struggles. Asoka Mehta emphasized yesterday that if there is a genuine grievance against the policies of the Government, we must fight. But there are certain fundamental tasks for the building of socialism that must be attended to. Who will do that? I do not consider the present policies of the Congress to be socialist.

Why do you think there is an attempt on our part to co-operate with and join the Congress? This resolution does not say that. And even if any attempt may be made at any time, the leadership shall come before you, seek the verdict of the general council; it will face the test and then alone a decision shall be taken.

If there are apprehensions in your mind that we are keen to join the Congress and that it is your sanctions alone which prevent us from doing this, I would request you to please turn down the resolution. Some of you consider Asoka Mehta as a Trojan Horse sent by the Congress to our Party. Please don't have such people as your leaders. It is against the prestige of the Party that such suspects as ourselves are leaders of the Party. Asoka has always

us for having kept quite for such a long time? Should we wait till the disaster comes? Now this paragraph says:

"In spite of certain fundamentals we share with the Congress such as allegiance to Nationalism, Secularism, Democracy, it has to be emphasized that the differences between the Congress and the P.S.P. have been both on policies and on their execution. While on policies the differences might have narrowed down to some extent, on execution the old gulf continues. The conference is of the opinion that so long as differences on policy and implementation remain as before, co-operation with the Congress cannot help the nation but merely strengthen the disruptive forces and deepen the frustration of the people".

Some friends object that the Congress is not nationalist, secular or democratic. We all strongly criticise the Congress and its policies, and we emphatically point out to the fact that the sort of democracy it follows is incomplete and corrupt. But can we say that it does not believe in democracy? Could the communists come to power in Kerala if there were no democracy? In the Parliament, the P.S.P., the Communists and others sit beside the Congress party and criticise it. In Bombay Corporation, the S. M. S. (Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti) is in power. Shall we even then say this is not democracy? Let us not act like the proverbial Kalidasa who is reputed to have started cutting the branch on which he was perched.

Then, there is the question of communalism and secularism. I request you not to lose your grip on realities. When we put up our candidates, do we also not see which candidate will be better from caste and other points of view? Let us not throw stones on others when we are ourselves sitting in a house of glass. There are exceptions. In the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, we put Mahar candidates in high caste majority constituencies and got them elected.

*Interjection:—Two.*

*Goray:—*Not two but fifty. In Pandharpur, a seat of Brahmanism, a Mahar S.M.S. candidate defeated a Deshpande, the Congress candidate. But we merely exploited the situation. We got hold of it and rose above caste considerations. Let us not lose touch with facts.

I am surprised to hear that the Congress Party has no faith in nationalism. By accepting these arguments, we shall only be deluding ourselves. Do you think people will not laugh at us if we tell independence to China?

Much has been made of the word 'share'. It only means that these fundamentals are common amongst our and their thinking. To some extent we follow them, to some extent they also do so. There is no suggestion of parity involved here.

Now, what is the operative part of this paragraph? Not the statement in the first sentence but the rest of the paragraph which says that unless things change, co-operation with the Congress will not help the country. There is a clear affirmation in it of the P.S.P.'s policy that till such differences persist, there can be no co-operation with the Congress Party. Those friends who are keen to delete the paragraph seem to be anxious not to close the door against co-operation with Congress too strongly; they wish rather to keep it open. But we have by this resolution closed that door.

I consider the last paragraph to be the most important. We have called upon the people, called for a total mobilisation of the people; we are not appealing to a particular party. In the first paragraph of the resolution on 'Tasks Before the Party' also, we have said that the party workers should address themselves to the tasks of mobilising the people so that all vacillations of the Government on this vital national question must end. But if, as a result of popular pressure, the Congress is forced to change its policies, shall we welcome it or not? I found some friends worried when in its Nagpur resolution, the Congress Party accepted co-operative farming. If the Congress changes and accepts our policies, how shall we react to that phenomenon?

Nobody advocates suspension of struggles. Asoka Mehta emphasized yesterday that if there is a genuine grievance against the policies of the Government, we must fight. But there are certain fundamental tasks for the building of socialism that must be attended to. Who will do that? I do not consider the present policies of the Congress to be socialist.

Why do you think there is an attempt on our part to co-operate with and join the Congress? This resolution does not say that. And even if any attempt may be made at any time, the leadership shall come before you, seek the verdict of the general council; it will face the test and then alone a decision shall be taken.

If there are apprehensions in your mind that we are keen to join the Congress and that it is your sanctions alone which prevent us from doing this, I would request you to please turn down the resolution. Some of you consider Asoka Mehta as a Trojan Horse sent by the Congress to our Party. Please don't have such people as your leaders. It is against the prestige of the Party that such suspects as ourselves are leaders of the Party. Asoka has always

placed his ideas before the party and has always acted according to the discipline of the Party even when his ideas were not accepted. A more disciplined comrade would be difficult to name. In spite of his differences, he has helped the party more than anybody else. But should he not be allowed to express his views even before the Conference? Should he not warn the party that a crisis stares us in the face, that if the Chinese are going to force war upon us, we shall not be able to resist if there is no economic development in the country?

You have heard our guests from socialist movements in neighbouring lands speak here. None of them has referred to China. Their countries are small and they do not wish to pick up quarrel with China. They look to India, a big country, to generate a climate of fearlessness within and radiate the spirit of resistance without. This is the task of our Party.

We have to take this message of hope and inspiration to a hundred thousand villages. This torch should light innumerable small torches in every village, in every heart. We have to be the embodiment of a new inspiration, of a new urge, a new courage.

We have to create this climate. It is a strategy—a means by which we shall not only strengthen the country and our people in their fight against aggression, we shall also capture the imagination of the people. A strategy implies a right type of push at the right moment. Let us then push ahead with this programme and this new spirit.

I have accepted some amendments. I will try to include B. P. Sinha's characterisation of the Swatantra Party in the fifth para. I cannot agree to the deletion of para 8. I accept the amendments regarding cottage industries, scheduled tribes, backward classes, minimum wages and refugees in para 9. I am afraid I cannot accept the amendment of Shri Ishwarbhai Desai. We cannot hastily commit the party to procure 5 crore acres of land. We can hold a seminar of our experts in agriculture and then alone we can come to a conclusion.

*Chairman:*—We shall now adjourn for lunch. We shall meet for sometime in the afternoon, when voting on the amendment and on the resolution shall take place.

You have already been requested to send in your nominations for the election of the Chairman, the General Secretary and 23 members of the National Executive. Let me remind you that before you nominate anyone you must secure the consent of the person nominated. Otherwise the nomination papers will be considered invalid. Please see that your nomination papers reach the Central Office by this evening.

NOVEMBER 8, 1952. (AFTERNOON SESSION).

### RESOLUTION ADOPTED.

*Chairman:*—Amendments will now be put to vote. The mover has announced that he would incorporate Shri B. P. Sinha's second amendment.

B. P. Sinha and Ram Saran Antyanuprasi withdrew their amendments. Paanalal Surana, Pratap Shah, Chhabildas Mehta, Jamuna Prasad Sinha, Karpoori Thakur, Sibnath Banerji, Y. N. Jadhav, Kalpanath Singh, Awadesh Narain Singh and Gaur Mohan Ghosh also withdrew their amendments.

Amendments were then voted para-wise.

*Para one:* No amendments.

*Para two:* Devanand Bora's amendment was declared to be redundant.

*Para three:* Dhiren Bhowmick's amendment was lost.

*Para four:* Nitin Mukherji's amendment was lost. Brijla Verma's amendment was lost. Sunil Das withdrew his amendment.

*Para five:* Ramdayal Singh's amendment was lost. Gauri Shankar Rai's amendment was put to vote and declared lost.

Some delegates demanded division. 315 votes were counted for and 409 votes against the amendment. It was declared lost. On paras 6 and 7, there was no amendment.

*Para 8:* Kasikant Moitra withdrew his amendment. The amendments for deletion of para 8 were then put to vote, and declared lost by 302 against 419 votes.

*Para 9:* Amendments of Sanat Mehta, Nitin Mukherji and Dhiren Bhowmick were withdrawn.

Amendment of Gauri Shankar Rao was put to vote and declared lost.

*Para 10:* The amendment of Kesari Pandey was put to vote and declared lost.

The resolution was then put to vote and adopted unanimously in the midst of loud and continuous applause.

## RESOLUTION ON CREATION OF UNILINGUAL STATES OF GUJARAT AND MAHARASHTRA.

The Chairman called upon Ishwerlal Desai to introduce the resolution on the creation of the new unilingual States of Gujarat and Maharashtra. (See Appendix).

### ISHWARLAL DESAI (Gujarat):

It is a very simple resolution, and one very delicate for me. When the bilingual Bombay in its present form was declared, I was in the Goa prison. I felt that until we settled the question of Goa we should not take up the question of the States' Reorganisation Commission's recommendations. However, provincial movements were started, demonstrations were held and many pleasant and unpleasant occurrences took place. When the Congress drew up the map of India on the basis of language, it advocated a bilingual State for Bombay on the plea of fostering national unity. Now, there is nothing in the bilingual state to make it necessarily a patriotic, or a national concept. Gandhiji advocated the formation of unilingual States in 1929. We who believe in the unilingual States believe that in India we have one society, one polity and one economy, or that fundamentally the problems of the masses are the same everywhere. Yet, in a vast country, democracy can be sustained only if we have decentralisation and if the language of the administration is the same as that of the people. Yet, the Congress Party ignored the demand of the people and changed its mind because of the tough problem presented by Bombay City.

It is welcome that after a series of blunders, the Congress Party has come to the right path. People, not only in Bombay, but all over India are jubilant over it; for this question obstructed the basic stream of socialist movement. Only one section of the population, however, was not jubilant and they were the communists. They wanted to perpetuate this tension in these parts of the country.

When we formed a united front with the communists on this question, compulsions of the situation made us do so, even though it was not in accordance with our general policy. Hence our Party joined the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, and in Gujarat, our Party members joined the Maha Gujarat Parishad as individuals. We are happy that this united front is at an end. This change was manifested in this city yesterday when the P.S.P. in its pristine glory organised a procession. It was a splendid achievement. We are happy that S. M. Joshi has freed the socialist movement from this compulsion.

The report of Shri N. G. Goray was indeed a balanced report and the more balanced part of it is where he wishes that the party

should sponsor and support the right type of mass movements. The Party must decide which movements are right and which are wrong.

Some people in Gujarat are critical of Shri Chavan that he has betrayed the trust of Morarjibhai. But Morarji who had declared that bilingual Bombay was the symbol of national unity did not take the responsibility of running the experiment. Chavan did not betray anybody. He was able to judge the right time to recommend the split-up of the bilingual State. Morarji changed so suddenly that only a few days after he had proclaimed the bilingual state as the symbol of unity, he declared that the two States would be split as early as possible and that questions like Vidarbha should not be allowed to stand in the way.

Now, when the division is to take place, let us in no case intensify tensions in Bombay. When there is a great problem on our national borders, let us not divert our attention to small border problems. Let us not create smaller fronts. Let us sit round a table and discuss our differences. No issues should be taken to the streets. We can fight, if at all, our battles in a limited way.

The resolution permits our members in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujarat Parishad to remain there. It does not want that they immediately dissociate after the bifurcation is carried out. The National Executive has been empowered to judge the situation from national and local points of view and to take a decision. Till then, however, no new commitments should be entered into by our comrades. This has to be borne in mind.

### HARBHAJAN SINGH (Punjab):

I second the resolution proposed by Shri Ishwarlal Desai.

### AMENDMENTS.

Chairman:—I have received a number of amendments even to this simple resolution. I hope you will be brief. Amul Desai will now move his amendments.

### AMUL DESAI (Gujarat):

Now, it is definite that two States are to be created. No change is likely to take place in this. I think that there is no need to continue the united front with communists in the S.M.S., M.G.P. and in the trade unions.

While this united front brought some good results, it also resulted in some wrong developments. The Communists were rehabi-

titated morally and physically in the City of Bombay and in Maharashtra. Isherbhai Desai has said that there were compulsions. May I refer to other compulsions—compulsion of the Communists' idiocy on the China issue.

After having condemned the communists in three resolutions in this conference, after saying so much about China and the danger from the communists, if we sit together with the communists the people will rightly accuse us of duplicity and opportunism.

It may be feared that our leaving the Samiti would enable the communists to exploit the popular goodwill which is there for the Samiti. This is a wrong assessment. The people know the P.S.P. and S. M. Joshi. They have confidence in the Party and in S.M.

I would appeal to S. M. Joshi that if he considers the communists to be dangerous, then he should have no relation with them at all.

My first amendment is as follows:—

Delete the words 'the entire situation . . . prevailing at that time', and insert

the following, after the words 'once these two unilingual States are achieved' 'units are directed to dissociate from all organisations where there are communists on the day of bifurcation'.

My second amendment reads as follows:—

Add the following at the end of the resolution:

"As during the process of bifurcation, some problems of conflicting interests between Gujarat and Maharashtra will arise, so this conference requests the leaders of both the units of the P.S.P. to come to an understanding on these issues from the beginning and not issue contradictory statements from either unit as that undermines the work and confidence of the rank and file".

SANAT MEHTA (Gujarat):

I will read out my amendment to you. Add the following after the first paragraph:—

"This Conference congratulates the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat for their successful struggle against the forced decision of the formation of the Bilingual State and pays its respectful homage to the martyrs who laid their lives and became victim of brutal police repression".

I trust the mover will accept this amendment.

Chairman:—The mover tells me that he accepts your amendment.

A. G. YALGI (Karnatak):

I wish to move the following amendment to the caption, and para 1 of the resolution:—

(a) For the present caption of the resolution, the following should be substituted: "Creation of the unilingual States of Maharashtra and Gujarat".

(b) in para 1, delete the portion following the words "be taken to see" and insert the following in its place. "That all the border disputes are also solved in accordance with a uniform principle. Care should also be taken to see that no fresh source of discontent is brought into being while bringing about the creation of the new unilingual States".

Chairman:—Both of your amendments have been accepted by the mover.

SHYAM RAO KAKIRWAR (Maharashtra):

My amendment is that in para 1, line 4, after the word 'Maharashtra' the word 'including Vidarbha' should be added.

As you are aware, a movement is going on for the creation of a separate State of Vidharba. It is reported that twenty M.L.As. of the Congress Party have submitted their resignation on this issue, while the people and all the opposition parties are opposed to this demand. But some leaders of the party are saying that the party supports the demand for separate Vidharba. This creates confusion amongst workers of the Party. Some comrades of Madhya Pradesh also sometimes raise a demand for the creation of separate States of Vidarbha and Chhatisgarh.

I request the mover to accept my amendment so that we can clearly reaffirm that the P.S.P. stands by a unilingual State of all Marathi speaking people and does not support the demand for the creation of a Vidharbha State.

ZAMINPAL SINGH (U.P.):

My amendment is that para 2 should be deleted.

The second para is unnecessary as it is redundant of the policy statement which forbids any united fronts with the Communists and Congressmen. Again, if the amendment of Shri Amul Desai is accepted, there also the word Congress be added to Communists. Immediately, after the split, our Party must work as a separate entity and if this does not happen, the National Executive should take action.

I request the delegates not to permit the National Executive to act against the Policy Statement. If a new situation arises, we must have a special convention to decide things.

We are not told what new developments are visualised on which the executive will take decision. This is an ambiguous paragraph and should be deleted.

### REPLY TO THE DEBATE.

*Chairman:*—Now Ishwerlal Desai will reply to the debate.

*Ishwerlal Desai:*—I have full sympathy with the amendments moved by Amul Desai. May I, however, recall that in Poona we had, by a resolution permitted Party units in Gujarat and Maharashtra to remain in their respective united front organisations till the achievement of the goal.

Now it is a question of a short time only. Till then, however, our comrades must not enter into further commitments. We are, in fact out of the woods.

Communists are not going to be with us. There is going to be a complete parting of ways. Within the party, there is complete harmony. Would Dr. Amul Desai like to disturb it? He should withdraw his amendment.

Amul Desai has given a valid suggestion that now our comrades in Maharashtra and Gujarat should not issue statements which would embarrass each other, and that the two units should meet and chalk out agreed proposals. I trust our comrades will consider the suggestion. But may I say that this is our domestic and local problem and that we will solve it. Why get a directive from the Conference that the two units must meet?

The P.S.P. stands for a Samyukta Maharashtra including Vidarbha. When we are going to have a unilingual State, let us not encourage the demand for dividing it. I therefore accept Kakirwar's amendment.

Then there is an amendment which wants exclusion of Vidharba.

*Chairman:*—No such amendment has been moved. Please reply only to those that were placed before the House.

*Ishwerlal Desai:*—I wish to refer to two small things. Brahmakumar Bhatt has brought to my notice that the Gujarat comrades have

been loyal to the Party and have been leading the movement for Mahagujarat. You all know that the removal of the Martyr's Statue had roused emotions and there was great commotion for three years. Our comrades were able to channelize the violent movement into a peaceful satyagraha. They deserve our commendation.

In all humility, I wish to recall that I was the first person in Gujarat to suggest, even at the cost of political popularity, that Bombay belonged to Maharashtra and on no reason could it be separated from it. Gujaratis can advise as to how things should take shape in Bombay but they cannot demand its inclusion in Gujarat. It was only when it was clear that Maharashtra could not be achieved unless the claim of Bombay was given up that the Janata Parishad agreed to it.

There would naturally be some resentment in Gujarat about Bombay. I request our Maharashtra friends to appreciate it and not create any difficulties or raise issues that might lead to creation of bad blood. Let us settle issues like the Dang question peacefully.

Gujaratis do not and should not consider that they are a minority in Bombay City. In that way, they are minority in every village in Maharashtra and in every big city in India. In fact, there are no regional minorities in India. We are all a nation.

*Chairman:*—I will now take up the amendments. Would the movers like to press or withdraw them?

Zanipal Singh withdrew his amendment.

The amendments of Amul Desai were lost.

The resolution, as amended, was then put to vote.

*Chairman:*—The resolution has been unanimously accepted.

**BRAHMAKUMAR BHATT (Gujarat):**

I would suggest that we pay our homage to the martyrs here in the conference.

*Chairman:*—I accept this suggestion. We will all stand and observe a minute's silence in the memory of the martyrs in the Satyagraha.

The Conference then adjourned for the day.

November 9, 1959

**Morning Session**

**RESOLUTION ON KERALA.**

*Chairman:*—Basawan Sinha will move the resolution on Kerala (see appendix).

**BASAWAN SINHA (Bihar):**

In the short span of a few years, the government in Kerala underwent 5 changes. In disgust the people voted communists to power. This did not, however, mean that they had begun to subscribe to the basic tenets of communism.

We were naturally perturbed. Because of our inherent antipathy towards communist ideology we could never reconcile ourselves to the growth of communist influence anywhere, much less their coming to power in any State. But, still we accepted the democratic verdict of the people which enjoined upon communists to prove their bona fides vis-a-vis Parliamentary democracy. But it proved to be an utter illusion.

Shortly after assumption of power, communist tactics came to light. A popular leader of Pattom Thanu Pillai's eminence was assaulted and insulted publicly. Then followed brutal and wanton attacks on Congress and PSP workers. Organised attempts were made to undermine the influence of those who believed in democracy.

Last year, our Secretary, Shri K. K. Menon, had appraised us how violence was being perpetrated on opponents of the Communists, how they were being attacked and even murdered, how they were being replaced in trade unions and other spheres. All this forced the Congress, PSP, RSP and others to free the state from clutches of the protagonists of violence.

The communists, with a view to attaining their objectives, brought into action the entire party machinery. Attempts were made even to indoctrinate the administration. The process tried to envelop all ranks, from the I.G. down to the constable in the police department. If any officer ventured to administer justice, give the people their due, and dared defy the party line, he was severely dealt with. He was transferred and even demoted. Even the judiciary was tampered with. Cases against communists, who were involved in violence, were withdrawn.

Political parties like Congress and PSP wanted to end this misrule, but they could not do anything spectacular. However, it were the students who took up the challenge and decided to stop the rot. They started mass agitations and suffered police atrocities. They not only inspired confidence among elders but served as a pre-cursor of the 'mass upsurge'.

The people were determined to end the 'rule of the jungle'. Many a doubting Thomas was sceptical about its sustained continuance; many predicted its early fizzing out, but events falsified them. We cannot but offer our felicitations to the brave students and people of the State.

The movement was so all-pervading in its nature that the women of the State became the spearhead of the movement. In tens of thousands they participated in processions and thronged the public meetings, and in the Satyagraha they outnumbered their male counterparts. We express our gratitude to them for this heroic defence of democracy.

So widespread was the movement that the Prime Minister could not dissuade his partymen from participating in it. When he expressed such a desire an emphatic note of warning was sounded that the suicidal step would result in the Congress being confined to a few trusted lieutenants. The common Congressman would not heed him. He became apprehensive and gave up the attempt to restrain congressmen.

Corrupt practices of the Congress Governments were no less responsible for the success of the communists. It shook the people's faith in democratic parties. Congressmen were quite vocal in decriing our adjustment with the Muslim League in the last general elections. Even a person no less important than Mr. Nehru dubbed us as 'opportunists'. But, we are glad to note that events have justified our political sagacity, and Congressmen had to eat their words.

The Muslim League of Kerala is quite different from that of Mr. Jinnah's. It does not pin its faith in the two-nation theory. And it is proud of never having done so. Their active participation in the 'mass upsurge' proves that they are second to none in patriotism and defence of democracy. Now comes the question of elections, which we must analyse in the context of our organisational strength. To go it alone is an act impossible of performance. At this critical juncture, when Chinese aggression is being consolidated, when the communists—the fifth column—are out to foment disorder, and weakening of the democratic forces will spell ruin.

Faced with national exigencies and weak organisational structure, our adjustment with other parties is quite justified. We get 35 seats

while Congress and Muslim League share 72 and 12 respectively. Though the RSP Conference has resolved to plough its lonely furrow, they are continuing negotiations with the joint front.

The position of the Congress is quite different in Kerala. It is, like us, in opposition. Events are over-powering, and we cannot put into practice the out-moded theory of equidistance. Hence the proposed adjustment. With these words I move the resolution on Kerala.

*Chairman*:—M. R. Dandawate will second the resolution.

M. R. DANDAWATE (*Maharashtra*):

The resolution on Kerala needs no elucidation, but I venture to clarify a few points in the context of the general policy of the party—communism, including events in Kerala.

The communists often confuse people by creating superficial differences between this communist and that; between Russian communists and their Indian counterparts, differences which do not exist at all.

When we talk of Tito's Revolt, he is branded as an American agent; when we refer to the Polish uprising, vested interests are alluded to the 'orientation' of Hungary and East European affairs; Mao's massacre of laos of Chinese is offered; and when of Indian communists is stressed, the independent role

Let us see how the 'deviation' (or independence) was practiced in Kerala. Mr. Namboodripad thunders that they had 'tolerated' members on opposition benches. Perhaps he forgets that they had to function within the framework of an All India Constitution, and if Central Government would have said: "You are already in the South, move a bit more southward and go to the Arabian Sea".

The real question is how communists would behave if they are entrusted with the centre of absolute power. Here Mr. Ajoy Ghosh and Mr. Namboodripad have the audacity of hoodwinking the people that they would maintain parliamentary democracy at the centre if they come to power. When the monolithic system of other communists states is pointed out they take shelter behind historical conditions. Now, what is the guarantee that history would not repeat itself in India if they come to power? A wild animal remains wild, no matter where he lives or where he migrates to. Basic traits and characteristics do not change.

What an irony of fate! Mr. B. T. Raoadvive talks of non-violent means, for changing parliamentary government. Perhaps he has forgotten the violence that he had perpetrated in Telengana. Besides liquidating the vested interests, such communists were also annihilated who dared to differ from his line. But Mr. Namboodripad maintains that their hearts have changed since the Amritsar session and they have now abjured violence. The real test of pudding, they say, is in the eating. Let us see how things operated in Kerala.

Some people take exception to extra-parliamentary means used for ousting a constitutionally elected government. Perhaps they fail to realise that the communists, had no scruple to sabotage the accepted practice of democracy. In England, when the budget leaked out, the Chancellor of the Exchequer relinquished his office even though the fault was not his, and no one had demanded his resignation. Will the communists maintain those traditions? The clear reply is 'NO'. Events in Kerala prove that.

In Kerala they undermined law and order and subverted the constitution. In spite of legally-constituted law courts, they administered justice in cell courts. If anybody refused to submit to the judgement so pronounced, he was either murdered or tortured. When Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai raised the matter in the Assembly the Chief Minister denied the allegation. However, on production of requisite documents he admitted their existence, but very cleverly attributed their existence to a few over-enthusiastic communists, thus absolving the communist party of its responsibility. About 7000 communist whole-timers were given government jobs just to propagate the party line at the expense of the State exchequer. No protection of law and order was given against communist hoodliganism.

The natural reaction was demand for fresh elections. But who made this demand? Was the PSP responsible for it? NO. It were the people who raised it. Out of 824 Gram panchayats, over 700 passed resolutions for the government's resignation. All the Bar Associations demanded it. 28 newspapers out of 32, 24 municipalities out of 27, the municipal corporation of Trivandrum, all the Student and trade union organisations, excepting those which are communist-controlled, backed the demand.

Pandit Nehru's earlier offer of a tour was turned down by the Chief Minister, who had later to send a "save our soul" cable, when the movement gathered momentum. Originally he wanted to calm down the Congressmen, but the mass upsurge thwarted his attempt. Even Jana Sangh, which had earlier opposed the move, later changed its views when its delegation toured the State.

When I was once asked to explain the alliance, I confessed of having arrogated to ourselves the policy of Mr. Dange. He was vocal

about the justification of people's unity if the party in power was tyrannical and showed utter disregard of public opinion. Did he not collaborate with the Jana Sangh, the PSP and other such organisations in Maharashtra? But he dislikes his own weapon being used against him. Again, B. T. Ranadive raised the issue of an unholy alliance, but he very conveniently forgets his party's active support to Mr. Jinnah in the creation of Pakistan. His memory is short. When any communist visits Moscow or Peking the reason often offered is medical checkup. I wish it was so and their memory was restored.

Shri B. T. Ranadive's message of greetings to the Chinese communists, in 1950, that their liberation would lead to India's liberation is very significant in the context of Kerala. Although we were free in 1947, according to our friend Shri Ranadive, our liberation was not complete. And now when the Chinese armies are across the borders, the communists would hail them as the armies of liberation. If they have a strong pocket in Kerala and a pocket or two on the northern border, they will be able to create an impression that they are going to achieve power. Just after the general election, when they won in Kerala, a psychology was sought to be created that the communists alone were the alternative to the Congress. If, once again, they can win, Kerala would be used as Yenan was used by the Chinese communists.

It was for this reason that the communists pulversised democracy and freedom, and tried to weaken the will of the people to resist. But the people of Kerala rose against their anti-democratic practices and demanded free and fair elections.

The central government would not have intervened, if the people had failed to build strong pressure against it. Mr. Nehru has also to be moved by exerting great pressure of public opinion; he is essentially a man of crowds, and can only be moved by the crowds. He develops cold feet in the face of aggression abroad and opposition at home. He is not the conscience of India. The PSP, although a small party, is that conscience of India, and in the case of Hungary, Tibet, and Kerala, it proved to be so. Conscience requires a small place to live in and not necessarily a huge structure like the Congress or Mr. Nehru's personality, where the conscience of India does not reside.

It is in the context of a whole picture that the situation in Kerala has to be understood. The resolution before you is a very short and a non-controversial resolution. Let us adopt it in a manner as to show to all democratic parties in the country that in the defence of democracy and in the fight against communism, our party stands united and there are no differences of opinion in it on this point.

# AMENDMENTS.

*Chairman:* Inspite of Dandavate's plea, amendments to the resolution have been received. Will Debu Bose move his amendment? DEBU BOSE (West Bengal):

I will read out my amendment first.

Delete the portion of the 2nd line of para 3, starting from the word 'authorises . . . ' and substitute the following lines instead:

"urges upon the executive to convene a meeting of the National Council to take further action, in conformity with the policy statement, as the conditions there may necessitate".

This resolution gives a blank cheque to the National Executive. I do not doubt their bonafides. But, in the interests of socialism, and to maintain consistency of our policy statement, I wish that the second para should be amended.

We should not join the government with the Congress Party and the Muslim League. We have bitter experience of the betrayal of the Congress. If they were keen on preserving democracy, they should not have overthrown the PSP ministry in 1954, for the continuance of that ministry would have made it impossible for the communists to win elections.

We must have consistency in the policy of the party. In Gaya we decided not to have alliance with the Congress and the Communists. In Bangalore we went back on it. We condemn CPI as anti-national and Jana Sangh as communal, still we join hands with them. How can we convince the intellectuals? The communists are anti-national, but the Congress has betrayed the country economically, politically and socially; it has committed the greatest blunders.

After the elections, we must put forward a radical programme before the Congress, and if they are anxious to preserve democracy, let them fulfil it. But we must not join them in the government.

BIMAN MITRA (West Bengal):

I wish to move the following amendment to para 2, line 1, of the resolution on Kerala.

Delete 1st line of para 2.

In Kerala, democratic unity was built from below, and in the special circumstances, which have so elaborately been described; Conditions in other States are very much different from Kerala.

Although the Congress gave a democratic structure, yet it also gave us the Preventive Detention Acts, Ordinances, Arbitrary actions in local self-government institutions, etc. Again, political democracy is meaningless without economic equality. In India, vote has become a saleable commodity. There is capitalist control on the media of mass communication. In such circumstances, even political democracy is unreal. Our conception of democracy differs from that of the Congress.

I would, therefore, request that this democratic unity should be confined to the four walls of Kerala.

FARID ANSARI (U.P.):

I had no intention to speak; yet, as I heard the debate, I felt it was my duty to say something.

When we held a meeting of the National Executive in Kerala in December 1957, I toured Kerala and I saw how the communists were subjecting the people to tyranny and oppression. I also found that it would not be long before the people would rise against that oppression.

It is a matter of gratification that in the face of intolerable communist terror, the people forged unity and withstood their onslaught gallantly. As a party committed to resist violence and oppression, one could not but join it and I am happy that our comrades were in the front ranks of the fight. They fulfilled their historic duty. We must therefore pay tribute to the people and congratulate our Party also on their heroic stand.

What the Communist Party did in Kerala was not unusual. In other countries as well, wherever they came to power, they tried to destroy culture and civilization and to pollute man and his morals.

A question has been raised about the Muslim League. This Muslim League is different from the old Muslim League of Shri Jinnah. I have fought against that Muslim League and am prepared to fight again if it raises its head. But this Muslim League was opposed to Jinnah's league, while at that time, our communist friends had compelled their muslim members to join that muslim league. The league in Kerala represents a submerged section of the people. That was the reason why I advised my friend Dr. K. B. Menon to make alliance with it.

I would request you to keep the conditions of Kerala in view. I would appeal to the movers of amendments to withdraw their amendments. I urge upon the delegates to adopt the resolution unanimously.

Chairman:—Basawan Sinha will now reply to the debate.

BASAWAN SINHA:

I need hardly say more, and would only request that amendments be withdrawn and resolution passed unanimously.

### RESOLUTION ADOPTED.

All the amendments having been withdrawn the resolution was adopted unanimously.

### RESOLUTION ON FOOD.

Chairman:—Surendranath Dwivedy will now move the resolution on Food (See appendix).

SURENDRA NATH DWIVEDY (Orissa):

The resolution is a detailed one and does not leave much room for a long speech.

It is the bungling of the food problem that is the cause of the failure of the Plans. There is no coherent food policy. Nobody knows who is really responsible for policy formulation. Ministers are changing and working out policies on their sweet wills. Shri S. K. Patil, the new Food Minister, said the other day that he was not responsible for the policy pursued. Food and agriculture being a subject on the concurrent list of the constitution, the centre and the States must evolve a uniform and co-ordinated policy. This is not being done. Why not amend the constitution and put food as a union subject only? The best alternative to this is that a National Agricultural Council, on the pattern of the National Development Council, is constituted to integrate the policy to be pursued and to co-ordinate it with the plans. This policy should then be carried out through the States.

In order to raise food production, incentives should be given to agriculturists. They do not recover their cost price. The Food Grains Enquiry Committee, of which Asoka Mehta was the Chairman, had made certain recommendations. Although the Government never declared these to be unreasonable, it took up only a few of them, and that also haltingly.

The Agriculture Ministers' Conference had recommended, in 1954, the stabilisation of prices, but even till 1959 this has not been done. The result is that the differences are increasing.

The price policy of the Government has been framed in the interests of the industrialists. Jute and cane are clear examples. This can only make agriculturists poorer and is bound to affect production.

Knowledge of new techniques has to be brought to the agriculturist. The government sends many people abroad for training, but they have neither the background of, nor the aptitude for farming. It is, therefore, essential that a cadre of persons really interested in agriculture should be formed in order that the gap between the progress of our industry and our old methods of agriculture can be bridged.

The policy of enforcing ceiling on land is not being pursued vigorously and the government cannot enforce the ceiling by the end of the year, as was intended. Big landed interests are delaying its enforcement and the Congress which has only their support in rural areas is afraid of losing their support. In the meantime, big holdings are being divided in a manner so that when ceiling is really enforced, the law can be circumvented. Again, the government is permitting the creation of big farms. We are opposed to this policy and want that the policy of ceiling should be vigorously enforced, and surplus land distributed amongst the landless, who will cultivate them jointly. Big farms should be turned into co-operative farms, and, although, we did not accept Shri Ishwerbhai Desai's plea for insisting that 5 crore acres of land should be made available, we want that as much land as possible should be distributed amongst the landless.

There is confusion about the movement of foodgrains. No one scheme is adhered to. First, zones were formed. Now, the minister wants only one Food Zone and is also trying at the same time to create more than one zone. In fact, the whole Zonal scheme has failed and it should be abolished. Instead entire trading in food grains should be socialised and the policy enforced rigorously. State trading has proved a failure because the bureaucracy, and even the minister incharge, are not interested in it.

*Chairman:*—Genda Singh will second the resolution.

**GENDA SINGH (U.P.):**

I wish to second the resolution.

It is a fine resolution, representing the views of this House. The first two sentences are significant.

Scarcity and famine were never witnessed during the British Raj as frequently as under Congress rule. In a country, where 80 percent of the people are engaged in agriculture, it is a paradox that we have to spend hundreds of crores of rupees for food imports. The Congress failure is rather dismal in this context.

We are sounding a warning to the people as well, and are exhorting them to work harder to grow more food and increase production. But, then, the government must provide incentives to the peasants through proper fixation of prices and by creating conditions for better distribution. The price policy of the government has only resulted in increasing economic disparity. Huge investments, which have been made in the industrial sector, have failed to increase the incomes of the peasants, while the rich have become richer. A sound price policy is obviously indicated.

We may take the instance of sugarcane. While during the British Regime, the rate of the cane was Rs. 2 per maund, the present rate is Rs. 1-10-0. On the other hand, the price of Sugar has soared high. The plea is that the cost of production of sugar has increased. Has not the cost of production in the agricultural sector also increased? Has it gone down? Is this policy not intended to benefit the rich and impoverish the poor?

It has often been repeated that the problem of food scarcity can only be solved by family planning. I am not opposed to family planning, yet, I beg to stress that we must adopt vigorous measures to enable the peasant to increase production. I wish to stress that the problem of food production must be solved if we have to defend the country; and, of course, the country must be defended. Now, according to statistics prepared by the Government, the cost of production of Sugar comes to rupees fifteen per maund. And yet, what is the fixed price for sugar?

In U.P. it has been said that irrigation potential has been created which will irrigate 45 lakh acres of land. But actually 14 lakh acres have been provided with irrigation facilities. What has happened in U.P. has happened elsewhere as well. Crores of rupees have been spent, but what is the achievement? It is a dismal failure of the administrative machinery; and it seems that the capitalists and the bureaucracy have conspired to give wrong accounts and figures in order to avoid taxation. The tax burden on the poor has become heavier; and the big business or high income groups, which are powerfully organised and entrenched, have been able to evade the payment of due taxes.

*Chairman:*—I would like now to interrupt the normal work of the conference. I am happy to inform you that we have in our midst Achyut Patwardhan.

When we decided to celebrate this conference as the Silver Jubilee Conference of the Party, I felt, that we should extend invitation to those of our friends who were formerly members and those who, even while they were not formally members of the Party, had good-

will for us and had not joined other political parties. We wrote to Jayaprakashji, Achyut Patwardhan, Kamala Devi and Purshottam Trikamdas to send us their good wishes and to be good enough to attend our Conference. Jayaprakashji came here and addressed you. I am happy to say that although his message has already been read out to you, Achyut has acceded to our request and has come to this conference. When I learnt that Achyutji would be present in Bombay, I sent word to him that all delegates in the Conference were kept to hear him. But I must also tell you that I assured him that I would not insist on his speaking.

Let me take this opportunity to express my feelings, which I believe are also the feelings of all of us here, and all primary members of the party, wherever they are, that Jayaprakash and Achyut shall always remain ours, and, I hope that we shall ever have the privilege to belong to them.

I am happy that he has agreed to say a few words to the delegates. I will request him to come before the delegates and speak.

#### ACHYUT PATWARDHAN:

I had earlier communicated my respectful good wishes to you all as I had thought that I would not be able to attend the conference. But, certain personal reasons have brought me to Bombay. After I came to Bombay, I felt drawn to you and have personally come here to express my solidarity with old friends. However, if I had known that the Conference is in Session, I would have arrived here after the Session was over.

I left politics twelve years ago. I, therefore, find myself unable to offer any advice to you. What advice can an inactive person give to those who have been gaining new experiences through continued activity? In our country, however, those who work least, tender advice the most. And since I have come here, and you have been good enough to ask me to speak, I will say something as my offering. But I will say nothing regarding politics as I have been away from the political field for so long that I have nothing concrete to say on it.

Let me however add, that although not in politics, I do think about developments around and try to understand them. I tried to compose my thoughts in writing so that I could know my own state of mind. I will place before you the conclusion I have reached: that in the life of man emotions of hatred play a very important part, more important than ideas. And hate is even stronger than love. I feel that if a man's feelings are coupled with natural love they become less harmful. They are less harmful than so called ethical actions which are motivated by hatred.

If this organisation, which has brought all of you here, enjoys the confidence and affection of the people, it is because the persons who have worked for it never thought about the various problems before the country from any selfish or partisan considerations. They were inspired by a feeling to do good. Unfortunately, the situation prevalent in the country to-day is that there is hatred and prejudice. Even within parties, there are feuds and factions, so that our whole social life is being corroded.

Let us promote universal good as our reason conceives it to be. Let us search our own hearts lest our actions be motivated by hatred for others. The world is in a bad way; hatred for it comes easy. That is why our efforts go wrong and do not achieve the desired ends. And, therefore, people ask: Why and for what should we make sacrifices? If sacrifice does not achieve results, it ends in bitterness, frustration and hatred.

Let us, therefore, remember that no good will accrue to the country if our actions are governed by hatred. We have to forget our emotions of love and hate, of hate in particular; that alone will help build the country. We should be able to analyse ourselves and assure ourselves that we have no feelings of hatred against those with whom we differ. The ideals should not be compromised, and if we do what we consider to be right, after searching our hearts, even our mistakes will not be dangerous.

You are all promoting the good of the country. Please do not permit yourself to be governed by hatred.

Chairman:—I need not express my thanks to Achyut. He knows how all of us value his ideas and utterances. Let us now pick up the thread on Food resolution. Shri S. P. Misra will move his amendments.

#### AMENDMENTS.

S. P. MISRA (M.P.):

I wish to move the following amendments: first, in para 5, fourth line, after the words 'big farms' the following words be added: 'in the name of scientific and mechanized farming'.

My second amendment is that in para 7, after the word 'panchayat' the following words be added: 'to be distributed either to the landless labour or.

In the name of mechanized farming, big farms of sugarcane are being created even after ceiling, and in Madhya Pradesh there are farms of one thousand acres. Let us make it clear that this must be stopped.

Then I wish to add in my second amendment a clause about compensation.

Chairman:—Please don't amend your own amendments at this stage.

**AJIT KUMAR BOSE (West Bengal):**

My amendments are as follows:

- (1) Add, after the first two words 'to the', in eleventh line of para one, the words 'distribution of lands to the tillers and'.
- (2) (a) Substitute the word 'councils' in place of the words 'a council' after 'feel that' in line one of para 2.  
(b) insert the words 'states' after the words 'at the centre in line 2 of para 2.  
(c) put an -s after the word 'plan' in line three of para 2, and make it plural and insert the words 'and agricultural development' after the words 'self-sufficiency' at the end of the 3rd line of para 2, and substitute the word 'its' after 'promoting' in line 4 of para 3 by 'there'.

In regard to para 3, delete the last portion of the last line from the words 'so that' to the words 'be possible' and insert there the following:

"Not exceeding Rs. 5 per acre. And, for increasing production, intensive cultivation, particularly in foodgrains, should be made compulsory for owners of lands in the irrigated areas and all possible help and facilities should be extended with necessary remissions and concessions for its proper encouragement in other areas".

In regard to para 5, delete the words from 'establish agricultural' to 'reclaimed lands' after the first word 'to' in line 7 and insert in their place 'distribute the reclaimed lands to the tillers', and insert the following at the end of the last sentence as 'with reasonable shares, free of cost, to the tillers and labourers employed.' In regard to para 6, delete the last three words of line 12 and its last two lines, and insert in their place the following:—

"that private trading in foodgrains should be completely stopped, and village panchayats should be empowered to procure grains through co-operatives financed by State Banks, Central co-operative banks and local deposits and make sufficient reserves for the deficit families of the respective areas".

Add the following paras, after the last para:—

"To meet the challenge thrown from within and outside against democracy and nationalism, this conference of the P.S.P. calls upon the members of the Party and the units to take up the great task of production of more foodgrains and start grain banks in their respective areas on the one hand and prepare the ground for a national movement on the basis of the above. It also directs the state units to take all necessary steps to create an atmosphere for land satyagraha and empowers the National Executive to appoint a sub-committee for proper implementation of the above decisions."

In regard to para 7, delete the last three words of line 4, and the last 3 lines, and insert the following in their place:

"be taken up immediately for fixing flooring, instead of ceiling, according to the minimum needs of the tillers and agricultural labourers and for that purpose the following should be embodied: That the agriculturists should be classified as (i) absentee owners of lands (ii) owners (a) having other means of incomes than agriculture and (b) having no other means of income and almost entirely depending on land and (iii) tillers employing physical labour in the process of cultivation (a) with lands and (b) without lands;

"that absentee ownership should be abolished unless such owners take up agriculture as a main occupation within three years of enactment and reside in the village;

"that transfer of lands to any other than tillers should be stopped; and

"that the owners having other means of income should be allowed to hold only so much of land as may be necessary including their other incomes, to make up the average income from maximum lands allowed to be held".

I agree with the spirit of the resolution as a whole. I wish to stress that credit facilities must be provided to peasants; and they should be protected from the exploitation of private money lenders. The Government only provides 2.5 per cent of the total credit needed. Again, it is essential that credit should be given on condition that it will be properly utilised; credit should be given through local co-operative societies, for the local people alone can properly assess the needs of persons and can also recover debts from them when the crop is ripe.

The Gorwala Committee had in its report, in 1954, recommended that credit facilities be provided through the State Bank. But no effective agencies were created which could assess the human situa-

tion. Well managed co-operatives alone can fill the gap. But so far they have failed. The prime need is of workers who will form and run these co-operatives.

**LAKHANLAL KAPOOR (Bihar):**

I move for the addition of the following paragraph at the end of the resolution:

"As far as the question of jute-growing sector of agriculture is concerned, it is the considered opinion of the conference that the policy of the Government of securing reasonable price for jute has been vacillating and to the advantage of the industrialists at the cost of jute growers. As a measure of justice, it is strongly recommended that a Board consisting of equal number of representatives of jute-growers and industrialists, presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court, should be formed for fixing minimum prices of jute and products".

I want the resolution to make a pointed reference to the price of jute as millions of people in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar are dependent on it. They can grow no other cash crop. But the prices are fixed without taking into consideration the cost of cultivation of jute, and the capitalists conspire to get it or fixed that they can earn huge profits. This exploitation of the poor cultivators must not be allowed to continue.

**BIPIN BEHARI SINHA (Bihar):**

My amendment relates to sugarcane. I want that at the end, the following paragraph should be added:

"In so far as the cane growing sector of agriculture is concerned, in the opinion of the Conference, the price fixation policy pursued by the Government has been largely injurious to the canegrowers as well as the consumers of sugar and generally beneficial to the industrialists. As a measure of justice to the cane growers and consumers as well as the millowners, the Conference is strongly of the opinion that a price-fixation board should be formed with equal representatives of canegrowers and millowners, presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court, and the task of fixing fair prices of sugarcane and sugar be entrusted to it".

Genda Singh has discussed this problem in detail. When the price of sugar cane was brought down, it was said that the price of sugar will also come down. But it has soared higher. The cultivators are getting less while the consumers are paying more. The Government have given improper relief to manufacturers in order to

help them. The country must give attention to the problem and should force the Government to do justice to the canegrowers.

*Reply to the debate*

*Chairman:*—Surendranath Dwivedy will now reply to the debate.

*Surendranath Dwivedy:*—I regret that I cannot accept these amendments. Shri Ajit Rose has suggested a number of things, which need to be considered, but this resolution is hardly the place for them. I accept his amendment relating to the distribution of reclaimed land to the tillers, but not the last sentence of the same amendment. I cannot accept his other amendments.

I accept the second amendment of Shri S. P. Misra.

We have in our resolution stressed that prices should not be industry-oriented. This applies to both sugar and jute. I feel that it is not necessary to make a detailed reference to the issue of prices of these crops.

*Ram Apte:*—Would you please include a reference to family planning?

*S. N. Dwivedy:*—We are including it in the resolution on "Tasks". Hence, I do not consider it necessary to include it here.

*Chairman:*—Will our friends press their amendments or withdraw them?

Lakhanlal Kapoor and Bipin Bihari Sinha withdrew their amendments. S. P. Misra withdrew his first amendment. Ajit Bose withdrew his second amendment. His fourth amendment, relating to para 5, was accepted by the mover of the resolution. All other amendments were pressed, put to vote, and were defeated.

The amended resolution was then put to vote and unanimously adopted.

The conference then adjourned for lunch to reassemble at 3 pm.

#### TASKS BEFORE THE PARTY.

*Chairman:*—I shall now request Mir Mushtaq Ahmed to move the resolution on "Tasks before the Party". Shri S. M. Joshi will second the resolution. (See appendix).

**MIR MUSHTAQ AHMED (Delhi):**

This resolution had to be moved by Shri S. M. Joshi; but as he is not feeling well, I have been asked to move it. The first paragraph pays homage to those fighters for freedom who sacrificed their lives. The second para points to the fact that while our security is threatened by an aggression by China, the accepted values of democracy and socialism are also being threatened by anti-social forces as well as militarily. What should the Party workers and units do to face these threats is outlined in these resolutions. The resolutions have become the basis of this programme.

The third paragraph outlines our task in the face of the Chinese threat to our borders. I request you to please make a small amendment in the draft. In line 6 of para 3, after the word aggression, please remove the fullstop and add. "And Netaji had shown us how even a handful of patriots fired with devotion to their motherland can triumph against all odds". May I stress that these tasks are not a subject of speeches and resolutions alone but they must inspire us to action, to ceaseless activity to awaken the people, organise them and in the case of Governments' superciliousness to mobilise pressure to force them to take firm measures in order that popular concern with our security can be adequately reflected. We must pool all our resources, put in all our strength to create this pressure as the present Government does not move unless it becomes anxious about electoral victory or defeat.

There is going on cold a war in Asia. China wishes to demonstrate to smaller nations that India can be of no help to them, and that China can bully her with impunity. This is a challenge to the freedom loving peoples of India.

In the next para, we have stressed that the internal condition in the country is bad; here is unemployment, dearth and inequality. The resolution places before us a programme to help meet these problems and efforts that our workers have to make in the villages.

The next paragraph stresses the need of training workers for effective and constructive trade union work. The need for the amelioration of women and for the creation of consciousness among them has been stressed. It is no gainsaying that in the villages the lot of women is none too happy. How can the country progress if half of her population is submerged in ignorance?

The resolution calls upon our workers to actively associate themselves with the organisation of the educated youth and emphasize the need for strengthening the SYS.

The Party has an effective role to play. Hence, it must resolve to double its membership and reach 200,000 villages and take the

sacred torch of democratic socialism to every corner of the country.

Friends, when we meet in conference we fix certain targets but we fail to fulfil them. But we must make a planned and determined effort this year. May I request you to waste no time and all active workers should each tour at least ten villages within a month. We must take a vow to work hard and take no rest at all unless we reach our targets. Members must be enrolled during the whole year round. Let us give up the habit of idling the whole year away and enrolling members only in the last week. Unless we have a wellknit organisation, we can hardly shoulder the historic responsibility we are faced with. Let us try that in every co-operative of all sorts our workers should be actively associated. We can then achieve that self-confidence which we must have.

Several amendments have been tabled. I have accepted the one regarding Netaji.

**S. M. JOSHI (Maharashtra):**

I rise to second the resolution.

The resolution places certain concrete and immediate tasks before the Party. It enjoins upon us to fulfil certain specific responsibilities. We democratic socialists wish to progress towards socialism through democracy. The Congress party in its structure is not a socialist party. Merely the presence of some persons of socialist views does not make the character of an organisation as socialist. I trust that Mr. Nehru believes in socialism and he is not a hypocrite; yet he is unable to lead the country towards socialism as the instrument which he wields, the Congress Party, is not adequate for the purpose. Congressmen have very divergent ideas and the party cannot move in a particular direction. If we make an analysis of class character, we find that the Congress cannot lead to progress.

You would remember that Asoka Mehta Committee had proposed State Trading in food, but this has only gradually been taken up. Yet, with Shri S. K. Patil, as the Food Minister, can we expect that the Nagpur resolutions of the Congress would be implemented? It is said that socialists within the Congress are effective, and that other socialists are ineffective. May I repeat the Congress cannot usher in Socialism.

It is we who work amongst workers and peasants who are suited to achieve socialism. But our party workers have to work for livelihood also. We have therefore to wait for the correct time. The people are with us; but we don't show enough dynamism. The

engine does not move. We have to build a dynamic organisation. But we only agitate. We don't dedicate ourselves to constructive work. Yet, when the Congress fails, we shall be called upon to build socialism. But that will require organisation, an organisation spread in villages all over the country. We wish to promote joint farming; but are we going ahead with it? No; because there is no organisation.

I was asked what I would do after the establishment of the Samyukta Maharashtra. Naturally, I said, I would work for Seva Pathak, for Bhodan. I will work to promote joint farming and co-operatives. These are jobs worth doing. Educated youngmen must devote themselves to these tasks. But how many of us have tried to explain joint farming and service co-operatives to the villages? The same is the case with Family Planning.

The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in Poona promised to promote family planning, but nothing was done. This is the problem. If power comes, what shall be done? In the Trade unions also, how many educated workers join them to work for their organisation? There is always a charter of demands; never a charter of duties.

On the otherhand, in our trade union work, we fight for sectional interests while the unions go to dogs.

Democratic socialism is a way of life. It is a faith. In the wide sense of term, it is a religion. When one loses faith in it, what is there to live for?

The torch that has been brought from Nasik is a symbol of our living faith which was kindled by such noble souls as Acharya Javdekar, Sane Guruji, Acharya Narendra Deva and Yusuf Meherally. This inspiration has to be kept alive and its radiance has to be communicated to the younger people. Can we do it? Does each of us have that incandescent faith reflected in our character so that our values are transmitted to the younger generation?

Then, there are certain immediate tasks facing the country. The nation has to be mobilised to guard itself against the communist intrigues. We have discharged our duty to the nation in a proud manner by exposing the Communists on the issue of Imre Nagy and Tibet. The C.P.I. persistently confuses the real problems and demoralises the people. The Congress Party and Shri Nehru have an obligation to defeat communist conspiracy, but if they fail in their duty, we must be prepared to take cudgels on behalf of the motherland.

We have to build pressure on the Government to deflect its policies. A dynamic momentous pressure has to be generated. This

can be done only by a democratic mobilisation of the people. On the split of the bilingual State, the democratic pressure forced the Government to retreat and thus won a victory for the people, for democracy. The Congress Party had to bow to the pressure of popular urges. We have now to mobilise people all over the country to compel the communist party; we have to muster the strength of public opinion to force the Government to undertake positive steps to throw the Chinese out. We must give the Government an ultimatum.

The C.P.I. wishes discussions and negotiations to be pursued. But the example of Neville Chamberlain must warn us. He discussed and discussed till everything was over. The C.P.I. is in fact sowing seeds of disruption and sabotage. They criticised military officers. I met Mr. Nehru to tell him that this must not be allowed to happen. Mr. Nehru must shield the Military officers against such criticism and stop the communist mischief of sowing the seeds of civil war in the country.

Here, I wish to make a suggestion to the National Executive. The country, the Government, have to be warned against the Chinese danger. Let us mobilise the people and ask them to demonstrate in thousands before the Parliament. Let the Prime Minister promise to them that their wishes will be respected.

Constructive work is important; but on certain occasions, agitation is no less necessary. I told J.P. that if the Chinese come, will the Bhodan continue? Instead, J.P. should lead the nation and see to it that the Government is pressurised to act in time. In 1942, agitational work was imposed on us and we respected the call of the nation. Let us once again prepare ourselves and the nation for a supreme effort. Let us build a Morecha all over India to force upon Chow a realisation of the fact that no Indian would tolerate encroachment on our territory and an attack on our liberty. Let Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon be warned of what the people feel. Only when this immediate task is fulfilled, should we rest and say that we have fulfilled a mission and carried out our resolution.

Chairman:—Now, we shall take up the amendments. I am told by the mover of the resolution that the amendment of Shri Dhiren Bhowmick in para 3 has been accepted by him. The amendment reads: In para 3, insert the following:

"so that the spirit kindled by the Father of the Nation and by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose may continue to inspire the millions in the accomplishment of the task".

I shall now call on Mithilesh Kumar Singh to read out his amendment.

MITHILESH KUMAR SINGH (*Bihar*):

My amendment is to para 6. It should be rewritten as follows:—

"Party workers should organise trade unions under the banner of HMS. Their approach should not be merely agitational but constructive. Workers and their unions must work to increase production in the interest of nation's prosperity. They should actively promote co-operative housing.

"Trade union workers must deem it their paramount duty to resist curtailment of civic liberties of employees in the public sector".

The amendment is expressive enough. I do not wish to make a speech on its behalf.

MANDAKINI SINGH (*West Bengal*):

I will first read out my amendments:

The first is: that in para 7 line 6, at the end of the sentence, please add: "social education will be the effective medium towards the realisation of this".

My second amendment is that a new para be added at the end, as follows:

"The Conference views with concern the terrorism rampant in the Portuguese colonies on the soil of India. Where as the Party is wedded to take steps to resist aggression on our northern borders, the party should also mobilize the masses for the liberation of these colonies."

The problem of women is fundamentally not economic but cultural. Women have no social life, either within the family or without it. In certain parts, they cannot go out between sun rise and sunset for their very physical necessities. They are subjected to many social pressures.

The process of women's emancipation is to be through social reform which can be pursued through social enactment and social education. I insist on social education as it is even more fundamental. We must make women conscious of their rights, of their human dignity.

I wish you to remember Goa.

Chairman:—Your second amendment has been accepted by the mover.

Mandakini Singh:—I thank the mover very much for accepting my amendment. All those who trample democracy, justice and freedom under foot are our enemies. Let us not rest until the Portuguese imperialists are driven away and Goa made free.

V. P. SATHE (*Maharashtra*):

I wish to assure the mover and the other leaders of the Party that all delegates, whatever their earlier expressed reactions to the resolution we passed yesterday, will strive to carry out the immediate tasks. We ought to build relentless pressure to impress upon Mr. Nehru that we face an emergency and that he must try to seek co-operation of others in meeting the crisis and for building socialism. That alone is the way to build the country.

Chairman:—Mir Mushtaq Ahmed will now reply to the debate.

Mir Mushtaq Ahmed:—I have tried to accommodate as many amendments as was possible. Of the others, some do not fit into the resolution and others conflict with its spirit. I request friends not to press their amendments and pass the resolution unanimously. I trust we shall go back inspired to work with all our strength to carry the spirit of this resolution to the people.

Chairman:—The amendment of Mandakini Singh has also been accepted by the mover. Now only one amendment of Shri Mithilesh Kumar Singh has been left. I will ask you to vote upon it.

The amendment was rejected.

The resolution, as amended, was put to vote and unanimously carried.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1959.

(afternoon session).

#### PARTY ELECTIONS.

Chairman:—We shall now take up Party elections for the ensuing year. As provided for in the Constitution, we have to elect a

Chairman, a General Secretary and 23 members of the National Executive. We shall first take up the election of the Chairman.

**Asoka Mehta elected Chairman:**—Nominations had been received in favour of Asoka Mehta, H. V. Kamath, Mukut Beharilal and Ganga Sharan Sinha. H. V. Kamath, Mukut Beharilal and Ganga Sharan Sinha have withdrawn their names from the contest. I have, therefore, great pleasure in announcing that Asoka Mehta has been unanimously elected Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party for the ensuing year.

This announcement was followed by continued applause from all present. Asoka Mehta was profusely garlanded by a number of delegates.

**N. G. Goray re-elected General Secretary:**—We shall now take up the election of the General Secretary. Nominations had been received in favour of N. G. Goray, H. V. Kamath and Surendranath Dwivedy, H. V. Kamath and Surendranath Dwivedy have withdrawn their names from the contest. I have, therefore, great pleasure in announcing that N. G. Goray has been re-elected General Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party for the ensuing year.

This announcement was also followed by loud and continuous applause. N. G. Goray was profusely garlanded.

Members of the National Executive.

**Chairman:**—The Central Office has received nominations in favour of 36 persons for membership of the National Executive. The constitution, as you know, provides for only 25 members inclusive of the Chairman and the General Secretary. We will, therefore, have to take votes according to multiple distributive system, as laid down by the Constitution. In simple language it means that every delegate will have to give 23 votes, neither more nor less. It also means that you can give only one vote to one candidate, not more. The ballot paper of any delegate who contravenes any one of these provisions will be declared invalid.

The Central Office will now prepare ballot papers which will be distributed to delegates after some time. The result will be declared late at night after counting has been completed. Here are the names proposed for membership of the National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party for the ensuing year:—

1. S. B. Giri (Andhra).
2. Hareshwar Goswami (Assam).
3. Ganga Sharan Sinha (Bihar).

4. Karpoori Thakur (Bihar).
5. Mir Mushtaq Ahmed (Delhi).
6. Ishwarlal Desai (Gujarat).
7. Suresh Desai (Gujarat).
8. Pattom Thann Pillai (Kerala).
9. K. B. Menon (Kerala).
10. Thakur Niranjana Singh (M.P.).
11. Shyam Narain Kashmiri (M.P.).
12. H. V. Kamath (M.P.).
13. S. M. Joshi (Maharashtra).
14. M. R. Dandawate (Maharashtra).
15. Anutai Limaye (Maharashtra).
16. Peter Alvares (Maharashtra).
17. Prem Bhasin (Punjab).
18. Harbhajan Singh (Punjab).
19. P. S. Chinnadurai (Tamilnad).
20. Bankey Behari Das (Orissa).
21. Surendranath Dwivedy (Orissa).
22. Muralidhar Vyas (Rajasthan).
23. Udit Narain Sharma (U.P.).
24. Genda Singh (U.P.).
25. Basawan Singh (Bihar).
26. Mukut Behari Lal (U.P.).
27. Shakuntala Srivastava (U.P.).
28. Triloki Singh (U.P.).
29. Farid Ansari (U.P.).
30. Khushwaq Rao (U.P.).
31. Chandra Shekhar (U.P.).
32. Samar Guha (West Bengal).
33. Suresh Chandra Banerjee (West Bengal).
34. Sibnath Banerjee (W. Bengal).
35. Bidyut Bose (W. Bengal).
36. M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Karnatak).

The following were declared elected to the National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party for the ensuing year by Ganga Sharan Sinha, the out-going Chairman, in the early hours of Tuesday, November 10, 1959.

1. Asoka Mehta (Maharashtra)—Chairman.
2. N. G. Goray (Maharashtra)—General Secretary.
3. Surendranath Dwivedy (Orissa).
4. Ganga Sharan Sinha (Bihar).
5. Basawan Sinha (Bihar).
6. Prem Bhasin (Punjab).
7. S. B. Giri (Andhra).
8. Samar Guha (West Bengal).
9. Pattom Thann Pillai (Kerala).
- 12

10. Dr. K. B. Menon (Kerala).
11. Mir Mushtaq Ahmed (Delhi).
12. Ishwarlal Desai (Gujarat).
13. Triloki Singh (Uttar Pradesh).
14. Mukut Behari Lal (Uttar Pradesh).
15. Chandrasekhar (Uttar Pradesh).
16. Peter Alvares (Maharashtra).
17. M. R. Dandawate (Maharashtra).
18. Anutai Limaye (Maharashtra).
19. H. V. Kamath (Madhya Pradesh).
20. P. S. Chinnadurai (Tamilnad).
21. M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Karnatak).
22. Shakuntala Srivastava (U.P.).
23. Hareshwar Goswami (Assam).
24. Genda Singh (U.P.).
25. S. M. Joshi (Maharashtra).

Chairman:—I have requested Samar Guha to speak for a while. He has recently visited South and South East Asian countries and I thought his experiences would be valuable to all of us. I hope the delegates would benefit from his talk. Samar Guha.

#### SAMAR GUHA (West Bengal):

I paid a visit to Ceylon and was gratified to note that all political parties, excepting the Communists, like Sree Lanka Freedom Party, Sama Samajist Party, United National Party and several other organisations were sympathetic to the cause of Tibet. I found that the general feeling prevalent in South East Asia for Tibet was sympathetic. I was asked many questions everywhere about the attitude of the Government of India in accepting Chinese suzerainty over Tibet and her not extending support to the cause of Tibet in the United Nations. I was also asked innumerable questions about our Himalayan border and the Chinese threat. I did not discuss these questions as I was keen not to mix up this question with the case of Tibet.

There is a widespread feeling in South East Asia that the border incursions and the conquest of Tibet by China were inseparable symptoms of a malady, and a demonstration of Communist China's new might. In Ceylon, as well as elsewhere, people told me that they did not look at the Himalayan border as a frontier between India and China but as a frontier between China and all the free democratic countries of South East Asia. They underlined the fact that the fate of the whole of the South East Asian region is inextricably linked with the security of that border. They were keen that India should take a firm stand on the Himalayan border.

This tour has been a sort of a pilgrimage for me as the whole area is associated with the memory of Netaji and the Indian National Army. I was met by innumerable followers of Netaji and they asked me to convey to you their appeal to help in building a war memorial for him, as the memorial built in Singapore had been demolished by Lord Mountbatten.

There is a great nervousness in the whole of South East Asia about the Chinese communist might, and the people there look to India, and especially to the Praja Socialist Party and Jayaprakashji, to give a lead to resist this rising new imperialism and stand as a rock against the power of the Chinese who wish to enslave the free democracies of Asia.

Chairman:—Although we have adopted a resolution on Kerala, I think the delegates would like to hear the veteran Leader, of the Party in Kerala, Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai, who is present amongst us, to give them his assessment of the situation and the tasks that face the party there to-day. I will now request him to speak to the delegates.

#### PATTOM THANU PILLAI (Kerala):

I am thankful to the Chairman for the indulgence which he has shown to me by giving me this opportunity to speak at this historic conference at the close of the session. I am equally thankful to you all for having shown me this indulgence, for I know it is not because you are interested in hearing my voice, which is rough and has gone rougher with age, but because you are interested to know about Kerala; and I can tell you that the people of Kerala will ever be grateful to you for the interest you take in their affairs. A very important phenomenon, I may say, a strange phenomenon, has occurred in Kerala. It was the only state where the Communists were able to form a Government by ballot. It is also the only State in which the communist Government got dismissed by the people of the State. Both these phenomena have great significance; and I want you all, on this occasion, to consider how important these events are.

How was it that the communist Government came to be formed in Kerala? The extreme poverty of the people, the problem of unemployment and other problems were taken advantage of by the Communist Party to spread their propaganda that all the ills of Kerala arose from the way the Government of Kerala had been carried on by all parties other than the communist Party. The ills were there; they took advantage of these ills to carry on their propaganda that if they were voted to power, these ills would be removed

in no time. It must be realised that the need to improve the economic and social conditions of the people of Kerala exists independently of the communist party. There are people who say that they want to defeat the communists because they do not want communism in Kerala, or in any other part of India. Very good; but we must not ignore that fact that these difficulties, and these ills, are not associated with the existence of the communist party. We must progress as a nation. Backward areas like Kerala, not backward in all respects—in some respects Kerala is ahead of other parts of India—but it is backward in respect of matters I am going to mention: Unemployment, poverty, scarcity of food. Now these defects and difficulties should be the object of any government to remove. But the first step for the removal of these difficulties is the defeat of the communist party in Kerala. Therefore the coming elections should be considered by you all not merely as a Kerala affair. There is a tendency in many parts of this country to consider these elections as affecting the people of Kerala alone. I admit that these elections are the concern of the people of Kerala, but I submit that they are no less the concern of the people of India. We are all against communism and the communist party. We know, such of us as know the history of the communist party in India or anywhere in the world, what a communist government would be. But, we in Kerala have had a bitter experience of what such a government can be. I find some of our comrades here expressing divergent views on the question of our association with the Congress. I am prone to think that there is a lack of understanding of the real nature of the communist party. People are prone to think that after all the Indian communist party also consists of Indians, that they are Indians and therefore they will not be able to do great harm to the country as a whole. Friends, you are grossly mistaken if you think like this. We must fully realise what a communist government can be. The Communist party is a totalitarian party; the communist system is a one-party system. The communists who took over the government in Kerala said at the start that they would function within the provisions of the Constitution. But while complying with the provisions of the Constitution, what they did was to make Kerala a one-party State. They could not succeed because of the Constitution; but their action was planned. In all that they did, they did not care for anybody except the communist party. There was a clear distinction between the communists and the non-communists, between the supporters of the government and the communist party and the others. Their government, they made them to understand, was only functioning for the benefit of the supporters of the communist party. There were two types of citizenship in Kerala; that is, communist citizenship and non communist citizenship. Please believe me when I tell you that the non-communists in Kerala were treated by the government as so many outlaws. They enjoyed no protection. One of the basic conditions of a democratic

government is that all citizens should be considered equal before the law. This condition was grossly violated by the Communist government, and that is the reason why the people rose against that government. You should have no doubt about the nature of a communist government, whether it is in Kerala or in any other part of India. Whether you want that peril in India is the question. For me, the growth of the communist movement means the loss of democracy and establishment of totalitarianism. I want you to realise that the coming elections in Kerala will show whether the people want communism or not. That is why I say that the coming elections in Kerala will decide what political system India will have; whether you want the democratic system or you want the totalitarian system. That is the issue before the people of Kerala. It is not an issue before the people of Kerala alone. It is an issue before the people of India. It is not the interest of Kerala alone that I want to safeguard, it is the interest of India as a whole. It is the interest of democracy that is now sought to be safeguarded. That is the one important point I want to stress before you. What do you think is your part in it? How are you going to help in this election? That is the question I pose before you. Do you realise that it is your own election? You must realise that it is your own election. If this election is lost, you are lost. In fact, every anti-communist, every normal citizen who does not want communism to come to this great land of ours, should consider this election as his own. You must put in your best efforts. I do not want all of you to rush to Kerala. I want some of you to come there. Already, many of you have been there in this connection. Our Chairman was there. Some of our leaders were there. Our Secretary wanted to come there, but he could not do so. Now I hope he will come very soon. Comrade Harris is a lover of Kerala, Peter Alvares is more than a lover of Kerala. When I mention some names, do not think I don't want to mention other names. There is no point in mentioning names as all these friends will come there. I request that those of you who can find time, who can make themselves useful there, should also come. But you must realise that we are engaged in a war and you all know what is the sinews in a war. You can all contribute. It should be your prime duty to contribute to the sinews of war that is going on in Kerala. I hope I need not say anything more. Every State, every provincial branch of the Praja Socialist Party, every branch of the party in every district, should take interest in this matter. You know elections have become very costly now-a-days. Anyway, there is a limit put by the law. We must be able to spend money within the limits specified by law. So, kindly see that enough money is collected and sent to Kerala for being properly expended to secure our success in the election. We have entered into an understanding, as you know, with the Congress Party and the Muslim League in Kerala. I know some of my comrades entertain doubts as to the propriety of this understanding with the

Congress and the League. As to the results of this understanding, I tell you, my friends, you need not be afraid of the consequences of this understanding. Here is a situation which we can face only if we offer a united front, if we offer a united opposition of PSP, Congress and the League. I know there are objections, very serious objections, to having any understanding with the Congress. Many of my comrades still entertain doubts about the propriety of any kind of understanding or alliance with the Congress and the League. Few have suffered more than I have at the hands of the Congress. There is no exaggeration in it. But I feel that it is my duty to co-operate with the Congress, in all sincerity, to achieve the desired results in the coming elections. This morning Shri Achyut Patwardhan exhorted us not to hate anyone. Before him, Gandhiji had taught us, Christ had taught us, many great Gurus had taught us, to love our enemy. We will love our enemy, but the natural desire to defend what is ours, that shall be there. It is not even the personal hatred of the communists. Why should we hate a communist? You hate the system, you hate his work as a functionary to bring about that system. We do not hate anybody. But I wish to tell you that Congressmen have behaved with the PSP in ways which make it difficult for the PSP to work in close co-operation with them. That does not mean we should ignore realities. The question is which is the greater danger? Congress or the Communists? If you tell me that both are equally bad, I, for one, won't accept that. The Congress is a democratic party. The Congress has made mistakes; the Congress will make mistakes. The Congress has treated the PSP ill before and will perhaps continue to do so in future. But when you find that a totalitarian, an undemocratic, a one-party system threatens the freedom of your country and the very existence of your democratic way of life, you must close your ranks with the Congress and fight the enemy. It is with this understanding that we have entered into some sort of adjustment with the Congress. That does not mean your party is going to be erased, is going to surrender to the Congress, is going to suffer. I can assure you that the arrangements we have made in Kerala, are going to bear good fruit. The fruit will be enjoyed by the PSP no less than the Congress. I tell you that if we behave properly and if we deal effectively with the communist party and come out successful, then, there is no question of the PSP suffering in any way. So also with the League. Now, the Kerala League is not the old Muslim League of India. When the Muslim League was demanding partition, the Kerala League never demanded the partition of the country. In fact, in my State in Kerala, the League eschewed politics and co-operated with the Congress. You should not confuse Kerala League with the Indian Muslim League, and attach to it all the odium that naturally belongs to Jinnah's League.

Comrade Chairman, some one wants to know whether I, and the Kerala branch of the PSP, would abide by Party discipline and carry out party policies.

There is no reason absolutely why anyone should doubt our bonafides and intentions. I, and the Kerala PSP, have always abided and will always abide by the directions of the All India Praja Socialist Party. I need not give any assurance, but since a comrade has raised this question and since I think nothing would be lost by my answering it, I would like to tell him that I have always been as amenable to the control of the Party as the esteemed questioner himself (Cheers).

I, too, know something of public life and public work; I, too, know what it means to be a member of a party. Why should anyone suspect my capacity to understand the fundamentals of political life?

At the conclusion of Pattom Thannu Pillai's speech V. P. Sathe (Maharashtra) proposed that delegates and member visitors present at the Conference should make on-the spot personal contributions towards the Kerala Election Fund. The proposal met with a hearty response from all present and more than Rs. 2,000 were collected in cash within half-an-hour.

Chairman:—I am glad to say that we have carried out the programme of this historic Conference according to schedule and in time. I will say a few words in conclusion after sometime. Meanwhile, I will request Moin-ud-din Harris and Asoka Mehta to address the assembled delegates, member visitors and guests.

Moin-ud-din Harris.

M. HARRIS (Chairman Reception Committee):

For the last few days, we have been celebrating our Silver Jubilee. I am reminded of that cell in Nasik Jail where the idea of organising CSP was born twenty five years ago. I was fortunate enough to join my friend, Asoka Mehta, when he lighted the torch which was brought here to Bombay. We also celebrated the twentyfifth anniversary of our first meeting held at Ready Money Mansions on 22nd October, 1934.

Although during these 25 years, two towns, Nasik and Poona and a village, Faizpur, of the State of which Bombay is the capital, had the honour of witnessing our Party Conferences, the city of Bombay had this opportunity only this year. When the idea of celebrating the

Silver Jubilee of the Party was first mooted in Delhi camp in 1957, we had never expected that comrades in Bombay would be given the privilege of organising it. It was with great happiness that we took this task upon ourselves. Just as it was in Bombay that the Party was launched on its course, the second chapter of its life and history, after the completion of twentyfive years, has also been started here. We have had the distinction of organising the Asian Socialist Conference here two years ago. The experience which we had acquired then has stood us in good stead. And even though the task was difficult and huge, the loyal co-operation of hundreds of our comrades enabled us to set on our mission of celebrating the jubilee in a fitting manner. We suffered from many handicaps and shortcomings. But the inspiring nature of the task always gave us strength.

I wish to express our gratitude to all those institutions which provided us with residential accomodation, which is always such an acute problem in Bombay. I am proud to that all these institutions are run by voluntary efforts and I am happy that a large number of workers associated with these efforts are sympathetic to our Party. I am very thankful to the Indian National Theatre for having helped us in making the Pandal in the least expensive manner. The Corporation of Bombay has also helped us a great deal and we are very grateful to its officers.

The volunteers of the Rashtra Seva Dal, inspired by the great ideals of Swami Vivekananda and workers of the SYS have done a great job by having undertaken various tasks of great value. Apart from their voluntary efforts, hundreds of party workers also helped us in organising these functions.

As comrade Asoka Mehta has pointed out, money for this conference had to be collected from thousands of common people, and no money was received from Moscow or Washington. We are deeply grateful to our fellow citizens of Bombay for having liberally contributed for the Conference. We are also thankful to those concerns which co-operated with us by way of giving advertisements to the Party souvenir.

I am particularly grateful to the friends of the press in Bombay. They have been solicitous from the beginning. I trust they will co-operate with us hereafter also.

It is not in humility that I say that due to various personal worries, I could not devote any time to the preparations of the Conference. I was because of the affection that comrades have for me that they insisted that I should become the Chairman of the Reception

Committee. This is a testimony to the same fact of which Asoka made a mention. We in this party are all a family. And the foundation of this family was laid down by Yusuf Meherally, whose warmth, affection, sacrifice for friends and regard for comrades still inspire our hearts. May we inculcate his great qualities in whatever measure possible for each one of us.

We took some epochmaking decisions in this conference. Our demonstration yesterday has not only left its mark on the minds of the people in Bombay but would affect the people of the whole country.

You saw the exhibition. It was appreciated by one and all. Okay richly deserves the gratitude of all of us for his pioneering work and for his sense of proportion.

We, in Bombay, have always liked to celebrate the end of twenty-five or fifty years. On the first day of the second half of the century, we celebrated the beginning of the era of socialism. Within a few years, the Congress party declared socialism to be its objective. Some countries in Asia have also accepted socialism as their goal since then. And I am happy that we were have contributed our mite to the fulfilment of this historic process, this urge of the twentieth century.

We in this party have been inspired by the spirit of fraternity, of which Yusuf Meherally was an embodiment. Achyut Patwardhan has also exhorted us to cultivate love and banish hate from our minds. We are proud that in this Party we can frankly discuss our points of view without fear of creating misunderstandings or lessening our regard and affection for our colleagues. It is a great tribute to the spirit of the Party.

I wish finally to congratulate Asoka and Nana Saheb on their election. They have made an auspicious start by succeeding in collecting cash donation for Kerala Election from the delegates present. Let us hope all comrades will consider it a fight that is not confined to Kerala alone, but a fight for the preservation of democracy and for socialism, a fight in which workers of our party throughout the country have to battle hard like a dedicated army of soldiers. The next two months will show whether the people of Kerala choose freedom or slavery.

Mr. Chairman, please permit me to thank you. You guided this party for the past four years; and associate with every word that Asoka has said in regard to our feeling of gratitude for you. On

behalf of the Reception Committee, I wish particularly to express our heartfelt thanks to you, for without your guidance, we could hardly have succeeded in such a stupendous task.

In spite of best efforts, I am afraid many comrades would have felt inconvenience due to several failings in the arrangements. I wish to beg forgiveness of you all for such lapses on our part.

This conference would, I am sure, inspire us all to put in harder work for the success of our movement. Desperation also ordains a man to work hard. I am certain that our labours in this conference shall go some way in strengthening the party.

*Chairman:*—I will now request Asoka Mehta to give his message to the conference.

ASOKA MEHTA:

I am deeply grateful to this Conference for the confidence that has been shown in me and the trust that has been reposed in me. Can we think of any other political party in this country, and I would make bold to ask, can we conceive of any political organisation in any part of the world which has succeeded in fostering the relationship that exists in our Party? In all political parties in our country explanations are demanded from so-called deviationists. Tape recordings of the speeches have to be produced before the Executive, and the erring members is censored. It is only in this organisation that all our differences can be openly and frankly stated (Cheers), and these frank discussions do not result in any kind of revulsion or repulsion. They are a token of abiding friendship that exists in our ranks. This is not a party, this is a family; and since it is a family, it is able to show the remarkable phenomenon of a person, whose views are rather accepted by a very small minority within the party, but who nevertheless, is called upon deliberately and unanimously to be the captain of the ship of the Party. Why is this so? The other day, the Prime Minister visited Poona. Going around the city he found that the response of the people was elemental. With his eyes full of tears, he turned towards the Chief Minister of Bombay and said 'how generous our people can be'. Our Party claims, and is entitled to claim, that it is the real representative of the people because in this party alone is reflected this spirit of generosity of our people. There is understanding and there is tolerance and if anyone is entrusted with responsibility it is known to all that he will carry out that responsibility loyally. We know that every soldier of this Party is loyal to the core of his heart. No questions are asked. No doubts are expressed, because no doubts are ever entertained.

This was the party of which it was said that it was rent with dissensions. This was the party about which it was said that it was paralysed. No paralysed party would have shown that vigour, that elemental energy. It is not a particular individual who is elected to a particular office, but the spirit behind it, the fortitude behind it, the tolerance behind it, the utter confidence behind it, the confidence amongst all concerned. This is the second life of this Party. We have twentyfive years of our history behind us. Its inaugural Conference was held in Bombay; by your decision, the Silver Jubilee Conference is also being held in Bombay. The remarkable character of the conference, the enormous response it has generated in the ranks of the Party, the overpowering affection that the party has received from the people of Bombay and the new spirit that it has shown here are proof that it is not a wooden torch, or a metal torch, that we are lighting here. It is a torch of history, the bestower of confidence, of the supreme realisation that this party has a positive leading role to play in the country. It is that torch which is going to be carried forward. It is the second lap of our journey towards destiny.

Friends, it is a matter of satisfaction to us to say that our difficulties are behind us. We can move forward confidently and hopefully after the tremendous affection this party has received here in this city and elsewhere.

There are signs of troubled times ahead before our country. This party was born in prison. It was not created for the purpose of coming to power. This party was created for other purposes. The purpose of our political life is not the attainment of power, it is the service of the people. That we are today in a fit condition, that we are today well tuned instruments for the service of the people, it is because if we have any God, it is the people of our country. And here is this instrument so well tuned today—you have tuned it so well that it shall play its part.

For the next one year we have to work hard. Last year we said it is not enough to pass resolutions which we call upon others to implement. By the resolutions adopted here we are calling upon ourselves to implement things. Otherwise we have to shoulder the responsibility of oblique failure. The targets that we placed before ourselves last time were fulfilled only to the extent of 30% or 40%. This time, I have no doubt whatsoever that our targets will be fulfilled because of the rejuvenating experience that you have undergone at this Silver Jubilee conference. Organisationally we have to put ourselves in fighting trim, and I am sure that Nana Saheb Coray, my esteemed colleague myself, and such other colleagues whom you will elect to the National Executive, shall be at your command during

the next twelve months to build the organisation. It shall be the endeavour of each one of my colleagues, and of myself, to visit each one of you in every part of the country, at your seat and your centre of activity. There is going to be no rest. The Chairman is not going to rest; and you are not going to rest, not only because we want to build the party but also because there is this call of history, there is a knock at the door, here is a foot on our frontier, and so long as that alien foot is there across our frontier, we shall not rest.

Friends, while we are happy about the magnificent response this conference has evoked among Party members and people, we are also happy because every single rupee spent on this conference has been raised by the efforts of ordinary members of the Party. There are other parties which have behind them powerful organisations; they have big nations of the world to stand behind them, to help them. The PSP has no Moscow or Peking to look to. The PSP has no Nehru and no Rajaji. The Swatantra Party will not dare to organise a meeting, an open-air meeting, unless the charismatic personality of Rajaji is there. The Congress Party will not move a step unless Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is there to grace the occasion with his presence. It is only this party, this party of poor workers, where you do not need the presence of a mighty personality to rally people together. The lowliest of its workers can hold a meeting; and he knows that he has to rally the people around him. This is the party of the common man; this is the party of the unknown soldier; this is the party of the devoted servants of the people; and that is why this is the party of the future.

It is a matter of deepest gratification to us that we had the privilege of being inspired by Jayaprakash Narain and Achyut Patwardhan. Last year I told you that although they have left politics, we will be able to go to them one day and say "we have brought this fruit of the dream—your dream—of the vision that you gave us, the fruit of the efforts of our generation. We have brought it successfully to you. Tell us what we shall do with it". Jayaprakash may leave the party, but I must say that the party is not going to leave him, and the same thing I can say about Achyut Patwardhan.

It is not for me to pay any tribute to our leader, to my leader, Ganga Babu, who has so ably captained the ship of the Party and steered it through stormy seas for four years. If we function today as a living and organised political party, full of vitality and faith, it is in no small measure due to the paternal care which he lavished on the Party. When the times are normal, when the seas are not rough, when the ship is no more leaking, anyone can bring it to the shore or take it on fresh adventures without much difficulty. Ganga

Babu took charge of the Party in particularly distressing circumstances when nothing but dismal future started it in the face. In the annals of the Party his name will rank next only to Jayaprakash Narain and Acharya Narendra Deva (Loud and continuous applause).  
GANGA SHARAN SINHA (Chairman):

Shri Sunil Das and other comrades have placed suggestions for amending the Rules and Constitution of the Party. The new National Executive will appoint a sub-committee which, after going into all aspects of this question will place its recommendations before the next conference.

Friends, my task has been greatly lessened by Asoka and Harris. Asoka has, by his very kind and affectionate reference to me, rather embarrassed me. It is not out of humility that I say that the affection of comrades is like a magnifying glass, which makes a small man look tall. After his speech, and your clappings, I have no courage to say more. I can only deeply thank you for your affection.

On your behalf and on my own, I wish to thank our comrades in Bombay. Such a magnificent conference could be held in Bombay alone. We have once again broken new ground, in the same manner as we did in 1934. In Poona, we came out of our long period of crisis. In Bombay, we start a new chapter with a new faith, a new courage.

I am particularly happy that I have been relieved of a heavy responsibility, that I have made over the charge entrusted to me to a younger but wiser comrade. Bharat had the same feeling when he made over the charge to Rama.

Friends, I have been in politics since 1921, when I was just 16 or 17. Since then, I have been a humble servant of the Congress or of this Party. I had never felt embarrassed in carrying out whatever duties were assigned to me; but, believe me, when I was asked to become the Deputy Chairman of the Party, I felt that I was not capable of shouldering this heavy responsibility. I tried my best to keep out, for I was afraid that I might be responsible for doing harm to the Party. But, I am gratified that I received the unstinted co-operation of all of you. Sometimes, I took liberties and behaved impertinently, but even then I was, and am, your humble comrade.

I wish to thank Bombay comrades for the excellent arrangements made for the Conference. It was a matter of great delight and privilege for me that comrade Harris, who is the symbol of the great civic cultural tradition of Bombay, received me, and all other dele-

gates, as Chairman of the Reception Committee. Dr. G. G. Parikh and comrade Madhu Dandavate, who have always kept themselves in the background, have done a wonderful job, and in this their experience of the Asian Socialist Conference helped them a lot. The Seva Dal friends who worked hard, day and night, tried to give us all comfort.

I wish here to make especial mention of comrade O'Kay, who with his painstaking labour and artistic skill has organised the exhibition. As Chairman of the Conference, I wish to present him this garland in appreciation of his work.

Comrade Okay was then garlanded by the Chairman to the accompaniment of loud and continuous applause.

RSD friends deserve special commendation for their volunteer work. How one wishes that their example may inspire comrades in other States as well to organise RSD branches. Their cultural programme has inspired all of us.

Bhaskar Athale and Ksheera Sagar were responsible for mess arrangements; and I trust you will all bear me out when I say that these arrangements were excellent. The office also functioned very efficiently, and for this we owe our gratitude to Shri Dinesh Thakur and Shri Gulab Thakur.

The Fifth National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party, as well as the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Socialist Movement in India, then concluded amidst of great enthusiasm.

---

## APPENDICES

---

**PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY-Central Office**  
NEW DELHI

*Receipts and Payments Account for the Year Ended 31st December 1959*

| RECEIPTS                                               |                 | PAYMENTS                        |             |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------|
|                                                        | Rs.             |                                 | Rs.         |
| To Balance :                                           |                 | By Air conditioner              | 541 88      |
| " Cash on hand                                         | 543 56          | " Furniture and Fixtures        | 304 98      |
| " Cash at State Bank                                   | 5,217 61        | " Staff Advance Fixtures        | 75 00       |
| " Cash at Central Bank                                 | 3,916 00        | " Literature Department         | 871 02      |
| " Central Fund                                         | 410 00          | " Printing and Stationery       | 3,956 99    |
| " Donation                                             | 12,262 19       | " Travelling and Conveyance     | 5,642 84    |
| " Membership Quota                                     | 34,759 04       | " Allowances and Est.:          | 22,501 26   |
| " Parliament Board: Sub:                               | 810 00          | " Office and General Exp.       | 2,708 48    |
| " Application Fees: P.B.:                              | 165 00          | " Newspaper and Periodicals     | 641 24      |
| " Staff Advances                                       | 360 00          | " Telephone                     | 542 08      |
| " Suspense Account                                     | 3,771 10        | " Postages Telegram             | 2,693 19    |
| " Delegate and Visitors Fees                           | 6,340 00        | " Rent                          | 1,874 28    |
| " Sri Asoka Mehta's collections Kerala Elections Fund: | 1,09,000 00     | " Electricity and Water charges | 673 95      |
| " Others                                               | 2,041 00        | " Bank charges                  | 65 28       |
|                                                        |                 | " Conference and Meetings       | 8,393 23    |
|                                                        |                 | " Subventions                   | 3,518 02    |
|                                                        |                 | " Kerala Election Accounts      | 1,11,000 00 |
|                                                        |                 | " Balance:                      |             |
|                                                        |                 | " Cash on hand                  | 703 82      |
|                                                        |                 | " Cash at State Bank            | 8,492 67    |
|                                                        |                 | " Cash at Central Bank          | 4,336 32    |
|                                                        |                 |                                 |             |
|                                                        | Rs. 1,79,535 50 |                                 | 1,79,535 50 |

Examined and found correct in accordance with the books and other documents produced and information supplied.

(Ed.) N. G. Goray

General Secretary.

Varma and Co.,

Chartered Accountants.

24-3-1960.

**PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY SILVER JUBILEE CONFERENCE**

"MEHERALLY NAGAR",  
KING GEORGE HIGH SCHOOL,  
HINDER COLONY, DADAR, BOMBAY.

WELCOME ADDRESS

BY

M. HARRIS,  
CHAIRMAN, RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

5TH NOVEMBER 1959.

Friends,

I consider it a great, and also a rare privilege, to welcome you all on this occasion which can rightly be characterised a historic occasion, and I do so on behalf of the Reception Committee, Preparatory Committee, all my comrades in the city and myself. It is not merely a celebration on the completion of twenty-five years in the life of a political party. It is the Silver Jubilee of the birth of the Socialist Movement in our country. It is also a soul-searching occasion for all of us, who have assembled here even though many present here at the moment may not be formally associated with the Praja Socialist Party. The difficult times through which the world and our country particularly have been passing makes it incumbent on all of us to give thought to the problems that face us and to try to find solutions for them. It will not be fair on my part to dilate on these aspects and take the time of this Conference. That task rightly belongs to the Chairman of our Party. His address, the report of our General Secretary which has already been published and the resolutions drafted by the National Executive which will be considered here will give us the opportunity to do so.

Permit me, however, to make a few general observations. I began by saying that we are celebrating the Silver Jubilee of Socialist Movement in our country. This movement or at any rate its conception came in a small cell in the Nasik Central Prison, where a fortnight back we lighted a torch as a symbol of that beginning and that symbolic torch brought by our comrades all the way passing through many villages and small and big towns on their way was received and welcomed by us here only a while ago. Our minds also go to the first meeting held in this very city on 22nd October, 1934, at a spot not very far away from this place, Worli. On that date this year we unfurled once again the flag of Socialism at the same spot to remind us of the humble beginnings that were made then. It is but natural that we were reminded of those Comrades who were with us in these early days and alas, who are no more with us. Foremost among them was Yusuf Meherally whose name we have given to this Nagar, for the duration of this week. But it is not the mere naming

of this place after one among the Fathers of Indian Socialism that reminds us of him. His memory is ever green in our minds and will continue to be so. Like him we are also reminded of Acharya Narendra Deva, Acharya Jawdekar, Sane Guruji and sister Satyawati all names of revered memory. It is the memory of these founders of the movement, their sterling character, their great nationalism and patriotism, their selfless devotion to the cause of Indian independence and the building up of Socialism in Free India that we have always treasured in our minds as also the memory of their able guidance to all of us that will continue to be the most sacred treasure that we possess in our march towards the goal.

It is indeed a happy thought that while we salute once again the Comrades whom the hand of death has snatched away from us, we have fortunately still with us a number of those who were also among the early founders of the Party and even though some of them may not be formally associated with the Party now there can never be any separation between us, for we know that they are also engaged in the same task in their own way, even though it may be in a little different way than we are following organisationally. How happy we all are to see present amongst us today Jayaprakashji who guided the party for many years and whose personal guidance is even now available to us on many occasions. I will, I am sure, be expressing the thought uppermost in many minds, not only here but all over the country, if I said that nothing will give the country greater joy than his taking a more direct responsibility for guiding the country, for it is undisputed that there are few in this great land who have shoulders as broad as he has, and who enjoy the confidence and esteem of the people in the same measure as he does. I accord a special welcome to him and others like him who have responded to our invitation and graced this occasion with their presence.

To our Socialist friends from distant lands who are with us here I accord a special welcome for having come all the way to participate in these celebrations. Two years ago some of them and many others were with us in this very city on the occasion of the Asian Socialist Conference. Their presence then and also now is yet another reminder to us that democratic Socialism is a world force and all of us though living in different countries, speaking different languages and belonging to different races are engaged in the establishment of that Socialist order which bring peace and prosperity to the common man and hold the values we have cherished all our lives. This coming together at the same time preserve his personal freedom and dignity not imposed in an atmosphere of perfect freedom and real equality not imposed by a supervening machine based on international organisation which as we see in the case of the totalitarian camp permits the dictation by bigger parties to the smaller ones is a measure of real strength and in fact the only real hope of true comradeship.

Looking to the period of the last 25 years which may not be a long period in the life of a nation, but which certainly is a long enough period in the life of a movement, we find that it easily divides itself in two almost equal parts. The first half of more than 13 years (1934—1948) which we spent within the national organisation of our country fighting for the freedom of our country against one of the strongest Imperialist forces of those days, it was our proud privilege to be always in the front ranks of freedom fighters and to contribute our humble mite to that great and noble cause which saw its fruition in 1947. To have done that in full measure is again one of our most cherished memories which will always help us to gather more and more strength for fighting for right causes in future also. The other half of a little over a decade has been devoted by us to the organisation of a Socialist organisation. I am aware that various estimates are made about the work we have been able to put in, in these years. While there are those who are prepared to take a kind view of our performance, they are aware of the difficulties such an effort involves, there are those hard critics who appear to be ever impatient to declare that we have failed and even to write us off. Events have, however, belied their expectations and wishful thinking we have not only survived but have also shown the capacity to grow as a force may be small in size but steadfast in its direction. We are thankful to both of them, to the first for the encouragement we receive from them, and to the latter for unintentionally egging us on to a greater effort. Our own estimate has naturally to be realistic, for complacency in that task would be criminal and refusal to note the defects and deficiencies and to remove them would lead to results not only disastrous to our organisation, but as is being gradually acknowledged also to the future of our country.

In this connection our real pleasure and happiness lies in the fact that the thoughts that came to the minds of those then young comrades of ours sitting in that cell in Nasik Central Prison and which were placed before the country by our Party at the time of the first General Election in our country and which had to pass through the wellknown phases of ridicule, serious criticism and ultimate acceptance have now become the accepted goal of our country. Our satisfaction lies in the thought that the history of our country during the first years of its freedom and events that have taken place have proved the path we tried to pursue was ultimately found to be the path good enough not for merely a political party to traverse but it was the road for the entire Indian nation to march along. Our satisfaction is not a little heightened when we recall that during these difficult early years of freedom on all important occasions the thought uppermost in our minds used to be not the temporary good of the Party but the real interest of the nation.

Having fought under the banner of Indian nationalism, having contributed our humble efforts to the attainment of the freedom of our country, and having lighted the path for a democratic Socialist society in free India, we have assembled here once again to rededicate ourselves to the same task and make a greater resolve to pursue that same path ceaselessly till we reach the cherished goal. May we have the requisite strength to do so, always remembering that for those fighting for a great cause the pleasure lies not so much in reaching the goal but in being engaged in the right endeavour unmindful of the trials and tribulations and the blood and the sweat that they have to contribute to it. Permit me to say that it has been our privilege and pleasure to represent that force in India.

As we are all aware this part of our country where we are meeting has an added reason to rejoice as the present bilingual state of Bombay is going to be soon bifurcated and the Marathi-speaking population as well as the Gujarati-speaking population is each going to have a separate state. Three years ago when decisions were taken to reorganise the states in India on linguistic basis, we were among the first to point out that a mistake was being committed in not granting to the Marathi—and the Gujarati-speaking population a state of their own as was done in all other cases. We also participated in the peaceful struggle to rectify that mistake. One of our comrades, S. M. Joshi, who is also one of the founders of the Party, provided to Maharashtra the leadership to carry on that struggle and to keep it on the right lines and it is matter of great pleasure to all of us to see the fruition of his labour in which the people of Maharashtra stood by him. But it is a still more happy thought to note that the ruling party in the country for the time being—in a democracy there can be no permanent ruling party that happens in other systems and also under the dictatorships—should have seen reason and decided to concede the demand of the people. This proves that we have a really working democratic system in our country, wherein it is possible to commit mistakes but such mistakes can be and have to be rectified when public opinion asserts itself as it did in this case. Let me congratulate the people both of Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat for the hour of the fulfilment of their desire is so near at hand. I will also express the hope that under the banner of the Indian Union and under our national flag to which we owe the supreme loyalty, it will be possible for both these states to march with the rest of the country along the path of progress and prosperity and the building up of a new egalitarian society. With the new enthusiasm that will be generated among the common people, it would certainly be possible for both these states to vie with each other in that effort and to keep abreast of other parts of the country as they have done in the past, when they were administratively a single unit for more decades.

This consummation is to be welcomed for yet another, and to my mind a more important, reason. It is the certainty that the development will bring to an end the aberrations of coming together of political forces, with hardly anything in common, under the stresses and strains to which this area was subjected to for the last three or four years and to give to the rest of the country an example of stability of political forces of the correct variety which the country needs so much. Nothing will be happier or more appropriate than the ending of rather unnatural alliances this part of the country witnessed in the recent past and in their place the coming closer of democratic forces and their working for the building up of democratic Socialism on this west coast of our great land.

While rejoicing on the fruition of our concept of Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat as two separate administrative units, we cannot forget the fact that a small part of Maharashtra known as Goa is still under foreign and colonial domination. Our joy will remain mixed with a tinge of sadness till we are able to free that strip from the Portuguese supremacy. We must remember the part played by our Party comrades like Sheshnath Wadekar, Hirve Guruji and Pannalal Yadav who like many others from distant parts of India sacrificed their precious lives in that cause and many others including our General Secretary, Comrade N. G. Goray who suffered long incarceration in that cause.

But if we look around we must admit that this cannot be only an occasion for us to feel happy about things. The unusual rains in parts of Gujarat, Khandesh and Vidarbha which form part of our present Bombay State as also in many other states have made them suffer a great deal from floods this year. The food situation always so difficult is likely to worsen, we are also threatened with the mounting unemployment of industrial workers in this part of the country, luckily a little more advanced industrially. There are many other difficult problems which are always with us and are likely to be so, till we are able to build a really sound economy, which in the very nature of things will take years and years of hard work. These problems, however, need cause no dismay to us. Nations especially those blessed recently with freedom but still undeveloped or under-developed and having to cover a big gap caused during the decades of dependence need to have patience and devote themselves to hard and strenuous work. It is to be hoped that as a nation we will do so, at any rate the democratic Socialist forces in the country will not fail to put their shoulder to the wheel forgetting petty party differences when the call for a supreme national effort is there.

But there are some new and recent dangers which call our attention more urgently. Only this week, we have celebrated the national festival of our land, the Diwali or the festival of lights. While

millions of lamps, small and big, burnt all round us and helped to remove the surrounding darkness and gloom, we cannot forget that in many neighbouring countries the lights of freedom or at any rate of democracy were put out and now to cap it all dark clouds of grave danger to the territorial integrity of our own country are gathering on our northern border. China whose friendship we so much cherish and for securing whom a place in the comity of nations we try so hard despite the fact that our ways were different has thought it fit to commit aggression on our country and at this very moment the major portion of the thoughts of all our countrymen are centred on the defence of our borders and the preservation of our very honour and freedom. Let us hope that at this crucial moment in our history, our country will stand united and do all that it needs to preserve its honour.

We cannot, however forget that unfortunately it is not only the danger from without that we have to face. We have also to face perhaps a much graver danger from within. It is the presence of a political party in the country which particularly after the un-Indian and anti-national stand it has taken on this problem cannot be described in any other way except as Trojan horses in the phraseology of the olden times, or as Fifth Columnists in modern parlance. The Communist forces in the country and their effort to grow stronger is a real menace which we have to fight with all the strength that we can command. The Praja Socialist Party is often accused of being obsessed with anti-Communism of a very virulent type. We must gladly, and I would say with a sense of justifiable pride, plead guilty to that charge if it can at all be a charge. We have done so deliberately and the country is now coming to realise that not only the organised Socialist forces but the country as a whole must hereafter devote itself to that task, for the enemy within is always more dangerous than the one who tries to come from without. I need hardly add that as it was given to us to be ever in the forefront of the freedom struggle when it was on, we will consider it once again our privilege to be in the vanguard of forces that will fight this new evil menace to our freedom.

Bombay, the first city in the Indian Union, is privileged to play the hosts to friends who have come from the distant parts of our country as well as from abroad. Compared to 1934, when we first met in this very city in a modest manner the city has grown six times in area; three times in population and also three times in its civic revenues. But the greatness of a city is not to be measured either by its area, its population or its wealth. Real greatness of a city rests on its civic sense and in modern times on its awareness of the problems it faces and the way it tries to solve them. There is no doubt that we are faced with many difficult problems as a city

especially at this moment of our fresh post-war growth and that makes the job of playing host to a large number of guests pretty difficult. I may assure you that we are deeply conscious of the fact that despite all possible efforts on our part we have not been able to make the kind of arrangements that would have been possible in less difficult times or which you may rightly expect from Bombay with all its name and fame. But I am sure you will treat us with indulgence for which those of you coming from the North and the South of our country are so wellknown.

We may not be able to offer you the hospitality that you might have desired to make available but I am sure your stay for a week here will make you feel, coming from the distant parts of India as you do, that you have lived in a place outwardly modern perhaps western but inwardly as Indian as any other place in our country and having the same soul that our country has. You will, I hope, also feel that you have lived in a city which is thoroughly cosmopolitan and to the growth and prosperity of which all sections of the Indian community have contributed so liberally and in such a rich and full measure. There is no part of India from which you will not find someone in this city and in these days of linguistic pride often carrying a wrong emphasis, you will find among the citizens of Bombay representatives of all Indian languages. But behind the differences in the manner of their dress, the mode of their behaviour and the language that they may speak, I am confident you will not fail to find the real Indian characteristics in all of them. So, here is the result of decades of common and co-operative effort of Indians coming from different parts of the land and trying to build a city, at once new and modern but also retaining its innate Indian character. May I be permitted to add in the end, that this is India of our dream we tried to liberate when we were engaged in winning our freedom and this is again India of our dreams that we are now engaged in building up. A stay in such a place, a miniature India, even though for brief week, may help us all to picture to our mind the free and Socialist India of our dreams. In such a place I offer you once again a hearty welcome, wish you a happy stay and appeal to you all to pardon us for many deficiencies in our arrangements and to contribute to the deliberations, the soul-searching deliberations in the next few days and to reach conclusions which will help our great country in the difficult days ahead, for we have always held unlike some other evil forces in the land that we live only so long as India lives and lives as a free, democratic and Socialist country able to fulfil its destiny and be of some service to the neighbouring countries of Asia and Africa, who have also been successful in winning their freedom and many of whom I would make bold to say are looking to us not for leadership but closer co-operation in a common endeavour. They do so not because of our size or population or our great

resources but because of the ideals we have cherished in the past and do so now and which are the ideals that will enable all of us together to build a free and happy world.

My last task is to thank all those organisations and individuals, too numerous to name, who have helped us in making the arrangements, inadequate as they are, for this great occasion on behalf of all my colleagues and myself and to invite you, Sir, to take charge of this Conference and guide its deliberations as you have done so ably on previous occasions. Thank you.

## CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

*Address of the Chairman, Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha, to the Delegates assembled at the Fifth National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party (Silver Jubilee of the Socialist Movement in India) at Bombay, 5th November, 1959.*

### HONOURED GUESTS AND COMRADES,

To-day when we have completed one phase of our journey and are starting on another, it is our first duty to offer our respectful homage to all those leaders and comrades who considered no sacrifice too great in furthering the cause of Socialism and who unfortunately are no more with us. Among these, the names of Acharya Narendra Deva and Yusuf Meharally will always be an unfailing source of inspiration to us. From Sane Gururii we shall continue to draw inspiration and strength. Chhotubhai Purani, Satyavati Devi, Abul Hayat Chand—their courage and bravery were such as to enthuse even the most disheartened. Sarangdhar Babu, though old in age, was ever young in spirit, and his ideas and outlook were always fresh. He stood steadfast and firm by his convictions. These are but a few names. If we unroll our memory, the record would include countless names who have contributed their best to the growth of the Socialist movement. On behalf of you all, and on my own, I offer them our homage as an expression of our loyalty, respect and gratitude.

I sincerely thank all those individuals and parties who have sent us messages for the success of our deliberations here. I am particularly thankful to all those who have reciprocated our invitation by being present here. The messages and the presence of these friends not merely gladden our hearts but also inspire us in our endeavours to build a strong Socialist movement in our country. I am sure that in these days of revolutionary change their good wishes and advice will help us to chalk out our future course of action and also in achieving our objective. I hope and wish that their goodwill and friendship will be available to us always. Once again, I heartily thank them all.

When we are assembled here in this Conference to celebrate the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Socialist Movement in our country it is but natural that we should look back at our past. Such an examination will help us to know our shortcomings and also to determine our future course.

The Socialist movement in India was born out of our freedom struggle. While keeping before their minds the achievement of Socialism as the final goal, the Socialists nevertheless realised that for a country that was not independent the achievement of national

independence should receive the first priority. It was their belief that Socialism could be achieved only in a free country and that therefore for a subject country like India the attainment of national freedom was an essential, nay first, step towards Socialism. They therefore plunged themselves, heart and soul, into the freedom struggle and were always in the vanguard of the movement, along with the national leaders. Again, it was on account of their belief in the priority of national freedom that in the Kisan Sabhas that they had formed they made it a condition that these should accept the political leadership of the Indian National Congress.

But at the same time they propagated socialist ideas and also worked for the creation of socialist forces in the country. It was their sincere belief that both the movement for freedom as well as the creation of socialist forces in the country were inseparable, and that national independence would be incomplete without Socialism. Socialism was to them the logical culmination of the freedom movement. They also believed that in order to step up the pace of the freedom struggle, and also to strengthen it, it was necessary to interconnect the struggle for freedom with the struggle of the peasants and workers to better their economic condition. Thus, while accepting the priority of achievement of national freedom, they felt that in order to make the freedom movement all-enveloping and to draw all sections of the vast masses of India into it, it was necessary that a blueprint of a Socialist India should be kept before the people. But this was not acceptable to the leadership as well as the major section of the Congress. And so, after the movement of 1930, the Socialists who had taken part in the struggle set about forming Socialist groups in the different provinces.

The Communist Party had already been organised in India, long before the democratic socialist elements in the country began to organise themselves. Many of the important personalities in the democratic Socialist movement were Marxists. They were also greatly influenced by the Russian Revolution and Lenin's writings. Yet they did not join the Communists because of their fundamental differences with them. They formed a separate Socialist Party inside the Congress.

The first difference between the Socialists and the Communists arose out of the latter's attitude towards the freedom movement. The Communists not only opposed the non-co-operation movements of 1930 and 1932 but even tried to impede and obstruct them. The Socialists considered this action of the Communists as not only anti-national but also un-Marxian and against the interests of Socialism. As already mentioned, the Socialists believed that Socialism could be achieved only in a free country and that for the independence of

India all the anti-imperialist and nationalist forces should come together under one united front. In their opinion the Indian National Congress was such a united front against imperialism, and that only under the leadership of Gandhiji could the people be led to wage a successful struggle. They therefore considered the malignment by Communists of Gandhiji as an agent of British capitalism always ready to come to terms with the imperialists as not only reactionary but also anti-national.

The second difference was on account of the fact that Indian Communists were slavishly and blindly supporting the policy and methods of the Russian Communist Party. The Indian Communists regarded Stalin as the greatest interpreter and practitioner of Marxism. The Socialists on the other hand felt that Stalin, instead of following the principles of Socialism, had established his personal dictatorship in the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat and was ruling according to his whims. He was in fact distorting and destroying Socialism instead of strengthening it.

The third difference related to the policy of Stalin and the Russian Communist Party towards the peasants. Forceful collectivisation of lands was considered right by the Indian Communists whereas the Socialists considered it utterly wrong. The Socialists considered the oppression of the peasantry as tyranny pure and simple. The peasant, in their opinion, also belonged to the toiling classes. In a socialist society his interests were also to be looked after, just as much as that of the industrial worker. In the opinion of the Socialists, the peasant also had an important part in building a socialist society.

The fourth difference was: whereas the Indian Communists considered the political system obtaining in Russia as the correct representation of the Marxian concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, even those Socialists who considered themselves Marxists believed that the "Paris Commune" represented the true Marxian concept. Whereas the Indian Communists believed in the dictatorship of a single party, (that of the Communist Party), the Socialists believed in the multi-party dictatorship of all the toiling masses and emphasised the need for democracy in the organisation and functioning of various political parties.

The fifth difference was on account of the fact that the Indian Communists considered Soviet Russia as the Fatherland of all the workers and peasants in the world and therefore of the Indian workers and peasants as well. Accordingly the Indian Communists were not only prepared to carry out the directives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but were, and are, prepared to sacrifice the interests of India in order to serve the interests of their Russian

Fatherland. The Socialists considered all this wrong. For them the interests of the working classes of India were interwoven with the welfare of India as a whole.

The sixth difference was that whereas the Communists regarded India as a federation of multi-lingual nations on the Soviet pattern the Socialists regarded India as one nation, though the people spoke different languages, and therefore they regarded it as their duty to foster and strengthen the national sentiment. In Communist ideology and practice there is no room for nationalism or patriotism.

The Communists of every country always follow the policy dictated by their International. They are also ready to change their policy, without caring for the special circumstances or needs of their country, if the International so orders. Thus in 1928 it was the policy of the Communist International to dub as bourgeois all the nationalist forces in subject countries which were fighting for their freedom. The Indian National Congress was thus a bourgeois organisation and Gandhiji a British agent. It was this policy of the Communist International which forced the Indian Communists to leave the Congress in 1928, to oppose the civil disobedience campaigns of 1930 and 1932 and to say that the workers should not take part in the struggle for freedom. The Socialists on the other hand will never be prepared to work as a branch of an alien organisation, nor will they carry out the orders of an outside organisation, as the Indian Communists did and are doing.

Whereas the Indian Communists approved and supported Stalin's action of liquidating his political opponents and his colleagues as well who happened to differ with him, the Socialists condemned it. There were also differences between the Socialists and Communists in the matter of the internal functioning of political parties. There are many other differences also, but there is no need here to enumerate all these. Suffice it to say that because of all these reasons the Socialists formed a separate party of their own.

If in 1932 the civil disobedience campaign had not been started and if the Socialists who had taken part in it were not clamped in jail, in all probability an all-India Socialist Party would have been formed in 1932 itself, two years earlier than it was actually founded. In 1934 when the movement was stopped and the Socialists came out of the jails, they met in Patna under the presidency of Achaya Narendra Deva and the foundation for an all-India Socialist Party was laid. There were two reasons why Patna was chosen as the venue for this conference. The first was that the A.I.C.C. was meeting at Patna and so all the important workers from the different provinces were sure to come there. The second reason was that in Bihar

a Socialist Party had already been formed in 1931 and at this time it was the best organised of all the socialist groups in the country and had undertaken to make arrangements for the conference.

When the C.S.P. was organised in 1934 the Communists called it "the left manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie" and also as "Social Fascists", and openly condemned it. And soon, between the Socialists and Communists a heated controversy began on the fundamental doctrines and principles of Socialism. Each considered its own policy and methods as advancing the cause of socialism and that of the other as reactionary. At about this time the Communist International realised its mistake—might be due to the triumph of Nazism under Hitler and the consequent fear of Russia of danger from Germany. The Communist International now gave the call to all Communists to join united front with middle classes, liberals and socialists, so that the danger from Nazism could be resisted. There was a somersault in the policy of the Indian Communists also and they were now not only talking of joining a united front with the C.S.P. which it had only very recently called a party of "Social Fascists", but also expressed their eagerness to become members of the C.S.P. The Socialists, believing in the honesty of the Communists and in their protestations about leftist unity not only admitted them as members of the C.S.P. but also put them in important positions at all levels of its organisation, including membership of the Central Executive as well as the Joint Secretaryship of the C.S.P. Here it has to be remembered that in 1935 the Communist Party of India was not a legal party and so it could not function openly. Now by entering the C.S.P. they could function freely and openly through its platform which they exploited to the fullest extent. This period of united front lasted for five years. But all through this period there were controversies between the Socialists and Communists regarding doctrine, ideology, etc. The Communists who had joined the C.S.P. utilised the opportunity to strengthen their party. From the very platform of the C.S.P. they condemned the C.S.P.'s policy and spoke in praise of communist ideology and doctrine. They tried to win away young members of the C.S.P. and to turn them into Communists. Likewise, they formed factions inside the C.S.P. to strengthen their influence. In this period of the united front, apart from the other controversies, the Communists raised a controversy about the very nature and character of the C.S.P. itself. Whereas the Socialists regarded the C.S.P. as a Socialist Party the Communists began refusing to consider it as a party in the full sense of term. They said that the C.S.P. was only a united front of all leftists. They were not prepared to consider any other party except theirs as either Marxist or Socialist.

The Socialists were also extremely annoyed at the way the Communists were functioning. With the Socialist leaders they talked

of working together but before the rank and file of the Party they used to criticise and condemn the leadership and policies of the C.S.P. Their ultimate aim was to capture the C.S.P. by infiltrating into it, by establishing contacts with the rank and file and trying to turn them into Communists and by creating feuds in the leadership.

Because of all this, relations between the Socialists and Communists were not happy even during the period of united front. The Socialists emphasised the moral and democratic aspects of Socialism. They declared that humanity and revolutionary morality were the very lifebreath of socialism. In their view socialism was essentially a democratic process and that democracy should be extended to all walks of life instead of being curtailed.

When the Second World War broke out in 1939 both the Congress and the C.S.P. were opposed to giving any help to the British Government in their war efforts. The Communists also adopted a similar attitude in the beginning. In fact they went a step further and talked of starting an agitation against the British. Once again Gandhiji and the C.S.P. were dubbed as reactionaries. The C.S.P. was always of the view that a national movement could be started only under the leadership of Gandhiji. But when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, the war that was so far an imperialist war was turned into a "People's War" by the Communists, and they declared that the British Government should be supported in every possible way in their war efforts. They were now released by the British so that they could campaign in support of the war efforts.

In 1942 Gandhiji started the "Quit India" movement. The C.S.P. was wholeheartedly with this movement. When Gandhiji and other national leaders were arrested, the burden of organising the movement fell on the C.S.P. leaders. They carried on a magnificent fight though they had to face Government repression as well as treachery on the part of the Communists.

During this five years of united front the Communists were able to reap many benefits. They were able to gain entry into many new fields and class organisations. Even though their own party was illegal, under the shelter of the C.S.P. they were able to work as they desired. They gained many opportunities, instruments and men to do propaganda and strengthen their party by being members of the C.S.P. But the conduct of the Communists was such that the Socialists were forced to take disciplinary action against them. The Communists were criticising the policy and the leadership of the C.S.P. and also trying to wreck the party from within, even those Communists who were occupying responsible positions in the C.S.P. In 1940 they were expelled from the C.S.P.

Thus ended the period of united front with the Communists.

When independence came in 1947 the Communists talked of co-operating with the Congress in the task of national reconstruction. But in the conference held at Calcutta in 1948 this policy was declared wrong and the Indian Communists again reiterated their faith in the insurrectionary tactics of the Russian revolution, and they started violent agitations in many parts of the country. These agitations were of course crushed. In 1949 the success of the Chinese Communists had a profound impact on them and they now declared that the Chinese pattern of achieving revolution through the peasants was more suited to the countries of Asia. Following this policy they organised kisan agitations in Andhra and Hyderabad indulging in arson, loot and murder. This was part of the pattern set by the world Communist movement for newly independent countries. In Burma and Indonesia too, which had just become free, the Communists started all sorts of agitations to impede the work of national reconstruction that had just begun. The Socialists who believed in democracy and nationalism condemned all this arson and murder done in name of revolution. They were of the definite opinion that such murders and arson will never bring about a socialist revolution, nay in fact it would on the other hand set the clock back in the realisation of a socialist revolution. In a country where the people enjoyed the vote and there were some vestiges of democracy, a socialist revolution could be ushered in only through the use of democratic methods, which of course included peaceful strike and civil disobedience. They were also of the view that a dictatorship established through the means of a violent revolution could not but end in a new form of tyranny where the people would remain mere subjects and slaves without any voice in the administration imposed over them. Socialists who put so much value on the freedom of the individual could never accept this system of a totalitarian government.

Even after India had become politically free, the Communists continued to say that it was not really free and that it was an appendage of British imperialism. For a long time they refused to accept the fact of India's independence. They might have remained slaves in their minds but really it was beyond anybody's comprehension as to how they could consider India as a slave country.

Though the situation in the country changed consequent on the end of the war and the achievement of independence, the old differences between the Socialists and the Communists continued. In fact the gulf between them widened. The differences that separated democratic Socialists from totalitarian Communists especially in their picture of a socialist society and how it could be brought into being came out in sharp relief and also became clearer to the people. It is true that notwithstanding all this there were recently electoral

adjustments between the Socialists and the Communists. But it has to be remembered that this was only a temporary expedient. The Socialists sincerely believed that multi-lateral contests had to be avoided if a strong opposition was to be built in the country and the authoritarianism of the Congress was to be checked. But this phase is also now over.

After the non-co-operation movement of 1930 some Congress leaders also began to think of the necessity for keeping before the people the blueprint of an independent India. Accordingly in 1931, at the Karachi session of the Congress, a resolution on fundamental rights was adopted. This however did not wholly satisfy the Socialists. They stressed the importance of building class organisations so that the pace of freedom could be quickened. But the Congress leaders would not admit this need or importance. Nor were Congress leaders prepared to commit themselves to the abolition of zamindari and Princely States, or the redistribution of land, or even a declaration in broad terms on economic policy or the political set-up after independence. The Socialists again wanted that a clear picture of the economic and political system of independent India should be given to the people and at their conference in Patna they placed a 15-point programme for the country. They also framed a charter of immediate demands and a course of action for achieving the same. Many of the Congress leaders fought shy of such a clear-cut programme. But there were some in the Congress who, though not members of the C.S.P., were in agreement with its objectives and also supported it.

Even while engaged in the fight for freedom the Socialists began organising class organisations of kisans and workers; they formed kisan sabhas and trade unions, established youth and students organisations, organised camps and lecture series, published pamphlets and magazines to propagate socialist ideas, fought for the just demands of workers and peasants. They tried to bring about unity in the kisan movement and with this end in view admitted in their kisan organisations even those who differed with them on other matters. They also tried to bring about unity in the trade union movement by bringing all the trade unions under one all India organisation. They also mobilised the kisans and workers in support of the Congress candidates in the 1937 elections in order to defeat the candidates supporting British imperialists, the zamindars and capitalists. Though some Socialists stood as candidates and were elected to the provincial councils they refused to become ministers or to join the government. They considered that the mobilisation of the people for independence was more important and so their attention was wholly devoted to this work.

Some Congressmen had tended to place sole reliance on parliamentary methods since 1934. This tendency became more widespread after 1937. Congressmen were becoming indifferent to the masses and to mass action. The C.S.P. on the other hand emphasised the need and importance of organising the masses and of launching mass actions. It was opposed to any sort of co-operation with the imperialists and directed its units to work with all anti-imperialist forces as well as strengthen them. On account of all this the C.S.P. was considered a radical and progressive group and the people placed their hopes on it.

The conference at Patna in 1934, at which the Congress Socialist Party was formed, resolved that membership of the Congress was compulsory for membership of the C.S.P. An organisational committee with Shri Jayaprakash Narayan as the General Secretary was formed and regional Secretaries were also appointed. In the succeeding months efforts were made to organise Party units in different parts of the country and in October 1934 the first all India conference of the C.S.P. was held at Bombay at which representatives from 13 provinces were present. The Second Conference was held at Meerut in 1936. At this Conference the C.S.P. declared that it was a Marxian Socialist Party and also adopted a thesis. The Third Conference held at Faizpur towards the end of 1936 reiterated the Meerut Thesis and also tried to make it more detailed and comprehensive. Decisions were taken at this conference to strengthen the anti-imperialist front and also as regards the policy and programme of the Socialists both inside and outside the Congress. These documents are popularly known as the Meerut and Faizpur theses respectively. Socialists did their utmost to educate and prepare public opinion against imperialism and in favour of Socialism. The C.S.P. had so vehemently opposed the extension of any support to the British in their war efforts that many of its prominent members were put under detentin, even before the individual disobedience movement had started. Again in 1945, when all the Congress Socialists continued to languish in prisons or had to remain underground. They were released only after the formation of Congress ministries in 1946.

After the Congress ministries had been formed and while negotiations with the British were going on, Congressmen objected to the use of the word "Congress" by the C.S.P. On the other hand, many members of the C.S.P. were dissatisfied with the record of Congress work and felt unhappy over the association of the C.S.P. with it. They felt that the obligation to accept the membership of the Congress was an unnecessary restriction and that this should be got rid of. Some well-wishers of the C.S.P. inside the Congress also advised that the word "Congress" be dropped. Accordingly at the conference held at Kanpur the word "Congress" was dropped and the

obligation to accept Congress membership was also waived. The C.S.P. now came to be known as the Socialist Party and all organisational links with Congress were severed. Only such members of the Socialist Party as continued to remain members of the Congress individually had any obligations towards the Congress as its members. This was an important landmark in the history of the Party.

Though Gandhiji and a good number of Congressmen were opposed to partition of the country, the country was nevertheless partitioned because the majority in the Congress had been won over to this idea and they accepted the partition of the country as inevitable. The Socialist were opposed to partition.

Soon after Gandhiji's death in 1948, the A.I.C.C. decided that those who were members of other political parties, having a separate constitution and membership, could not continue to remain as members of the Congress. The intention behind the resolution was clear. The resolution was directed against the members of the Socialist Party who were holding important and responsible posts in the Congress. As a result of this, the Socialist Party in its conference held at Nasik in March 1948 decided that all its members should leave the Congress. The Socialist Party was now to function as a full-fledged, independent political party.

The Socialist Party was originally conceived as a party of active workers and its organisational framework and constitution were so framed as to suit this need. Every member of the Party had to satisfy certain minimum conditions such as devoting certain minimum hours every week for Party work and active participation on at least one front of the Party. An applicant for membership of the Party could be admitted only on the recommendation of a Scrutiny Committee which used to go into the record of work of the applicant. In 1949, at the conference held at Patna, the constitution of the Party was amended and the doors of the Party were thrown open to the masses. Provision for three categories of membership was made—ordinary, active and affiliated. It was also decided to give representation to class organisations.

The Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (who were till now affiliated to the Fourth International) and a large section of the Revolutionary Socialist Party also now joined our Party.

A large number of Congressmen had become dissatisfied with the policy and functioning of the Congress after independence. On the eve of the general elections in 1952 they left the Congress and formed the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party under the leadership of Acharya Kripalani, and they contested the elections on their own. Therefore, in the general elections, a large number of parties were ranged

against each other and the Congress, though it polled only a minority vote, nevertheless managed to have its candidates returned in large numbers, because the opposition votes were split up. After the elections, the Socialist Party, the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party and the Forward Bloc realised the need for the consolidation of anti-Congress democratic socialist forces. This realisation led the Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party to first work together in the Parliament and later to merge together and form the Praja Socialist Party.

Delegates will remember that different groups of Congressmen had left the Congress at different times because of their dissatisfaction with Congress policy. Thus, in 1939, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had formed the Forward Bloc. Netaji, in his presidential address at Haripura, had an appreciative reference to the C.S.P. and also his pleasure at its formation. After independence the Forward Bloc had split up into many groups. But when the Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party merged together to become the Praja Socialist Party in 1952, the Subhasist section of the Forward Bloc decided to join the P.S.P.

The Praja Socialist Party incorporated the constructive programme of Gandhiji into its programme, emphasised the decentralisation of political and economic powers, advocated prohibition and stressed the importance of cottage industries.

Consolidation of democratic socialist forces at home was paralleled on the international plane by the formation of the Asian Socialist Conference at a conference of Asia Socialist Parties held at Rangoon in January 1953. The Praja Socialist Party along with the Socialist Parties of Burma and Indonesia was one of the sponsors of the Asian Socialist Conference and played an important role in its formation and development.

Some time after the formation of the Praja Socialist Party, a series of internal crises developed in the Party. Some left the Party alleging certain imaginary differences; some were misled to desert the Party; some others left because of differences of a personal nature. Some people magnified minor differences and raised unnecessary and avoidable controversies. Some others, blinded by their ambition, maligned the motives of their colleagues and also questioned their honesty and integrity and thus tried to disrupt the Party. The Party somehow tided over these difficulties without coming to great harm. But it suffered another setback in 1956, in the death of Acharya Narendra Deva, who had piloted the Party through its difficult days. Soon after Shri Jayaprakash Narayan also announced his resignation from the primary membership of the Party so that he could give his whole attention to the bhoodan movement and also shun party politics.

With all these setbacks, it is matter of gratification that the Party faced the situation with fortitude and determination and today faces the future with confidence and courage. This is due to the abiding faith that the Party workers have in the destiny of their Party and the selfless dedication and single-minded devotion with which they carry on the work of the Party.

During this difficult period the Party played host to the Second Convention of the Asian Socialist Conference held at Bombay in November, 1956. The Party had to face the second general elections also when it had not fully recovered from the setbacks created by the internal crisis. Though the results were nothing spectacular yet it gave conclusive proof of the inherent vitality of the Party.

We have also made great efforts to bring about the unity of all socialist forces in the country. Success has not attended these efforts, but we have not lost hope. The doors of the Party are open to all democratic socialists and we earnestly appeal to all of them to join us in the task of building a democratic socialist India.

By this time the work to the reorganisation of provinces on linguistic basis was taken up. Both the Congress as well as the Socialist Party had advocated the reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis and had organised their own Party units on the linguistic basis. The British Government also had taken certain steps to form provinces on the basis of language. But in 1956, though a decision to form States on a linguistic basis was made regarding all other language groups, yet in the case of Maharashtra and Gujarat the policy of the formation of States on a linguistic basis was not implemented and they were forced to remain in the bilingual State of Bombay. The Praja Socialist Party opposed this decision and its branches in Maharashtra and Gujarat have voiced the feelings of the people in both regions for separate States. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Congress has at last realised the wisdom of splitting up the State of Bombay to form the unilingual States of Maharashtra and Gujarat. The Praja Socialist Party not only welcomes this step but also expresses its great pleasure at this fulfilment of the long-cherished desire of the people of these two regions.

In the 1957 elections the Congress did not get absolute majorities in the Orissa and Kerala legislatures. In Orissa however the Congress was the biggest single party and it formed the government with the support of the Jharkhand Party. Tacit support given by the Communist Party also helped the Congress Government to remain in office for quite some time. In spite of all this the Congress Government there was not stable and the Congress was ultimately forced to enter into a coalition ministry with the Ganatantra Parishad, the second largest party in the Orissa legislature. This is a new experi-

ment in that the Congress Party has for the first time formed a coalition government with another party. The coalition government now enjoys a huge majority in the House.

In Kerala too no party obtained an absolute majority. The Communist Party however was the largest single party and it formed the government with the support of five independents, two of whom were appointed as ministers. The Communist Party thus got a rare opportunity to serve the people of Kerala. But it wasted this opportunity. Instead of promoting the interests and welfare of the people they were interested in promoting their own party ends and with this object in view they abused the machinery of the government in all possible ways. The treatment they meted out to their political opponents, as well as to those who were not members of the Communist Party, spread terror and lawlessness in the State. They tried to infiltrate into the Administration, the Public Service Commission, the educational institutions and also other governmental and non-governmental bodies. They even tampered with the administration of justice. These actions of the Communist Government angered the people of Kerala to such an extent that they rose in revolt against the Government, demanding its immediate resignation or dismissal by the Central Government. The movement was on such an unprecedented scale that it has aptly been described as a "mass upsurge of the people". The movement was so widespread that the Central Government was forced to intervene and impose President's Rule.

I take this opportunity to congratulate the people of Kerala for the heroic fight they waged for ending Communist misrule. I also take great pride in the fact that the P.S.P. was in the vanguard of the struggle and in the fact that our Party was the first to draw the attention of the people and the Parliament to the Communist tyranny and misrule in Kerala. The Central Government did not heed the warning then given by the P.S.P. and allowed the situation to worsen. The early measures demanded by the P.S.P., if taken, would have spared the people of Kerala much avoidable suffering. The Kerala experiment should serve as a pointer to the whole country. As election day approaches, the attention of the whole country is set on Kerala. Democratic forces all over the country earnestly wish for the victory of democratic forces in Kerala. Let me wish and hope that the people of Kerala would rise to the occasion and bury once and for all the ghost of communism.

In recent years many important changes have taken place in the governments of our immediate neighbours as well as in other Asian countries. The most heartening change that has taken place is in Nepal where the Nepali Congress, which is the Socialist Party of Nepal and a member of the Asian Socialist Party, has been entrusted by the people with the governance of the country. As a

sister Socialist Party it is but natural that we should rejoice and take pride at this event. We are happy to see that the sacrifices made by the Nepali Congress is bearing fruit. May I take this opportunity on behalf of you all, and on my own, to heartily congratulate the people of Nepal and the Nepali Congress.

In sharp contrast to the change in Nepal are the changes in other Asian countries. While events in Nepal have opened out a bright future for the people that represent the triumph of democracy and socialism, dictatorship and military rule have been established in many Asian countries. In Pakistan the military has taken over the government, dissolved the parliament and declared all political parties illegal. Military rule has likewise been established in Thailand, Sudan and Iraq. In Indonesia, though Sukarno continues to be the President, the system of government has changed and it has essentially become a military government.

Bickerings among political parties, the corruption, nepotism and dishonesty indulged in by the politicians in power and the consequent loss of faith in politicians and political parties, as also the feeling of fear of external aggression from imperialist and communist powers have forced the people of these countries to put their trust on the military and armed forces of their countries. Though there is no immediate threat of military rule in our country, these events should serve as a warning to us. We can ignore them only at our peril.

Just a few weeks before, our neighbouring country of Ceylon suffered a great tragedy in the heinous assassination of Shri Bandaranaike, the popular Prime Minister and leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. I take this opportunity to express our heartfelt sympathies for the people of Ceylon and the members of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

In Burma the Parliament invited General Ne Win to take over the government and the political parties remained out of the government. Generally, as history teaches us, once the military come to power they never want to relinquish it and always try to hold on to it. Therefore, it is a matter of great satisfaction that in Burma, Prime Minister Ne Win and his Government have declared that they will hold elections as early as possible and also help in the establishment of a democratically elected government.

The great tragedy that has overtaken our neighbour across the Himalayas is a portent of the threat to the independence of Asian countries. From the very beginning the Praja Socialist Party has been alert and agitated over the happenings in Tibet. It has never approved of the treaty regarding Tibet that the Government of India

has made with Communist China and has always viewed it with suspicion. It has strongly condemned this treaty and is of the view that this has been a grave blunder in our foreign policy. The Government of India did not heed the warnings given by us and now unfortunately for our country our forebodings have come true. Today the Tibetan problem has become so difficult that even the Government of India finds itself helpless to do anything in the matter.

The recent improvement in the relations between India and Pakistan is a matter of great satisfaction to us. We look forward to the day when all the differences between the two countries will be settled amicably and the two countries will live in perfect amity. It is our hope that that day is not far off.

While our friendship for China has been continuing as before, the Chinese during the last four to five years have been slowly nibbling at our frontiers. The question of our northern frontiers has become difficult and insoluble. The Chinese are not prepared now to acknowledge the old frontiers to which they had once agreed. The complacency of the India Government has further emboldened them to advance further on our Himalayan frontiers.

China and India are ancient countries. They have not only borrowed from each other in the fields of religion, art and culture but have also developed intimate relations. Both have long traditions behind them and have maintained friendly relations from times immemorial. It is because of this that the present behaviour of China is all the more painful. It is true that China and India have adopted different paths for their development. The world, and Asian countries in particular, are watching their progress with interest. They are anxious to know as to which of the two systems would prove to be the best system for the future. But whereas we have been motivated by the principles of co-existence and goodwill and have therefore adopted a policy of good neighbourliness, patience and tolerance, China has, on the other hand, adopted a behaviour contrary to that of ours. She has emerged as a grave danger to our national security as well as the security of Asian countries.

The developments on our Himalayan frontiers have once again brought to the fore the danger to our independence from the existence of parties and individuals owing extra-territorial loyalties, who have no faith in nationalism and who view with unconcern the aggression that is being committed by China.

While the country is thus facing serious danger from external aggression, the situation inside the country is none too well. Our food situation is disturbing and is becoming worse. Unemployment has been constantly mounting and has assumed ever-increasing dimensions. Moral standards throughout the country has fallen and people do not have trust in themselves or in the political parties. A sort of apathy has spread and is enveloping the whole country. In a country which has adopted the democratic way of life and has also adopted the building of a socialist society, forces completely antagonistic to these values are consolidating themselves. These are developments that deserve the most serious consideration by all democratic Socialists. We are at the crossroads of destiny and democratic socialism is being attacked from all sides. In such times as these it is all the more necessary that we redouble our efforts to propagate socialist ideas as also to work for its fulfilment.

In the face of such external and internal dangers it is absolutely necessary that all the groups in the country believing in democracy and nationalism should unite and work together. But this does not mean that the progress towards socialism is to be delayed. We have always been of the opinion that socialism and democracy are inseparable. Under the pretext of external danger we cannot afford to ignore the problems of unemployment, hunger or corruption. In the immediate programme of the country, top priority must be given to the solution of our unemployment problem as also to increase our agricultural production. Likewise, immediate steps must also be taken to decentralise economic and political power, so that the people as a whole can take part in national reconstruction. A new sense of urgency of purpose in achieving targets has also to be instilled in the people. We have to make the people aware of the danger from external, as well as internal, enemies of the country. We must be able to make the general masses of the people as alert to the problems and dangers as we ourselves are. We must be able to generate a new wave of enthusiasm so that the people will no more depend on the Government but set about doing things on their own.

Our party was formed not out of any narrow self-interest but to serve the best interests of the nation and humanity through the establishment of a socialist society. We look upon our Party as an instrument to achieve these ends, and not as an end in itself. The Party has no interests separate from the interests of the nation or humanity in general. Socialism is nothing but the embodiment of the noblest aspirations of man. But we cannot reach

our goal if our instrument remains weak and ineffective. Noble ideas and programmes cannot be implemented except through a powerful and effective organisation. We have therefor to perfect our Party organisation, make it more broad-based and more active and more disciplined, so that we may be able to bear the heavy responsibilities that might devolve on us in tackling the problems confronting the country.

Let us carry forward the best traditions laid down by us during the days of the freedom movement. Let our programme and practice be such that a new hope and a new consciousness for a prosperous and just social order might be kindled in our country.

*(From the original in Hindi.)*

## GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY, SHRI N. G. GORAY,  
SUBMITTED TO THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF THE PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY (SILVER JUBILEE  
OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN INDIA)—BOMBAY,  
5TH TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1959.

I consider it a proud privilege to have an opportunity to submit my Annual Report to the Jubilee Session of the Praja Socialist Party which is being held in this celebrated city of Bombay.

In a way it is but proper that this important session is being held here, as it was in this city 25 years ago that those who believed in democracy and socialism assembled in a conference, and the Congress Socialist Party, the first organised expression of democratic socialist thought, was placed on the political map of India. It was a small gathering of young and enthusiastic political workers from all over India, almost all of whom were working in the Indian National Congress and had participated in the Civil Disobedience campaigns of 1930 and 1932, that met in Readmoney Mansion. Many of the comrades whom we see at this Conference today were present at that Conference too. Though we lacked in experience and knowledge, the path we then chose for ourselves has been proved correct, and, in spite of the fact that it has experienced many ups and downs, its general direction has not changed very much. At that time, all of us were deeply under the influence of orthodox Marxism and whatever we said used to be couched in the current Marxist clichés. Our adherence to Marxism, however, did not blind us even at that time to the fact that it was Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress that represented the fundamental urge of the nation for freedom. Those who talked of a socialist order in India without supporting her freedom struggle were, in our opinion, either hypocrites or agents of some outside organisation.

The Communist Party of India had been adopting such a policy since its very inception and they had failed to apply Marxism to the Indian situation in a concrete and intelligent manner. This was one of the major and basic differences between the C.P.I. and ourselves. As years passed, we gradually started understanding the implications of Gandhian thought and, though we never became orthodox Gandhians as we could not be conformist Marxists, we could not but realize that for the achievement and development of democracy it was the Gandhian way of life rather than the Marxist dogma that would be more bene-

ficial. This realization brought us to the path of democratic socialism and to this day we have stuck to that path.

Today, we are not, in terms of organised strength, very strong; a membership of over a quarter of a million, compared to the vast adult population of this country, is but a drop in the ocean. However, the Praja Socialist Party can legitimately claim that, to a large extent, it is through its persistent efforts that the concepts of democracy and socialism have attained universal acceptance in this country. The socialist pattern of society has been accepted as the only possible pattern even by those political parties in India whose main strength lies in their communal appeal and communal approach. That is why, in my humble opinion, we should look upon this Jubilee Celebrations not as the celebration of a particular party but as the celebration of the coming of age of a political ideology. Thus considered, it will be possible to make the numerous adherents of democracy and socialism in our land, who do not necessarily belong to our Party, the co-sharers of our joy and the coparceners in the noble heritage of democratic socialism.

When we met in Poona last year in summer we had set before ourselves certain tasks and we had resolved that before we met in this Jubilee Session, we would try to fulfil them. Let us admit that we have not been able to carry out that pledge. In some States comrades did not make adequate efforts, while, in others, they could not reach their targets in spite of the efforts made. Yet I have no doubt in my mind that if all the States had put in some well-planned effort, it would not have been at all difficult to enrol half a million members to this Conference. All that we succeeded in doing was to cross the quarter million mark. This record we shall have to improve, so that next year we shall reach the target of half a million, if not a million.

As regards the holding of workers' camps, they were held in many States such as U.P., Bihar, Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Gujerat, Tamilnad, Andhra, Karnatak, Delhi, Rajasthan, Punjab and Maharashtra. These camps proved helpful in fixing quarterly or six-monthly targets of work, but it was found that the programme chalked out in the camps could not be satisfactorily implemented. Is it because the work-budgets that we draw up on our camps are usually inflated and unrealistic? Are they the result of a sense of competition amongst our workers? After this session we shall have to give serious thought to this aspect of our work.

From the information supplied to you separately, the strength of the Praja Socialist Party in the State Legislatures and in Parliament would be clear to you. Unfortunately, in spite of our efforts

to collect similar information in regard to our strength in the Trade Unions, Gram Panchayats, Local Boards, Municipalities, Corporations, Co-operative Societies, etc., throughout the country, we are not in a position to give you a correct picture of our strength in these important sectors of our national life. What a pity that our State units and the units lower down have not as yet sufficiently understood the importance of collecting information of this nature; nor have they realised fully what a vast field of service to the people lies open to them through these local bodies and how greatly the Party organisation can be strengthened if only honest and best use was made of the offices they held. There alone can we lay a firm and lasting foundation for the democratic superstructure. There alone can we educate ourselves in the art of decentralised governance. Will you permit me to say that not only those comrades who were returned to the local bodies have failed in making the maximum use of their opportunities but even those who had the privilege of being returned to the State Legislatures and to Parliament have not shown that sense of discipline, that zeal in discharging their duties as the legislators of the country, as was expected of them? Last year we had planned to hold a conference of the Party legislators at Bhopal. Due to various reasons the idea had to be given up. It is my hope that during the next year it will be possible for us to implement this idea.

There is no desire on my part, however, to crowd this report with too many details of our organization or agitational efforts. Here I wish to confine myself only to such events as had deeply stirred the people and had a sharp impact on our economic or political life.

Immediately after the Poona Conference the people of U.P. had to face a situation of near-famine. In spite of repeated efforts to draw the attention of the Government to the urgency of the problem, the response of the U.P. Government was neither prompt nor generous. With a view to making a first hand study of the situation the Chairman, Shri Asoka Mehta, some prominent comrades and myself toured the affected districts of Eastern U.P. and at the conclusion of our survey we submitted a fairly comprehensive report to the Government of U.P. The suggestions contained in that report were welcomed by the people, the press and also by the Government of U.P. as realistic and sober. Nothing substantial, however, was done by the Government to relieve the situation and matters continued to drift. Under the circumstances, no other course except peaceful agitation was left open to the Party comrades in U.P. The response to our agitation was spontaneous and wide-spread and volunteers from all sections of the people joined the movement in large numbers. Ultimately the agitation was withdrawn and it can be said with confidence that it went a long way in securing relief to the scarcity stricken

peasantry of Eastern U.P., besides creating a sense of confidence among the masses as well as in our cadres.

In Kerala, the entire cadre of the Party was involved in a life and death struggle with the Communist Party which was returned to power after the last general elections in 1957. The Communists had secured only 35 per cent of the votes at the polls. But with the addition of a few independents they succeeded in securing a working majority, although an extremely narrow one. As the Communist Party of India had decided in their session at Amritsar, held after the general elections, that they were ready to accept the democratic ways of life, hopes were raised that in Kerala, where they were in power, they would put into practice the principles they so loudly professed. But we were soon disillusioned and event after event proved that behind the smoke-screen of democracy the Communists were using the entire Government machinery in Kerala to consolidate their Party and to eliminate their rivals in the political field. It was our Party which, as early as in May 1958, tried to focus the attention of the entire country on the Communist machinations in Kerala by raising a debate on the floor of the Lok Sabha. At that time the country as a whole was not in a mood to accept or to understand our arguments or their far-reaching implications. The Congress was not yet ready to co-operate with us in offering a united opposition to the Communists in Kerala. But as the Communists gained confidence, their impudence and lawlessness grew apace, and not only the Praja Socialist Party in Kerala but all other parties began to share the feeling that unless they did something to resist the Communist onslaught, one by one they were in danger of being liquidated. Happily, however, this awakening in Kerala was not confined to the political parties alone. It was the men and women in the streets who woke up and realized the danger of Communist rule, and let it be said to the credit of the entire people of Kerala that it was they who first picked up the gauntlet. The snowball of discontent gathered mass and speed and quickly it changed into a veritable avalanche of solid mass resistance. Our constitutional pundits as well as the doubting Thomases queried whether it would not be unconstitutional for the people to turn out a ministry elected under the Constitution. But they never bothered their heads to answer the question: what other way was open to the voters if they found that the party which came into power on the strength of their votes had started functioning against their mandate and against their interests? Should they wait supinely till the next general elections? The Praja Socialist Party had no hesitation when its National Executive at Coimbatore said in its resolution on Kerala that "In a democracy the Government elected to Office holds public authority on trust and owes to the people freedom from oppression and terror, equal protection of rights and liberties and impartial administration of law and public affairs. A Government, though elected, can claim to be treated as democratic only if it

functions in accordance with these accepted norms and modes of democracy. The communists in Kerala have failed in the discharge of this responsibility . . . It is this disturbing experience commonly shared that has ranged all political parties, all communities and castes and sections of the people including the working class, all newspapers not operated by the ruling party, against the Communist Government. If today there is a mass upsurge in Kerala, which the Keralites assert is a liberation movement, it is because the people feel that the fetters that are being forged round them, if not burst now, cannot be broken in the future.

Surprisingly the Communist Party was unwilling to dissolve the Assembly and to face the polls in a mid-term election. The upshot of this struggle between the Communist Party and the people in Kerala is known to everybody. The Praja Socialist Party considers it a privilege that it was given the opportunity to participate in this successful revolt of the people against the Communist regime. Many of our brave comrades shared the glory of martyrdom in this crusade of the masses. The Praja Socialist Party is conscious of the fact that it has a duty towards the people of Kerala of continuing the front that they had built with their blood and tears and to see that the Communist Party is defeated at the polls in the coming general elections.

In summer this year West Bengal was hit hard by the scarcity of rice and the abnormal increase in the prices of foodgrains. Smarting as they were under their discomfiture in Kerala, the Communist Party of India was eager to seize this opportunity and they appealed to all the parties in opposition to the Congress to unite in a mass agitation against the West Bengal Government in the name of the famished masses. Any one could have understood what the Communist game was, but it required courage of one's conviction to step out of the united front which had been functioning for some time and was ostensibly set up to serve the hungry millions. The West Bengal Praja Socialist Party took courage in both hands. It walked out of the front and decided first to have frank negotiations with the Government on the basis of the demands that had been carefully prepared, and, failing that, to launch a peaceful struggle on its own. This decision of Praja Socialist Party proved the proverbial red-rag to the Communist bull. They left no stone unturned to malign us. Their united front gave a call for mass agitation which petered out within a few days. It was then that the Communists came out in their true colours. Throwing to the winds their much advertised conversion to the democratic ways of life, they incited the masses to intimidation, violence and arson. This phase also proved to be short-lived and all the plans of the Communists went awry.

A reference to the agitation for the split-up of the bilingual State of Bombay into the two unilingual States of Maharashtra and Gujarat would not be out of place. In both the provinces the Praja Socialist Party had decided to identify itself with the demand of the people and the units of the Praja Socialist Party in Maharashtra as well as in Gujarat have been doing valuable work in organising and directing the movement. In spite of some difference of opinion between the Provincial Unit of the Maharashtra Party and the Executive as to the best way, in the initial stages, of reaching the goal, the latter permitted the Maharashtra Unit to work wholeheartedly in the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti till the goal of Samyukta Maharashtra was achieved. The goal seems to be now in sight and once the unilingual States of Maha Gujarat and Maharashtra are formed, it would be for the All India Party to take the circumstances into consideration and to give a proper directive to these two units as to the course they should adopt in the future.

May I point out that in spite of our being a constituent unit of Samiti, the Party never allowed the edge of its opposition to the communist machinations, whether in the national or international sphere, to get blunted.

Delegates may remember that our Annual Conference at Poona adopted a resolution supporting the move of the Orissa branch of our Party to forge a common agreed programme with the Ganatantra Parishad in the Assembly with a view to stabilising Orissa politics. It had two aims in view (1) to give a lie to the Congress propaganda that there could be no opposition agreement and (2) to enable the Ganatantra Parishad to prove its sincerity so far as an opposition force is concerned. It was made clear that the Ganatantra Parishad's willingness to agree to such a progressive programmatic alliance had been made on considerations of political expediency. All attempts to form an alternative Ministry failed and ultimately the leadership of the Ganatantra Parishad accepted overtures from the Congress Party and have formed a coalition with the Congress in Orissa. This is a most unprincipled coalition without any common programme. As a result of this coalition in Orissa, our Party has become the main opposition in the Assembly and the professions of the Parishad have been exposed further as it is now opposing the very programme to which it was a party.

It would appear that it would be a better policy for our Party to be with the masses whenever a mass upsurge takes place and to make a close study of its deeper urges and to influence and guide it from within, rather than preach sermons to it from outside. A party like our which has gathered enough experience in the field of mass movements should be able to judge whether the upsurge is genuine or otherwise.

In Poona our Chairman had observed that "One of the immediate tasks before us is to remove the confusion that is prevailing in the country to-day. Practically everybody is talking of socialism. The multiplicity of the parties is also adding to that confusion and is weakening the cause of socialism. Therefore, it is our duty to strive and to do our utmost to consolidate all the democratic socialist forces in the country. I hereby appeal to all these democratic socialist forces which are scattered in the country in the form of parties or groups or unattached or attached individuals. I assure them that the Praja Socialist Party is always anxious and prepared for the consolidation and integration of all such parties, groups or individuals who sincerely believe in democratic socialism".

This sentiment voiced in the Chairman's address was further emphasised by the Conference when it passed a separate resolution on Socialist Unity. It said: "This National Conference feels that such a democratic socialist movement as embraces all individuals animated by a common purpose will infuse into the people a new faith and a clearer socialist perspective. The Conference sends its fraternal greetings to all such socialists as are outside the Praja Socialist Party and invites them to join in a common endeavour". In implementation of this clear call of the National Conference, we held prolonged talks with some prominent members of the Socialist Party because we felt that before we approached other like-minded parties, our first efforts should be to bring together comrades who had been working with us for years under a single banner. It is a matter of regret that the talks dragged on for months but yielded no result. On the contrary, Shri Raju and his friends who had established an open faction in the Socialist Party went to the extent of approaching our State Units behind our backs and appealed to them to make common cause with them, i.e., with the open faction, without reference to the Central Executive. No political party can tolerate such political piracy. Shri Raju and his friends seem to be so desperate in their search for allies that in some States recently they have set up socialist unity forums, bringing together all sorts of heterogeneous elements. Earlier in Andhra they had formed, in alliance with the dissident Congressmen and a few Socialists, an organization called the "Socialist Democratic Party. Is it, then, at all surprising that as soon as the Swatantra Party was formed, the ex-Congressmen of Shri Chenna Reddi's group once again changed their loyalties and went over en bloc to the Swatantra Party?

A few words in regard to the talks we had with the leaders of the Akali Dal would not be out of place here. The full history of our talks with the Akali Dal has been narrated to you by the Joint Secretary in his Circular No. 22 issued on May 12, 1959. The talks were held at the instance of the General Secretary of the Akali Dal. The talks were confined to the single question whether it would not

be possible for the Akali Dal and the Praja Socialist Party to work together for (1) eradication of maladministration and corruption in the State of Punjab and (2) organisation of the peasantry to remove their grievances. When they found that it would not be possible for the Akali Dal to take up these issues, as their energies were concentrated on winning the Gurudwara elections, no further talks were held.

This resume of the events of the last year would not be complete without mentioning the role that our Party played in regard to the events in the international field. It was in the month of March that the Chinese Government drowned Tibet's autonomy in blood. The Party's reaction to this gruesome event was given expression to in the following Resolution passed by the National Executive in April 1959: "The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party feels gravely concerned over the recent developments in Tibet. What was for the last four years simmering under the surface has suddenly erupted into a people's revolution against efforts to liquidate Tibet's distinctive personality—gentle, self-content and non-aggressive. Between us and the people of Tibet close ties have existed over centuries and it was but natural that tears should well up in our eyes when we see Tibet wounded and bleeding.

"Apart from this sorrow over a friend, the Executive looks upon the recent events in Tibet as a warning to all who cherish the right of a people to shape their own destiny. No people should be forced to choose between liberty and good relations with mighty neighbours.

"The Executive extends respectful welcome to the Dalai Lama and assures through him the people of Tibet of our profound sympathy with the Tibetans struggling to safeguard their ancient heritage and their distinctive way of life. The Executive recognises the Tibetans' right to self-determination and extends to them its support.

"The Executive is anxious to maintain and strengthen friendly relations between China and India. The Executive further realises that reconciliation between Tibet and China is essential for the growth of trust and peaceful reconstruction in South, South-East and East Asia."

We knew that ours was a vain hope and within a couple of months our worst fears came true. Tibet was overrun and a people who had lived in peace and freedom for centuries were trampled under the Chinese jackboot. To our shame it must be admitted that it was not possible for us to give any material help to the Tibetans who were resisting Chinese aggression but we can in all humility claim to have tried our best to rouse the conscience of our country to the political homicide that was being perpetrated in Tibet by the so-called "Liberation Army". In a short time the floods that engulfed

Tibet were to reach our Himalayan border. It was in the month of August that the Prime Minister for the first time admitted on the floor of Lok Sabha that the Chinese army personnel had committed acts of aggression on our Northern frontier. Let it be clearly understood that this was not a sudden development. The Chinese forces had been probing and nibbling at our frontiers since 1954, but, in their mistaken hope that China could be persuaded to abide by the principles of Panchsheel, our Government committed the folly of concealing from the Indian people the acts of Chinese aggression in the Ladakh region. This policy only whetted the Chinese appetite. It was only when they stormed our border post at Longju in the NEFA Region that the Government thought it wise to admit that the Chinese had committed aggression. The results of this sinister development filled the whole nation with anger and united all the political parties throughout the country except the Communists. The attitude of the Communist Party in this regard has been so empty of all logic, so blatantly anti-national and so obviously fifth-columnist that some of the stalwarts of the Communist Party have themselves started feeling that it might reveal their adulterous contacts even to those who had become their fellow-travellers. Once again the Praja Socialist Party can legitimately claim that it is we and our friends who have put in maximum efforts to make the people understand the full implications of this Communist threat to India's frontiers. One may be pardoned for quoting in extenso the resolution that was passed by our Executive on this issue:

1. "Emboldened by their success in destroying the autonomous state of Tibet and assured of the fact that for their misdeeds they are not answerable to any tribunal in the world, the Communist Government of China appear to have decided on a policy of expansion. That, after ruthlessly destroying Tibet, the Chinese Government should turn against their friend, India, with whom they had declared their loyalty to the Panchsheel and who is still making sincere efforts to get China admitted to the UNO, is a measure of the cynical contempt with which they treat the noble concepts of friendship, toleration and co-existence. The Executive of the P.S.P. are of the opinion that the present policy of the Peking Government is against the best traditions of the Chinese People and is without their consent.

2. The developments on the northern borders of India stretching from NEFA to Ladakh seem to follow a long deliberated plan of action. When first it was brought to the notice of the Chinese Government that some of their maps have shown huge portions of Indian territory as their own, they tried to dismiss our protest on the plea that the maps were printed in the times of Chiank Kai-shek and, therefore, need not be taken as authentic. Immediately after the destruction of Tibetan autonomy, however, the Peking Government threw out a suggestion that the McMahon line could not be considered

as final. Then began a policy of expansion, covert as well as overt. In Ladakh, taking advantage of the inaccessible regions, the Chinese have constructed a highway from Gartok to Yarkand, slicing away hundreds of square miles of our territory. In Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan they have started a veiled campaign for Himalayan Federation, appealing to the people of these areas on the basis of racial and cultural roots. In the NEFA area on the contrary they have resorted to open aggression. Thus the Chinese are using every instrument at their disposal to seek to corrode the traditional loyalty of the people and to chip away bits of our territory.

3. The result of the new Chinese policy is that our Himalayan border has become an active frontier which will have to be closely watched and guarded in the future. China evidently hopes that once they succeed in breaking the morale of the Indian people, defences of countries in the South and South-East would be greatly undermined. Therefore, it is necessary to understand that in defending its border India is not only defending herself but the freedom and sovereignty of all the South Asian nations. These implications of the Chinese strategy must be made known to our neighbouring nations and the closest bonds of friendship must be forged with them. The probing claws of China will have to be twisted back and she should be made to realise that, in the ultimate analysis, a democratic people would triumph over a monolithic Goliath.

4. The Executive welcomes the declaration of the Prime Minister to defend our borders and those of Sikkim and Bhutan and urges upon the Government to take firm measures that will make the Chinese vacate occupied areas of our country.

5. A new danger and a new challenge faces the Indian people. It is by facing such dangers and meeting such challenges that a nation develops its manhood and its personality. The Executive assures the people of India that at this moment of danger the P.S.P. will be at their command and, true to its role and tradition as a nationalist party, it will not consider any sacrifice too big in the cause of defending our freedom."

This is, in brief, the report of our Party's reactions and its activities during the last sixteen months. Before I conclude I may be permitted to say this: though much has been achieved, more remains to be done. It is a long way to our cherished goal of an egalitarian order of society wherein bread as well as liberty would be assured to all. India has to develop economically and that too at a rapid pace. At the same time, it must so control this development that the disparity between the high-income and low-income groups, instead of increasing, narrows down. Our country's progress will not be determined by what programme we put on paper. It would be determined

by our success or failure in infusing the people with a new resolve, in eliminating tensions and clash of interests, in building up a reliable administrative apparatus, in exposing and eradicating nepotism and corruption. In all these efforts we as a party in opposition can and should play a useful and effective role.

In future a great deal will depend on how our Party decides to function because unexpectedly, in addition to our internal problems, a new threat has raised its dragon head high over the peaks of the Himalayas. Not India alone but the entire Asian belt on the coasts of the Pacific and the Indian Oceans comes under its greedy gaze. I have a feeling that perhaps it is here in India that the ultimate battle between totalitarian Communism and democratic Socialism will be fought. In the shape of an organised Communist Party Chinese communism has already a vigorous fifth column operating in India and in other countries of this region as well. Comrades, let us, therefore, once again renew our pledge to hold aloft everywhere and at all times, the old banner of equality, fraternity and liberty, because in these three undying words are summed up the basic values and the loftiest aspirations of man.

#### APPENDIX I

*Membership Charts. 1958-59.*

|                   |          |
|-------------------|----------|
| 1. Maharashtra    |          |
| 2. Uttar Pradesh  | 65,000   |
| 3. Bihar          | 61,487   |
| 4. West Bengal    | 40,704   |
| 5. Gujarat        | 34,663   |
| 6. Madhya Pradesh | 17,900   |
| 7. Orissa         | 13,200   |
| 8. Tamilnad       | 9,336    |
| 9. Rajasthan      | 7,130    |
| 10. Punjab        | 5,273    |
| 11. Karnatak      | 5,232    |
| 12. Kerala        | 4,200    |
| 13. Delhi         | 4,000    |
| 14. Assam         | 2,500    |
| 15. Andhra        | 2,400    |
| 16. Tripura       | 958      |
|                   | 200      |
| Total             | 2,74,183 |

#### APPENDIX II

##### PARTY'S POSITION IN THE PARLIAMENT, STATE ASSEMBLIES AND COUNCILS.

##### *Lok Sabha:*

In the Lok Sabha, consisting of 500 members, our members number 18. They are:

(1) Acharya J. B. Kripalani—Leader, (2) Asoka Mehta—Deputy Leader, (3) Surendranath Dwivedy—Secretary, (4) Nath Pai—Whip, (5) N. G. Goray, (6) Y. N. Jadhav, (7) Laxman Vedu Valyi, (8) Ramji Verma, (9) Mohan Swarup, (10) Kushwaqt Rai, (11) Bansidas Danghar, (12) Dr. K. B. Menon, (13) Bimal Comar (Ghose), (14) Pramatha Nath Banerjee, (15) Hem Barua, (16) Amjad Ali, (17) B. C. Mullick, (18) Rajendra Singh.

J. Mohd. Imam, who had been elected to the Lok Sabha in the general elections in 1957 on the Party's ticket has now resigned from the Party and has joined the Swatantra Party. He has not however resigned his seat in the Lok Sabha.

The position of the other parties is as follows: Congress 374; Communists 30; Socialist Party 8; Jan Sangh 4; Scheduled Castes Federation 7; Ganatantra Parishad 7; Hindu Mahasabha 2; Forward Bloc 5; Jharkhan Party 6; RSP. 1; Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam 2; Peasants and Workers Party (Bombay) 4; Janata Party (Bihar) 2; Muslim League (Kerala) 1; Independents 29.

##### *Rajya Sabha:*

In the Rajya Sabha we have 8 members. They are:

(1) Ganga Sharan Sinha—Leader, (2) Farid Ansari; (3) Devendra Prasad Singh, (4) R. P. Sinha, (5) Dibakar Patnaik, (6) Rohit Dave, (7) Dr. Atin Bose, (8) Thakur Niranjan Singh.

##### STATE ASSEMBLIES.

##### *Assam:*

In a house of 108 members, our strength is 7 and we are the main Opposition in the Assembly. Out of the 12 Independents 6 have joined our Legislature group.

Our M.L.As. are:

(1) Hareshwar Goswami—Leader, (2) Mr. Jahanuddin Ahmed—Deputy Leader, (3) Md. Sahadat Ali, (4) Tajuddin Ahmed, (5)

Dr. Shrihari Das, (6) Birendra Kumar Das, (7) Biswanath Upadhyaya.

The strength of the various parties in the Assembly is as follows: Congress 72; P.S.P. 7; Communists 4; R.C.P.I. 1; Eastern India Tribal Union 12; Independents 12. Total 108.

#### West Bengal:

In the Assembly of 256 members our strength is 20. The split-up of parties in the Assembly is as follows: Congress 162; Communists 48; P.S.P. 20; Forward Bloc 8; R.S.P. 3; Lok Sevak Sangh 3; Socialist Unity Centre, 2; Independents 10.

#### Our M.L.As. are:

(1) Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh—Leader, (2) Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee—Deputy Leader, (3) Deven Sen—Chief Whip, (4) Sunil Das—Secretary, (5) Panchanan Bhattacharjee, (6) Dasarathi Tah, (7) Mihir Lal Chatterjee, (8) Haridas Mitra, (9) Dr. Pabitra Mohan Roy, (10) Ramanuj Halder, (11) Prof. Satkori Mitra, (12) Sisir Das, (13) Bhuban Chandra Kar Mahapatra, (14) Natendra Nath Das, (15) Basanta Kumar Panda, (16) Gobardan Pakrey, (17) Amarendra Nath Mandal, (18) Banarshi Prasad Jha, (19) Govinda Charan Mji, (20) Jagadananda Roy.

Shri Sudhir Chandra Roy Chowdhury who was our member till recently has now resigned from the Party. The reason given by him is that he was not satisfied with the Party's role in the West Bengal food agitation.

#### Orissa:

In a house of 140 members the P.S.P. is now the main opposition. The Ganatantra Parishad which was the main opposition till recently has formed a coalition government with the Congress. The split up of the various parties is as follows: Congress 67; Ganatantra Parishad 47; P.S.P. 11; Communists 8; Jharkhand 5; Socialist Party 1; Independent 1.

#### Our M.L.As. are:

(1) Rabindra Mohan Das—Leader, (2) Banka Behari Das—Secretary, (3) Pradipta Kishor Das, (4) Baidhar Behera, (5) Baikunthanath Mohanty, (6) Kanduri Charan Mullick, (7) Nishamoni Khuntia, (8) Prasanna Kumar Dash, (9) Harihar Bahinipati, (10) Prasanna Kumar Pal, (11) Harihar Mohanty.

#### Bihar:

The position of the various parties in a house of 318 is as follows: Congress 209; P.S.P. 32; Communists 8; Jharkhand 36; Janata (which has now joined Swatantra Party) 18; Socialist Party 1; Independents 14.

#### Our M.L.As. are:

(1) Chandradeo Pd. Verma, (2) Sheomahadeo Prasad, (3) Sri-dhar Narayan, (4) Basawan Sinha, (5) Badri Narayan Singh, (6) Bipin Bihari Sinha, (7) Ramadhar Dusadh, (8) Ram Ashish Singh, (9) Dasarath Tiwari, (10) Ramanand Tiwari, (11) Mrityunjaya Singh, (12) Sabbapati Singh, (13) Ramdeo Singh, (14) Ramjaipal Singh, (15) Rambali Pandey, (16) Devilal, (17) Singheshwar Pd. Verma, (18) Rambriksha Benipuri, (19) Ramjanam Ojha, (20) Ram-anand Singh, (21) Devandra Jha, (22) Ramsevak Sharan, (23) Kar-poori Thakur, (24) Ramakant Jha, (25) Lakhan Lal Kapoor, (26) Baidyanath Pad. Singh, (27) Kapildeo Singh—Secretary, (28) Mahendra Mahto, (29) Priyabrat Narayan Singh, (30) Yogendra Pd. Srivastava, (31) Ruplal Roy, (32) Kamdeo Prasad Singh.

Shri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha who was till recently the leader of the P.S.P. Legislature Group has resigned from the Party due to reasons of health. Shri Umeshwari Charan who was elected on Party ticket in 1957 has also resigned from the Party.

#### Uttar Pradesh:

In the Assembly of 431 members, we are the main Opposition with 44 members. The split-up of the various parties in the Assembly is as follows: Congress 288; P.S.P. 44; Communists 10; Socialist Party 25; I.P.L.P. 37; Jan Sangh 17; Independents 10.

#### Our representatives are:

(1) Triloki Singh—Leader, (2) Narayan Dutt Tewari—Deputy Leader, (3) Gauri Shankar Rai—Whip, (4) Surath Bahadur Shah—Whip, (5) Govind Narayan Tewari—Treasurer, (6) Padmakar Lal Srivastava—Secretary, (7) Pratap Singh Vakil—Jt. Secretary, (8) Kalyan Chandra Mohiley, (9) Ram Sundar Pandey, (10) Vishram Rai, (11) Syed Zargham Haider, (12) Sheoraj Bahadur, (13) Jamuna Singh, (14) Chaudhari Raghu Raj Singh, (15) Jagbir Singh, (16) Brij Narain, (17) Genda Singh, (18) Ramayan Rai, (19) Raghuvir Singh, (20) Gajendra Singh, (21) Rajendra Singh Yadav, (22) Hori Lal Yadav, (23) Kotwal Singh Bhadauriya, (24) Jamuna Singh, (25) Shramati Rajendra Kumari, (26) Mohanlal Verma, (27) Shambhu Dayal, (28) Garib Das, (29) Jagannath Prasad, (30) Banshi Dhar Shukla, (31) Chhedi Lal, (32) Sheo Prasad Nagar, (33) Ram Saran Yadav, (34) Khyali Ram, (35) Jai Dev Singh Arya, (36) Ram Din, (37) Buddhi Singh, (38) Ghayoor Ali Khan, (39) Munindra Pal Singh, (40) Behari Lal, (41) Ram Bali, (42) Bhagwati Singh Visharad, (43) Natthu Singh.

Swami Vishweshwarananda who was elected on Party ticket in 1957 has resigned from the Party and has joined the Socialist Unity Forum, which has been formed with deserters from the Socialist Party and the I.P.L.P.

*Madhya Pradesh:*

In the Madhya Pradesh Assembly, consisting of 287 members, P.S.P. members number 12. Four members out of the Independents have joined our legislature group and we are recognised as the main Opposition. The Socialist Party members number 6 and the Communists 2.

Our M.L.As. are:

(1) V. Y. Tamaskar—Leader, (2) Chandra Pratap Tiwari—Secretary, (3) Brijlal Verma—Whip, (4) Laxmi Narayan Nayak, (5) Runkumar Agrawal, (6) Keshav Rao Deshmukh, (7) Dr. K. C. Baghel, (8) J. P. L. Francis, (9) Hargyan Singhji Bohare, (10) Yugal Kishor Saxena, (11) Raja Bahadur Liladhar Singh, (12) Jagdeo Singh.

*Mysore:*

Out of 208 members in the Mysore Assembly, P.S.P. members number 24. We are recognised as the Opposition. The position in the Assembly is as follows: Congress 147; P.S.P. 24; Lok Sevak Sangh 5; Maharashtra Ekikaran Samihti 4; S.C.F. 3; Communists 2; Independents 23.

Our M.L.As. are:

(1) V. Sreenivasa Shetty—Leader, (2) B. Chamaiah, (3) M. Danappa, (4) K. T. Jambanna, (5) K. Kenchappa, (6) Mahadev Rao, (7) K. P. Revannasiddappa, (8) U. M. Madhappa, (9) J. B. Mallara dhya, (10) M. Linge Gowda, (11) N. G. Narasinha Gowda, (12) U. S. Naik, (13) E. Narayana Gowda, (14) G. N. Puttanna, (15) B. K. Puttaramaiah, (16) B. R. Patil, (17) C. K. Rajaiah Shetty, (18) M. Ramappa, (19) M. M. J. Sadyojathappa, (20) Y. Veerappa, (21) K. H. Venkatareddy, (22) B. S. Shankarappa, (23) A. M. Basave Gowda, (24) K. P. Kurumbaiya.

Shri Kurumbaiya was elected in the by-election held in October 1959.

*Bombay:*

In the Bombay Assembly, consisting of 397 members, P.S.P. members number 38. The position in the Assembly is as follows: Congress 234; P.S.P. 38; Communists 18; Jan Sangh 4; Peasants and Workers Party 31; S.C.F. 15; Others 57.

Our M.L.As. are:

(1) S. M. Joshi, (2) Haroon Ansari, (3) G. R. Garud, (4) Shivaji M. Kale, (5) P. M. Mulkarni, (6) M. G. Mane, (7) A. V. Modak, (8) Narayan R. Navali, (9) Gorji S. Padvi, (10) K. S. Patil, (11) D. V. Purohit, (12) N. P. Patwardhan, (13) V. N. Shivar-

kar, (14) Shashishankar K. Athale, (15) Narayan M. Chamankar, (16) Dr. D. S. Kanade, (17) Dr. P. V. Mandlik, (18) Shyamkant D. More, (19) Shankar N. Navale, (20) S. R. Patil, (21) N. B. Shah, (22) V. A. Shenoy, (23) Shankar G. Sonavane, (24) Dutta B. Tamhane, (25) Ram D. Tupe, (26) S. G. Warty, (27) T. H. Wadgaonkar, (28) S. G. Tipnis, (29) Onkar N. Wagh, (30) Rajaram S. Sonavane, (31) A. B. Vichare, (32) Brahmakumar K. Bhatt, (33) Jaswant Mehta, (34) U. M. Patel, (35) P. R. Raghangedale, (36) F. M. Pinto, (37) N. S. Weakey, (38) Ram Balu Jadhav.

*Madras:*

In the Madras Assembly of 206 members we have got only 2 members. The position is: Congress 153; Indian National Democratic Congress (now Swatantra Party) 20; Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam 15; Communists 4; Socialist Party 2; P.S.P. 2; Others 10.

Our M.L.As. are:

(1) P. S. Chinnadurai, (2) A. R. Marimuthu.

*Andhra:*

In the Andhra Assembly of 302 members, we have only one solitary members—G. Busanna. Because of the formation of the Socialist Democratic Party and then the Swatantra Party and the various shifts in the allegiance of Opposition members, it is not possible to give the present position. The position in May 1959 was as follows: Congress 206; Communists 37; Democratic Group (which has joined the Swatantra Party now) 28; Socialist Party 14; Others 17.

*Punjab:*

In the Punjab Assembly of 154 members we have only 2 members. They are:

(1) Balbir Singh, (2) Muni Lal.

The position in the Assembly roughly is: Congress 118; Jan Sangh 9; Communists 6; P.S.P. 2; S.C.F. 1; Akalis 5; Others 13.

*Rajasthan:*

In the Rajasthan Assembly of 176 members we have got only one members:

Murlidhar Vyas.

*Kerala:*

The Kerala Assembly was dissolved in July 1959. At the time of its dissolution the position was: Communists and allies 65; Congress 43; P.S.P. 9; Muslim League 8; Others 2.

To sum up, we are the main Opposition in the States of Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Mysore, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. In all we have 194 members in the various State Assemblies.

### STATE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

The following are our M.L.Cs. in the Legislative Councils of Uttar Pradesh, Bombay, Mysore, Bihar and West Bengal: *Uttar Pradesh*: (1) Dr. A. J. Faridi, (2) Smt. Shakuntala Srivastava, (3) Banwarilal, (4) Jagdish Verma, (5) Principal Madan Mohan, (6) Rama Nath, (7) Nawal Kishore Guru Deo; *Bombay*: (8) Principal M. V. Donde, (9) V. M. Subedar, (10) Sanat Kumar Mehta, (11) D. B. Agarwal, (12) M. Harris, (13) Ganpatrao Koil, (14) Smt. Shakuntala Paranjpye, (15) Chhabildas Mehta, *Mysore*: (16) G. V. Anjappa, (17) M. P. Eswarappa, (18) B. Hutche Gowda, (19) T. N. Kempahonniah; *Bihar*: (20) Yogendra Sukla, (21) Basanta Chandra Ghosh; *West Bengal*: (22) Prof. Tripurari Chakraborty, (23) Narendranath Das, (24) Annada Prasad Choudhuri.

### APPENDIX III

### PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY—Central Office

NEW DELHI

Receipts and Payments Account for the Year Ended 31-12-1958

| RECEIPTS                              |               | PAYMENTS                    |               |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
|                                       | Rs.           |                             | Rs.           |
| To Balance:                           |               | By Tape Recorder            | 1,200 00      |
| „ Cash in hand                        | 569 27        | „ Staff Advance             | 850 00        |
| „ Cash at State Bank                  | 18,687 01     | „ Lit. Department           | 1,214 85      |
| „ Central Fund                        | 6,620 00      | „ Printing & Stationery     | 2,121 91      |
| „ Donations                           | 6,020 00      | „ Travelling & Conveyance   | 5,139 93      |
| „ Membership Quota                    | 12,921 26     | „ Allowances                | 18,018 20     |
| „ Parliamentary Board Subscription    | 387 50        | „ Office & General Expenses | 984 52        |
| „ Application Fee Parliamentary Board | 1,200 00      | „ Newspaper & periodicals   | 517 79        |
| „ Staff Advance                       | 735 00        | „ Telephone Charges         | 1,018 28      |
| „ Lit. Department                     | 1,134 99      | „ Postage & Telegrams       | 1,524 66      |
| „ Delegates & Visitors Fees           | 1,810 00      | „ Rent                      | 1,453 67      |
|                                       |               | „ Electricity & Water       | 500 88        |
|                                       |               | „ Bank charges              | 27 89         |
|                                       |               | „ Repairs                   | 64 89         |
|                                       |               | „ Affiliation Fee ASC       | 1,800 00      |
|                                       |               | „ Conference & Meetings     | 1,437 49      |
|                                       |               | „ Library Books             | 33 00         |
|                                       |               | „ Audit Fees                | 150 00        |
|                                       |               | „ Subventions               | 2,350 00      |
|                                       |               | „ BALANCE                   | 543 56        |
|                                       |               | „ Cash in hand              | 5,217 61      |
|                                       |               | „ Cash at State Bank        | 3,916 00      |
|                                       |               | „ Cash at Central Bank      |               |
|                                       | Rs. 50,085 03 |                             | Rs. 50,085 03 |

Examined and found correct in accordance with the books and other documents produced and information supplied.

BOMBAY

Date: 17-3-1959

(Sd.) VARMA & CO.,

Chartered Accountants.

**PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY—Central Office,  
NEW DELHI**

*Receipts and Payments Account for the period 1.1.1959 to 31.7.1959*

| RECEIPTS                              |        | Rs.   |
|---------------------------------------|--------|-------|
| To Balance :                          |        |       |
| Cash in Hand                          | 543    | 56    |
| Cash at State Bank                    | 5,217  | 61    |
| Cash at Central Bank                  | 3,916  | 00    |
| " Central Fund                        | 410    | 00    |
| " Donations                           | 10,860 | 00    |
| " Membership Quota                    | 9,682  | 37    |
| " Parliamentary Board<br>Subscription | 272    | 50    |
| " Application Fee                     | 75     | 00    |
| " Staff Advance                       | 185    | 00    |
| " Suspense                            | 3,774  | 07    |
|                                       |        |       |
|                                       | Rupees | Paise |
|                                       | 34,936 | 11    |

| PAYMENTS                      |        | Rs.   |
|-------------------------------|--------|-------|
| By Cooler                     | 541    | 88    |
| " Staff Advance               | 75     | 00    |
| " Lit. Department             | 871    | 02    |
| " Printing & Stationery       | 2,047  | 64    |
| " Travelling and Conveyance   | 3,411  | 35    |
| " Allowances                  | 11,960 | 68    |
| " Office and General Expenses | 964    | 69    |
| " Newspaper and Periodicals   | 403    | 49    |
| " Telephone charges           | 277    | 34    |
| " Postage and Telegrams       | 1,313  | 12    |
| " Rent                        | 1,062  | 98    |
| " Electricity and Water       | 334    | 80    |
| " Bank Charges                | 26     | 26    |
| " Conference and Meetings     | 529    | 56    |
| " Subventions                 | 18     | 02    |
| " Balance:                    |        |       |
| Cash in Hand                  | 1,540  | 86    |
| Cash at State Bank            | 4,216  | 10    |
| Cash at Central Bank          | 5,341  | 32    |
|                               |        |       |
|                               | Rupees | Paise |
|                               | 34,936 | 11    |

Examined and found correct in accordance with the books and other documents produced and information supplied.

Bombay, }  
Date, 17-8-1959 }

(Sd.) VARMA & CO.,  
Chartered Accountants.

## RESOLUTIONS

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY (SILVER JUBILEE OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN INDIA).

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 5-9, 1959.

## 1. NATIONAL SITUATION:

The National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party views with concern the developments in the political situation in and around India. The developments demand a *frank* reappraisal and a new earnestness among the people.

The Conference realises that socially erosive forces that have compassed the destruction of democracy in neighbouring countries are not absent in India and only through devoted labours can the rampart of liberty be held.

The Conference welcomes the lessening of tension between India and Pakistan and hopes for further improvement. The mounting threat from China to India's frontiers, backed by a fast developing economy and totalitarian mobilisation of the masses, needs to be faced as a crucial challenge to the nation's independence, territorial integrity and its chosen way of life.

Economic difficulties in India have increased, unemployment mounts and the margin of safety in food shrinks ominously. Disparity in income has also grown. While these difficulties pose a threat to our political life, they also provide a spur for determined efforts. The encircling perils to India, to all that we have achieved and cherished during a century-long struggle for freedom, should, with wise and imaginative leadership, foster national unity and a renaissance of spirit and endeavour.

The Conference has once again to point to the failings of the party in power. Its inefficiency, sectarianism, corruption have deepened the crisis and spread frustration among the people. It has done little to communicate to the people the growing dangers, internal and external, to India and has allowed complacency to spread. It has been guilty of suppressing very vital facts concerning Chinese aggression and has condemned itself by refusing to take any firm measures to repel them. The wide gap between its professions and practice which has been the despair of many even in its own ranks.

has tended to undermine the people's faith in the values of democratic socialism.

The Communist Party of India, once again, has exposed its extra-territorial loyalties, and its excuses and prevarications on aggression against our sacred soil have covered an internal threat to the country. The Conference is firmly of the opinion that through its repeated betrayals of the nation the Communist Party has put itself outside the pale of contact or co-operation by the patriotic forces in the country.

The Conference recognises the emerging danger of consolidation of forces that challenge socialism and seek to undermine the path-breaking policies that the Party has pioneered for a quarter of a century. Under the beguiling banner of freedom, family and land a new party is in sooth striving to delay and deny the assertion of freedom and equality to millions of under privileged in the land. This consolidation of the conservative forces under the leadership of big business and big landed interests should not be allowed to mislead the nation away from its accepted goal of an egalitarian social order. The parties committed to the objective of co-operative and socialist society must not, under the influence of this consolidation waver in their resolve; and the democratic socialist forces headed by the Praja Socialist Party must continue to work with firmness and determination for socialist solutions of political and social problems. That such a challenge could be organised is a measure of the weakening of faith in the manifest destiny of our people, a weakening that can be permitted only at our peril. It is not an ebb only the flood tide of socialism that can resolve the stubborn problems of our people.

In spite of certain fundamentals we share with the Congress such as allegiance to nationalism, secularism and democracy, it has to be emphasized that the differences between the Congress and the P.S.P. have been both on policies and on their execution. The Conference wishes to emphasise that so long as differences on policy and implementation remain as before, co-operation with the Congress cannot help the nation but merely strengthen the disruptive forces and deepen the frustration of the people.

The present challenge can be met by strengthening and developing our country internally. It is in such vital sectors as agriculture and industry that we must accelerate the pace of development and in the field of social and economic reconstruction it should become possible to carry conviction to the people that the nation is making determined efforts to usher in an egalitarian society. With this objective in view a programme of national reconstruction could be so drawn up as to enable us to march ahead towards political efficiency,

economic prosperity, full employment and an egalitarian social order. For this purpose high priority must at present be assigned to clean administration, the development of strategic areas, food self-sufficiency, about intensive projects as well as to limitations on capitalists' exploitation and ostentatious living. The Conference hopes that the programme on the lines noted below may be drawn up:

- (a) To give a boost to agricultural production, measures should be taken to provide to peasants timely credit, good seeds, manure, implements and warehousing facilities. Where the agriculturists volunteer to form a co-operative they should be given all possible assistance. Efforts should be made to organise service co-operatives in at least one lakh villages every year. Agriculturists should be encouraged to take to mixed farming.
- (b) Cultivable waste lands should be reclaimed and brought under cultivation with the help of agricultural co-operatives, preferably of the landless. Ceiling on land should be enforced without recognising sham partitions and surplus land given to the landless in the village.
- (c) Every year labour-intensive projects like cottage industries, counter bunding, levelling, road-making should be undertaken providing for the employment of at least one million people in the very first year.
- (d) The Adivasis, the Scheduled Castes—even those who have changed their religion, and other backward classes should be helped liberally to raise their standard of living in every way.
- (e) Immediate steps should be taken to provide irrigation to areas which suffer from draught and to induce agriculturists to make optimum use of irrigation facilities by providing facilities like field channels and reasonable water rates.
- (f) Decentralisation of the administration on the lines suggested by Balwantrai Mehta Team should be effected in all States within the next two years.
- (g) Managing Agency System should be abolished and limitation should be placed on distribution profits.
- (h) As no piece of land should be allowed to remain fallow so no wheel and no worker should be allowed to remain idle. Steps should be taken to give effect to the conclusions reached in the Tripartite Conferences and

wherever conflict between the employees and the employers breaks out every effort should be made immediately to see that production does not get hampered and justice is not denied to the workers. Firm measures should be taken to facilitate workers' participation in management of industry.

- (i) More restrictions should be placed on luxury goods and ostentatious living and prestige buildings must be banned.
- (j) Throughout the country immediate steps should be taken to make judiciary independent of the executive.
- (k) University students should be enlisted for compulsory social service in the rural areas for a year after graduation.
- (l) Corruption should be promptly and severely dealt with and the people assured of a clean administration. To this end anti-corruption tribunals enjoying the status of High Court with access to necessary records and documents should be constituted to root out corruption.
- (m) Special efforts should be made for the development of defence potentials as well as that of strategic areas and underdeveloped regions near the frontiers.
- (n) Efforts should be made to promote labour-intensive medium and small industries.
- (o) Minimum wage in all occupations including agriculture be fixed.
- (p) Refugees should be helped liberally to rehabilitate themselves.

The Conference invites parties pledged to democracy and socialism to realise that the overarching challenge to our nation can only be met by total mobilisation of the people. In the unfolding emergency it becomes imperative to transcend smaller loyalties and offer full allegiance to our ideals and to the nation. The Conference's honest appraisal of the political situation is not an expression of weakening of purpose but of firming up of will. If others will not travel along the course charted by history, the Praja Socialist Party, with humility and faith, will not hesitate to go it alone.

## 2. TASKS BEFORE THE PARTY:

At this Silver Jubilee Session, the Praja Socialist Party recalls with pride and gratitude the contribution of all those who have worked

and sacrificed for the freedom of our land and for the establishment of the socialist order in the country. To those who laid down their lives for the cause this Conference pays its homage.

The Conference is conscious of the fact that, while many problems like the liberation of Portuguese possessions in India still remain unsolved, since our last conference in Poona a new situation has arisen in the country which challenges both its independence as well as its efforts to establish a socialist society. The new challenge has two aspects: military and social. Both of them must be understood well before they can be countered.

So far as the first is concerned, as there can be no room for panic, there can be no place for complacency. Cadres of the Praja Socialist Party everywhere must give the highest priority to the task of making the masses aware of the threat to our independence with all its implications. The Father of the Nation had taught us how even an unarmed people can resist aggression and Netaji had showed us how even a handful of patriots fired with devotion to their motherland can triumph against all odds. That priceless legacy if revitalised can, even now, breathe into our people a new confidence which would be as valuable as a whole array of arms. The fighting forces of our nation must be assured of the unstinted and unequivocal support of the whole nation and the nation's resolve not to tolerate the communist fifth column. The Praja Socialist Party must be able within the next few weeks to bring about such a massive mobilisation of public opinion in the country as would put a stop to our Government's policy of hesitation and procrastination.

The awareness however must not be limited to the political field because in the ultimate analysis our internal strength will be our best defence. The Praja Socialist Party must therefore during the next year work with zeal and devotion in different sectors of our national life in such a way that the people's will to overcome difficulties in an organised, co-operative and constructive manner is strengthened.

The reorganisation of rural India is a vast and intricate problem and our Party cadres must step out to accept its challenge. In the villages our Party workers must take active interest in all co-operative and educative efforts by organising the kisans. They should strengthen the gram-panchayats and foster the spirit of co-operation amongst the agriculturists and the artisans. They should try to promote it through sale and purchase societies, co-operative farming, owning and managing of processing industries like ginning, canning, gur and sugar manufacturing. They should endeavour to level up life in rural areas so as to approximate urban life in education, medical amenities and sanitation. The idea of family planning must find a place in our

propaganda, especially in the rural as well as in the working class areas. Wherever possible the landless, who in most cases are likely to be Harijan, Adivasis or other economically backward communities, should be helped to secure land or, in the alternative, employment on labour intensive projects. In view of the chronic scarcity of food-grains our efforts should be directed towards promoting highest yield per acre and making the scarcity areas as near self-sufficient as possible in respect of foodgrains.

In the urban sector the Party must organise the growing army of workers into genuine trade unions. Our trade unions should not only become instruments of agitation but should become centres of equipping the workers for greater responsibilities in the field of industrial production. We should demand the participation of workers in the management of industries like sugar, textiles and mining and encourage labour and the middle class to undertake schemes of co-operative housing, co-operative provision stores etc. The Party must seek to redress the grievances of the unemployed also. Needless to say our unions must jealously guard against wage cuts, closure of factories or lock-outs. They must also demand the taking over of such factories by the Government which are mismanaged or are closed and wherever possible to have them managed by workers' co-operatives.

The Conference desires to emphasise the need for intensive work among women. Women cannot hope to play their part in the reconstruction of our country if they are not released from the status of a secondary role in society to which they have been confined by social and caste considerations. Economic freedom of women would also be of great help in this direction. This can be achieved by intensive social education in the country. The picture of democratic and socialist India will be incomplete without the intelligent co-operation of women.

Among the educated youth, there is need for creating intellectual and cultural renaissance. This conference assures Party's co-operation in such a ferment of ideas and imparting reality to them by developing close association between educated youths and the working people of India. Such a nuclei of young socialist should be organised in every university. The Conference feels that the cherished values of liberty and equality can grow only in an atmosphere of fellowship. Only by developing the ties of fraternity inside the Party can we hope to foster the spirit of fellowship among the people as a whole.

Though initial steps have been taken by the S.Y.S. and the socialistically minded women workers of the Party to organise the youths and women, their success will depend on the willing co-operation they get from the rank and file of our Party. Wherever the

S.Y.S. has succeeded in establishing a dependable apparatus they should try to set up volunteer organisations for constructive and cultural activities in the cities and in the villages.

The P.S.P. must resolve to play in the future a role worthy of its glorious past. The Party can forge itself into the worthy instrument of renaissance India only if it strengthens itself. We must therefore resolve to double our membership in the next year to activate the primary and constituency units of the Party and to carry the flag and message of the Party to at least two hundred thousand villages. If our claim that the plant of democratic socialism has struck roots in the soil of India be true, then henceforward there ought to take place a spontaneous blossoming of that plant. Our aim should be maximum homogeneity in spirit and maximum variety in its expression through action. Let a hundred torches be lit from the torch that was brought here from Nasik and in their turn let them be taken to the remotest part of our land so that every village, nay every home, will have its own sacred flame of the new faith.

### 3. INDIA AND CHINESE AGGRESSION:

The aggressive and expansionist acts of China threatening the territorial integrity of India has come as a shock to our peace-loving people who had traditionally looked upon China as a friend and ally. The sustained campaign of vilification, the threatening language and the treacherous occupation of our territory are acts of calculated aggression. The Chinese maps showing 40,000 square miles, that is 1/30th of our total land area, as Chinese were the precursor and ominous warning of the actual aggression that followed.

To dismiss Chinese occupation of our territory which the Government of India's White Paper rightly described "as a case of deliberate aggression", as an unfortunate and passing episode is to ignore the warning of history and to invite disaster. Drunk with her military might and emboldened by the success of her aggression in Tibet, China has launched on a policy of expansion which is the gravest threat to the security of smaller neighbours and peace in Asia. The growing imbalance in the economic and military power between China and her neighbours is being used to further a policy of territorial aggrandisement and ideological domination. It is obvious that such a predatory policy is doomed to failure, but this should not deflect us from the imperative necessity for immediate and resolute resistance. The danger implicit in the situation is aggravated by the presence in all these countries of Communist parties who in utter disregard of vital national interest, are seeking to deny the very existence of this grave danger, to sow confusion, to weaken the morale of the

people and thus make the aggressor's path easier. The calculated discourtesy to our ambassador is in sharp contrast to the secret parleys of our national honour, this is a sinister attempt to project the C.P.I. as a spokesman of the people of India and as the acceptable mediator of the dispute.

The danger of military aggression is enhanced manifold by the psychologically subversive tactics adopted by the Chinese and their agents on the frontier, particularly the deceptive "liberation" promises and their propaganda to the effect that the border people are members of the Chinese family.

Those who realise the true dimensions of this new danger and take firm stand on the Chinese aggression are branded by the Communist Party of India as reactionary forces hostile to the Government of India's "Non-involvement policy". While reaffirming our faith in the "Non-involvement policy", the P.S.P. recalls that we have been the pioneers in this country who have consistently worked for the acceptance of the "Non-involvement Policy". On the other hand, the Communist Party of India, which is seeking to take shelter behind Nehru's policy of non-involvement has always tried to undermine the "Non-involvement Policy" by striving to drive India into the Communist Bloc.

The Praja Socialist Party calls upon the people to be aware of the danger to our country and our free way of life based on long-cherished traditions of tolerance and respect for the dignity of man and to stand united and determined to meet it.

The Party urges upon the Government to draw the inevitable inferences from the experience of the past few years—the experience we have gained at so much peril to ourselves—and finally resist China's expansionist strides. The Government should insist upon the immediate vacating of all areas wrongfully and forcibly occupied by China and demand unequivocal acceptance of the McMahon Line and the traditional Himalayan frontier, firm by treaty, geography and usage, elsewhere from Ladakh to Sikkim, as the prerequisite of any negotiations. In seeking to jump over the McMahon Line, China is trying to make India vulnerable by depriving us of the natural Himalayan ramparts. During the last fortnight the situation has deteriorated further and the expansionist intentions of China leave no room for doubt. In these circumstances all vacillations should end, and, in the event of China not vacating within a stipulated period territory forcibly occupied by her in NEFA, Ladakh and elsewhere, the Government should be prepared to take such measures, military and diplomatic, as to compel China to quit Indian territory. On the way we meet the Chinese threat dependent not only the integrity of

India but also freedom, security and peace of the whole of Asia. The Party assures the Government that the PSP will support with resolve and dedication all steps it will take to defend the integrity and honour of our land but the Party regards it a duty to warn it against the danger of a weak-kneed policy towards an aggressor who has shown greater regard for and reliance on force than friendship and trust.

#### 4. CREATION OF UNLINGUAL STATES OF GUJARAT AND SAMYUKTA MAHARASHTRA:

The National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party welcomes the reported decision of the Congress to split the State of Bombay into the unlingual States of Gujarat and Maharashtra including Vidarbha in response to the clearly expressed wishes of the Gujarati and Marathi speaking people. The Praja Socialist Party believes that this decision would implemented by the Government at the earliest possible opportunity and care would be taken to see that all the border disputes are resolved in accordance with uniform principles evolved for the purpose and no fresh seeds of discontent get sown while bringing about the two unlingual States.

This conference congratulates the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat for their successful struggle against the forced decision of the Government about the formation of bilingual State and pays its respectful homage to the martyrs who laid down their lives during police repression.

The National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party had permitted its units in Gujarat and Maharashtra to work in the Maha Gujarat Parishad and the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti respectively till the achievement of the linguistic States. Once these two unlingual States are achieved the entire situation will have to be reviewed and fresh directives given. This conference therefore invests the National Executive with the authority to direct the Party units of Gujarat and Maharashtra as to the course they should follow after the States of Maha Gujarat and Maharashtra are formed, taking into consideration all the aspects of the situation prevailing at that time.

#### 5. KERALA:

The National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party congratulates the people of Kerala on their victory in their struggle against communist misrule and pays its homage to those who made the supreme sacrifice of their life at the altar of freedom.

The first test of democratic unity in India is the coming elections in Kerala. The Conference, while fully confident about the verdict at the polls, appeals the rest of India to view the elections as a common responsibility of all democrats.

The Conference endorses the decisions of the National Executive regarding the elections in Kerala and authorises the Executive to take such further action as the conditions there may necessitate.

## 6. REGIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION:

The National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party notes with interest the efforts in Europe, South America and elsewhere for sovereign States to develop closer economic co-operation. In Europe various institutions, such as the Coal and Steel Community and Common Market have been organised to foster such co-operation, and their impact on countries concerned has generally been beneficial. In South America the proposal for Common Market is under serious consideration.

The Conference feels that such efforts to promote economic co-operation among countries of South, South-East and West Asia will be helpful in their economic development and therefore steps in that direction would be welcome.

## 7. ALGERIA:

The National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party welcomes the declaration of September 16, 1959, by the President of the French Republic recognising the right of the Algerians to self-determination. For too long the historic struggle of the Algerians for freedom has gone on with 6 lakhs of Algerian patriots being killed. It is urgent that there should be an immediate stop to the war that is being waged by the French Colonial authorities against the Algerian Provisional Government. It is our hope that the earnestness and will to peace of the two nations will restore amity between France and Algeria and that an early solution will be found to the problems that are facing the two peoples. The National Conference once again pledges its support to the freedom of Algeria. On the pace and manner in which this freedom takes shape rests the future of the world.

## 8. CONDOLENCE RESOLUTIONS:

### (1) On Shri Bandaranaike:

The National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party dips its flag and records its deep sorrow at the tragic death of Shri Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon.

It conveys its deep sympathies to the family of the martyred Prime Minister and to the people of Ceylon.

The National Conference takes warning that the assassination of Shri Bandaranaike is of a series that imposed a threat and a challenge to the democratic development of all Asian nations.

### (2) On Party workers:

This conference of the Praja Socialist Party condoles the sad demise of Comrades Abdul Hayat Chand (Bihar), Jagannath Prasad Mauriya (Piparia), Siddha Vinayak Dwivedy (Rewa), Raghunath Mal Kochar (Amaravati), Sarala devi Tiwari (Sidhi) and Suraj Nath Pandey (U.P.) all of whom had rendered valuable services in the course of socialism. The Conference expresses its deep sympathies to the families of the bereaved.

## 9. RESOLUTION ON FOOD PROBLEM:

The National Conference of the Praja Socialist Party views with distress the dismal failure of the food policy of the Government. It has not only added to the misery of the people but also deepened economic crisis. While food is the primary need of the people and agriculture is a mainstay of Indian economy, food self-sufficiency and agricultural development are not regarded by the Government as principal objectives of planned economy. Agriculturist's plight and common man's difficulties with regard to food cannot be solved unless highest priority is assigned to the agricultural development, and food self-sufficiency is recognised an important target of the Plan.

The Conference feels that a council of agricultural development be established at the centre with the task of drafting a comprehensive plan for food self-sufficiency and of promoting its execution according to the plan.

The Conference is strongly of the opinion that for proper agricultural development, it is necessary to promote agriculturists' incentives. For that, it is necessary to assure to them that the interests of agriculture would not be made subservient to those of industry, to ensure to them remunerative prices of their products; to institute crop insurances and to provide to them facilities such as cheap credit, improved seeds, good manure, agricultural implements and ware-houses. Special attention should be paid to the extension of irrigation facilities at cheap rates so that intensive farming may be possible.

A national service corps drawn from the rural areas and trained to man the various rural services on technologically sound lines is also urgently necessary to undertake the task of taking advanced scientific knowledge to the man working on farm.

The Conference strongly holds, that all possible attempts should also be made to end middlemen's exploitation and the growing conversion of Indian agriculture into capitalist economy in the form of big farms. For this, it is necessary to promote service co-operatives in villages, to induce villagers to organise co-operative joint farming to distribute the reclaimed lands to the tiller to establish agricultural

co-operatives of landless labour on reclaimed lands, and to convert big farms into peasants' co-operative farms.

The food and agricultural price policies of the Government are vacillating and often industrially oriented. Further, it has miserably failed to stabilise prices and reduce the gap between prices at harvest times and those during the off season. The way it has enforced its policy with regard to state trading for example, by utilizing the very trade channels that are against state trading has caused confusion and added to the difficulties of the people. To ensure proper incentive to the peasants and proper protection to products be fixed well in advance and at remunerative level, that sufficient reserves of food grains be built up and that profiteering in food grain—traders and by the State should be stopped.

The Conference views with concern the delay in introducing necessary land reforms and the way the problem of ceiling ~~is~~ being handled. It strongly holds that the enactment of ~~the~~ legislation be expedited and the surplus land so acquired ~~be~~ placed at the disposal of the village panchayats to be distributed either to the landless labour or to be worked by co-operative ~~of~~ formed by landless workers.

The Conference wishes to be emphasised that active and ~~un~~timed implementation of well-thought out projects alone can revolutionize the rural sector and meet the situation. The ~~res~~ evasion on the part of a state government should be of counteracted with all the weight of public opinion organised ~~for~~ the purpose.

