

'democratic Socialism' - Embryonic growth.

When facts change ideas too must change.

- An adaptation from Keynes

Eric Arthur Blair turned George Orwell was born at Motihari on 25th June, 1903. Motihari is an Indian post-independent provincial town in Bihar: but part of Bengal Province then. His father, Richard Arthur Blair, was a Sub-Deputy Agent in the Opium Department of the colonial service. The yellow material's trade routes in the present day Golden Triangle and Golden Crescent encompassing South Asian countries was unknown then; the trade route had been among India, China and Britain. Eric Blair's mother, Ida Imelda Blair, had French connections which enabled the litterateur Orwell to go to France in search of both geneological and literary roots. He was born and brought up in the genteel middle class which had been categorised as 'lower-upper-middle class in Orwell's inimitable "window-pane-prose style". To quote him:-

"People in this class owned no land, but they felt that they were land owners in the sight of God and kept up a semi-aristocratic outlook by going into the professions and the fighting services rather than into trade Theoretically you know all about servants, and how to tip them, although in practice you had one, at most two resident servants. Theoretically you knew how to wear your clothes and how to order a dinner, although in practice you could never afford to go to a decent tailor or a decent restaurant. Theoretically you knew how to shoot and ride, although in practice you had no horses to ride and not an inch of ground to shoot over". ("The Road to Wigan Pier" - Longer Non-Fiction of Orwell - Penguin - P.231)

Later, the border lines between this class and the class of Gordon Comstock disappear and both merge into each other, adopting 'decency' as its romanticised 'trade-mark'. This warm, decent and deeply human atmosphere of a working-class home is cherished by the marginal class of Gordon and Orwell. According to Comstock:

"They had their standards, their inviolable points of honour. They kept themselves respectable ... Besides, they were alive: ('Keep The Aspidistra Flying'. -The Penguin Complete Novels - P: 599-600).

The semi-genteel failure and the lack of vitality as the inherent defects of his class, as seen by Gordon, have been discovered through Orwell's perceptions of his own class in later writings. Orwell's belonging to this class sharpens his perception about the class-ridden society of Britain. His Indian connection, though not a genetic endowment, but only an environmental accomplishment, comes in handy during later years in his passionate plea for India's freedom in the essay entitled 'Socialism and English Genius' and his last essay, by a quirk of destiny, happens to be 'Reflections on Gandhiji', which de-canonises Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi. The 'clumsy grace' of his voice over the Far Eastern broadcasts of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), kept the emotional links between native England and sub-continent of his maiden employment. His voice got the 'clumsy grace' when a snippet pierced his throat in Spain handicapping his speech, to be recovered partially: but the ruggedness had remained. The speech synthesizer which transforms the disability to speak and communicate, was unknown then. The popular best seller, 'A Brief History of Time' by Stephen Hawking, is classic example of handicapped race successfully run by the author with the help of electronic medical appliance. For that matter, if medical science had developed the infallible cure for tuberculosis by 1951, the world would not have lost George Orwell abortively.

From an early age, George Orwell, premonitively felt that literary writing would be his avocation. To quote him:-

"From a very early age, perhaps the age of five or six I knew that when I grew up I should be a writer.

Between the ages of about seventeen and twenty four I tried to abandon this idea, but I did so with the consciousness that I was outraging my true nature and that sooner or later I should have to settle down and write books."

("Why I write" Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters
- Penguin - Vol.1 - Page-23)

His forages into creative writing got started during the period of lisping nursery rhymes in the Anglican Convent School at Henley; the tempo kept mounting at St. Cyprians. His patriotic poems on Lord Kitchner heralding the marching English soldiers printed in a literary apprenticeship magazine were commented upon by Mrs. Wilkes, whose love-hate relationship was another perception-modelling tool in Orwell's life. The literary demon defrocked Orwell of his regulation uniform of the colonial police and shipped him ^{West} of Suez in Paris to go 'down and out' among the poor and ^{the}needy which enabled him to internalise the experiences for literary conversion in the days ahead. What a contrast ! The temple bells and the sounds of the anklet bracelets of the eastern maidens beckoned Kipling's heroes and shipped them east of Suez. Orwell attempted a couple of tropical writings in French in the initial stages. George Orwell the writer, who as cocooned-up in the case of Eric Blair, emerged on the literary scene in England with the publication of "Down and Out in Paris and London" (1931). Since then, the ritualistically regular publication of one novel a year as in "Burmese Days" (1932), "The Clergyman's Daughter" (1933), "Keep the Aspidistra Flying" (1934), "Homage to Catalonia" (1936), "Coming up for Air" (1937) consolidated his literary ground with finesse. "Road to Wigan Pier" (1936), "Animal Farm" (1946) "Nineteen Eighty-Four" (1948) are also chronological; but sequential in a different framework. The literary trade mark of the 1930s was 'realism'. Orwell brought deliberately scooped-out experiences as well as autobiographical insights with social

realism as the silhouette of his writings. The tropical essays of this period, which are called the 'jewels of journalism' made Orwell to construct a superstructure of success on an edifice of early literary flops. George Orwell was to fail as reportive journalist during the Second World War when he covered the war fronts in France and Germany. Like "Shooting an Elephant" and 'A Hanging' of the Burmese period, "Revenge is Sour" and other essays of the Second World War period make the balance sheet between reportive journalism and column journalism of Orwell's literary output plus

George Orwell had been in search of a voice all through his early writings as Lynette Hunter brings out in the critical book entitled "In Search of a Voice". Social realism, the stylistic device of the opening-up phase of Orwell's career, was not fine-tuned with his literary make-up. Having understood his natural orientation Orwell changed navigation; lightning struck; thunder clouds poured; World War II set in, Britain trebled to her 'finest hour'; the gates of animal farm got debarred. George Orwell, the writer, blossomed. By taking recourse to an intellectually 'cut-and thrust' style fully exploited by Orwell's political and stylistic 18th century role-model, Jonathan Swift, a style that runs like 'sparkling Thames', a style that never draws the curtain across the mind of the writer and reader, Orwell made the totalitarian autocrates and pseudo-revolutionaries look into their bathroom mirrors more than once daily. By employing stylistic weapons like humour, wit, irony, sarcasm, allegory, fable, and by re-telescoping all the major themes touched upon from "Down and Out" to "Coming up For Air" for double emphasis, Orwell, the most seriously read serious writer of the 20th Century was on the way to become the opening batsman of the 21st Century with a befitting book title; "Nineteen Eighty-four".

In 'Nineteen Eighty-Four', George Orwell opens the door to the de-humanised, robotic and privacy-penetrated society. T.S. Eliot created "hollow men" and "stuffed men" as the inhabitants of the cactus land of post-war period. Orwell creates "dead man" in 'Nineteen Eighty-Four' when the telescreen announces 'You are the dead man', echoing the words of Winston and Julia before their handcuffing by the Thought Police. 'To think is to be full of sorrow' says John Keats: Orwell deeply thought of the fate of man when 'smelly little orthodoxies' contended for human soul, and had become a non-temperamental pessimist. Leaders confluenced in Yalta and Teheran for parcelling out the geographical world into areas of influence thereby converting them into areas of darkness by creating totalitarian social formations. In such societies electronic gadgets sneak into individual privacy; own children betray parents to Thought Police and Big Brother and Brotherhood stalk the world with authoritarian rod; Orwell the situational pessimist stands vindicated when the truncated geographical parts of the globe reunite, reforms and political pluralism sweep authoritarian dust off monolithic political structures and when the pedestalled tyrants of yore are decanonized.

In addition to the novels of the earlier period and the propagandistic writings which fuse the elements of art and propaganda without literary compromise, the book reviews and journalistic columns like 'As I Please' and editorials during his editorship of the 'Tribune' and the Johnsonian correspondences on topical subjects with friends and foes, total-up the literary 'corpus' of Orwell. The four-volume "Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters" published jointly by Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, and the literary - travelogues entitled 'Road to Wigan Pier' (1936) and "Looking Back on the Spanish Civil War" (1939), are further examples of the qualitative literary output of the writer who went native' in his own land, as his one-time colleague describes him. Orwell undertook free-spirited, self-willed, personal, emotional and open-to-interpretation journeys to Wigan, the coal district, under the aegis of the Left Book Club and another historically conditioned journey to Spain under the auspices of his own conscience.

All his journeys were spiritual pilgrimages triggered off by the uncompromising Byronic championing of the cause of the needy, the poor and the subjugated.

The contemporaneity of George Orwell lies in the concept of 'democratic Socialism'; and in the perceptual analysis of the political realities behind the iron curtain nations. The three great changes taking place in the world, viz, the Leninist ~~state~~ collapse in East Europe, integration of the European Community and the end of cold war and Soviet Union's embarkation on massive reforms were literally anticipated in Orwell's political writings. The identification tags of Orwell's democratic Socialism are in its lower case 'd' and upper case 'S' : the significance of which is the sine-qua-non of the concept itself. Owing to their contemporary relevances 'Nineteen Eighty-Four' and 'Animal Farm', once used to get smuggled into Eastern European countries, are now allowed in the book stores of Liberation Square in Budapest : thanks to Gorby 'Glasnost'. "democratic Socialism" as a political concept is 'branded' and purified in the revolutionary ardour of moralism. According to Aristotle, the 'golden mean' is the point at which most of the problems of man get settled. 'democratic Socialism' by its very nomenclature resembles the 'golden mean'. In his essay on 'Catastrophic Gradualism', Orwell refers to Arthur Koestler's prescription of the combination of saint and revolutionary as the saviour of mankind. The Platonic concept of ~~Philosopher~~-King and the science fiction image of 'extra-terrestrial' are secular examples of disparate elements fused into one entity. Jesus, who walked into modern man's history, combines the human personification of the 'Yogi' and 'Commissar' elements with the divine persona, Son of Man. The revolutionary Jesus cleaned the Temple of its skeletons symptomatic of the cleaning of human body and had swept across the Pharisee —

dominated Jewish society with a new ethical broom. Jesus, the social reformer abolished capital punishment in the beginning of the first millennium when a dozen welfare states abolished it in early 20th Century. The Catholic Church cleansed of Her inquisitorial bearings and Marxian Socialism bereft of its Stalinist trappings and Un-Marxian orientation are institutions capable of offering rehabilitation to modern man on the spiritual and economic levels of life respectively. The political essay, "Revenge is Sour", is the spiritualist Orwell's call for caution in the treatment of German Prisoners of War (POWs). Orwell was not against Socialism; but against its morbid outgrowths as in Stalinism and against 'Gulag', which according to him ~~was~~ a logical and inevitable consequence of Marxism, though some believed that it ~~was~~ only an incidental perversion. The comment of a perverse eccentric or a pure cynic that 'Socialism is for the birds' could not have angered the phlegmatic Orwell who recommended the left wing ideology under right wing political institutions. In the socio-political milieu of different brands of socialism viz., revolutionary or reformist, Marxist*or libertarian, believer in central planning or in self-managing cooperatives, social democratic or democratic socialist, or a believer in the full abolitions of private property or allowing conditional exercise of individual self interest to trigger off economic pursuits, Orwell's brand of socialism is neither an ideological absurdity nor a monstrous proposition. His variant is suitable even for the developed western societies, but ideal for small and instinctively orderly ones. Orwell's show cases of 'democratic Socialism' are the miner's family in 'Wigan Pier', where the external physical ruggedness is compensated for in the homely felicities, and in the

hierarchy - free Spanish militias. The present day equivalents in the forms of Israeli "Kibbutzum" and Indian 'Sarvodhya' are chrysalises of 'democratic Socialism'. The South Korean automobile workers who work seventy-two hours a week, to pay back the borrowed multi-lateral capital at 'Hyundai' car factory, vindicating the lessons of truth, honesty and hard work following their Taiwanese counterparts, who in turn followed the ~~Buddhist~~ disciplined Japanese in the aftermath of Second ~~World~~^{war,} sending economic danger signals to the one-time destroyer, benefactor, the United States, are the eligible members of the society of 'democratic Socialism'.

Orwell's political ideals, lying scattered in his writings, often appear in the manifestos of political parties, both Left and Right. The universality of Orwell, according to Raymond Williams, lies in the fact that a reader of any political conviction can find an argument to disarm his opponent. Orwell relives in the political speeches at Hyde Park where Labour 'freedom' and Tory 'liberty' clash. 'democratic Socialism', started as a polemical catchword in the writings of Orwell after the cut-off year of 1936, (1936 was the chronological point at which he was able to relate and organise his ideas to and around 'democratic Socialism'. There was no conversion or certain revolution of his ideas, as Richard Rees makes out), snowballed itself into a political idea since then. It assumed the trappings of utopian socialism, scientific socialism, socialist democracy and finally blossomed into a simple, moral, ethical and spiritual concept and a decent political strategy. The stylistic rendition of 'democratic

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Socialism by the lower case 'd' and upper case 'S' remains an Orwellian paradox and Kafesque mystery.

Ideas originate in man's experiences of the world. Eric. Arthur Blair, the ex-Burma Police man sought out experiences by going 'down-and-out in Paris and London', subjected himself into bestial degradation of dish washers, 'plongeurs' and tramps and experienced penury in its crude form. The embryonic growth of 'democratic Socialism' and its adherence to scientific rationality which Orwell kept very close to his chest started as early as at the prep school. It germinated in the intellectually fertile soil of Eton, took nourishment from the alluvial soil of Burma and took to efflorescence in the deliberately sought out conditions of Paris and London. The creative explosion of the concept into an ideology, into an orientation of life, rather into a philosophy of life was occasioned by the hard and bitter days of Second World War, later in the undeclared Cold War era. It finally matured and fruited into a sweet-sour elixir of life in 'Animal Farm' and in 'Nineteen Eighty-Four'.

Scientific Socialism pre-supposes essence of systematic knowledge of society based on observation and analysis of its process of development. Karl Marx resorted to this process over his ten-year intellectual struggle in the Oxford Library before publishing his 'magnmm opuses'. Utopian Socialism which projects a 'milk and honey' future without close consideration of the past and present process within which socialistic welfare is to be attained is equated with the golden millennium - a thousand year period unit which encases redemption, retribution and hope. The concept of 'democratic Socialism' is related to the innate virtues of man, his simple rustic pleasures and simple moral actions not motivated by self.

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interests. The intellectual sustenance of the idea was drawn by Orwell from the helplessness of the imperial representative (Orwell himself), ~~before~~ ^{the} condemned elephant in Burma. The idea got reinforced before the gleeful smile of the Italian militia-boy who was falsely accused of robbery. The concept beeps the signal of the 'message of arrival' in the post Second World War cultural essays and later in 'Animal Farm' and 'Nineteen Eighty-Four'. Orwell, the Fabian Socialist, the devil's advocate of a pacifist, the arch enemy of 'parlour socialist' and the anathema of the 'commissar', conceptualised 'democratic Socialism' which would have become the diagnosis against a future, based on power politics, permanent war economy and authoritarianism.

'democratic Socialism' had been pushed into the centre-stage as an antidote against fascism and totalitarian danger which combinedly made the post-World War man 'measure his life with coffee-spoon'. A significant number of Orwell's essays of this period are laced with his broadsides against fascist propaganda which watered down the very concept of truth. The Nazi theory of state authority and ruler worship brought out a nightmarish world in which the leader of the ruling clique attempted to control the total man.

Critics denounce Orwell for the new definition of 'revolutionary socialism' before providing it an effective organisational encasement. The historic Orwellian effort to mobilise support for the War with a programme of turning it into a revolutionary war, both against Hitler and against English class system simultaneously, had a Shelleyan abstractness. The political superstructure of 'democratic Socialism' with eighty five percent proles marooned in the political backwaters of Oceania when the ruling clique with muted support of

fifteen percent Outer Party support decides on state policy and international alliance remains hazy. The vicissitudes of perpetual war, never-ending shortages and the ominous presence of the agents of Big Brother who sneak into the private lives of the citizens as revealed in the vignettes of 'Nineteen Eighty-Four', present tantalising scenarios. The shroud of mystery present in the conceptual contours of 'democratic socialism' extends itself into the changed roles of the ruled and the rulers in 'Animal Farm'. Benjamin, Clover and the 'less equal' animals of Manor Farm, who had been degraded into the status of the ruled by the rapacious pigs by arrogating the role of rulers to themselves, though they too had been at the receiving end when Jones of Manor Farm ruled, and Berkshire boar dreamt of revolution, present the example of bi-polar political relationships. The strata less Italian-militia with its camaraderie haunted Orwell's sensibilities both in the conceptualisation of 'democratic Socialism' and its entombing within an organizational framework. 'democratic Socialism', as a political alternative, not a 'political adjustment', was advocated in the context of the world falling apart into two or three super states each holding the atomic bomb against the other. New authoritarianism practiced in the states of Orwell resulted in the actualisation of Borke's fear of oligarchial collectivism in Eurasian nation-states.

Orwell, the political writer, as distinguished from the political philosopher or the political polemicist, in the tradition of Swift, Hobbes, Milton of 'Aereopagetica', and the political pamphleteers of late 17th and 20th centuries, was born and brought up in a class conscious society. Social class as a physical reality can not be inserted into logical slots. Some individuals rule over others, some classes dominate others, some nations rule others in the prevailing capitalist, social and political realities; though none is better equipped: still a paradox.

Orwell's 'consciousness', which was the sum total of his thoughts, ideas and sentiments, had been loaded with the myths and archetypes about the 'stinking lower classes'.

The English working class, geneologically sprung from the yeoman-gentry of the middle ages, though ravaged by the Black Death, is personified in E.P. Thomson's the 'English Working Class'. They were objects of lampooning to the lower-upper middle class of Orwell and to the socially hierarchy-conscious aristocracy. Social influence is the source of power to the aristocracy. Bernard Crick in his monumental un-official biography, "George Orwell-A Life", quotes A.W. Wright's "GDH Cole and Socialist Democracy", to bring out the noble lineage of Orwell, the Socialist. To him:-

"On the contrary, he (Orwell) stood in the lineage of English Socialists who, through Morris, Blatchford, Tawney, Cole, Laski and Beven have argued that only in a more egalitarian and fraternal society can liberties flourish and abound for the common people. ("George Orwell-A Life" Penguin P-17).

Bernard Crick's placement of the Socialist tradition of Orwell was anticipated by David Kubal in "Outside the whale"

"By the middle 1930s the moral basis of Orwell's Socialism began to take shape. Eclectic in nature, it borrowed the bare instinct of survival from the working classes and the 'respectable' virtues from the bourgeois / missing, nevertheless from the combination of the working and middle class virtues is creative intelligence, the ability to conceptualize and give shape to history. According to Orwell, however, the intellectual separated from his own culture, from the moral energy of society, had no directions. His principal political problem, therefore, was to bring together knowledge and morality; or putting it in practical terms: to eliminate class barriers, ... Totalitarianism could neither be averted nor democratic Socialism established

unless these resources - could be unified. William Morris' socialism was becoming unrealistic in the 20th century. ("Outside the Whale"- University of Norte Dame 1972 pp: 18-19)

The doctrine of Socialism became popular in Britain and France around 1930. All schools of socialism urged the transference of large scale industries from private to public ownership. The British Labour Party's idea of nationalisation was borrowed from the Fabian brand of socialism developed mainly by J.S. Mill, Sidney Webb and not necessarily by Karl Marx. Herbert Morrison, the father of nationalisation, evolved the norms of public ownership of industries. A spate of nationalisation took place in Britain, after second world war and Western Europe started similar experiment. Jawaharlal Nehru, the premier Prime Minister of India, who was also influenced by the Fabian Socialists and enamoured by the outside trappings of Russian Communism, was the first practising democratic socialist. The English Socialists looked upon nationalism as a limiting force and "last refuge of a scoundrel". Orwellian socialism is free from individual self-interest which is the basic engine of Capitalism. His brand of socialism is also purified from Karl Marx's motivational system. The Marxian stamp of international class solidarity was the unexceptional mark of British Socialism too, while Communism as a guide to practical action had been shrugged off by British Socialists. Indefinite dependence on Christianity and international Socialism did not provide the bulwark against Hitler and Mussolini who represented Nazi-Fascist tendencies of human civilisation. Orwell's trilogy, viz., 'The Lion and the Unicorn', the 'English Socialism' and "Looking Back on Spanish Civil War", revealed the socio-political environment that prevailed in England. Her victory in the War could be doubtful; hence Orwell gave the 'clarion-call' for the change

of the system with the twin objectives of winning the war and thereby reversing the rolling tide of totalitarianism.

Marcus Garvey, the propounder of African Black Brotherhood, advocated the idea of black and white unity to achieve black liberation and socialism on the lines of Orwellian prescription of 'democratic Socialism' which also carried the twin objectives of winning the war and ushering in socialism. The approach was a fantasy when Garvey suggested it in 1921 and had been criticised as utopian and reactionary. The Orwellian and the Trotskyian concept of 'self determination' which could only be fulfilled on the basis of revolutionary struggle brackets Garvey with them. Marcus Garvey had the dream of Black freedom from white domination whereas Trotsky dreamt of freeing Communism from Stalinist strait-jacket and Orwell heralded the messianic message of 'democratic socialism' first to the frightened humanity of post world war and then to the chilled consciousness of man during the cold war days. Orwell's contemporary influence had been in reproving backsliding socialists, in sustaining democratic socialists and in winning back communist fellow travellers rather than in converting non-socialists. George Orwell, the product of the capitalist acquisitive society, focussed his views about the needs of humanity's

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aspirations and prescribed 'democratic Socialism' as the beacon light to guide man in the encircling gloom. A couple of literary critics like Anthony West, William Steinhoff ("Road to 1984"), & Jenni Calder ("Chronicle of Conscience") blame him for the recantation of the philosophy of 'democratic Socialism', since 'a murky and unrelieved darkness, rather blackness of mind' (Bradlean term about 'Macbeth'), is the brooding presence of Orwell's last writing, 'Nineteen Eighty-Four'. Orwell's defence was not heeded by them. His defence was:-

"My recent novel is NOT intended as an attack on socialism or on the British Labour Party (of which I am a supporter) but as a show up of the perversions to which centralised economy is liable and which have already been realised in Communism and Fascism... I believe also that totalitarian ideas have taken root in the minds of intellectuals everywhere, and I have tried to draw these ideas out to their logical consequences ... (CEJL : P:502 Vol. IV).

David Kubul defends the novel as follows:-

"The novel ('Nineteen Eighty-Four'), as I have said should not be taken as a satire on Socialism, but as a picture of what will occur if Orwell's concept of Socialism is not adopted". ("Outside the Whale" P - 8)

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The anti-communist stance of Orwell at the later phase of his literary career is traceable to his disapproval of the Communist insensitivity writ loud and large in their despotic squandering of human lives as experienced by him in the Spanish Civil War. The Hitler-Stalin Pact, the Communist despising of human liberty as the pigs do in 'Animal Farm' and the Communist tactics of going out of the way in discrediting 'democratic Socialism' added to Orwell's reservations about soviet socialism. Bernard Crick authoritatively positions Orwell, the follower of the Independent Labour Party and one-time Tribune socialist, at the appropriate left-of-centre position. According to him:-

"He took his stand among those who were to the Left or on the Left of the Labour Party: fiercely egalitarian, libertarian and democratic, but by Continental comparisons, surprisingly untheoretical, congregation of secular evangelicals. ("George Orwell: A Life"-P: 17 Penguin 1980)."

George Orwell's political position was rooted in his creed of living up to principles of respecting liberty of others and telling the truth. Modern left-wing movements have relegated to the background the ideal of equality, though lip service is given. Orwell and G.B Shaw believed in equality as the core of Socialism. As John Atkin structures:-

"There was for Orwell a close connection between equality and 'decency' and he did not see how either could flourish in a society without the other Decent relationships are only possible among those who feel they are essentially equal. 'Decency' is immediately destroyed by snobbery and by any form of servility" ('Orwell' - John Atkins. P:14).

Decency, free love or 'esprit de corps', is the foundation of Orwell's political programme, which is "cooperative in nature and not competitive." Bernard Crick traces the genealogical roots of Orwell's 'decency' to the V Book of Aristotle's 'politics' and brings out the weighted indexing of the concept by contrasting it with 'fairness' in John Rawl's moral philosophy and with the concept of mutual respect of Kant. Orwell subscribed to the view that socialism could not come by seizure of power or by Act of Parliament, but only by convincing people in fair and open debate and by example. George Orwell had never been driven by 'ideological necessity' of a comrade in his political convictions. Orwell used his polemical essays, book reviews on socialist writers, 'As I please' columns of Tribune and the politically pronounced latter day writings for convincing others of the need for baptising the world in 'democratic Socialism'. Bernard Crick compliments him:-

"There was a touch of the true Jacobin about him rather than the John Stuart Millite". ('A Life' P-18)

Orwell gleefully accepts it.

The non-Marxist in Orwell equates decay of decency with the decay of religion. A Marxist looks upon religion as a bogey and regarded its destruction the 'sine-qua-non' of social improvement. Orwell adumbrates the significance of faith and 'religion' in 'A Clergyman's Daughter'. Religion provides a view of the universe and along with it a morality to its followers. Orwell appreciates religion because it teaches a person to make truthful statement within the framework of commonsense. Pious and dogmatic observance of the

externalities of religion may not add to one's religious experiences; yet its disciplining capability is beyond doubt. Belief in the dogma of a religion might be unfashionable, but a secular morality is essential for society's inner strength.

To Orwell, the strongest force in man's life was not economic or sexual, physical or material, but the ethical force, loyalty. Religion helped man to be loyal to God first, with secondary loyalty to fellow human beings, because both man and God would become equal beings in a theological sense. The Marxist wanted this loyalty to the State while Orwell had desired the same to be directed towards services of humanity itself. The intermediate ideologies attempted to split the total loyalty of man towards national and class groups. According to John Atkins, "unless we reinstate the belief in human brotherhood, which was always part of the most enlightened Christian doctrine, no matter how frequently it was denied in practice, the future would be bleak". To Orwell, Socialism was primarily a fight for justice and liberty. If a superficially socialist act like nationalisation of a particular industry reduced justice and liberty, then it ceased to become a truly socialist response in Orwell's scheme of things.

The finer qualities of Orwell's Socialism are commented upon by Atkins as follows-

"Part of Orwell's uniqueness as a modern socialist commentator lies in his insistence on the necessity of a religious attitude, ... He was a highly moral man but not a religious one. Christian Socialists are legion, it is true, but religious Socialists whose religion is agnosticism or even atheism are nearly as rare as Orwell." (Orwell' - John Atkins: P. 27).

Orwell, the conventional socialist, looked upon the abolition of poverty as the first task. Orwell thought of poverty in

terms of starvation: such a conception acknowledged the existence, of social outcasts, tramps, beggars, criminals and prostitutes. What a contrast between a modern welfare state's definition of poverty in terms of income ceiling as the cut off limit and Orwell's definition of poverty oriented towards the poorest of the poor! He believed that removal of servile condition could be the first requirement for improving the quality of life of people. To Gordon and Orwell, poverty was intellectually enervative: sapping vitality and debilitating the creativity of writers.

This man of Left wing convictions with conservative prejudices bills in Cyril Connolly's aphoristic comment, "Orwell, as a revolutionary, was in love with the 1900s." By creating a scenario of manipulation, firstly after the animal world had been taken over by the pigs and then in the cellars of Ministry of Love thereby declaring the undesirability of such a political order, Orwell telescoped on the murky 'otherside' of totalitarianism. The distinctive flavour of this Left-wing intellectuals' 'democratic Socialism' is in the natural and the positive virtue of loving one's native land. The 'Tory Anarchist' in him, (this term was used by Orwell about Swift; Cyril Connolly later turned the same coinage upon its author making it mutually exclusive), rather the revolutionary patriot of him eschewed Edwardian Jingoism and adopted the aroma of rural England and the simple rustic pleasures of Brookers' family of "Road to Wigan Pier" and the conviviality of Lenin Barraks as the role-models upon which the concept of 'democratic Socialism' was pegged. The political threads of his writings are rooted in Graeco-Roman traditions of European philosophy. The political analyst in Orwell visualised the totalitarian elements of Fascism, Marxism and Stalinism in the Inner Party elites of 'Nineteen Eighty-Four'. According to Orwell, the Soviet tactics of delaying "the arrival of revolution" experimented in Spain, the ravenous behaviour of power monopolising beasts

of prey in "Animal Farm" and the emergence of a society of perpetual and total war in 'Nineteen Eighty-Four', would serve as symbols and emblems of a totalitarian society. He abhorred them and had warned his readers with the shuddering pitch of, "Samson, the Philistines are upon you", to keep off totalitarianism. Orwell's exposure to the wielding of instruments of power and brutality (Brutalisation of the ruled was the strategy of Colonial Government) at the idealistic phase of his life accelerated his exit from being an agent of British Imperialism. John Atkins, who was both a colleague and a personal friend of Orwell, in his perceptive biographical interpretation concludes the chapter entitled, "Decency and Foundation" by the cryptic comment as in:-

"The assault was on the nerves rather than on the flesh ... If you carried on until finally you accepted this sort of thing. (A Jail doctor pulling the prisoner's leg before he would die) or pretended to yourself that you accepted it, your humanity would be gone." (Orwell-John Atkins: Calder and Boyars, London: 1971 - revised edition of the old 1954 edition. P:30).

Orwell's own rendition of the impulses that led to his bidding farewell to Colonial Service, as given in the autobiographical "Road to Wigan Pier", accentuates the merit of Atkins' observation. To Orwell:-

" but if you do for five years a job that you thoroughly disapprove of, you will probably feel the same. I felt that I had got to escape not merely from imperialism but from every ^{form of} man's dominion over man ('Road to Wigan Pier': PP. 149-50).

The quote without being an autobiographical account rings out the immaculate Orwellian sincerity. Orwell's prescription of three escape routes viz. religion, unending work and sluttish

antinomianism available to a bored genius for permanent escape from a society which teaches the vast mass of people to admire and obtain beautiful houses, solitude, dignity and time to meditate, when juxtaposed with John Flory's suicide as the fourth unverballed escape route, brings out the truism of the critical observation of David Kubal that, George Orwell might have become the John Flory if he had not resigned. Orwell's critics show singular unanimity in placing the pretext of his resignation from colonial service at nagging conscience: Heavy burden was ^{cast} upon his sensitive soul by the outlandish behaviour of fellow Englishmen who were the symbols of 'gentleness' and 'decency' in native clime but indulged in brutalisation of natives in the 'far pavilions'. The philosophical justification of Orwellian Socialism is the same concept of self realisation that took root and stood at the centre of the plea for Socialism or of promoting welfare by State intervention.

The Englishness of 'democratic Socialism' is its distinguishing icon. Orwell was, indeed, what used to be called an English Socialist as opposed to the continental Marxist type. 'Englishness' of his Socialism is also ensured in the rejection of power-worship by resisting the pressures, thereby keeping totalitarianism at bay. England as a nation, including her socio-political institutions, had emerged from subtle network of compromises. Orwell did not make any compromise in making the elements of justice, liberty, objective truth, an avid observance of the English hatred of war and military, the respect for constitutionalism, legality and a stiff parade ground discipline as the core elements and key areas of the political idea of 'democratic Socialism'. Eric Blair noticed the conspicuous absence of his mental picture of 'decency' first in the behaviour of the Wilkes couples: the feelings and outward personality of his colleagues in Burma, too, were devoid of

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'decency'. As a contrast, the Catalans in the POUM militias exuded the constituents of essential decency in their straightforwardness and generosity. By the time Orwell arrived at 'Nineteen Eighty-Four', a society in which 'decency' had been ruthlessly shut out by the pretended champions of the oppressed, had emerged. Orwell, the left-wing intellectual, had never been without the feelings of common man. Orwell believed that common people would better themselves through their own efforts; whereas intelligentsia had been parasitic. It seems, he had undergone intellectual apprenticeship with the 18th Century champion of democracy, Edmund Burke, who attempted to fuse man's innate capacity for love and wisdom in the democratic framework.

The simple human virtues of decent behaviour, tender feeling, sentiments and family love as brought in Winston Smith's reminiscences of his mother and her world's possession, if not Orwell's, then whose? Orwell borrows from Dickens what he might have used as a snap shot, "Behave decently", as Orwell's own authorial platitude to the left wing political philosophers who blame social environment for the unpleasant aspects of human personality. According to Orwell the reformers and revolutionaries must behave decently to avoid cauterisation of feelings. Winston and Julia wanted to call the shot of victory upon the Party by preserving pristine feeling towards each other. Winston's words, "confession is not betrayal. What you say or do, does not matter; only feelings matter", are also Orwell's, which make human feelings as the building block of interpersonal relationship. Orwell, too, could have defined sincerity as the relationship between words and feelings and not one of words and deeds, as the Godless Victorian Leslie Stephen defined earlier. The common decency of Orwell takes harshness off human behaviour and the atrophy of the sense of pity as John Atkins puts it.

Orwellian 'decency' presupposes sacrifice. This sacrifice consists in Sam Weller putting the interest of Pickwick before

his own; Orwell's first wife Eileen did not draw the family ration during the war in order to stop the depletion of the foodstock. The continuous denial of nutritional food resulted in an^eemic condition and it hastened her death at the time of surgical operation. Orwell did not call forth the adulation due to sacrificial victims for his first wife.

Orwell, one of the left-wing intelligentsia, provided emotional unity to 'democratic Socialism' with his own moral and spiritual convictions. Humanity and compassion had never been textbook rhetorics with him. He firmly upheld the view that the ethical and spiritual aspects of life alone will ultimately form the basis of human culture and civilisation. Orwell's concept of decency is based on respect for the other person and respect derives from the conviction that all men are brothers. In the society of 'Nineteen Eighty-Four', where observance of one minute hate is a ritual and all loyalty is directed to the state, the feeling of love gets stifled. When Orwell makes Julia comment crisply, "only feelings matter", the ethic of the state of mind of G.M. Moore echoes in her words. To G.M. Moore, nothing matters except the state of mind, such as being in love or apprehending beauty which is to be judged by its intrinsic value and without regard to consequences. Salvation is to be obtained through communion with objects of love, beauty and truth. When Keats bracketed beauty and truth, Orwell had put love and truth at the same pedestal. Noal Annan in his classic book on Leslie Stephen, entitled, "Godless Victorian", articulates truth as an instrument for placing man permanently in the right relation to God. The fat prole woman's love for her children, the over reacting

Spaniard who gave Orwell a packet of cigarette when only one number was requested, the crystal spirited militia man, Gordon Comstock's transformed love for Rosemary, George Bowling's nostalgia for his lady love of the Lower Binfield days as a contrast to his enforced love for Hilda who could not find pleasure in anything for its own sake are the vignettes of love spread over in Orwell's writings. Orwell also relied upon G.M. Moore's techniques of rational analysis and utilitarian ethics, though with reduced emphasis on the principle of pleasure. Evangelicals and utilitarians consider verifiable experience as final. The Evangelicals appeal to the inner light for guidance. They have no faith in human institutions because sinful men create the institutions. How can the institutions of sinful men hope to regenerate society? or how bad men of "Burmese Days" and 'Nineteen Eighty - Four' create good society? Secular evangelicals like Orwell believe that a man's first loyalty is to an ideal rather than to his kinsmen or to the political state and its institutions. They practice self denial, humility, moral courage and self control. The vitality of Orwell's mode of thought in the conceptualisation of 'democratic Socialism' makes him un-Marxian. The dialectical materialism of Marx which justified dictatorship of proletariat and totalitarian state was an anathema to Orwell. The Hegelian glorification of state which buttressed Prussian autocracy and developed Nietzsche's heroic vitalism which in turn inspired inequalities of Nazism was not Orwell's wont. According to J.S. Talman, Israeli political thinker, totalitari^anism is not the child of German idealism but of French Enlightenment. Orwell went against the grain of his time on the strength of his innate sincerity; a sincerity that had sprung from the determination not to let outward circumstances dictate one's action.

He was also driven by a sense of belonging to a chosen few in whom integrity and intelligence were blended. The whole of Orwell's ethical system was based on family: the moral health of the individual and society depended upon the institution of family. Such an orientation enabled him to rely on experience rather than on a metaphysical vision of the world.

Orwell's 'democratic Socialism' encompasses the Common Man immortalised in the British Constitution, in the parliamentary institutions and in the political writings of Walter Allen, especially, in his "Democracy and Individual". To be a democratic Socialist, in the Orwellian sense, is an emotional experience and an intellectual conviction. Orwell, the secular evangelist, as Bernard Crick calls him, followed the dictate of the Church to Her followers; "he who has attained a Higher Truth must himself evangelise". His religious vision in secular context made his writings propagandistic, and in over emphasising the propagandistic pointer of literature, Orwell arrogated to himself the dubious distinction of being in the company of Gobbells (the propaganda Minister of Hitler), as John Milton walked into the trap of the devil by clothing Satan in heroic proportions.

The nomenclature of 'democratic Socialism' brings to a casual mind apparent contradictions and inconsistencies in the very name. Socialist Democracies exist in Western European and Nordic countries. When the ex-President of India says:-

"There is nothing like democratic socialism in the world; socialist democracy exists everywhere. We must give our democracy a socialist face".

(Illustrated Weekly of India March 22-28, 1987)

the external trappings of a form of government and the internal attributes of a political idea are not differentiated. The divorce

between political philosophies and their supporting political and economic structures are facts of modern political life. The economic aspects of Soviet Socialism are no more appealing even to the proletariat s. Romania, even in post-Ceausescu era, is still plagued by the economic system installed by Stalin in the 1930s. The presence of economic instruments of Western Capitalism in Socialist Hungary makes one mull and muse on the Biblical lion-lamb co-existence in Socialism on capitalist footing. Orwell preempted Samuel H. Miller's "Religion in Technical Age" in "Nineteen Eighty - Four", with a frightening vision of what it might mean if the technical age moved into human spirit with its full political implications. All political philosophies, inspite of their claim to being rational, contain non-rational elements; 'democratic Socialism' is not an exception. The 'ethereal' elements of 'democratic Socialism' and 'Scientific socialism' make them logically wanting when empirically tested. The drives behind political behaviour are not solely rational: such drives and compulsions which constitute the 'ideology' always influence the political behaviour.

The inherent human fears, aspirations and ideological compulsions of Rhine Land, especially of Trier, with which Karl Marx was familiar during childhood, also had gone into the structuring of Marxian Socialism. Ethical concepts evolve when man rationalises upon his economic and social circumstances. The non-rational appeal of the political programmes of both democratic and scientific socialisms, inspite of their prima-facie rational nature and low failure rate, is brought out by George Urban in an article entitled "Gorbachev Vs Lenin" - ("Will the Revolution Fail").

"But the decisive appeal of Marxist - Leninism has never been merely or predominantly rational. From the very beginning it fed on the Utopian longings of the restless intellectuals - intellectuals of the type who, in earlier age, would have preached a comparable message with comparable favour as vagrant scholars or egalitarian clerics along the trade routes of Europe". (The Times - London: October: 1987).

In the mind of common man, scientific socialism in its ultra format of Marxian socialism, is the most rational expression of political philosophy. When one applies Matthew Arnold's concept of 'historical fallacy' to the provenance of Marxian theory especially in relation to its autobiographical genesis, one is convinced of David Mc Lellan's views on the childhood influences of Marx in the emergence of Marxian theories. The French doctrine of Utopian socialism appeared in Trier of Rhineland where Mordecai turned Karl Marx was born and brought up. The sparks of French Revolution, about which Robespierre told the Emperor that France could not export democracy and revolution to America without practising the same in the native clime, ignited revolutionary embers in the Rhineland. The political movements in Prussia and Slovak Provinces happened to be the immediate fall-outs of French Revolution which still remains as the mother module of all revolutions. Young Karl Marx was a victim of his father's unemployment brought out by the fluid political situation of Rhineland. The annotative and the connotative verbal symbols of Marx's writings are largely Biblical. A chronic Marxian may brush off the Biblical roots of Marxian economics: but there is still a surprise for him when he is told that, Rabbies of Trier from 16th century onwards were the ancestors of Marx. The pious air of an educated lower middle class family which had gone into Marx's integrated personality and the fact that Mordecai the boy, studied to pray at the knee of his mother would be too heavy for the 'religion less' Marxist to feel proud of the originator of the 'ism'. Karl Marx became one of the premier intellectual aristocrats

of the world from such social and religious origin. Karl Marx carried the cerebral ideas of Socialism about him for more than ten years before their verbalisation; a feat repeated by Charles Darwin by squaring the period into twenty before publishing the Theory of Evolution. Both the theory of revolution and the theory of evolution took Establishment by storm. Karl Marx inputed the most brilliant intellectual parameters into his concepts and theories. That might be the reason though people, who dissociate themselves from Marxism on ideological, political and economic reasons, still get associated with Marx's writings on literary reasons. This view goes contrary to Raymond William's stand that, 'seldom one becomes a Marxist on literary grounds', as may be found in his book entitled 'Literature and Marxism'.

Orwell's 'democratic Socialism' is structurally meta-physical in hooking up similarities among apparently dissimilar objects. His political philosophy like his mode of writing, which achieves the fusion of political and artistic purposes of ^{creative writing,} perfectly betrays an obvious contradiction to the uninitiated. Orwell, who attempted this mode of writing ^{ought} its perfect fusion in "Animal Farm". Democracy is the ideology of tolerance; it is the brain child of scientific empiricism and pragmatism. Alan Sandison interprets Orwell with an off-beat perspective in the critical book entitled, 'The Last Man in Europe'. He traces the common elements, convictions and passions of the 16th century religious rebel, Martin Luther and his 20th century secular counterpart, George Orwell. The pedigree of dissent traceable in Luther runs through the Lollards, Puritans and Evangelicals and gets crystallised in the Liberation Theology of the post-1984 period. Alan Sandison analyses the Protestant consciousness and traditions in Orwell's writing. At a micro level, Orwell's trait of Puritanism as espoused by

Milton, Bunyan and R.H. Tawney, especially the last one who concretised and crystalised the puritan ethics into Socialism, contributed to the rigorous elements of the tradition of 'democratic Socialism'. R.H. Tawney becomes the Pope of Puritanism while G.D.H. Cole and Karl Ka tuky become the Popes of Anglican Socialism and Marxian Communism. David Kubal who gives the restrained compliment of 'not a finished system of political thought' to 'democratic Socialism', is close to Sandison in his interpretation of Orwell's political idea: Kubal says:-

"His intellectual ancestors, then, were 19th century radicals like William Cobbett, Dickens and William Morris and Moderns like Thomas Hardy and D.H. Lawrence, rather than Marx and Lenin. He is also related to the enlightenment, liberal thought of E.M. Forster as well as Arnold". ("Outside the Whale" P:142)

The synthesis of disparate elements of social and political 'isms' which is natural to the compromising intellectual culture of the British, is integral to Orwell's Philosophy. David Kubal brings out the subtle compromise of revolutionary ardour and immobility of status-quo in Orwell as follows:-

"During a period of transition when liberal democracy was obviously breaking up and society was moving toward another, as yet uncertain form, Orwell attempted to shape a political idea with roots in the past that would also accommodate the needs of the present. There was no question in his mind that man in the mid 20th century was irrevocably a social being, that if he were to survive, in fact, he must commit himself to making a just society and combating the tyranny of any orthodoxy which would deprive him of his freedom. But the threat of a cataclysm never frightened him into the extremism of anarchistic individualism

or the other extreme of a political philosophy which denied the self. It is his refusal to see the world in simplistic terms, his courage in attempting a synthesis of self and society, a synthesis in short of liberalism and Marxism which constitutes as contemporary relevance" (Ibid. PP 143-44)".

According to the Puritan tradition, as in the words of R.H. Tawney, "a man tempered by self examination, self discipline and self control is the practical ascetic; whose victories are not in the cloister but on the battlefield, in the counting house and in the market". Orwell, the practical activist, who served God and honoured God, as Richard Baxter, a Puritan preacher, did earlier, had paid his homage first to the toiling Bill and Paddy against the backdrop of carpeted elegance of French hotels, afterwards in the minefields of Ligan and finally on the Spanish war front. Orwell's deep sense of regret for his passivity during the first World War and his frustration at the medical deferment from active participation against Hitler in the Second War linger throughout his writings. Orwell's outlived contemporary, Lee Iacocca also writes about his own medical deferment and its consequent disgrace, in his ^{autobiography} written as a collaborative venture: a business syndrome in itself. The intellectually alive, mentally active and spiritually throbbing personal life of Orwell, including his marriage at death-bed, are indicative of the rigorous aspects of his personality. Orwell conferred a moral sanction upon the glorification of action and the man of action. According to Alan Sandison, "in the Day of Doom when the Saviour sifts the Believers and the Doers and judge them accordingly, Orwell will lead the train of Doers." Lesser mortals of verbal brilliance will be far behind in the line-up.

Work is ritual; it is worship and worship fortifies. Both as a safety valve for the pent-up creative energies of man and as Marxian ^{ethics,} work is a natural necessity. In Orwell, ideas and thoughts come from action; from living life to the lees. His life was a continuous search for experience, knowledge, enlightenment and truth, as Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi's was an experiment with Truth. His intellectual passion and emotional drives took him physically from Burma to Paris and imaginatively to the loveless cellars of Miniluv (Ministry of Love). The political idea of 'democratic Socialism', to a few, only a negative reformist and revisionist force, is a constructive programme to be applied in its area of operation consisting of the natural world and the daily lives of man. The political idea of 'democratic Socialism' is a spiritual value: but not transcendental. It is a derivative of the tradition to which Orwell affiliates himself; the tradition which wants to bring physical realisation of the Kingdom of God on earth—the New Jerusalem. Orwell's critics who bring out his emotional links with Dickens who ^{too} laughed out when angry, stylistic links with Swift and Johnson, place him in the tradition of the spiritualist Dante. Maurice Hussy after observing the passing off of the calendar year 1984 without the occurrence of the apocalyptic fantasies of Orwell says, "If he was a socialist who was inherently anti-Marx, anti-Lenin, anti-Stalin and anti-Trotsky, he can be allowed as unbeliever with a religious temperament to have a leaning towards Christianity". The moralist in Orwell, who could not blow his nose without moralising about the conditions in the handkerchief

industry, as Cyril Connolly mischievously remarks, wanted the religious attitude to prevail in the secular world with the belief in the immortality of human soul. Orwell's belief in life after death was not secretive as several ecclesiastes had maintained then. The hope for man caught in the whirlpool of political 'isms', social orthodoxies and personal 'make-believes' is the religious attitude which accepts death as final while upholding the immortality of the soul. Orwell's imagery of modern man cutting the branch of the tree upon which he sits without being aware of the cess-pool of barbed wire to which he will fall when the branch gives off, brings out the predicament of man without religion. His reference to the mutilation of the wasp, its continued sucking of the jam and the final awareness of the amputation done on it when attempted to fly away is suggestive of man's sleep walking existence till the eve of death. Religious beliefs of Orwell constitute the inner cosmos of his political idea of 'democratic Socialism'.

Orwell was motivated in his enterprise to bring about man's change of heart which is morally and intellectually superior to enforced egalitarian mentality. The working class is the surviving icon of socialist pattern. In order to bring about physical actualisation of his vision of 'democratic Socialism' Orwell even suggested an anti-socialist coalition of prosperous working classes and middle classes of the industrial areas of North and Midlands of Britain. Such a political coalition would repeat 1906 and 1946 of British political history: a coalition that voted out Churchill who ^{had} retorted at the time of Parliamentary decision of equal pay to woman by saying that it would remain only in the statute book. The role of trade union power, in the scheme of societal coalition, whether trade union ^{could be} representative institution or not, was only vaguely touched upon by Orwell. The emergence of Solidarity and Lech Walsea in Poland with two million colliery workers ^{had} subsequently proved that trade union and state ^{not be} might mutually exclusive in a socialist set up.

The finer issues like the equation between the modern day mammoth trade union organizations and other structural outgrowths of democratic socialist society when a popular government constituted under the political idea would ^{come} to rule, were not worked out by Orwell.

Socialism is no more taken at heart as a doctrine concerning production and ownership. In lieu of state monopolies and the monolithic state of Russian brand Socialism, private monopolies and pluralist state which usher in popular ownership of means of production has become economic entities of both socialist and market economies in the present day globalisation of economies. In Britain where socialism is on its last leg, more than 20% of the people are owners of British Telecom and British Gas, especially, the latter which divides the providential boom of the North Sea among the people. In the USA, the Mecca of Capitalism, 26% of the people collectively own the means of production by owning stock market shares. During the hey-day of Socialism, nationalisation was the norm. Capitalism by the institution of privatisation of national⁴ist means of production achieved what Socialism could not usher in by socialisation of means of production. Moreover worker's participation in the equity capital of corporate bodies makes them the owners and this in turn gives financial security to the working class known previously only to the middle class. Ownership through secondary market gives to the working class something to hold on to and hand over to the children. 'democratic Socialism' stands for owning means of production while Socialism is for working by it. By rewording Anthony Eden's concept of the 'property owning democracy', 'democratic Socialism' can be termed as a socialism that owns property. The callous Socialism which brings in dependency, bureaucratic mismanagement and inefficiency veiled in the collectivist slogan, is no more the socialism espoused by the idealists of the 30s and the cynical idealists of post-War era. The assumptions of 'democratic Socialism' are individualistic rather than collectivist, preferring private to state ownership, putting the rights of the larger numbers before

the interest of the trade unions. The individualist streak of 'democratic Socialism' could be the saving grace of Britain, where collectivist influence on the intelligentsia is still above the threshold limit.

The cheekiness of the British Monarch who said in the Thirties that everybody in Buckingham Palace was a socialist, when contrasted with the disowning of Socialist leaning even by confirmed British and Continental socialists sends the message of 'dated nature' about conventional Socialism. Eastern European citizenry might finally take itself to the subtle compromise offered by 'democratic Socialism'. The socialist turned Communist party of Bulgaria, the Christian Democrats of Western Europe, Socialist Unities of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Social Democrats of Germany and Benelux countries are Democratic Socialists both in content and style under different banners. Historical facts and realities have been undergoing turbulent changes since the Revolution of the Great War vintage. There has not been political compulsion for unenforced on-line Socialism except the personal angularities of pseudo-Marxists. The doddering Big Brothers are out; let ideas undergo tinkering when political facts demand so and Socialism be replaced by democracy rooted in Socialism.

The economic and political influences of Adam Smith who died 200 years ago are writ large in all Capitalist and Social Democratic nations of the world 'even though the 'Wealth of Nations' does not contain a single analytical idea, principle or method that was entirely new', as Joseph Schumpeter observes. Technologies of all major industrial activities have been remaining without revolutionary changes since Industrial Revolution. The adeptness of the Japanese in tinkering with old technology revolutionises automobile, electronic and micro chip industry. George Orwell's political writings do not entomb any epoch making new idea; but the old political ideas' applicability in the present day context might take 'democratic Socialism' to the rank of immortals.
