

ambitious politicians, who try to win the support of the masses by their tall talk of radical reforms on the one hand, and the Leader of the Nation, on the other, who has caught the imagination of the populace by his anti-colonialism and patriotic demagoguery. Mr. Ben Bella is reported to believe in "communist methods" of progress, though he is not yet a communist. He is also described as being a Radical, while the Premier, Ben, Kheda, is said to be a moderate anti-colonialist who believes in modest reforms but not in a Revolution. Both do not like foreigners, but the Premier believing as he does, in revolutionary progress of his country, has reconciled himself to the prospect of fruitful co-operation with the European 'Colons' who can still play a useful role, if they so will it, in the economic regeneration of Algeria. A sudden withdrawal of French industrialists and technocrats from the scene, the Premier perhaps fears, will take the country in an economic collapse, not unlike that witnessed in Congo on its attaining freedom, with all its horrors and sufferings inflicted on the common people.

This conflict resembles, in some of its features, the controversy that was waging fiercely between the then fiery Socialist Nehru and veteran Gandhian followers like Shri Rajagopalachari and Vallabhbhai Patel on the eve of India's Independence and even thereafter for a long time within the Congress ranks. The only difference is that, in the case of India, the Labour Government which was in power in Great

Britain in 1946, peacefully transferred power to the Congress hands which were badly mauled, battered and bruised in the so-called non-violent 'Quit India' struggle, while in the case of Algeria, freedom has come as a Truce between the liberal-minded President de-Gaulle of France and the fierce Algerian freedom fighters. In India, the Gandhians initially came to power, only to be thrown by the way-side in the end, by Nehruvian socialists with their pompous Radicalism, tinged with small concessions and mercies shown to Gandhian fads. The result is that practical-minded moderate politicians have been simply swept out of political existence in India, by the on-rush of Nehru's socialist avalanche.

In Algeria the liberal politician Mr. Ben Kheda has come to power with the full support of liberal politicians of France. Let us hope that, where the British failed in India, the French will succeed in helping the Algerian leaders in their pioneering work of establishing a broad-based and firmly rooted Liberal Democratic Regime, through the Constituent Assembly to be shortly convened and setting an example to the newly emerging African nations of a New Way of Evolutionary Progress towards a Free and Prosperous life. For accomplishing this task, the Algerians will do well to remember that they have voted overwhelmingly, not only for National Independence but also for Co-operation with the French, which will enable their country to tide over the difficult problems arising out of her very Freedom. And they will agree that the problem they will have to tackle first and foremost, is how to maintain National Unity and save their Freedom, so hard fought for and won, from the machinations of ambitious militarists who pose to be the 'Revolutionary' leaders of the masses.

LINGUISTIC CHAUVINISM

The Congress Government and the Congress leaders seem to be bent upon bringing about linguistic chaos in the country. No two Congress leaders are agreed on the policy to be followed in regard to the language question. Their anti-British past, with its intense hatred for everything associated with the English people, prevents them from looking dispassionately at the question of assigning a proper place to English as the Lingua Franca of India or as a medium of instruction in schools and colleges. The recent statement of Mr. Shrimani the Minister for Education at the Centre, that the switch-over from English to a regional language as a medium of instruction at the University stage, could not be delayed for long and must be completed by the end of the Third Plan, is simply astounding, in face of the clear opinion expressed by the University Grants Commission that such a change must be viewed from purely an academic point of view and no step in this direction should be

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taken without making proper preparations for it. But even our Congress Ministers of Education are politicians first and last and will sacrifice the educational standards and even the future of our rising generation, for a paltry political gain of the Congress Party. Even, assuming for a moment, that such a switch over to a regional language at the University level is inevitable—which proposition has been challenged by many educationists themselves—there is no gain-saying the fact that no regional language in our country is today sufficiently equipped with the required text books and literature even in Arts courses, not to speak of Science and Technological studies. The Government perhaps must be thinking that for effecting this questionable change in the medium of instruction, it would not matter even if a whole generation or two had to be sacrificed. Otherwise one could not understand why the Government should be in such a hot and indecent haste in this matter, when the equally important allied questions of a Lingua Franca of India; inter-states language of communication, National Integration through a uniform educational system all over India, are yet awaiting a final solution.

The latest Government motto seems to be 'Down with English; Up with Regional Languages'. It perhaps is the outcome of a keen sense of frustration that has overtaken the Hindi fanatics who have miserably failed in their attempt to foist on the country Hindi in place of English, as the All-India Language by the year 1965. So out of spite for the English language, they are now encouraging regional linguistic chauvinism which will only strengthen the forces of national dis-integration in the country and in course of time, will tend to make out a strong and irresistible case for Dravidian and such other separatist demands.

A GREAT LOSS TO THE COUNTRY

India and the Congress Party in particular have undoubtedly suffered a great loss in, the passing away of the two Congress stalwarts Dr. B. C. Roy and Babu Purshottamdas Tandon, on one and the same day, July 1, 1962. Both were on the wrong side of 80 in age at the time of their death, having passed a major part of their lives in complete dedication to the service of their country. They were in a sense makers of India of the Gandhian period.

Dr. Roy came into political prominence as a Lieutenant of the late Mr. C. R. Das of Bengal who founded the Swarajya Party after the great debacle that beset the Non-co-operation Movement of Gandhiji in 1923. In post-war period, he rose to the position of the uncrowned king of Bengal and the most trusted colleague and counsellor of Pandit Nehru. By his urbanity of manners and a liberal outlook, he won the confidence of both the Hindus and Moslems of Bengal in the worst days of partition and there-

after and the rehabilitation problem of the refugees between West Bengal and East Bengal claimed his first attention. He was also an eminent physician till the last. He never failed to spare a few hours a day for his patients who sought his medical aid and advice. The country is surely the poorer for the loss of such an experienced and tried political leader.

Mr. Tandon was selfless, saintly and humble and yet so majestic and great as a leader and patriot. His brutal frankness and pure idealism brought him many a time during his tenure of Congress Presidentship, in conflict with Nehru and Azad. Some political observers even think that India would have been saved the travails of Socialistic Pattern of Mr. Nehru, if Patel-Tandon combination had not come to a premature end, by the untimely death of Vallabhbhai Patel.

HERE AND THERE

Mr. Morarji Desai has gone to Europe on a mission for 'rescue operation' of India's Third Plan. He will be visiting Bonn, Geneva, Paris and Rome. Being annoyed at this affront to 'the Nation's Sovereign right to get economic or military aid from any country she liked communist or democratic, his Socialist colleagues in the Cabinet are reported to be thinking of having an Economic Deal with Moscow on the pattern of the historic MIG Deal. Their emissary is expected to visit shortly Moscow, Warsaw, East Berlin, Budapest and Prague if not Peking for this purpose.

The Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr. Salazar referring to Goa's liberation said at a Press Conference at Washington that if U.S.A. really wanted it could have prevented 'that nefarious crime against international law and thereby saved the Pacifist Prestige of Nehru'. Surely it does one's heart good to see dictator Salazar being more loyal to Nehru's Pacifism than Nehru himself.

The Finance Minister recently declared that nothing has been found so far in respect of Orissa's Chief Minister Patnaik's violation of Foreign Exchange, but the enquiry is being continued. A reader asks, what for? The answer is: obviously to prove that nothing incriminating could ever be found against a Congress Minister though he might sin against the whole world.

Mrs. Tarkeshwari Sinha in a speech at Bombay wondered how the Swatantra could command influence in the rural areas despite Congress agrarian reforms. She has yet to learn that the rural folk understand and appreciate the Swatantra programme of 'Peasant Welfare' better than the mystifying Congress programme of 'Collective Farming', euphemistically called 'Co-operative Farming'.

The Central Flow Of Congress Leadership

M. A. Venkata Rao

THE deliberations of the Government-sponsored National Integration Conference and of the first meeting of the Council set up by it as a standing advisory body, (to judge from press reports,) have made no serious contribution to the problem of national integration.

Party politics have weighed too much with the participants. The Prime Minister and his party men seem more anxious to transfer the major responsibility for fostering disintegrating factors and attitudes on to other parties, especially leaders of "communal" bodies than to probe honestly into the root causes of the malady that threatens to sabotage national progress in its very foundations.

An analysis of the disintegrating attitudes displayed by leaders of groups and parties in the post-independence period reveals a central flaw that vitiates most of our well-meant efforts at national construction and betterment.

This defect has been in maleficent operation in Congress leadership even from the days of pre-independence. It has vitiated the great national movement and has introduced side-streams of influence that run counter to national unity.

It has been compendiously called "communalism" imitating the terminology of British critics. Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru and the other doughty lieutenants of the Congress movement were the principal embodiments and nurses of this communalism.

Psychologically speaking, the defect consists in an attitude that recognises an *entity less than the nation as a whole* for purposes of the solution of national problems.

Religion, caste, tribe, race, region, language, class, kinship, economic rank, aristocratic status were in theory set aside in the all-enveloping national emotion in the days of the struggle for freedom.

No doubt the British rulers kept on harping on them as realities not to be ignored in politics which gave them a vastly enhanced power and status in affairs.

The British fostered the Aligarh movement as a deliberate and conscious counter to the Congress movement for swaraj on the basis of a single homogeneous nationality.

They introduced separate electorates drafting even the Muslim delegates' memorandum to the Viceroy Lord Minto!

In the South, they set up the nonbrahmins as a counter to the influence of brahmin Congressmen like C. Rajagopalachari and nursed their jealousy and hatred of Brahmins. We have today the poison fruit of that 'divide and rule'

policy in the Dravida Kazagam and Munneta Kazagam separatist movement in Madras.

It was natural for the alien rulers to practise these time-honoured imperialist policies of dividing to rule. But the leaders of the national movement should have seen through them and refrained from participating in their game. On the contrary, they breathed in the same atmosphere and adopted the same psychology (unconsciously it may be) in their strategy and tactics. This led to a recognition in practice of the entities like community, creed, region and class as realities entitled to first consideration in nation-building. The leaders of Congress had no realisation of the truth that these divisions may have their own justification in their own legitimate special spheres but were pernicious in the field of national aspiration and administration. In this field *the nation as a whole* should be treated as a single, *indivisible entity*. This is the democratic principle that each man should count in the nation as one man and no one as more than one: One man, one vote.

The lesser configurations of religious fellowship, ethnic bond, kinship, economic class, regional affinity and linguistic identity should not have been taken into consideration in resisting foreign rule.

On the contrary, Congress adopted the same principles and recognised the same entities and argued that they also would favour these entities as much, and more than the rulers! If the British were the champions of the Muslims and nonbrahmins and tribals and untouchables, Congress said that they also would foster the welfare of these groups *as groups* better under a regime of national self-government!

No wonder that after the coming of independence, we find the Congress Government trying to keep itself in perpetual power by retaining these entities in the sphere of national administration as the basis for preference in education and official patronage, administrative jobs, business contracts and so on.

This is the central flaw that has undone much of the achievement of national solidarity that had accrued in the struggle for freedom. The possession of power in the Centre and the States by large groups of insufficiently national backward groups and the temptation to appeal to caste and religion for voting support have together generated the most powerful disintegrating forces in independent India, beside which the bad influence of all other political parties in the same direction has been but superficial.

It is ironical therefore for Mr. Nehru and his Congress lieutenants to seek blandly to put the blame for stirring parochial, sectarian and creedal divisions on rival parties.

Mahatma Gandhi was not free from responsibility for this psychology of over-valuing partial entities in the national sphere.

His attitude to Muslims is receiving high praise even today. But truth requires us to recognise that he was the real initiator of this fateful policy.

The earliest instance of it in Gandhi's work in India was his hasty, impulsive identification of Indian national sentiment with the Khilafat movement against the daring action of Mustafa Kemal Pasha of Turkey who abolished the Caliphate as a moribund and reactionary institution. Gandhi and his followers swear by secularism where it is a matter of sacrificing Indian interests but forget it when advocating Islamic religious, imperialist, reactionary interests and movements!

This was to recognise Islamic fellowship as a political entity as a distinct and independent factor disrupting integral Indian nationalism.

Gandhi continued this attitude in his satyagraha struggles. He launched several satyagraha struggles against the British but never a single protest did he make on the violent assaults of Muslims in lawless riots and attacks on innocent people (men, women and children) of other communities, unarmed and unprepared for dastardly and sudden assaults.

He refused even to condemn the brutalities when committed by his favourite community. This antagonised non-Muslims but not as much as it would have other peoples in other countries.

If Congress under Gandhi and Nehru stood for integral nationalism inclusive of Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Jew, tribal and so on, it should never have recognised separate electorates for Muslims and Sikhs. Non-Cooperation with assembly work should have continued from the days of the Minto-Morley Reforms. But no. They were too weak.

They should never have promised a share in a coalition government in the U.P. to Muslim Leaguers.

They should never have recognised Mr. Jinnah and his claims to represent the Mussulmans of India.

Gandhi and Nehru should never have negotiated with Mr. Jinnah but should resolutely and to the last have refused to recognise the claims of Muslims for a share to the sovereignty in free India on the basis of religious separateness and fellowship. If Muslim, why not Christian? Why not Sikh? Why not Veerasaiva? Why not Nagaland? Why not Konkani raj? Why not allow Goa to remain a separate entity?—and so on to the ultimate conclusion of the (not mere balkanisation) but atomisation of India! This is what

comes of working in terms of stereotypes, pigeon-holes, compartments unconsciously using entities less than the nation as a whole as basis of dealing with nationals in the field of national administration and feeling.

This is communalism, casteism, regionalism, linguism, sectarianism, creedalism (e.g. socialist and nonsocialist, which is developing today as an additional divisive factor). And this psychology influencing every policy and deed of government and of party leaders in Congress in every sphere of life is the supreme force making for disintegration in the country today.

Compared with this terrific stream of subversive influence permeating every sphere of life and every region in the vast country from Kashmir to the Cape and from Assam to Gujerat, all other fissiparous trends introduced by others are but trivial in effect. Even the communist movement for disintegration and alienation comes second to Congress in this unsavoury record!

The protests of intellectuals and nationalist thinkers from all walks of life including the administration have had no effect in stemming this tremendous evil for which the ruling party is responsible.

The reason is that the policy favours the small man in power.

In education, the old 'non-brahmin' movement has burgeoned into a mighty banyan tree and has entrenched itself unashamedly into practice of discrimination against merit and poverty.

In Mysore and Madras this social poison has shown itself at its worst.

No one today is against the uplift of the backward. But when ninety-seven percent of pupils get seats reserved and scholarships and freeships awarded, not on the basis of a single broad group of needy pupils but on the complicated basis of thirty or more subsects, the policy becomes ridiculous in its anti-national small-mindedness.

It is good to know that in Maharashtra, economic condition and merit are hereafter to be considered for assistance in schools. In Mysore university a similar move has just been at last made.

Poverty and merit will bring in every pupil who deserves assistance without erecting subsects into political entities with claims for preference. This communal policy has introduced more bitterness and sharpened inter-caste and inter-communal hostilities among young students, women folk and teachers than any other single measure of Congress rule.

Added to this is the new practice of provincial State governments to require nativity or domicile certificates from students for admission to colleges—a period of fifteen years is insisted upon!

(Continued on page 6)

Gandhi—Nehru Succession

By M. N. Tholal

AT the Prime Minister's Press Conference on June 13 last a correspondent complained that, having himself been groomed for succession by Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Nehru was strangely averse to naming his successor. Mr. Nehru testily replied that Mahatma Gandhi had done nothing of the sort, that no question of succession had arisen in the Mahatma's time and all that had happened was that Gandhi had named Acharya Vinoba Bhave and him as the first and second satyagrahis during the individual civil disobedience movement (of 1940). At any rate, the Prime Minister added, the Mahatma was not thinking in terms of offices and power.

Mr. Nehru was far from correct in saying that Mahatma Gandhi had done nothing by way of grooming him for succession. The fact itself is a matter of history, having been put on record by Gandhiji in his weekly, and the reasons therefor are interesting in the extreme, although not generally known to students of political affairs in the country, because secrecy was the keynote of conducting political affairs in the Gandhian era.

POONA PACT

To understand the history of this succession business in its true perspective, one has to begin from the Poona Pact of 1932, which was Gandhiji's greatest achievement. Having regard to the fact that, for this achievement, all that was required was to bring round Dr. Ambedkar, it was really not much of an achievement. But the fact remained that a British Cabinet decision had been upset. Gandhi must have foreseen what happened before embarking on his fast unto death. To save him, who was "sacrificing" his life to prevent Hindu society from being split in two by the MacDonald Award, Hindu leaders would gather together and bear hard on Dr. Am-

(Continued from page 5)

In Andhra, this kind of long domicile or birth certificate is required. In Maharashtra, even residents of decades are required, it seems, to acquire domicile certificates to qualify for appointment in public service.

We know that in Bihar and Assam this condition has been insisted on for appointments by private bodies like the Tatas as well as by the Government of India Oil Companies! This nullifies all-India citizenship and is subversive of the Constitution and is the basic flaw that is destroying national unity. And this we owe to Congress leadership in party and Government.

bedkar for all they were worth and the poor fellow would not be able to resist the horde, which would include several knights. For them to win over Ambedkar would for the Mahatma be to emerge triumphant from his fast unto death.

This triumph gave him a feeling of confidence in himself which even he never possessed before and he began thinking of achieving Swaraj single-handed. ("Leave it to me alone," he said in 1934.) We are indebted to Jawaharlal Nehru for the information (in the chapter on 'Impasse' in his Autobiography) that "at Gandhiji's instance after Poona, all Congress Committees and offices had been suspended." Gandhiji did it secretly, although he used to say "I abhor secrecy." To suspend all Congress Committees and offices was to suspend the civil disobedience movement which the former were conducting. But he did not say so and one very natural result of the suspension was to drive the movement further underground.

The Indian National Congress, however, at its session in Calcutta on March 31, 1933, which the police tried to break up by lathi blows, passed a resolution urging that "the civil disobedience movement should be strengthened and extended" and called upon the people to "pursue the movement with greater vigour." But Gandhiji suddenly on May 8, 1933, i.e., within six weeks, without any rhyme or reason, started a self-purificatory fast of 21 days. In his own words it was "a heart prayer for purification of myself and my associates for greater vigilance in connection with the Harijan cause." In view of the nature of the object of the fast and the attitude of mind it disclosed, Government decided that he be set at liberty.

"LEAVE IT TO ME ALONE"

Immediately on release Gandhiji issued a statement recommending suspension of the civil disobedience campaign for six weeks, as during the three weeks of his fast "all civil resisters will be in a state of terrible suspense." He also suggested that Government should take advantage of this suspension and unconditionally discharge all the civil resisters, and even hoped that an understanding will be reached between the Government and the Congress "as a result of my effort." The movement was accordingly suspended by the Congress President for six weeks, but Government, in a communique issued the next day, wanted withdrawal of the movement and not "a mere temporary suspension of the civil disobedience movement intended to lead up to negotiations with the Congress leaders."

Gandhiji had started a religious movement while his political civil disobedience movement was on, and, as the Congress historian, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, admits, "the response to the call for the removal of untouchability did doubtless affect the progress of the Civil Disobedience movement." Before suspending the movement he had suspended all Congress committees and offices. Subhas Chandra Bose and Vithalbhai J. Patel, who were then in Vienna, thereupon issued a joint statement saying, "The latest action of Mr. Gandhi in suspending civil disobedience is a confession of failure. We are clearly of the opinion that Mr. Gandhi as a political leader has failed. The time has therefore come for a radical reorganisation of the Congress on a new principle with a new method, for which a new leader is essential, as it is unfair to expect Mr. Gandhi to work a programme not consistent with his lifelong principles. If the Congress as a whole can undergo this transformation, it will be the best course. Failing that a new party will have to be formed within the Congress composed of radical elements." This, as anybody can see was a forthright statement; and surely it should not have offended a man who had come to the conclusion that he could achieve Swaraj single-handed. His own conclusion should have made him leave the Congress and let Congressmen go their way. But did he? Partly. How he did it throws a flood of light on him.

When in 1934 Gandhiji decided to suspend the civil disobedience movement started in 1930, which had in fact already fizzled out, he issued a statement which came as a shock to many. Among these was Jawaharlal Nehru. It provoked him to start writing his Autobiography in June, 1934, within a couple of months of the publication of Gandhiji's statement. Issued from Patna on April 7, 1934, it was as amazing as it was amusing. Here are some excerpts from the same:

"This statement owes its inspiration to a personal chat with the inmates and associates of the Satyagraha Ashram.... More specially is it due to a revealing information I got in the course of a conversation about a valued companion of long standing, who was found reluctant to perform the full prison task and preferring his private studies to the allotted task. This was undoubtedly contrary to the rules of Satyagraha.... I saw at once that I must for the time being remain the sole representative of civil resistance in action.... After much searching of the heart I have arrived at the conclusion that in the present circumstances only one, and that myself, and no other should, for the time being, bear the responsibility for civil resistance, if it is to succeed as a means of achieving Purna Swaraj.... I claim to be a Satyagraha expert in the making.... They should leave it to me alone."

As for the civil resisters, the statement continued, "they must learn the art and the beauty

of self-denial and voluntary poverty. Let it be understood that civil resistance is for those who know and perform the duty of voluntary obedience to law and authority."

SATYAGRAHA EXPERT

But what was this Satyagraha expert-in-the-making himself doing? He used to demand and obtain, and even fast to enforce his demand for facilities in prison to conduct his campaign for Harijan uplift. On November 7, 1932, Mr. Haig, the Home Member, made the following statement in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

"Recently Mr. Gandhi represented that, if he was to carry out a programme which he has set before himself in regard to the removal of untouchability, it is necessary that he should be given greater freedom in regard to visitors and correspondence on matters strictly limited to this question. The Government does not wish to interpose obstacles in Mr. Gandhi's efforts in connection with the problem of untouchability which, as Mr. Gandhi pointed out, is a moral and religious reform having nothing to do with the Civil Disobedience movement. The Government have therefore removed all restrictions regarding visitors, correspondence and publicity relating to matters which are strictly limited to the removal of untouchability."

Pattabhi Sitaramayya says in his "History of the Congress":—"The Government's refusal to continue the facilities granted to him before his release in May (1933) again forced Mahatma Gandhi to commence a fast i.e., within a few days of his re-arrest." This was in August, 1933, nearly eight months before he issued the statement of April 7, 1934, containing the revealing information about a valued companion of long standing who was found reluctant to perform the full prison task, preferring his private studies to his allotted task.

This "valued companion of long standing" was generally taken to be Jawaharlal Nehru. The vehemence of the latter's retort to his Master in his Autobiography suggests that he too took the reference to be to himself. In any case, in the matter of private studies in jail, no Congressman could possibly beat Nehru, and Gandhiji's objection to private studies was like straining at gnats while swallowing camels. Nehru does not refer to the example set by his master, but devotes quite a few chapters in his Autobiography to condemning Gandhi and Gandhism in no uncertain terms. Here are a few excerpts by way of example.

"MONSTROUS AND IMMORAL"

"I read it with amazement and sinking of heart.... The imperfection or fault, if such it was, of the 'friend' was a very trivial affair. I confess that I have often been guilty of it and I am wholly unrepentant. But even if it was a serious matter, was a vast national movement, involving scores of thousands directly and mil-

lions indirectly, to be thrown out of gear because an individual had erred? This seemed to be a monstrous proposition and an immoral one. I cannot presume to speak of what is or what is not Satyagraha, but in my own little way I have endeavoured to follow certain standards of conduct, and all those standards were shocked and upset by this statement of Gandhiji's....

"I felt also that Gandhiji had acted rightly in suspending civil resistance. But the reason he had given seemed to me an insult to intelligence and an amazing performance for a leader of a national movement.... His Ashram inmates had taken all kinds of pledges. But the Congress had not done so; I had not done so. Why should we be tossed hither and thither for, what seemed to me, metaphysical and mystical reasons in which I was not interested? Was it conceivable to have any political movement on this basis?"

"A vast distance seemed to separate him from me. With a stab of pain I felt that the chords of allegiance that had bound me to him for many years had snapped.... His fasts and his concentration on other issues during the continuance of civil disobedience, when his comrades were in the grip of the struggle, his personal and self-created entanglement.... his new loyalties and pledges which put in the shade the old loyalty and pledge and job, undertaken together with many colleagues, while that job yet was unfinished, had all oppressed me.... I realised that I had clear and definite views about many matters which were opposed to his....

"What, after all, was he aiming at? In spite of the closest association with him for many years I am not clear in my own mind about his objective." Referring to his condemnation of railways, telegraphs, hospitals, lawyers, doctors and such-like, he wrote: "All this seems to me utterly wrong and harmful doctrine and impossible of achievement. Behind it lies Gandhiji's love and praise of poverty and the ascetic life."

Referring to Gandhiji's condemnation of "private studies"—"Burn your books" the Mahatma told a friend of mine who went to join his Ashram—Nehru wrote, "This desire to get away from the mind of man to primitive conditions where mind does not count seems to me quite incomprehensible. The very thing that is the glory and triumph of man is decried and discouraged and a physical environment which will oppress the mind and prevent its growth is considered desirable."

For Gandhiji, he wrote, "any union is a crime when the desire for progeny is absent" and "the adoption of artificial methods must result in imbecility and nervous prostration." Commenting on this he wrote, "Personally I find this attitude unnatural and shocking, and if he is right, then I am a criminal on the verge of imbecility and nervous prostration.... For my part I think Gandhiji is absolutely wrong in this matter."

"MENTAL PULP"

These quotations are from the Chapter entitled "Desolation" in his Autobiography. In the succeeding chapter entitled "Paradoxes" he continues his condemnation of his Master and his creed. And in the next "Conversion or Compulsion" he wrote, "I dislike violence intensely, and yet I am full of violence myself and, consciously or unconsciously I am, often attempting to coerce others. And can anything be greater coercion than the psychic coercion of Gandhiji which reduces many of his intimate followers and colleagues to a state of mental pulp?"

If Nehru had seriously asked himself the why of this, he would have been quite clear in his mind about Gandhiji's objective, which he was not "in spite of the closest association with him for many years." Can it be that he never asked the reason why, not even asked himself, not for a year or two but for decades, while the answer was staring every thinking man in the face since Gandhi's fanatical support of the Khilafat movement? Gandhi stood for self and nothing else. If Khilafat raised his stature, it was welcome. If the Harijan cause raised his stature, it was welcome and the national movement forgotten. When he said non-violence cannot fail, he meant Gandhi cannot fail and that was why the "private studies" of an individual in prison had led to the failure of the movement.

What matters here is that Nehru in 1934 came to the same conclusion as Bose in 1933 when the former asked (as in the quotation above): "Was it conceivable to have any political movement on this basis?" Why then did not the two join to throw out Gandhi? The answer to this forms a most intriguing chapter of modern Indian history, which must be reserved for the next issue.

COMMUNIST EXPLOITATION OF THE PROLETARIAT

Communism has never been able to solve the problem of the efficient use of agricultural resources; and effective industrialization requires an increase in agricultural productivity. Wherever communism has gone, hunger has followed. The one contribution that communism can theoretically make to economic development is ironically the very thing for which Marx condemned laissez-faire capitalism in the nineteenth century: that is, its capacity to accelerate development by grinding the faces of the poor. By holding down mass living standards and depriving the workers of the produce of their labour, communism can sweat investment capital out of the hides of the working class. In paradoxical fact, it is communism which has provided the best means known to history for the exploitation of the proletariat.

— A. R. Schlesinger in *Ideology Vs Democracy*.

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

State Enterprises In India

Dr. N. Das, I.C.S. (Retd.)

THE evolution of the public sector in the economy and polity of India is a very recent one. Unlike in Western countries, its history in India can be compressed within the last decade, or to be more precise, within the period following the attainment of independence by India in August 1947. Still, it is a strange and fascinating story—with a uniqueness of its own and relatively free from the doctrinaire ideologies and catchwords which have accompanied the development of the public sector in such countries as the U.S.S.R. and China."

These opening sentences from my book, *The Public Sector in India*, remain substantially true even today. But, of late, there has been a change in emphasis. Although the Industrial Policy Resolution of April 30, 1956, still holds the field, implementation of that policy appears to have acquired a new urgency. The public sector has been assigned a much more important role in the Third Five-Year Plan than in either of the two previous Plans. Even excluding outlays on (a) irrigation and power projects, (b) such public enterprises as the railways, posts and telegraphs, civil aviation and defence production, and (c) development of cottage and small industries, the Government proposes to spend Rs. 1,520 crores on State industrial and commercial enterprises during the period 1961-66, as against only Rs. 74 crores spent during 1951-56 and Rs. 900 crores estimated to have been spent during 1956-61.

Today, nobody disputes the necessity for such outlays. As a matter of fact, public enterprises are now an accepted feature of the Indian economy. That does not, however, take away the right of the public to examine whether these enormous investments (resources obtained by high taxation) are being properly utilised or not, whether State enterprises work efficiently, ensure optimum utilisation of resources, human as well as material, and give to the people goods and services of satisfactory quality at reasonable prices.

If one were to make a frank appraisal of the industrial and commercial enterprises which are operating in the public sector today, one

cannot but come to the conclusion that quite a few of them have not been functioning efficiently: this, despite the fact that they operate under monopolistic or quasi-monopolistic conditions, and with the enormous prestige and power of Government behind them. A special Correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*, who recently undertook a seven-week study tour of 45 selected public sector enterprises, reported as follows: "Good, bad and indifferent: this fairly sums up the varying degree of efficiency with which public sector projects are executed and administered." Evaluations made by the Estimates Committee of the Parliament from time to time also support this conclusion.

Government spokesmen, however, hotly contest such statements. According to them, such criticism is *mala fide*, emanating from a desire to run down all activities in the public sector. As a result, those in charge often tend to gloss over some of the obvious defects in planning, execution and management and to strike up an attitude of omniscience. This is rather unfortunate, because it is not to the public interest that State undertakings should function inefficiently.

A solid proof of the not-so-efficient conducting of public enterprises is the fact that, despite the prevalence of insulated monopoly conditions, so few of them have been able to make profits. Even where a beginning has been made in this direction, it is debatable to what extent such profits are profits in the commercial sense. It is well-known that commercial methods of accounting have not been adopted in many public sector enterprises. Certain items which should appear as expenses chargeable to the unit, do not do so. In not a few cases, profits are shown by charging an artificially high price for the end products. This sometimes brings about a curious situation. As an example, we may cite the case of steel. The recent report of the working of the Hindustan Steel, Ltd., clearly indicates that an increase in the retention price of steel would be unavoidable if the steel plants in the public sector are to show a profit. If there were no State units in steel, such an increase would perhaps not even be thought of.

Why is it that public enterprises are not functioning better? The reasons, in my opinion, are two-fold. Firstly, there is acute shortage of managerial skill. The importance of building up a proper managerial class has not been fully appreciated, with the result that most projects depend today on civil servants and retired Government officials. By temperament and training, they are not suited for such tasks. Secondly, there is too much of centralisation and red tape and too little of co-ordination between these units and the different organs/departments of Governments. The present inadequacies in the matter of providing transport and electric power are two typical instances of the inability of the public sector to rise up to the requirements of Government's own plans.

This brings in the question of accountability of public enterprises. Now, there is a basic dilemma in reconciling the claims of public accountability with those of operating and financial flexibility. The greater the insistence of accountability, the less the possibility of being flexible, and vice-versa. Yet, as is well-known, the principal factors which give strength and vitality to commercial and industrial undertakings are initiative, enterprise, competition and decentralised administration. Can these factors function in an atmosphere of too much accountability?

The position is rather awkward in India today. The very fact that some at least of the public enterprises are not functioning as efficiently as they should, makes it desirable that there ought to be some independent machinery to evaluate their performance. On the other hand, such a machinery may become too inquisitorial (this is the charge which has been levelled at the Estimates Committee of Parliament) and its activities may sap the initiative and enterprise of those in local charge.

Recently, a method was suggested whereby a balance could be struck between the autonomy, initiative and enterprise of the men on the spot on the one hand and public accountability of these undertakings on the other. It was proposed that parliamentary control should be exercised through a special Standing Committee. This Committee would not be a "fault-finding body" or a "Super-Board of Management". Instead, its objective would be to make constructive suggestions for improvement in the management and working of public enterprises: it would help the managements of such concerns to correct their mistakes in time. Let us hope that such a Committee would start functioning as early as possible in 1962.

The mere setting up of a Standing Committee of Parliament will not, however, solve the basic problems facing public enterprises in India today. I have already referred to two such problems: these are (a) shortage of managerial skill and (b) too much centralisation and red-tape and too little co-ordination. Another problem is that of complacency in the higher echelons of Government. There is almost a naive belief that because an undertaking is run by Government, it ought to be above criticism, especially when that criticism comes from those not directly associated with it. This again is unfortunate. The history of public enterprises all over the world shows that although, in theory, a public enterprise should have no other objective than public service, in practice, it may fall conspicuously short of this ideal. Not only that: it may even develop into a kind of "managerial empire" in which the executive, enjoying the protection of the State, may become singularly smug, apathetic and inefficient.

According to the latest official statistics, State enterprises in India appear to have overcome their teething troubles and many of them have reached or even surpassed the break-even point. It has been pointed out that the level of profits in 1961 was, in many cases, higher than in the past, with the result that some of the ventures found it possible to declare dividends or finance sizeable expansion from internal resources.

All this is satisfactory in so far as it goes. A little scrutiny would, however, show that, in most cases, such "profits" have accrued under conditions when there is no competition from other units. Profits have occurred because the articles manufactured are consumed entirely by Government (e.g. the products of the Integral Coach Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works and the Indian Telephone Industries) or because, in the absence of competition, the consumer could be charged an arbitrary price (e.g. the products of the Hindustan Antibiotics).

It is, therefore, time that people realised that there is no magic in the words "public enterprise" and that mere extension of the public sector does not provide an answer to the problems of entrepreneurship, management and a fair deal for consumers. As the experience of public undertakings in the U.K., U.S.A., France, Italy and the Scandinavian countries shows, the transition to a Welfare State and a more egalitarian society can come only the hard way—through better management and more efficient production.

*Equalising Opportunities—VI

NEXT STEP FOR MANKIND

By Wendal Bull

In its function as a medium of exchange the new kind of money being proposed should consist of simple acknowledgements of specified debts together with the issuers' pledges to pay them, written in the form of bank cheques, issuable solely for labour received (direct or embodied in products) and redeemable solely in equal labour, as measured and stated in man-hours of freedom. A specimen of the balanced freedom might be illustrated as follows:

No. _____

Date _____

DEBS MEMORIAL CREDIT EXCHANGE

Plainville, Iowa.

Credit to the Account of

.....Co-operative Clothiers, Inc.....

45 Hrs. 20 Min.

For: 1 Suit

Deduct on demand, from the account of

Signature _____

These freedom-balancing cheques, each good for one transaction only, should be issuable by those persons and corporate groups, including units of public administration, which had been accepted into membership by autonomous voluntary co-operative credit exchange associations wherein membership and a credit account should be available to all normal adult local residents and/or business persons on the three following conditions: 1) that their work and/or products were known by their neighbours and peers to be of acceptable efficiency and quality; 2) that they were known to be responsible in the fulfilling of their commitments; 3) that in joining they pledged themselves to perform, to the best of their abilities, their shares in the central task of a self-government community of people, namely, the securing of the unalienable right of all men to enjoy equal freedom.

The members of the autonomous local credit exchange groups would thus be, by voluntary co-

* We are reproducing this article in a serial form with the kind permission from Balanced Living, the official organ of the School of Living, Ohio, U.S.A.—Ed.

operative initiative and sustained responsibility, the primary and ultimate regulators of both economic and civil order in society. The membership pledge would be the literal and explicit social contract. The consideration for which the pledge would be given would be the obvious benefit of having access to the facilities for monetizing one's own good credit. Persons who choose not to cooperate should be left free to demonstrate a better way. Those unable to qualify for participation would become partially or completely dependent upon their families and/or upon the local community.

The local credit exchange banks could be easily linked together through regional continental and world clearing houses for the realization of a truly cosmopolitan economy. The sole purpose and function of these groups and organizations should in every case be to implement equality of economic freedom for all members. The sole function of the bank clerks should be to record debits and credits and periodic reports (statements) to members; they should be recompensed by each account-holder according to the freedom spent in keeping each account.

LAND TO BE RE-APPRAISED

The adoption of the unalienable right of all men to equal freedom as our guiding principle; the adoption of duration-of-freedom-spent as our standard measure of labour-costs and exchange-values; and the adoption of a monetary system implementing the equalisation freedom in trade, all presuppose an appropriate universal adult education. This education will effect the dissolution of land-value. "Real estate" will be reappraised by everyone. The improvements alone will be regarded as valuable, since they alone will represent expenditure of labour. The land itself—unimproved land, or land as distinguished from improvements—will be invaluable in terms of labour-costs.

By adoption of the ways indicated all those parts of the land which become embodied in products of labour will pass through all of the processes of production and distribution as free of charge to the ultimate consumer as they were to the original producer. No advantage will accrue to producers from nature's richer bounties in one area as compared with a poorer area. All fruits to the earth, freed from poverty

claims, will move without price—except for labour-costs—to the consumers. The legal toll-gate between men and natural resources will cease to be.

The problem remains of how to arrange equally free physical access to those sites on the earth's surface, which men must use in order to live. Equal freedom for all in access to and use of dwelling sites, industrial, agricultural, transportation and recreational sites needs to be planned. This is a primary consideration for establishing equitable civil order.

FREE ACCESS TO LAND SITES

All streets, highways, roads, trails, bridges, waterways, airways, ports and parks, together with all installations thereon which are needful for free access to and use of the earth by all persons, might be administered by boards of public administration, composed of members of the local credit exchange banks, and elected by the membership of same. These administrators of public ways need not be permanent office-holders. They could be elected for specific jobs and retired at the completion of those jobs. In cases where more than local community was involved, the local boards could delegate representatives who would meet together for the planning, construction and/or maintenance required.

Records should be kept, open to inspection by the public, of 1) all unoccupied land; 2) all private family, corporate and other land site holdings; 3) the uses made of all holdings and of unoccupied lands; and 4) of major improvements on holdings. The persons who gathered and tabulated these data should be chosen from and by the membership of the local credit exchange banks. These public recorders should also record all transfers of holdings; and if requested, for purposes of transfer, due to the absence of proper accounting in the past, the recorders should make appraisals of improvements on holdings, estimating the sum of man-hours of labour represented therein or required for replacement.

REVENUE FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

All public administrators and recorders should account the cost of their services in the same way that all producers of wanted services should, in hours of freedom expended. They should be recompensed in equal services and/or goods, as measured in duration of freedom expended on their behalf. The costs of their la-

bour, together with the costs of all labour consumed in supplies, materials and equipment used in construction and upkeep of all needful public installation and records, should be added, and the sum assessed equally per capita of the adult population who authorised and benefited by the public services facilities thus produced.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion I will make more explicit one point which has been at least implicit throughout this essay, namely, nothing I have proposed could possibly be instituted by the government. I have been at some pains to avoid presenting anything in the nature of a blueprint, or any instructions to be followed. In my opinion, a "do-it-yourself plan, in six easy steps" is not very good even for children. It is not very good because the mechanical doing of what others have planned is more fitting for morons than for normal human. So I have tried to present germinal ideas which may be helpful in plan-it-yourself projects.

Much creative thinking is called for, if men ever are to enjoy a kind of peace which is much better than an armistice between nations, and a kind of societal order which is much better than political "justice" under the ultimate sanction of the "big stick". Perhaps the best creative thinking is preceded and/or accompanied by profound yearning to know what is wholly right action—to be guided, not by any class, racial or national partisanship, but rather by what is good for all men and by what is appropriate, binomially, ecologically and cosmically. In any case, no legislation can empower men to think. Still less can the government induce men to care for what is good, true and beautiful.

The heart of what is wrong was not found "out there". Neither "the enemy", nor the "expropriators", nor "the government" was found responsible, nor was "human nature" found to blame, for the fact that we are facing toward thermo-nuclear incineration. Therefore, the remedy proposed is not any new administration of fear and the punitive powers of government. The remedy is in a new awareness (to be conveyed to all men) pursuant to which, and in the light of which, responsible men of initiative may be expected to form autonomous groups committed to the re-constituting of economic and societal order.

(concluded)

* The Intellectual and Society

By A. Ranganathan

IN trying to refute Dr. Madariaga's thesis that an artist should commit himself, Mr. Justice Ananthanarayan cited the examples of Tyagaraja and Shakespeare. It is significant that he chose his examples from the past. However, it is clear that Tyagaraja had always maintained the intellectual freedom of the artist. All of us are aware that he refused to compose songs in honour of Raja Sarabhoji of Tanjore and prince Swati Tirunal of Travancore. And in discussing a poet like Shakespeare, it is necessary to view the entire perspective of a poet's development. As Sir Herbert Read picturesquely remarked, 'a genius is the tree which has produced the unknown fruit, the golden apple of Hesperides. And Sir Herbert has pointed out that Mayakovsky was a tree which one year was expected to produce plums, a few years later apples and finally cucumbers. The circumstances relating to his death are shrouded in a mystery; however one can get an idea of the agony which passed through his mind in a poem composed shortly before his death:

As they say
'the incident is closed'
Love boat
smashed against mores.
I'm quits with life.
No need itemizing
mutual griefs
woes
offences
Good luck and good-bye.

One need not itemize! It was obviously a love affair. But his love-boat had smashed against the mores of a totalitarian state. And this was the fate of an artist who was not only a great poet, but one who was also the poet of the Revolution.

While reflecting on Dr. Madariaga's thesis for a redefinition of words in their correct semantic setting, it struck me that the malaise confronting the European intellectual is something more than a confusion of semantic values. It is a crisis which is partly philosophical and partly cultural. The philosophical crisis arises out of the fact that the authority of the Mediaeval Church has been replaced by the tyranny of the modern totalitarian State. Indeed, as argued by Prof. Michael Polanyi the new slogan, it is contrary to Socialism 'is the modern equivalent of the old ob-

*This article is based on the author's contribution to the Seminar which grew out of a talk by Dr. Salvador de Madariaga on the above subject at Madras.

jection,' it is 'contrary to the earth-centered universe of the church. Lysenko's persecution of Vavilov was unfortunate but not surprising, since Lysenko cannot be regarded as a scientist. But Dr. Peter Kapitza's endorsement of Khrushchev's thesis that the first successful flight of the rocket was a victory for the whole camp of socialism shocked most intellectuals. Surely no one would attribute the brilliant achievements of Copernicus, Galileo, Brahe and Kepler to the feudal ethos of the mediaeval age in which they struggled. Actually there is no difference between the technique of Bishop Wilberforce who introduced ridicule into a scientific discussion initiated by Huxley and the method of the modern political ideologists who project their ideological obsessions into the spheres of genetics and rocketry for mere socialistic propaganda. And another important problem posed by the present century (acutely analysed by Sir Charles Snow in his "The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution") is to fully assimilate science into the stream of our culture. Indeed, Lord Russell has stated in his latest book ("Has Man a Future?") that we are suffering from undigested Science. And he has argued that just as the Ptolemaic system of astronomy found its best poetic expression in Dante, the modern world awaits a master mind who could create new epics with poetic feeling and cosmic insight.

Switching on to the Indian scene, I wish to submit that the Indian intellectual has played a creative role in the making of modern India. And I would add that the Indian intellectual (apart from honourable exceptions) has abdicated his responsibility after India achieved her independence. Indeed, the 'cleric' (in Julien Benda's sense of the term) is a rare phenomenon in free India. To cite an example, Tagore taught not to lose our sense of perspective even in the heat of political controversies.

When Mahatma Gandhi began his nationwide campaign to burn foreign cloth, Tagore maintained that it was "his duty to fight the habit of blind obedience" and observed that "economics was tossed aside for the falsehood passing as a moral dictum". "Swaraj" as Tagore interpreted it was not a mere political actuality, but a process which extended the frontiers of the mind. It is not my purpose to criticize this particular act of Gandhiji, but to show that a political act was successfully opposed by an artist. Similarly the aesthetic philosophy of Indian Nationalism found its most articulate exponent in Coomaraswamy during the Swadeshi years.

Dr. Coomaraswamy argued that every nation ought to make its own contribution to what Mazzini acclaimed as "the concert of mankind, the total orchestra of human genius". The importance of Coomaraswamy's contribution to Indian politics lies in the fact that he had spiritualized the Mazzinian concept of Nationalism. 'Nations' wrote Coomaraswamy "are created by artists and poets, not by merchants and politicians".

Today, the Indian intellectual is confronted by the bureaucratization of our intellectual life. And on a fundamental plane he is forced to accept the new orthodoxy of the firmly entrenched Left Establishment in the country. It was a fashion among our nationalist politicians and writers to attack the British Government for its interference in the affairs of the Universities in India. A Radhakrishnan was singled out for his capacity to preach sedition in the guise of an academic sermon at the risk of irritating a Chancellor like Lord Hailey. But what of Free India's Universities? There was hardly a protest when an important politician threatened to withdraw financial grants in trying to force a particular University to switch over to the regional medium of instruction. And an ex Vice-Chancellor stated that the "acceptance of and preparedness to work for a socialistic society should be accepted as the basic objective of education". An excellent commentary, indeed, on free India's evolving patterns of educational values! And we are being pushed into a maelstrom with the result that our politicians are confusing science with scientism, democratic idealism with socialistic slogans, ideas with information, intellectual freedom with linguistic fanaticism and cultural renaissance with subsidized mediocrity. It is therefore, essential for the Indian intellectual to preserve the fundamental ethos of the free society—the ideal of intellectual freedom in a pluralistic society. This ought not to be confused with the individuality of an artist, which was the basis of Plato's objection to the poet. Indeed, it is clear from the foregoing analysis that the intellectual can preserve his sense of psychic wholeness and health only in a pluralistic society which avoids the isolation of the Ivory tower in the Yeatsian sense and the tragedy of Mayakovsky's love-boat.

RUSSIA'S CAPITALISM

Mr. S. P. Chambers, Chairman of the Imperial Chemical Industries, on a recent visit to Russia on behalf of his Company, reported on some very interesting observations he had made. He stated:

"I had a measure of success and with one exception, all my questions were answered fully and frankly. The one exception was in the sphere of actual living conditions."

It appears Mr. Chambers wanted to see for himself how the people lived and asked for permission to visit their homes. This did not meet with the approval of the Soviet authorities. According to Mr. Chambers:

The vast blocks of flats erected in and around Moscow represent by European standards a low level for new accommodation.

In Industry, it seems to be the general rule for husband and wife to do a full day's work and the children are left at a nursery or creche, or in the care of some relation.

Mr. Chambers claimed that, although it is said hours of labour are reduced, if statistics were available they would show that many more hours are worked per thousand of the total population than in the United Kingdom or in Western Germany. Clothing and toilet articles, he said, are expensive, meat and poultry was of good quality and not unreasonable in price.

Like many other Directors of the I.C.I. who have previously visited the Soviet Union, Mr. Chambers has clearly shown that this country organises its industrial affairs just like any other capitalist country and has the same anomalies to contend with.

The claim that Socialism exists in the Soviet Union is disproved by the evidence from Mr. Chamber's visit. Its workers, just like the working class elsewhere, have to sell their power to labour. There is commodity production, private property and the same sort of social problems.

A curious fact mentioned by Mr. Chambers was that, at the Coke Chemical Works, a wall 8½ feet high and 3,000 feet long was built to ensure privacy against a rival factory—Agostral. Whoever heard of commercial rivalry in a Socialist economy? There are different classes for passengers in their liners—one of them plying to London has even five classes and that in a so called classless country!

Capitalism exists in the Soviet Union—and until such time that its Working Class understand and desire Socialism, poverty and insecurity will be the lot of the workers there.

—Socialist Standard

Two Octogenarian Giants Depart

(From Our Correspondent)

BABU Purushottamdas Tandon was one of the two octogenarian giants who died on the same day at the beginning of July and of whom it can be truly said that they made the Congress organisation the greater for their presence in it. Tandon was one of the few really selfless men in the Congress but for whom Master Tara Singh could have justifiably said, "All Congressmen are dishonest." In 1919, Tandon became chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board and was found asking the heads of departments the principles underlying their decisions. "On what principles?" was his query always. This was a new approach to municipal affairs, and the question became a joke, first in the Municipal Office and then in the town of Allahabad. A few years later Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru succeeded him in that office.

He had joined the Congress in 1899 when he was 17 and gave up his practice at the bar in 1921 on joining the Non-cooperation movement. In 1937 he was elected Speaker of the UP Legislative Assembly. When a no-confidence motion was tabled against him he told the Opposition that it could not succeed owing to the large Congress majority in the House but that, if they succeeded in collecting the signatures of a majority in the Opposition for the motion, he would resign—the principle underlying the statement apparently being that the Speaker of an Assembly should command the confidence of the Opposition!

It was only to be expected that a man of his integrity should come in conflict with those who were no sticklers for principles. Tandon was not the man to keep quiet when he saw top leaders doing things which were far from proper. So it was that he found himself at loggerheads with Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, who was in the habit of collecting money for public purposes, keeping the funds with himself and determining how they were to be used. Tandon's point was that Congress leaders should collect funds, if authorised to do so, but they had no right to keep the same with themselves or to spend them as they liked. Matters came to a head and Tandon complained to Jawaharlal Nehru who, after an inquiry, came to the conclusion that the charge was true, the complaint justified but that Kidwai had not misused or misspent the money.

Tandon was elected Congress President in 1950. Dissension in the Congress Party, which had started after independence, came to the surface in the presidential election contest between

Tandon and Acharya Kripalani. A number of Congressmen formed the Democratic Front. With the resignation of Kidwai a near crisis developed in the Party and Kidwai went so far as to promote the formation of Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party. Nehru refused to join Tandon's Working Committee and President Tandon was forced to resign at a session of the AICC in September, 1951. Mr. Nehru took over the Congress presidentship from him, although only a few months earlier he had in Parliament condemned as fascist the election of Pakistan Premier Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as President of the Pakistan Muslim League, saying, "This is not our way." Kidwai then returned to the Congress, and Tandon agreed to be a member of Working Committee. It is hardly necessary to add with whom the honours lay, or to explain why the people of Northern India affectionately called him Rajrishi Tandon.

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY

A remarkable feature common to both Tandon and Dr. B. C. Roy was that they both had the courage to address Prime Minister Nehru as "Jawahar" and neither the latter's flashes of temper nor their advertisement' awed them. Dr. Roy was a self-made man and it was in the field of medicine rather than in politics that he achieved his laurels. That he was not a communalist like most Bengalis was proved when he suggested the merger of West Bengal and Bihar. The suggestion naturally proved very unpopular and an unknown independent candidate defeated a well-known Congressman in a by-election to the Lok Sabha on the merger issue. This forced Dr. Roy to withdraw his merger proposal.

Dr. Roy's strong point as a physician was his lightning diagnosis. It is said he had only to look at a man to be able to tell him what his ailment was. This is no small tribute to the man. He had for long been the family physician of the Nehrus, the political attachment dating back to the formation of the Swaraj Party by Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das, which he joined soon after its formation. In 1923 he entered politics with a bang defeating the veteran Sir Surendranath Bannerji, known as Surrender Not, by a majority of more than 3,000 votes as an independent candidate for the Bengal Legislative Council. His victory was due in no small measure to the growing influence of C. R. Das who supported him.

LEFTIST PROPAGANDA

Sometimes what forcibly strikes a foreigner is ignored by the native of the soil. A newcomer

to India writing in the *Statesman* refers to a common enough sight saying: "Yesterday morning on my way to office I saw a tremendously long queue outside an Indian cinema house in the heart of the business area in Central Calcutta. The crowd had spilled over into the road and a handful of frantic policemen were busy trying to keep the main road clear for rush hour office traffic. It was obvious from the number of people waiting to buy tickets that they had the time to stand around idly and spend the rest of the day, perhaps, drifting from one new situation to another."

"I find it difficult to believe," he says, "that the country is on the verge of an economic collapse and the people are groaning under exploitation and tyranny. They seem to have the money, time and energy to go to cinemas and football matches and enjoy life. I have therefore a feeling that the Leftist parties are chiefly responsible for propagating this myth of misery and unhappiness among the urban proletariat, which is not nearly so heart-rending as they would like to make it out to be."

Book Review

SOCIALISM, DEMOCRACY AND INDUSTRIALISATION by Amlan Datta, Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Pp 118. Price 16s. net. 1962.

The author of this small but thought-laden book is Sri Amlan Datta of the Department of Economics of Calcutta University who has been in the forefront of debate and discussion on economic and social problems in the country for over a decade now. His earlier books—*For Democracy* and *An Essay on Soviet Economic Development* have revealed a thinker of ability and an unusual insight into the deeper implications of current social thought and practice.

Though this slim volume is described as a collection of essays, presumably written at different times, they form an organic whole with a central insight into the nature of socialism and democracy and of the social implications of industrialisation.

He sketches two forms of socialism and two forms of democracy contending today for mastery and for the allegiance of men, particularly in the newly enfranchised underdeveloped countries after the second world war.

The earlier form of socialism prominent in social thought sponsored by new thinkers like Saint-Simon and Fourier and Proudhon in France and Robert Owen in England and their many followers in America and elsewhere, the author points out, has been swept away by the

more popular form initiated by the "world-shattering" work of Karl Marx and Engels, which is now embodied in Soviet Russia and menacing the whole world.

The former variety stressed human values as evidenced in primary, small scale associations of early society, where individuals counted in the relations of life—as father, mother, children and brothers and sisters. In Russia before the Revolution this principle of fraternity was built into a whole social philosophy based on the solidarity of the village community—the *Mir*, corresponding to our panchayat-ruled villages. A balance of individual ownership and social co-operation shone before the imagination of these earlier thinkers who formulated socialism. They contemplated a decentralised economic order with the family and small groups as units.

But Marxism routed these more creative forms and introduced its scheme of proletarian dictatorship, of one-party rule and totalitarianism in economy and polity and even culture.

Mr. Datta lays bare, by an acute analysis, the fatal defects of the Marxist type of socialism and communism.

Similarly, he sketches the outlines of two types of democracy—that of liberal democracy and that of Marxist-Leninist democracy, people's democracy as it is called in East European States under the hegemony of Soviet Russia and in China.

Mr. Datta's critique of Marxist democracy is effective and exposes the central defects of the doctrine both in theory and in practice as we know it, in communist countries. Though the state structure it has evolved succeeds in hastening the rate of economic growth far beyond that of liberal democracy, it does so at the expense of human values. It is a cost that should not be paid. Ethics is higher than economics.

Turning to the problems of industrialisation, Mr. Datta shows the high costs of uncontrolled free enterprise if the policy of laissez faire is pursued. But today that doctrine is dead and gone.

The natural consequences of industrialisation stemming from excessive growth of organisation and monopoly have to be controlled by the state.

Also, it is possible to have a large, beneficent and efficient form of economic organisation in which a large area of industry is occupied by decentralised industrial units. It is possible to do this without developing the anti-industrial bias of Gandhism and Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya in its *bhoo dan* method of voluntary land redistribution, the author thinks, is vitiated by its associated doctrines of village self-sufficiency.

Mr. Datta does not deal with the further development or degeneration of *bhoo dan* into

gram dan which is indistinguishable from communism.

As a constructive vision, Mr. Datta offers a sketch of a *cooperative democracy* in which the values of individuality of liberal democracy are preserved and balanced by a decentralised industrial order giving full scope for scientific technology.

The author has certainly struck upon a vein of creative reconstruction combining, in theory, the value of socialism (which is equality), of democracy (which is liberty) and of industry which is high economic progress. The book deserves to be in the hands of all publicists in India and outside, particularly in newly enfranchised countries in Asia and Africa.

M. A. Venkata Rao

Gleanings from the Press

REAL CORRUPTION IS AT HIGHER LEVELS

It is a fashion with most people to look for corruption at the lower levels of administration. But the corruption that really matters begins at higher levels and travels vertically downwards. If one remembers how votes are secured and how some candidates secure them, one would not hold the underdogs alone responsible. If one is to draw a line between corruption and corruption, one will find that the principal offender is not the man at the lower level who demands a 25 nP. bit to supplement his starvation wage, but often men at the top—or the middlemen—who get more and more rich as the days go by.

A Government servant has the conduct rules to obey, an asset statement to submit showing his economic condition year by year. Any suspicion against his conduct may lead to suspension or dismissal from service. A Minister has only to secure a majority vote and with a legislature, with no power to recall, can carry merrily on as long as he can keep his election agents happy. Like mercy, corruption also seems twice blessed. It blesses him that gives and him that takes. Corruption, formerly sporadic in many places has now become universal and systematized. A cheque in payment of a bill submitted to the government can only be had on payment of bribe to the office clerk in charge. In Government treasuries bills cannot be passed without the payment of a percentage which is said to be pooled and divided among all the staff.

—Behar Herald

News & Views

U.S. STILL SORE AT INDIA'S MIG DEAL NEXT FEW DAYS CRITICAL FOR MUTUAL TIES

WASHINGTON: The next few days, it seems, will prove critical in Indo-U.S. relations,

The Foreign Aid Authorisation Bill is soon coming up in the House of Representatives which may vie with the Senate in curtailing aid to India.

There is talk of possible further cuts which the Administration will resist. Officials do not feel confident that their plea will prevail. Their influence with Congress on aid to India, they say, has recently weakened.

The Administration, they explain, cannot fight India's battle without India's help either in Congress or in the Aid-India Club. In neither place is India's position in the international set-up sufficiently clear to make the task of India's broker either smooth or easy.

The frustration seems to have grown during the last few days following messages from Delhi that the U.S. diplomacy to turn India away from the pursuit of MIGs has not yet succeeded. It is taken somewhat for granted that India is buying MIGs and is delaying an announcement of the decision already taken.

There has been some wise advice from newspapermen, particularly from columnists like Mr. Marquis Childs, who has warned his country against policies which feed the pro-Soviet group in India.

Among journalists, Mr. Marquis Child's pro-Indian sympathies are well known. But he, too, warns: "If India goes through with the MIG deal, the whole structure of India-U.S. relations will almost certainly be torn apart."

Equally emphatic is Senator Humphrey than whom there is no greater friend of India. After the Senate had passed its version of the aid authorisation Bill, he stood up to defend India. It was a flattering oration about the "dedicated planners" of India.

But, on the purchase of MIGs this is what he said:

"Clearly, the prospect of Soviet super MIGs in Indian hands is a disquieting one even though Pakistan has received F-104s from the United States and even though it would be intriguing if Russia were to provide India a fighter superiority over communist China. India should not purchase Russian MIGs."

—'The Times of India' News Service.

KENNEDY'S WARNING TO CHINA: OFF-SHORE ISLANDS WILL BE DEFENDED

"The U.S. will take the action necessary to assure the defence of Formosa and the Pescadores. In the last crisis in the Taiwan area in 1958, President Eisenhower made it clear that the U.S. would not remain inactive in the face of any aggressive action against the off-shore islands which might threaten Formosa," declared President Kennedy at his Press Conference on June 27, 1962.

"In my own discussion of this issue in the campaign of 1960, I made it quite clear that I was in agreement with President Eisenhower's position on this matter.

"I stated this position very plainly, for example, on October 16, 1960, and I quote:

"The position of the Administration has been that we would defend Quemoy and Matsu if there were an attack which was part of an attack of Formosa and the Pescadores. I don't want the Chinese Communists to be under any misapprehension. I support the Administration's policy towards Quemoy and Matsu over the last five years."

NO RADIATION HAZARD FROM AMERICAN N-TESTS

Q: Mr. President, the recently released report of the National Advisory Committee on Radiation has pointed out that in the event of fall-out contamination from weapons testing should exceed acceptable limits, only you have the authority to halt testing and order countermeasures. Under what circumstances would you halt nuclear testing itself, or order countermeasures to protect against these hazards?

The President: Well, as of today, the situation is such that our interest is served by testing. In addition, as you know, the iodine content has not increased recently. The hazard is not present and will not be present from our tests. Quite obviously, if the tests are carried on for a long period of time all over the world this will become an increasingly serious problem. It is not today, however, and there is no health hazard in this country nor will there be from our tests.

—President Kennedy's Press Conference, July 27.

CHINESE KILL 87,000 TIBETANS PLAN TO THRUST 2 MILLION SETTLERS

The Political Department of the Chinese Liberation Army in Tibet has estimated that at least 87,000 Tibetans were killed between March 1959 to October 1960.

The Department has admitted that even so the rebellion had not been rooted out and has,

alerted military personnel to take precautions against large numbers of "reactionary rebels" who, "disguised as ordinary people," were carrying on the revolt.

A secret document of the Political Department which found its way to India through refugees also said that to out-number an estimated Tibetan population of 1,200,000 the authorities planned to bring into the country 2,000,000 Chinese settlers.

The document said that since March 1959, the Military Command had given high priority to suppression rebels and had adopted ruthless measures "to wipe out the roots of the rebels." These measures, the report urged, should continue to be followed in future as well.

HOW PEOPLE VOTE WITH THEIR FEET AGAINST RULERS IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

In other parts of the world, in days of distress, people leave one part of the country and go to another. They never think of leaving the country. It is in communist countries alone that they take the desperate step of running away from the land of their birth. It appears as if the people are waiting to leave. As soon as they find a way of escape they take to their heels and run away as fast as they can from the prison houses of their countries. This has happened in Europe, in Asia and in America in countries under communist domination. If a count were taken it would be found that over 25 lakh people have fled from Eastern Europe, about 10 lakhs from North to South Korea and about 9 lakhs from North to South Vietnam. Another 10 lakhs have poured from Red China into Hong Kong. The flight from East to West Germany was a daily continuing process until it was stopped by the raising of the wall in Berlin. But by then the number of refugees had swelled to more than 40 lakhs. It is estimated that about 2 lakh persons left Cuba since Castro established his dictatorial regime. India also has her quota of refugees. We have living with us on our soil over 75,000 Tibetans who had to run away from their country when the communists took it over. The Chinese refugees from the district of Kwangtung were following that well-trodden path when they rushed into Hong Kong. They were not, however, as fortunate as the rest of the refugees. They had to go back to the place from where they had run away.

—V. B. Karnik in *Freedom First*.

PORTUGUESE KILL 30,000 ANGOLANS 15,000 REFUGEES FLEE TERROR

The Sub-Committee on Angola, appointed by the United Nations General Assembly, has said in its report that over thirty thousand Angolans were killed by Portuguese in their effort to quell

disturbances in Angola during 1961. The report has also estimated that nearly a hundred and fifty thousand refugees had left their home-land.

PUBLIC RESENTMENT AGAINST RAILWAY FARES INCREASE

Protest demonstrations for voicing public resentment at the enhancement of railway fares were held at various through and suburban railway stations in Greater Bombay on July 1, 1962. The increased fares, agitation against which was launched in the city by certain political parties on Thursday, became operative from zero hour on Sunday.

The demonstrations were organised by the Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh, the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti. They took out processions which marched to railway stations and raised "Down with rail fare increase." slogans.

Such demonstrations were also held all over India, at Poona, Belgaum, Bhopal, Indore, Trivandrum, Aurangabad, etc.

FAT ALLOWANCES DRAWN BY M-P MINISTERS

BHOPAL: A Deputy Minister earned traveling and daily allowances totalling Rs. 2,535 in March, April and May, the Chief Minister told the Assembly during question hour.

The tours, which were made on 14 occasions, lasted 52 days, of which 36 days were spent in his home district, Indore. A two-day tour of Delhi was also part of the Deputy Minister's programme.

Another Deputy Minister drew Rs. 1,540 in allowances during the same period.

The House was also informed that the Commerce and Industries Minister drew allowances totalling Rs. 1,940 from March 1 to May 11. The Minister was on tour for 42 days, 24 of which were spent in his home district, Bhand.

The Finance Minister spent 46 days on tour during March, April and May, including nearly 35 days in his home district, Indore. Allowances worth Rs. 1,580 were drawn for the tour.

The Forests Minister drew Rs. 1,050 for his 39-day tour, out of which 14 days were spent in his home district, Shahdol or on its way.

The Labour Minister was on tour for 44 days, including 27 days spent in his home district, Indore. The Minister drew Rs. 2,000 in allowances.

The smallest amount of Rs. 132 was drawn by the Tribal Welfare Minister, while the Chief Minister drew Rs. 810 and the Local Self-Government Minister Rs. 1,320.

The bills of two Ministers are still to come while the Education Minister and Revenue Minister drew Rs. 560 and 570 respectively.

The allowances of two Deputy Ministers totalled Rs. 1,760.

The Chief Minister made the statement in response to a question by Mr. Ramkrishna Dixit (Cong.).

REGIONAL LANGUAGE AS VARSITY PROPOSAL IS UNREALISTIC, SAYS VICE-CHANCELLOR

DHARWAR, The Vice-Chancellor of Karnatak University, Mr. D. C. Pawate, said here recently that Ministers and others in high authority who spoke of making the regional languages media of instruction in universities by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan did not understand the realities of the situation, nor its magnitude.

Without suitable text-books and a sufficient number of teachers trained to teach in the regional languages, it was impossible to introduce the latter as media of instruction.

Mr. Pawate observed that experiments in introducing Urdu in Osmania University and Hindi in some north Indian universities had failed. He felt that so far as science and technical subjects were concerned, the use of regional languages was out of the question.

The Vice-Chancellor, intervening in a general discussion on the budget estimates of the university at the annual meeting of the Senate, was replying to the demand that students be permitted to write for their examinations in the regional languages.

THE PLURALISTIC SOCIETY MERELY PROMISES

The pluralistic society, I could suggest, can provide the peoples of the world what communists promise but can never produce. Communism can never produce a decent world because communists use the false means of hatred and violence, means which can produce only their own image and which can never usher in the brotherhood of man. The essential choice remains: the choice between the one and the many; between a monolithic world moving irresistibly in a single direction and ending inexorably in a single centralized society, or a pluralistic world in which a diversity of nations will solve their own problems according to their own values and traditions within a frame work of respect for individual dignity and loyalty to world community. It is a choice, in short, between dogmatism and pragmatism; between the theological society and the experimental society. Between ideology and democracy.

A. R. Schlesinger
(Ideology Vs Democracy)

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