

Dr. Zakir Husain

A. G. Noorani

DEATH borders upon our birth, it has been said, and our cradle stands in the grave. Dr. Zakir Husain has died as we all must die. It was a life that was noble and quiet resolve and solid achievement. It was, truly, one long quest for excellence. Born in a rich family, Dr. Zakir Husain chose poverty to save and nourish an impoverished university, the Jamia Millia Islamia at Delhi. An economist by training, he selected education as a vocation. He shunned active politics all his life, but was called upon to fill an office of immense political significance.

In many ways he was a paradox. One of the most reticent of men and one of the most accomplished of conversationalists. A man with a great capacity for friendship but none of whose friends claim to have understood him fully. Yet his life is open as a book for him who cares to read it.

One of his closest friends described him as a fakir who loved the beautiful. One might add only that he was a nobleman who gave up riches for the pursuit of noble truth. Dr. Zakir Husain was an epitome of dignity and rectitude. Public life in the country was far the richer for his participation in it. He was a man of deep feeling and also a man of great restraint. Of himself, he preferred not to speak or write at all. It will be long before we see a public figure as self-effacing and modest as he was.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has written of Dr. Zakir Husain "The mighty oak grows out of the humble acorn. So is it with human life. A little spark sometimes lights a flame within that leads man on to great deeds. But for that initial spark, the individual might have remained unknown and unsung. Thus it was with Dr. Zakir Husain". Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was referring to Dr. Zakir Husain's decision as a young graduate student to leave Aligarh University and join in the founding of the Jamia Millia Islamia on the very campus of Aligarh.

Barely two years ago I was privileged to meet him for the first time in connection with his biography which I wished to write. He agreed to receive me but firmly discouraged the idea of a biography. It needed great persistence on my part to persuade him to relent. Fortunately, and more by chance than by design I hit upon the right opening question: "What, sir, moved you to leave Aligarh?" The answer came in measured phrases and with nostalgic asides. At the end of the story of the founding of the Jamia came these very significant words from the President, "It was the first conscious decision of my life. Perhaps the only one I have ever taken. The rest of my life has but flowed from it."

In four successive interviews I was privileged to hear the story of that life. They were an experience I shall treasure as long as I live. I had been in journalism but six years then and I had had no experience whatever of interviewing for publication. But the President's direct manner, his calm and ordered narration helped.

I remember well how he would forbid me to quote something which he felt was good only as background information but would not seem well in print. I would argue deferentially but persistently and seldom succeed. No breach of taste or tact was permissible. The memory of the dead and the feelings of contemporaries were alike dear to him.

At times in the course of the interview itself I would digress and seek his opinion about matters of current interest. He never evaded my questions, but the answers were carefully phrased in terms befitting the head of the State. They were wrong who thought Dr. Zakir Husain did not know the potentialities of the Indian Presidency. They were wrong who imagined he knew only the limitations. The President was well aware of both. He preferred to play his role with a dignity becoming his high office and in a quiet manner despite the din of public controversy about the constitutional position of the Indian President.

He loved nature and the arts and he gave much of himself to literature and learning. He gave a lifetime's work to the cause of education. He gave himself only to the people of India. Today, his contemporaries speak of his virtues. Posterity alone will do them justice.

India And Nepal

M. R. Pai

IN the early years of our Independence, the then Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was pre-occupied with international affairs. Our immediate neighbours like Nepal and Ceylon, and South East-Asian countries were ignored. To Nehru, they just did not count in "the world context". In fact, the friendly people of Nepal were antagonised by some ill-advised comments of the late Mr. Nehru. It was Lal Bahadur Shastri who realised the importance of friendship with Nepal and set to mend the frayed garment of friendship.

If Nepal as a neighbour has always been important to us, today it is more so because it is the buffer between India and hostile China. The thoughtless act of the Nehru Government in sacrificing Tibet to Communist China under the spurious plea of Chinese "suzerainty" has boomeranged on India today. Realising the presence of China on the north, little Nepal has adopted a policy of bending over its back to the communist giant while seeking to maintain its traditional ties with India. Even Mount Everest is joint property of Nepal and China today under an agreement. Nepal has obviously little room for manoeuvre in its relationship with Communist China.

A visit to Nepal shows that it is not only the "Hippie Capital" of the world, but also the cockpit of international politics today. U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and Communist China are showing an unusual interest in the small Himalayan kingdom. U.S.S.R. has posted an expert on

South-East Asian affairs in its Embassy. Chinese embassy officials, displaying Mao badges, are quite active. In fact, they are so active that recently a government paper had to sack some employees for planting blatantly pro-China copy in the paper.

Indians are apt to sniff at the present political structure of Nepal as a departure from democratic forms. King Mahendra firmly holds the reins in his hands. He has abolished government by political parties. Instead, on a non-partisan basis village panchayats are elected, and by a process of indirect elections through several tiers, the national assembly is elected. A Council of Ministers runs the Government under close supervision and control of the King.

The Crown Prince has been trained through a process of world wide travel and education at some of the best centres of learning. The King has wisely concentrated on improving conditions in villages and attending to the basic needs of his subjects.

Nepalese sporting Mahendra badges, singing poems in praise of their king and upholding the present political structure fit into this scene. The Nepali intellectuals who support the present set-up have an explanation. While the Ranas ruled, there was autocracy; while political parties ruled, there was confusion. "A man with half a dozen followers, carrying a flag became a leader of the people. Mushroom parties owing their allegiance to other countries sprang up overnight. If the experiment in Parliamentary democracy had been allowed to continue, the country would have been in shambles," observed a person.

There are, of course, people who chafe under the working of the present system. But the feeling in the others is that at least now there is stability which is most essential for economic development. Moreover, the unattached non-party intellectuals are being used by the Government for national work.

India's ties with Nepal need careful scrutiny at this juncture. Historically Nepalese have been close to the Indians. The ties of religion — about 80% are Hindus, the rest are mostly Buddhists — are also there. Most of the trade has been with India. In addition, Nepalese as a rule come to India for education. It is estimated that at present 10,000 Nepalese students are studying in India.

All these factors, however, do not mean that Indo-Nepalese relations are perfect. Conflicts and tension are to be found to a disturbing degree.

There is a trade dispute. India alleges that Nepal is used as a base for smuggling stainless steel, synthetic fabrics and other items into India and has secured Nepalese measures to protect Indian interests. Nepalese feel that these measures are extracted and unjust

(Continued on page 4)

PURSHOTTAM TRIKAMDAS

MR. PURSHOTTAM TRIKAMDAS was an eminent lawyer and jurist. He had taken a prominent part in the national struggle for independence. He was a man of courage and conviction which brought him many a time in conflict with persons in authority. But, whatever the difficulties he had to face, he always insisted on freely expressing his opinions and acting according to them. He took a prominent part in establishing and publishing the crimes that communist China committed against the helpless people of Tibet and in asserting their right to sovereign independence. He was actively associated with the International Commission of Jurists.

Purshottam was a dear and steadfast friend of *Freedom First* as he was of all democratic movements and organisations in the country. His death is a great loss to all of them.

Harold Wilson's Heartbreaks

S. R. Mohan Das

ONCE in a rare while, Britain produces a special breed of statesmen of the type of the late Sir Stafford Cripps and Harold Wilson, who seem to go out of the way to ask for popular punishment as political leaders. They violate all the known norms of baby-kissing, hand-shaking politicians who shove dirt under the carpet to project a "clean parlour". Few statesmen in the world have sought such unpopularity and hostility as Harold Wilson has done during the past few weeks. Wilson has done this consciously and deliberately with the full knowledge of what he is letting himself in for.

All this has happened over the introduction of some order into the chaotic inheritances of industrial relations practices that show gaping holes of vulnerability and weakness for the entire nation. For decades British industrial relations were conducted on the basis of relaxed permissiveness, leaving a lot of decisiveness to the accident of good perception. This was quite workable so long as there were no pressures of technology, competition and economic crises. While in a majority of instances things worked well and normally, this relaxed permissiveness provided scope for individuals with no answerability to anyone to cause havoc and damage through unofficial strikes.

Harold Wilson was elected the leader of the Labour Party at the crest-wave of popularity hardly a few years ago. If he had decided to play the role of a popular politician interested in prolonging the tenure for the Labour Party he certainly could have pursued more demagogic policies. Apparently, Wilson seems to be made of the stuff that places the objective needs of society over party or group considerations. After trying various measures that just tinkered with the problem of Britain's economic crisis, Wilson was finally driven to an area that is more serious and where mere tinkering with problems will not produce results.

After heroic attempts in the realms of "see no evil, hear no evil and speak no evil and there will be no evil" in relation to unofficial strikes that were bleeding British economy very painfully, after years of hopefully looking up to the British T.U.C. to devise institutional and other methods to contain and stop costly unofficial strikes, Wilson found that the trade union movement was intrinsically incapable of certain types of self-regulations which, however, did not mean that the trade union movement did not want such regulations, discipline or improvements. The question was merely that the unions did not want to be the "hatchet men" to discipline their own kind. After a recent series of disastrous unofficial strikes, and the inexorable findings that a major surgical operation was

necessary, the Industrial Relations Bill was introduced.

The Bill provides for the setting up of a permanent Commission on Industrial Relations as an independent agency which will be statutorily empowered to regulate industrial relations. Headed by George Woodcock, the former General Secretary of the British T.U.C., the Commission, under the Bill, will regulate company-wide bargaining procedures and union recognition.

As in the case of the Wagner Act, employers can be compelled to bargain in good faith with recognized trade unions. In case of inter-union rivalries, in the first instance, the T.U.C. will be encouraged to sort out the rivalry, but when or if the T.U.C. fails to sort it out, the Commission on Industrial Relations will decide which union an employer shall recognize. Any pressure by another union to compel an employer to deal with it, can result in penalties for such a pressurising union.

The Commission can order employees engaged in an unofficial or official strike to go back to work for a conciliation period of 28 days like the 80-day cooling off period in Taft-Hartley Act of USA. Breach of such orders result in penalties. No criminal provision is made, but levies can be made as penalties for breaches.



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To avoid the impression of providing statutory penalties, Mrs. Barbara Castle is willing to plough back all levies collected as penalties for breaches into a fund for benefitting workers in spheres of research concerning safety, welfare etc.

This Bill has brought enormous amount of difficulties for Mr. Wilson. Ray Gunther quit as Minister for Labour rather than be a party to the reform. Bevanites like Michael Foot and other militants in the Labour Party are up in arms against Wilson. They have no suggestions to make. This is a unique spectacle where a radical movement like the labour movement and its own party have become such arch conservatives when it comes to putting through changes in tune with contemporary requirements. Every opportunity was given to the T.U.C. to do its own house-cleaning.

When the Labour Party was returned to power, it had 5 distinctive constituents, viz. (1) The Government, (2) The Parliamentary Labour Party, (3) The Labour Party for which the National Executive acts between annual conferences, (4) The T.U.C. — the General Council speaking with "slightly uncertain voices", and in which individual unions are autonomous", and (5) the Cooperative movement. (*Guardian Weekly*, 24th April 1969). Prime Minister Wilson has made the Industrial Relations Bill, an issue of basic prestige by stating that it is "essential to the Government's continuance in office". The greatest trouble in the Bill is over the measures to curb "unofficial strikes". Trade unions and Party officials are opposed to statutory controls on strikes. But Wilson is determined to pursue statutory curbs over unofficial strikes for the following reasons:

1. Public opinion is deeply exercised over damages wrought by unofficial strikes.
2. Though articulated trade union opinion might be against the measures, trade unions are actually anxious for a curb against irresponsible elements that are a handful and that still create havoc in a large industry. They embarrass the trade union movement and put it on the defensive.
3. Wilson has some more years to go and he hopes to weather the present unpopularity by means of the inevitable better results that will come about in the economic situation when the next elections become due.

Admittedly there is a breach between the Government on the one side and the Labour Party and trade unions on the other side. Labour Party anxieties are over the threats which the T.U.C. might give of refusing to finance labour party candidates in future elections.

If Mr. Wilson has to go through severe difficulties from his own friends, supporters and institutional constituents over the present crisis, the Tories are in no position to derive benefit out of the discomfiture of Wilson. For one thing, Wilson is making a heroic attempt, at considerable sacrifice to his popularity, to bring some order out of the chaos of British industrial relations. After having sniped at Labour for many

years over unofficial strikes, it is hardly possible for the Conservatives to oppose Wilson in his decisive measures to do something about them. In the forthcoming passage of the Bill, the Conservatives are expected to abstain from voting in the hope of two beneficial results for them, one of supporting a good measure and the other of watching with glee the manifestation of division in the ranks of Labour.

Opposition from within his own party has become formidable for Wilson. Trade Union Congress opposition has also been a matter of major discomfiture. The lining up of Frank Cousins, and Ray Gunther as strong opponents, and the milder deprecations of the lovable Mr. Victor Feather represent problems. But as against this which could certainly have been foreseen by Mr. Wilson, he has the support of George Woodcock, Barbara Castle and other colleagues, but above all a commitment to do what he feels to be the right thing.

If Wilson manages to survive the crisis he will emerge as one of the greatest statesmen U.K. has produced. But even if his party loses, Wilson could have the satisfaction of knowing that those who won did so as the parasites of the foundations which the Labour Government did, just as Sir Stafford Cripps imposed the austerity and the dose of purgative that cleansed the British post-war economy of a lot of its problems, but on the health of which the Conservatives cashed in and rode for many years.

INDIA AND NEPAL — Cont'd from page 2

and India should take a large-hearted view of trade with Nepal, India being a big country.

Border dispute — Susta affair — is merely an indication of the inner tensions and conflicts in Indo-Nepalese relations. It is over the shifting of a river course and consequent changes in area. The communist elements, who specialise in creating troubles, have not been slow to take advantage of these things.

If the policy makers of India, in their usual apathy and wooden-headedness, do not make crucial decisions to put Indo-Nepalese relations on a harmonious basis, thinking public will have to do something to force the authorities to do so.

On the horizon, there loom two important factors which will affect India.

First, an international highway is designed to pass through Nepal. It will naturally open up the world for Nepal bypassing India.

Second, Mao's hordes may descend from the slopes of Himalaya. The Kodari road which the Chinese built for Nepal may prove to be Nepal's undoing and also India's. If the Chinese take over Nepal, as they did Tibet, they will be on the plains of India to loot and pillage this country.

If India does not act quickly and rightly, the Nepalese people "with the broadest grin in the world", may become their farthest neighbours though physically the closest.

A Miserable Plan

M. R. Masani, M.P.

THE draft Plan advances two alibis for failures—two wars and two droughts. Now, this is nothing but balderdash. Two wars and two droughts have undoubtedly made a little impact, but certainly they are not responsible for the grim situation in which we find ourselves. The Plan document shows that not a single lesson of the past has been learnt, not a shibboleth or cliché has been dropped.

The Prime Minister said that our planning has 'come of age'. I would suggest to her that senility is a more appropriate description of the state that their planning has reached. All the old familiar faces are there, our old friends, "expansion of the state sector", "primacy of heavy industry", "concentration of power" and reliance on licensing and controls. What is there new in the Plan? Nothing. There is not one new idea in this whole plan document.

The first feature common to the Plan is that it is based on unrealistic assumptions and targets. The national income, it is said, will increase by 5.5 per cent per annum. That was also the dream of the Third Plan. The actual achievement was only 2.5 per cent. This particular document on page 30 admits that a time-lag of 3 to 4 years has taken place. What is the assurance that there will not be a similar time lag and a similar shortfall in regard to the national income in the next five years?

The birth rate, it is claimed, will go down from 39 to 32 per thousand. Who says so? Who knows what the birth rate will be five years from now?

Agricultural production, they say, will go up by 5 per cent. Has the monsoon been requisitioned by the National Planning Commission? Have the Gods placed themselves at the disposal of the tin gods of the Planning Commission? Otherwise, how do we know what the rate of growth in agriculture will be, knowing that there is a cycle in our agricultural history, that out of seven or five monsoons, two have been bad? This is the lesson of the centuries. Is this cycle going to be broken by the dictat of the Planning Commission?

Industrial production will go up by nine per cent. Who said so? In the last two years, since the end of the Third Plan, industrial production has gone up by two per cent. Why have nine per cent? Why not fifteen per cent? What tomfoolery is this?

Exports, they say, will go up seven per cent. It is very interesting to read that Mr. Manubhai Shah, who ought to know something about exports, commented publicly: 'Utterly wishful thinking'.

Take next the public sector enterprises, the notorious laggards of our economy, the drones. They gave us only Rs. 435 crores during the Third Plan. Now we are told that State enterprises will give Rs. 1,730 crores.

What a joke! For the State enterprises to give this much money is completely beyond their competence.

Then, it is said that the rate of investment will go up from 11.5 per cent to 13.8 per cent and that foreign aid will be so much; that deficit financing will be Rs. 850 crores, but all the same, the prices will not rise." That is another joke: "prices will not rise." I guarantee that prices will go up sharply as a result on this Plan.

We were told all these years that agriculture will get priority, that there will be a shift to agriculture. It was claimed that we had learnt the lesson. On this point there are two rather conflicting things said. On page 112, it says that the "urgency of agriculture has been brought home by the experience of recent years." Good. But on page 10, there is another statement which will take the breath of this House away. It says that "Agriculture always enjoyed a high priority in Indian planning". If agriculture always enjoyed a high priority, then there is no need for a shift! That is exactly what the Plan has done. There is no shift.

I will now come to some figures. At page 49, they have tabulated some figures, and I shall read them. Agriculture and allied sectors: third Plan, 14 per cent; fourth Plan, 15.6 per cent. Irrigation and flood control: third Plan, 6.3 per cent; fourth Plan, 4.3 per cent. The total for these two items comes to 20.3 per cent of the outlay in the third Plan and 19.9 per cent. in the fourth Plan. It is less; not more. Then, industry and minerals, 24.7 per cent in the third Plan, and 23.4 per cent in the fourth Plan. Where is the shift? Both have gone down by half to one per cent. The balance between them is being maintained, neck to neck, with industry leading agriculture a little. Where is the shift?

Another feature of the Plan, a duplication, a carbon copy, of the Second and Third Plans, is the emphasis on State enterprise and licence-permit Raj. State enterprises are notorious laggards, the lazy people in our national life, the incompetent people, the nincompoops of the class. They have been rewarded for being stupid and at the bottom of the class. In the Third Plan, the outlay for the governmental sector was Rs. 8577 crores. In the Fourth Plan, it is Rs. 14,397 out of a total of Rs. 24,000. Out of that, there is a massive investment of Rs. 3400 crores in industries and mining alone.

It is very interesting that our criticism of the State sector, for which our Party has stood from the very beginning because we saw how the sustenance of the country was being wasted on them "white elephants", is now endorsed by many men who call themselves communists and socialists. We were very glad to have

a breath of fresh air from the pandal at Faridabad where no less a person than the President of the Congress Party, to which we are told the Government belongs, delivered himself of a speech. I do not think it is necessary for me to read it; I am sure the Congress members have got it by heart because of the wound it must have caused to their ego. The Congress President is entirely in agreement with what I am saying on this point.

So, what I say is no longer the point of view of the Swatantra Party. Every sane man, every student of economics, knows what I am saying is true.

The Prime Minister talked of resource mobilisation. It sounds wonderful, but it only means extorting money out of the common people. Resource mobilisation by the Centre, the Plan tells us, will be Rs. 1600 crores. That involves additional taxation on the common people of India mostly through indirect taxes and excise levies of an additional Rs. 200 crores to Rs. 300 crores a year. Even this has not given them a balanced budget. Even so they cannot live within their means. So these wonderful planners have left an uncovered gap of Rs. 850 crores.

That is why I say the Plan is not a bold plan. It is not an ambitious Plan. It is a contemptible petty Plan from small minds who cannot think big. It is a pedestrian Plan of stagnation for the next five years. Politicians, corrupt businessmen and officials are the only class that will thrive under this Plan. A great deal of good sense is talked these days about political affairs by those who are not politicians. Shri Nirad Chaudhuri

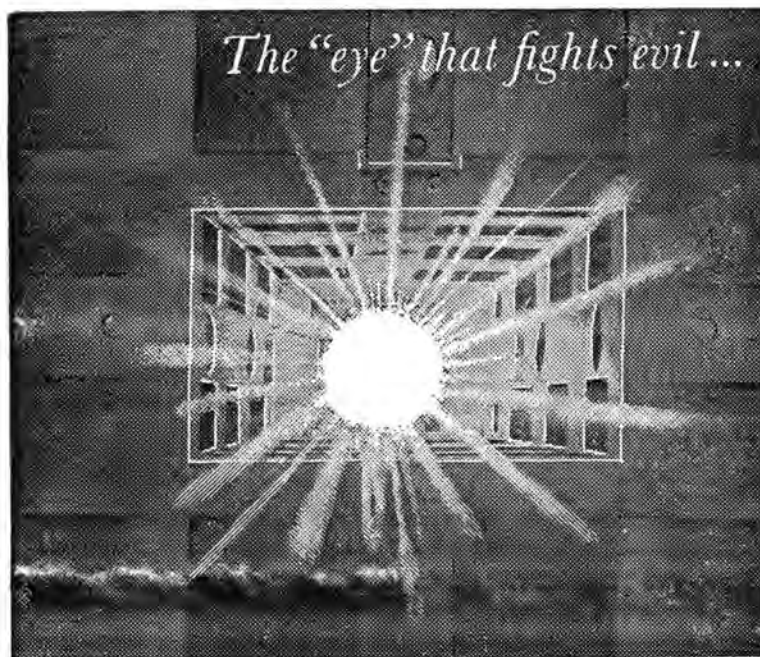
is one of them. In an article the other day he wrote:

"Nine-tenths of the Indian intelligentsia do not do any productive work at all. They are all parasites. They live off society."

He means they live off the peasants and workers. Now, in such a situation, surely we needed a plan that will give an incentive to the people to work hard and not be drones. But I am sorry to say that this is a plan made by drones sitting in Yojana Bhavan for the large number of drones occupying Government offices and government factories.

There is something mulish about the members of our Planning Commission—Mulish in two respects. One, they are obstinate like mules; as Gandhiji said, they have the consistency of the ass; secondly, they are mulish in that they are sterile and are incapable of producing anything. They are intellectually sterile people. They have sat there for ten years and produced nothing. In the Soviet Union these men would have been shot out of hand as saboteurs long ago because of their repeated failures. I have no doubt that, when the economic history of our time comes to be written, the names of men like Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, Mr. Pitambar Pant, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao and Dr. D. R. Gadgil will be written in the scroll of ignominy as men who destroyed the economic future and hopes of our people, who consigned our people to half a century of poverty and despair. We wish to have no part in this miserable Plan which will lead the people to stagnation and doom.

—Extracts from a speech in Parliament



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From The Great To A Great

Gafoor

IN this, the Gandhi centenary year, it is worth reflecting on the kind of men Gandhiji encouraged and brought into prominence. Nehru and Jayaprakash Narayan, the Sardar and Rajaji, among the front rank. Lower down came men like the late Sudhir Ghosh and Shriman Narayan. What united them apart from their loyalty to the Mahatma and their devotion to the cause of national freedom? What qualities of intellect and character? A fascinating subject for study.

The student will find *Letters from Gandhi Nehru Vinoba* by Shriman Narayan, (Asia Publishing House, Rs. 25/-) very useful. The letters exchanged between the author and three of India's great leaders, he assures us, "throw a flood of light not only on the life and thought of these noble and distinguished sons of India, but also on contemporary history and turn of events". They are, however, "selected letters". The basis of selection is nowhere indicated but a careful reader will not find it too difficult to discover it. Some letters are purely personal and inconsequential. Two letters by Gandhiji to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Jamnalal Bajaj are included. Both have been published by the recipients before. But they bear re-publication for the priceless information they contain. "He is a rare gem" Gandhiji writes of the author in the first letter, and in the other "He has in him an extraordinary amalgam of scholarship, sobriety and humility". In order that the significance of these certificates may not be lost on dull minds, the author has taken care to italicise them. Some sobriety, some humility.

At places the author is unfair to the reader as well as to some others. He does not publish his letter to Mr. Nehru dated August 8, 1953 when Sheikh Abdullah was arrested, in which he records his talks with Maulana Masoodi, but he publishes Mr. Nehru's reply referring to it. Similarly, Mr. Nehru's letter referring, apparently, to Miss Mridula Sarabhai is published; but not the author's note to which it is a reply. Does Mr. Narayan think this is fair to the Maulana or to Miss Sarabhai?

Nonetheless, the letters are of great interest and of some value. For instance we find Gandhiji writing to Mr. Narayan two days before independence "Urdu can never become our *lingua franca*; nor could Hindi be so, even if the Union Government puts its seal on it. That alone could be our national language which both the communities can write and speak." But while Gandhiji adhered to his views on the language question despite partition, Mr. Narayan resigned as General Secretary of Hindustani Prachar Sabha as he "strongly felt that the continuance of Hindustani movement would be a futile effort."

The letters with Mr. Nehru are even more revealing. They provide an interesting case of mutual education. Wrote Mr. Nehru to the author on May 25, 1953 commenting on one of his many literary outpourings, "The part dealing with *Goseva*, however, does seem to me to require redrafting, more especially because of the agitation for banning cow-slaughter which certain communal organisations have been carrying on. What you have written might be utilised to support this agitation." Also, "I would have liked the prohibition chapter also to be somewhat differently worded. It is right to say that the loss of revenue should not be an argument. A social evil has to be prevented. The question is what is the best method of preventing it. It is obviously not a good method when it fails of its purpose by encouraging too much illicit distillation. We should approach the problem with the intention of giving effect to prohibition. But we should consider effective ways and means of doing so."

The home truths were not all expressed by one side. Thus apropos the reorganisation of States. "Vinobaji felt that it should also be made very plain to the people that once the recommendations of the Commission were accepted by the Government, there should be no further agitation in the matter; otherwise the whole object of appointing a Commission will be defeated." How right he has proved! And how sound was his advice to Mr. Nehru in 1954 which the author reports, "He was of the definite view that if you step out of the Government, even for some time, it will have a very healthy effect on the country, the Government as well as the Congress. He had no doubt in his mind that such an action on your part would enable you to play your part much more effectively in the national and international sphere."

Or, consider this letter to Mr. Nehru in September 1953 "Jayaprakashji told me that he was still of the opinion that in order to achieve substantial results in the economic development of India some kind of a coalition between the Congress, P.S.P. and other democratic parties would be desirable. It is true that Coalition Governments were generally formed only in the case of national emergencies when the party in power did not command an absolute majority. He, however, felt that in an underdeveloped country like India the party system of Government was not very suitable for achieving quick results. Just as the Communists try to forge United Fronts for establishing a dictatorship, so the democratic parties of a country may try to secure some kind of a United Front for speeding up social and economic progress and check-

ing the trends towards totalitarianism." It can well be written today.

In his Introduction Mr. Narayan writes: "In his capacity as the Congress President, Panditji used to send me to different places to report on the condition of the Congress organisation in those regions. He had implicit trust in my observations and suggestions and took quick action." However in one matter of great importance Mr. Nehru apparently, was not impressed by Mr. Narayan's report. On December 2, 1954 Mr. Narayan told his mentor "May I express my apprehension about one point regarding the proposed Russian Steel Plant? I understand that the payment to Russia is to be made in rupees. Such a kind of payment is likely to be abused by the Russian Government for financing Communist activities in India. *While submitting my report on Travancore-Cochin affairs, I had written to you how the Communist Party was receiving ample funds from the import and export trade between India and Russia. Considerable amount of money is also earned by the Communist Party out of sales of free literature obtained from Russia.* I am, therefore, confident that the Government of India would consider this point fully before finalising terms about the Steel Plant." (italics mine throughout) Mr. Nehru's reply is not published but we know the aftermath, in Mr. Nehru's dealings with the Russians.

He also took steps to ensure that Mr. Narayan's brain was properly washed. We find Mr. Nehru writing on May 18, 1955 a libel he never dared to utter in public. "I am enclosing a paper called *Freedom First* which is issued by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. This Committee is an American-organised Committee trying to put across the American viewpoint. I am drawing your attention to this because this Committee has drawn into its fold a number of prominent members of the P.S.P. Masani has been a very important member of it. Jayaprakash once wrote to me in its favour. You will see that Jayaprakash is quoted in this in connection with our second Five Year Plan. Professor Mahalanobis's plan frame as well as our Economists' Note on it is severely criticised in this on the ground that all this savours of Communism. Jayaprakash is quoted as having said that the seven authors of Pandit Nehru's Second Five Year Plan are all men from behind the Iron Curtain." As is well-known, it was an *Indian* initiative which brought the Committee into being and Socialists (Jayaprakash Narayan, Asoka Mehta, Purshottam Trikumdas) were among its founder members, not its later recruits, still less seduced victims "drawn into its fold". A Committee is merely the sum of its members. It has no personality apart from them.

Mr. Nehru's letter was severely critical of Socialists and repeated criticism that has publicly been expressed only by Communists "The Socialists also talk

of India having an independent policy but in effect they incline towards the American group."

Finally, wrote Mr. Nehru, "Vast sums of money are being spent in India by various organisations run by the Americans and quite a number of newspapers get help from them in various ways, more especially some of our communal papers."

Mr. Narayan fully came up to the scratch "I have shown your letter to Shri Dhebarbhai and have also conveyed the gist of your letter to Vinobaji. I have also written an article on this topic for the next issue of the *Economic Review*." For good measure, he added a vague libel of his own, "We have been receiving stray information about the possibility of some persons in the Congress Parliamentary Party being the agents for United States. I do not know whether you have received some specific information about the persons concerned. A number of 'Research Scholars' from America come to the AICC Office these days for the use of the library or the Press Cuttings Department. We have now given instructions to our office to be strict in this matter and not to allow these American scholars to mix with the staff". All were, thus, indiscriminately dumped together. But, surely, had the Prime Minister of India no means of repelling American interference in sovereign India's affairs? Had the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party no means of expelling "agents for United States" from the Party?

Mr. Narayan seems to have lost all interest in checking the flow of Russian money thereafter. Instead, he warned Mr. Nehru about the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. "It is significant that economic research which is conducted by several private institutions receiving donations from these Foundations tends to get biased in favour of private enterprise and is often loaded against our basic policies. I, therefore, strongly feel that the existing procedures for making grants to private institutions in India by the Ford and other Foundations should be carefully revised in order to keep at least our intellectual and educational life intact." A footnote informs the reader "necessary action was initiated in this matter by the Government of India". As regards P.L. 480 funds in India Mr. Narayan got busy "trying to obtain the necessary information" about its use.

By then Mr. Narayan had completely fallen in line with the Commissar. On June 23, 1958 Mr. Narayan wrote to Mr. Nehru "I am sending herewith a copy for an article entitled *Ends and Means* which I have written for the next issue of the AICC *Economic Review*. Kindly let me know whether you would like me to make any changes in the ideas expressed in the article." The article contained this sentence "Prime Minister Nehru has often remarked that the Communists are, perhaps, the greatest reactionaries in the modern world." This, of course, was absolutely

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The Mirage Of Leftist Unity

R. Muthuswamy

MR. V. K. KRISHNA MENON, in his hour of triumph in the Midnapore election to Lok Sabha, as an ultra-left candidate, supported by a conglomeration of leftist parties, called for the emergence of a party of socialist unity. His idea of unity embraced the young Turks and progressives within the Congress Party. This is borne out by the fact that subsequently he came out with an appeal to the progressives within the Congress Party to quit the Congress. The loud thinking on the part of some senior Congressmen about the need for polarisation of the right and left in the party also gives credence to the hope of a united leftist party emerging as an alternative to the ruling party. The experiments of United Fronts for the purpose of defeating the Congress in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal also reinforce such a hope. One must examine, however, how far conditions are conducive to the emergence of such an united party.

The leftist camp has always been divided into two broad movements—Communist and Socialist—with no possibility of any reconciliation. The mutual suspicion of the two divisions, in spite of the truce for the purposes of defeating a leviathan like Congress, is too deep rooted to make reconciliation possible. However, the phenomenon of both the Communist and Socialist movements being further split into smaller groups has added a new dimension to internecine quarrels among the groups. The coming into power of the United Front ministries in Bengal and Kerala has resulted in internal quarrels among these constituents, resulting in further fragmentation of the movements.

Recently at the annual convention of the Samyukta Socialist Party held at Jubbulpore, S. M. Joshi, the veteran Socialist, moved an amendment to the political resolution calling for unity of socialist parties. The opposition to this amendment was spearheaded by no less a person than George Fernandes, the new General Secretary of the Party, and the amendment was defeated by an overwhelming majority. Ironically the newly elected President of the Party voted for the amendment and, according to reports, was thinking of resigning his presidency. Similarly, overtures of Right Communists for a rapprochement with Marxists at the organizational level have been spurned by the latter. The Marxists after venturing into parliamentary democracy successfully had their own quota of woes from their erstwhile comrades, who have now formed their own parties with the avowed purpose of embarrassing the Marxists and daring them to act. Kanu Sanyal of Naxalbari fame, after a show down with the Marxists on May day, announced the formation of a new Communist Party, called C.P.I. (Marxist-Leninist).

T. Nagi Reddi, the Telengana hero, was instrumental in forming a fourth party called the Co-ordinating Committee. These two new factions consider C.P.I.(M) as their arch enemy and are determined to create the maximum trouble possible wherever the Marxists are the dominant partner in the U.F. Governments. The Naxalites particularly are very active in Kerala and West Bengal. This has led to a peculiar 'rat in the throat' situation to the Marxists, who much as they would like to assume greater powers to deal with the new menace effectively, dare not publicly acknowledge this in view of their earlier ideological stances and commitments. Thus they were left in the unenviable position of declining the invitation of the Union Home Minister to the meeting called to discuss ways and means to deal with the threat from Naxalites.

The latest interesting situations created within the working of the constituents of U.F. Governments reveal the cracks in the Front much more clearly. In Kerala almost a crisis which would have led to the downfall of the Ministry itself came about when the K.S.S.P. (Kerala Samyukta Socialist Party) Minister Kunju refused to quit when asked to do so. Similarly Right Communists in the Kerala Cabinet had also come out with public pronouncements about the impossible conditions in which they have been forced to work and the sabotaging tactics adopted by their Marxist colleagues in the Cabinet. Not only did Right Communists at one stage not take part in Cabinet meetings but also gave an ultimatum of three months to the Marxists that if they did not mend their ways, the Rightists would quit. Thus the Ministry is now highly crisis prone not due to any outside interferences but due to internal squabbles and bickerings.

In West Bengal, when the first U.F. Ministry came into power, with a slender majority, the internal differences among constituents did not come out to the surface as it has happened now. In the present U.F. Ministry where the Marxists have emerged as the most determined and dictating partner, the internal squabbles have already started manifesting themselves in the open. The recent open clashes between the Revolutionary Socialists and Marxists at Alipurduar provide an outstanding example. Apart from these internecine quarrels, power has also brought with it certain organizational problems to some of the constituents. In spite of the directive from the Central Executive, a nominee of the Praja Socialist Party in the West Bengal legislature has joined the Cabinet. Similarly when the Samyukta Socialist Party's central

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Subversion In British Universities

A. E. Smith

IN England, the universities cannot claim to be threatened by deliberate subversion". So wrote Spectator in the Birmingham University student newspaper *Redbrick* some months back.

If this means that there is no immediate danger of an anarcho-communist capture of most of the student representative bodies, the statement is correct. Nevertheless, subversive propaganda and campaigns of subversive action — both carefully organised and some of them remarkably well financed — are making deep inroads into the politically active sector of student life.

Evidence of this includes the upsurge of interest in the "New Left", the popularity of the writings of Marcuse (whose Hegelian-Marxist-Freudian jargon impresses the naive), the revolutionary theory of Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche* and one of the principal instigators of the French student riots last summer, and the hero-cult of Che Guevarra. These differ in content, spirit and appeal from the Communist creed of the Oxbridge Marxist intellectuals of the Thirties to Fifties. These "theoreticians" were regarded as of small account in a Communist Party then wedded firmly to the doctrine of the pre-eminence of the working class. Today the university students and dons are wooed by that Party. They are exhorted to assume the responsibility of winning the practical leadership of that militant force in political life which can control the future given sufficient ability and skilled direction.

Ten per cent of university tutors in Britain are said to be of the extreme Left in outlook and in their teaching in the Social Sciences. As for undergraduates, their numbers change every year as their courses are completed. Their turnover, and the volatility of thought characteristic of youth, render impossible accurate assessments of the percentage of subversives. It is evident, however, that in every university there is a group of students working unitedly to control undergraduate thought and political representation in the interest of Soviet, Maoist, Trotskyist or anarchist objects.

In the provincial universities, younger tutors are often associated with these groups, giving the continuity and stability so valuable in the organisational work among the quickly succeeding generations of students. The Marxist cult is, for example, maintained by a Senior Lecturer at Leeds University, a lecturer in Economics at Hull, and a History lecturer at Oxford, each of whom resigned from the Communist Party after the bloody crushing of the Hungarian rising.

The Communist Party has made intense efforts to create trained cadres of intellectuals to control and

direct the efforts of the masses. At the Party Congress of 1963, the C.P. General Secretary, John Gollan, stressed the development of the work of the Cultural Committee. "Of the greatest importance", he declared, "has been our growth in the universities. There is now a Party branch in every major university, and the new crop of graduates is strengthening the number of our intellectuals".

The especially militant activities of the Trotskyist groups, notably in the newer universities, often affects circles outside the collegiate — e.g. extra-mural students and groups of apprentices in industry. These groups are as likely to work through college societies, Labour clubs and even the Liberal Party as through openly Marxist or Communist organisations. In many universities the Labour clubs are under the influence of the Trotskyist-controlled NALSO, (National Association of Labour Student Organisations). One especially unlovely feature of these militants is their refusal to listen to — and the attempt to prevent others from hearing — the expression of views to which they are opposed. This applies both to speakers within the universities and to visitors invited to address student bodies. Hence the violence attending meetings addressed by Mr. Healey, Mr. Powell and the speaker from the American Embassy at whom the glorious revolutionaries of Sussex threw paint.

The number of cases in which militant student leaders are foreigners suggests interesting possibilities of organisation and finance. Thus on four occasions since 1934-5, when one of them was expelled and left the country, London School of Economics militant leaders have been American Communists; these appear in some cases as post-graduate students, and so far from being bona-fide students seem like full-time political organisers.

Finally, it should be noted that the mores of these militants run directly contrary to the ethos of the university as understood in England. When the supremacy of Theology was broken, and the grip of the Church of England weakened, the universities became centres of liberal studies, "liberal" because freed from ecclesiastical control. What the subversives of today are seeking is not freedom for themselves from the power of others, but power for themselves to destroy the freedom of others. The shameless attempts to deny freedom to opponents, the refusal to listen to the arguments of those who differ from them (exemplified on recent BBC programmes) is one of the alarming developments of recent times: these "revolutionaries" are in this respect thorough-going reactionaries!

Secondly, the implications of Marxist and other revolutionary morality are of great practical importance. It is in full accord with such morality to lie, cheat, deceive—as Lenin stressed in the work of the Trade Unions. One university invited a Socialist to debate against a Communist, and then advertised the Socialist as a Fascist. Another university stages a debate in which the Chairman refused to indicate to the Anti-Communist for how long he should speak, and then allowed the Communist an opening speech of exactly twice the length of the proposer's. When it came to the closing speeches, the Chairman allowed the Com-

munist to speak for the whole of the remaining time, then refused to allow the proposer to speak at all on the grounds that the time allowed for the debate had expired.

There is nothing in Marxist morality to discourage the rigging of student elections, the miscounting of votes, the introduction of outsiders into university and college meetings in order to add blocks of votes to the Communist. When British students awaken to what is happening, there will be a strong reaction against the subversives.

FROM THE GREAT TO A GREAT—Cont'd from page 8

correct. Mr. Nehru had, indeed, suggested that Marx and his *ideology* were out of date. But then Mr. Narayan had not realised that that was days ago and that the Nehru line had changed. He was made wiser.

The very same day Mr. Nehru shot back this terse and revealing reply. "Your letter and your article. I would only suggest one minor change. Page 2, the middle, you might add 'in India' after 'Communists'. Mr. Narayan adds this engaging footnote "Shri Nehru was in favour of condemning the Communist Party of India, but not Communists in other friendly countries like the Soviet Union." The article was published in the AICC *Economic Review* with the change suggested by Shri Nehru. Comment is unnecessary on this doctoring of the record. Mr. Nehru must have been pleased by the author's pliability even as the author became reconciled to Mr. Nehru's double-standards.

Unfortunately, the author's selection is very odd and we are not given the replies to some interesting letters he had written to Mr. Nehru. Two of them bear quotation. "You must have read in the papers about a recent incident which took place in Aligarh. Shri Vichitra Narain Sharma, Minister of Transport, U.P., attended a tea party given by a dacoit, who was arrested by the Police immediately after the party was over. This has created a very bad impression in the public. There is a general feeling that Ministers and high officials of the Government attend too many parties at private residences during their tours. Instead of staying at the Circuit Houses or Dak Bungalows, some of them also stay at private places. This gives cause for considerable gossip and unnecessary jealousies. In fact, some of us did not like our Ministers and Chief Ministers staying in Calcutta at the Dalmia House or the Birla Park during the Kalyani Session." This was in 1954. Four years later the author wrote "One of the main reasons for the growing unpopularity of the Congress Government in States is the protection and patronage that is often extended to corrupt industrialists and businessmen largely because they contribute to Party funds at the time of elections. Businessmen, in the very nature of things, try to earn many times the funds given to the Congress through unfair methods." He added, "It is essential to reduce

considerably the existing glamour for Ministerial positions. As soon as a Congress leader becomes a Minister, he moves from his ordinary house to a big bungalow. His family soon gets accustomed to a much higher standard of living and he, therefore, tries to stick to office through various undesirable activities including the organization of narrow groups within the Congress Party."

Mr. Narayan's book does not throw the promised "flood of light", but it does provide some revealing glimpses of ugly traits and patterns we would do well to recall and remember.

MIRAGE OF LEFTIST UNITY — Cont'd from page 9

executive directed its nominees in the U.F. Ministry in Kerala to withdraw from the Ministry, they preferred to quit the party and form their own party called Kerala Samyukta Socialist Party a la Kerala Congress, under the name of Indian Socialist Party. Peter Alvares, a fading politician, is trying to use the Kerala dissident socialists as a source to recharge his own rundown battery. The Revolutionary Communist Party of India, a constituent of the United Front in West Bengal, has two legislators both of whom were expelled from the party for the sin of not vacating their Assembly seats to oblige the Minister belonging to their party, who is not an elected representative. Already arguments have started if the two legislators must be expelled from the United Front.

The leftist parties thus find themselves in complete disarray without a will to survive or to merge into one party. At best, the popularity of these parties has always been centering around individual leaders and the splits had also been due to personal loyalty to leaders than real ideological differences. The result has been that all these parties now represent anarchic groupings without any discipline which is the *sine qua non* for any dynamic organization. It is, indeed, a herculean task to forge real and worthwhile unity among these groups and all unity talks in the present juncture are merely wishful thinking. The unity is still a mirage.

With Many Voices

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

As with Louis Napoleon, it might be said of her (Mrs. Indira Gandhi) that her name is her fortune.

—Malcolm Muggeridge, *The Observer Review*, May 11.

Those who want a split in the Congress are really working for anarchy.

—Shamlal, *Times of India*, May 13.

At present the party (Congress) is worse than a railway platform. At least on a railway platform the passengers know their destination.

—S. K. Patil, *Himmat*, May 9.

The presence of a partisan figure as Head of State in 1972 will be an invitation to wanton and destructive strife and acrimony.

—*March of the Nation*, May 17.

If I had to choose between a Parliament without newspapers or newspapers without a Parliament I would unhesitatingly choose the latter.

—Lord Shawcross, former Chairman, British Press Council, *Himmat*, May 2.

Russia could do without the party but the party cannot achieve even its internal objective without the army.

—Gabriel Lorince, *New Statesman*, May 2.

These campaigns to malign individuals are designed to pursue one by one those who cherish certain values.

—Morarji Desai, *The Economic Times*, May 23.

Freedom and self respect are non-negotiable.

—Sidney Hook, *U.S. News & World Report*, May 19.

One writes to have and to give pleasure.

—Louis Fischer in his new book, *Russia's Road from Peace to War*.

Our pro-Moscow Communists would not subscribe to any legal measures against the Naxalites.

—*Thought*, May 17.

Lies can be divided into three categories — ordinary lies, blatant lies and statistics given by the Marxists.

—T. V. Thomas (CPI), Industries Minister, Government of Kerala, *The Indian Express*, May 20.

To the Editor,
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The idea that the two real super-powers are Israel and North Vietnam may be a bit over-simplified.

—*The Economist*, May 10.

In its repeated attempts to discover its political identity, the Samyukta Socialist Party has always ended by adding to the confusion of its aims and purposes.

—*Hindustan Times*, May 16.