

Mahatma Gandhi Appreciation and Tribute

Arvind A. Deshpande

IT is a little presumptuous for a person like me, who was a mere school boy when Gandhiji was assassinated, to write about Gandhiji. Yet I am venturing to do this so that men and women of our generation may understand Gandhiji and Gandhism better and those of the earlier generation know what we think of Gandhiji.

Mahatma Gandhi was certainly one of the greatest (some may say the greatest) Indians of modern India and there is little doubt that he is one of the greatest men the world has produced. He was not a genius like Einstein or Kalidas. In fact a well known and respected leader asserted that "a Tilak has to be born while any average man could aspire to be a Gandhi". This statement very correctly points out that sainthood is natural to man, not intellect or virtue. Gandhiji was, perhaps, the most notable instance of a self-made man. Any average person has the potentiality of achieving similar greatness if not similar fame and popularity. What he needs is a spirit of moral earnestness. It must also be made clear that this aspect of potential saintliness was all that was common between an ordinary man and Gandhiji. In almost all other respects Gandhiji was unique, and as Einstein said the future generations may find it difficult to believe that such a man ever trod upon this earth.

It is indeed a wonder that a small frail man, with nothing striking about him except his whole expression of infinite patience and love, should shake the foundations of a mighty empire. Gandhiji was also perhaps the first man to have introduced into human politics the strongest religious impetus during the last thousand or more years. This fact alone should explain the part played by the so-called 'irrational', 'intuition' etc. in his politics.

There were and are many men who believed or believe that Gandhiji was not a peerless and guileless saint but a shrewd, ruthless and tortuous master politician not above trying to confuse issues to his advantage by mixing practical politics with religious vapourings. This estimate appears rather far-fetched. In any case, even such people will concede that within

Gandhiji's struggle for freedom there existed the faith that can move mountains and which cannot be combated by force or in the last analysis combated at all.

Gandhiji was also one of the most original thinkers and one of the keenest observers of life that this country has produced. His mind was clear and his vision direct and his attitude revolutionary in many ways. It was he who observed that the "divorce of the intellect from body labour has made of us the shortest-lived, most resourceless and most exploited nation on earth".

So far as the Hindu-Muslim problem or unity goes, Gandhiji was a 'magnificent failure', if one can use the word 'failure' in the case of such great and purposeful life. Raja Rao, one of our finest minds, has summed up the whole endeavour beautifully in one profound sentence. In his *The Serpent and the Rope*, Raja Rao says, "Mahatma Gandhi fought against the Muslims by fighting for them. He died a Hindu martyr for an Indian cause."

It is not possible nor necessary here to critically examine Gandhiji's other basic beliefs. His greatest contribution is of course his teaching, through his own example, that every individual counts and that it is possible for the weakest man to resist injustice and evil without causing similar injury or injustice. Very few have comprehended the difference between strength and violence as he did. Perhaps the late Lal Bahadur Shastri was one of them.

Without indulging in any kind of hero worship, one can say that Gandhiji's life and teaching form an imperishable heritage of all humanity. His name will endure to the edge of doom.

Homage to Gandhiji

The British Parliament has placed on record its acknowledgement of Mahatma Gandhi's great work for the people of India and the world and his friendship for the people of the United Kingdom.

The resolution said: "That this House, on the occasion of the Centenary Year of Mahatma Gandhi, desires to place on record its acknowledgement of his great work for the people of India and the world and his friendship for the people of this country, his life of simplicity and understanding which he demonstrated to the world, the importance of the brotherhood of man, the rejection of violence and the achievement of peace—and urges that strong support be given to the United Kingdom committee responsible for celebrating the Gandhi Centenary in this country."

PINK KNIGHTS-ERRANT

The following is from the weekly journal "Thought":

MRS INDIRA GANDHI'S Socialist knights-errant in the Cabinet have lately been very active. On September 8 at Hanoi, Mr Dinesh Singh wrote about the late Ho Chi-Minh in the mourners' book that he was an "Asian leader whom millions of Indians hailed as their friend." When and why? For his studied silence at the time of the Chinese Communist attack on our country in 1962? Or for the support extended by the Ho Chi-Minh regime to the Pakistani cry of "self-determination" for Kashmir? Mr Dinesh Singh's subsequent performance in Moscow was true to form. He referred quite unnecessarily to recent developments in India's internal politics and eulogized Mrs Gandhi as the representative of youthful aspirations in a generational change. This emboldened Mr Gromyko to express Soviet Russia's gratification that India under Mrs Gandhi's leadership was "now pursuing the course formulated by Prime Minister Nehru."

As if the despatch of India's Foreign Minister to Hanoi was not enough, Mr Jagjivan Ram shared a mourning platform in Delhi on September 10 with such declared and undeclared Communists as Mr Bhupesh Gupta, Mr Krishna Menon and Mrs Asaf Ali.

On September 13, Dr V. K. R. V. Rao inaugurated a conference of Indian and foreign Communists and fellow-travellers to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the so-called German Democratic Republic, one of Soviet Russia's post-war colonies, and to demand that India should establish full diplomatic relations with it. Among the participants in the conference were such prominent proteges of the Prime Minister as Mr Arjun Arora and Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam.

Mrs Gandhi has been denying repeatedly the charge that she is leaning on the Communists for support in her fight against a section of her own party. The denial will carry no conviction as long as she encourages her lieutenants to adopt postures which are at variance with the national interest, self-respect and democracy.

Communal Riots in Ahmedabad

IT is a matter of shame to all Indians and not merely to the people of Gujarat or Ahmedabad that, in the Gandhi centenary year and just when we are celebrating the hundredth anniversary of that great apostle of communal unity, communal riots of the worst character should break out in that city where he spent over two decades of his eventful life. The riots have taken a heavy toll of life and property and many incidents which took place during the riots would make any civilized person hang his head in shame.

The riots spread widely and rapidly in all parts of Ahmedabad and in neighbouring villages. They also spread to other cities of Gujarat like Nadiad, Baroda, Kadi, Mehsana and Palanpur. Inquiries will have to be made to find out if there was "hidden hand" behind the riots, as is suggested by some. If any agency is found to have instigated or organised them it will have to be dealt with in an effective and merciless manner.

Far more serious is the existence of a feeling of distrust and antipathy that prevails in the two communities all over the country. Living together in a professedly secular democracy for over two decades and the martyrdom of the Mahatma have not removed that feeling. It is because of that feeling that even an insignificant stray incident is many a time enough for an orgy of communal violence. In spite of our tall talk of national integration and non-communal outlook, we are still intensely communal-minded and suspicious about the intentions and actions of other communities. This feeling must be eradicated through proper education and more particularly through guarantees of the just and lawful rights of each community and all its members. This is a task which cannot be accomplished in a day. What has happened in Ahmedabad and many other places where communal riots have taken place emphasises the urgency and importance of the task.

Letter to the Editor

Freedom of Press

Sir,

It is gratifying that *Freedom First* is first in giving warning about the freedom of press. The article "The Press and the Present Crisis" (in September 1969 issue) sounds a timely alarm. Sri A. B. Shah, the author of the article, must be thanked for the same. He has analysed the evils of present political storm in an appealing style and with his authoritative comments.

Democracy, in short, may be defined as government by majority for the success of which public alertness and constructive comments are necessary pre-requisites. Public opinion should be regarded with all respect in a democratic country. The only way through which public opinion can express itself is free press.

In educating and keeping alert the electorate the role of press is considered to be of greatest importance. A journalist is neither concerned with the ruling party nor with the opposition. He is a free thinker expressing his own free views and newspapers providing a forum for the public to express their views and comments on government policies. Indian journalists, indeed, have done their job well in the past and are doing now.

Unfortunately, happenings in our country since last few weeks, it may be painfully said, are not good for the health of our democracy. Press is kept under the hanging sword of nationalisation.

Freedom First has done its duty well, for which special thanks are due to the Editor and the Democratic Research Service.

Dharwar, 5th September 1969. R. M. CHINTAMANI

P. M. And Party President

A. G. Mulgaonkar

A QUESTION of great constitutional importance that has recently arisen in this country directly out of the clashes between the leading Congress personalities is, how far can the organisational wing claim to control the parliamentary wing of its party? Translated into basic reality, does it mean that the organisational wing as represented by the Congress President and the Working Committee are entitled to direct the policies generally and even control its day-to-day functioning of the Congress Government at the Centre? Undoubtedly the Congress Government at the Centre was formed, indeed was possible, as a result of the Congress organisation in its totality—under the guidance and direction of the President and the Working Committee—fighting the general election on the basis of the legislative programme or manifesto which the party had put forward. It would, therefore, seem not only appropriate but just that the organisation which is the parent body should be entitled to claim rights of supervision in a general sense over the Congress Government of India.

This much may certainly be conceded at once without argument; though even here, it must be pointed out, due constitutional proprieties and limits must be observed. What these proprieties and limits are can be considered briefly later. The actual claim, however, ranges over a much wider area and it includes not only the actual administrative field but extends even to the appointments to the cabinet and lesser ministerial posts. In other words the Congress Executive as represented by the President and the Working Committee claim not merely supervisory or disciplinary jurisdiction but that they can also issue directives to the Prime Minister and her cabinet which they, as subordinate functionaries, must in turn carry out. Broadly stated this then is the claim and it is supported, stating equally broadly, on three grounds. Firstly, that it was the organisation which raised the funds, selected the candidates and won the election and that it would not be able to repeat this performance if it is not able to influence and to shape the Government's policies and actions. Secondly, that in the peculiar conditions of India, it is necessary that the government formed by a political party should be under direct supervision and guidance of the party's top executive. Thirdly, that the Congress constitution and rules provide for this.

On a careful consideration of these grounds it will be seen that they are untenable, unworkable, therefore unrealistic and even unconstitutional. Taking the third ground first, it should be obvious to anyone

that if the Congress constitution or rules provide for something which is against the terms of the Indian Constitution or is manifestly against its spirit, whatever it is, it must be regarded as of no value and of no effect whatever. The Indian Constitution (Arts 74, 75) lays down that there shall be a Prime Minister who will be assisted by a Council of Ministers, that this Prime Minister must enjoy the confidence of the Parliament which in effect means the lower House, that before entering upon their offices the Prime Minister and other Ministers shall take and subscribe to an oath of office of which the oath of secrecy is an integral but substantial part. In effect it comes to this that the Cabinet discussions and even their decisions are Cabinet secrets and cannot be divulged unauthorisedly to anyone else. Any disclosure to an outsider, even to the Congress President or his colleagues in the Working Committee, will be a violation of this oath and an offence under the law. Prior discussion is, therefore, barred and so will, also, be disclosure until at the stage at which it is published to the public in one of the different shapes permissible under the Rules. It must never be forgotten that in the eyes of the Indian Constitution the Congress President and his colleagues of the Working Committee are on the same level as private citizens. The proper function of the organisational wing of the ruling party in parliamentary democracy *vis-a-vis* the government, perhaps the only permissible one, is to lay down the broad policies to be followed or even the particular action to be taken by the government on any one matter. The discretion of the Prime Minister to decide on the priorities or what specific action is to be taken on the matter so chosen must be completely unfettered. Let us assume, however, for the purposes of this discussion that the constitutional difficulty does not exist, still there are at least two other almost equally, though not quite, overriding objections. Would any Prime Minister worth his salt agree to accept office and work under these conditions, viz of being tied to the apron strings of another? Conversely, would such a Prime Minister be of any value either to the Country or his Party? Acceptance of such humiliating conditions can only be at the cost of human dignity and self-respect and no political party has the right to expose the holder of this high office nor the holder himself to such humiliating conditions for holding the office. And lastly, before we leave this aspect of the matter, we must consider where would power rest and where responsibility lie? This again is so important a point that its discussion must not be shirked. I

shall point out later in this article how Asquith, one of the greatest parliamentary figures of this century, Baldwin and Winston Churchill, all three in their turn Prime Ministers of Great Britain, reacted when similar conditions were attempted to be imposed. Now, the Prime Minister, in a parliamentary democracy, holding the office under the constitution enjoys undoubtedly wide powers, but they are subject to all manner of constitutional checks and Parliamentary control. Even in the eyes of the people the Prime Minister is the person responsible for all Government action and therefore, in law and in practice, the responsibility is his. Is it desirable that while the legal responsibility ostensibly rests on one set of shoulders, power should in fact be exercised by a different person or body of persons who are strangers to the constitution and may conceivably be strangers to Parliament and therefore not be subject to its control? Equally fantastic is the suggestion that an unwanted colleague can be forced on an unwilling Prime Minister.

Now let us consider the second of the three grounds on which this claim is made. It is said that there is some thing special and peculiar in the conditions of India which require, perhaps make it obligatory, that control of the organisation should be imposed upon the Prime Minister. What are these special or peculiar circumstances which people have in mind? No one has so far enlightened us on this score. In most cases it is due to a fear that a particular Prime Minister, in this instance Indira Gandhi, may lead the country too far. Perhaps there is some room for this fear. But, for this there are other constitutional, in preference to this extra-constitutional one, remedies including the one of finding an alternative to her. Obviously if the party wants her and the country supports her (even negatively) there is an end of the matter. This is only one side of the matter. But there is another and a far more important one which when people talk in a confused and vague way of special Indian conditions lose sight of. Parliamentary democracy has now been in operation in this country for well over two decades and who can deny that, by and large, it has worked remarkably well? In spite of the enfranchisement overnight of a vast multitude of voters on the basis of adult franchise, four general elections have come and gone far more successfully than they could have been expected. The twin enemies of democracy, political immaturity and illiteracy, are certainly being conquered and the manner in which the common man—the average citizen—responded at the time of the country's two confrontations with its enemies has won for him praise not only from his more sophisticated countrymen but also from many foreigners watching with a discerning eye. If there is any failure, it is the failure of the leadership to harness the average citizen to the common purpose and to create in him a sense

of belonging, of its total neglect to meet the ugly challenge of corruption in high places which has always been democracy's greatest danger. So if there is nothing special in the Indian conditions calling for a departure from the usual democratic norms, there is yet another reason of weight in itself. Parliamentary democracy has been working in Britain for several centuries and for the last two centuries it may be said to be working successfully if not always smoothly. Over the centuries, after some bitter experiences, certain practices and conventions have been developed, one of the important ones being the absolute independence within his own sphere of the Prime Minister. Let us not think of any departure from these conventions or practices excepting for demonstrably solid reasons.

The first of the three reasons, that victory at the polls was organised by the Congress organisation and that it must therefore have an overriding voice over the Congress Governments is understandable but true only in a limited sense: that while they can lay down the broad policies and generally guide their working out it is completely out of the question that they can have a voice in the day-to-day administration or be able to tie down the discretion of the Prime Minister in any manner. It is also over to them in extreme cases to secure changes in government action by impressing on the Prime Minister and his colleagues the unpopularity of the action as the T.U.C. recently did in U.K. in the matter of Industrial Relations Bill.

No discussion of the merits of this question can be complete without mention of some of the occasions within recent times when similar occasions arose in British politics. But first of all let me recall how Winston Churchill, proud to be the king's first Minister, always described himself as the servant of the House (of commons). In this he was indulging in no figure of speech but emphasising the actual constitutional fact that the only authority which had power over him was the House. In fact the controversy which arose between Prime Minister Attlee and Laski was sparked off by an election speech of Churchill in which he had warned the country that in putting a Labour Government in office would really mean that power would actually be exercised by an extra parliamentary authority.

Then there was that other famous occasion in the first world war when Asquith the Prime Minister was confronted by three or four of his cabinet colleagues (not outsiders to Government or Parliament, it should be noted) led by Lloyd George who put forward a proposal that the conduct of the war should be solely entrusted to a small War Committee of himself, Bonar Law and Edward Carson from which Asquith himself should be excluded. "Practically, Lloyd

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Indira Gandhi's Visit And After

Analyst

FOUR most significant events of the period under review (Aug. 16 to Sept. 15) are: Smt. Indira Gandhi's visit to the city of Calcutta following her political victory in the Presidential election, CPI-CPM political conflict, Gupta Report on Police vandalism of July 31, and successful conclusion of the tea gardens strike.

It appears that soon after the passing of the compromise resolution in the Congress Working Committee Smt. Gandhi worked out a scheme for securing better hold on the party machine and of eliminating Syndicate bosses in their respective States. In the case of West Bengal there was a systematic attempt to snub Atulya Ghosh as also his protege Dr. P. C. Chunder, President, W. B. Congress. The leader of the Congress Legislative Party Sidhartha Ray, played the leading role in this attempt. But the rank-and-file and the activists in the Congress got fed up with this mean manner of promoting further discord and it was under their pressure that Ray had to eat the humble pie.

Smt. Gandhi had earlier issued an appeal to ex-Congressmen to come back to the Congress. It was directed towards Ajoy Mukherjee and his Bangla Congress. But there could be no question of the latter's coming close to the Congress unless Atulya Ghosh is isolated and removed.

But Smt. Gandhi's appeal did not strike a cordial note, at least publicly, in the Bangla Congress. An effort was made to appreciate Smt. Gandhi's role in nationalising the banks, when Bangla Congress expressed the view that she played a "reasonable and appropriate" part in July and August. But the CPM's stiff attitude towards Smt. Gandhi indicated that it would not be easy for Ajoy Mukherjee to get close to Smt. Gandhi as yet. Other U.F. groups also felt that if Smt. Gandhi's tactics succeeded it would be a break up of the U.F.

Thus, Smt. Gandhi's visit was a failure in this sense, as any talk with Bangla Congress was premature. But in another sense it was a partial success. Her heavy programme of meeting groups of people of all classes and her very successful mass rally in contrast to the official Congress meeting on the Independence Day, which was a poor show, created an impression of revival of the Congress. But the temporary bridging of the gulf within the organisation seems transitory.

During her meeting with Ajoy Mukherjee and Jyoti Basu (it may be noted that Ajoy Mukherjee was not allowed to meet the PM separately) the financial problems were presented and the West Bengal Government wanted to make sure that enough funds from banks, now nationalised, would be allocated to West

Bengal. This however was not committed to by Smt. Gandhi and nor did she agree to the proposal of regional control over the banks. On the whole the impression has been created that Smt. Gandhi came here more to project a new image of the Congress and to boost the workers of the Congress, and the U.F. became wary of this development and the implied weakening of the U.F. as a consequence.

Another significant development was the sharp posture of conflict taken up by the CPI against the CPM within the U.F. The immediate provocation was the beating up of 3 CPI workers allegedly by CPM workers in Baranagar, north of Calcutta, the constituency of Jyoti Basu. Such inter-party conflicts have been frequent throughout the State and a large number of murders have been committed in the last few months. But in this case the CPI leaders have taken it up, so that politics and murderous assaults could be kept separate.

CPM trade unionists are trying their best to eliminate or at least isolate CPI unionists wherever they are entrenched and this is the major consideration why CPI is putting up strong political resistance. The recently passed Trade Union Bill will put to severe disadvantage all those unions which are not recognised by factory managements. This worry of being ousted by the CPM from vantage points by utilising the police is causing headaches to the CPI.

The other front partners, Forward Bloc, SUC, SSP, Bangla Congress, are equally critical of the abuse of the police by CPM. But the Bangla Congress is more cautious. However, the CPI being politically more alert and intelligent, the CPM policy seems to be to weaken the CPI first at the operational level while on paper the resolution on inter-party clashes would be adhered to. But the CPI, anticipating this, has taken up the matter on a political level. As a consequence in many industrial centres a regular conflict between the CPM and CPI has started.

Mr. Ranjit Gupta's much awaited report on the incidents of the police vandalism in the Assembly and in the SP's office at Alipore on July 31 was published in the press on September 1. His remark "there might have been some sort of a preplanned conspiracy to create trouble that day" appears too tentative. It is clear that there was failure of administrative coordination and lack of alertness and vigilance on the part of senior police officers. There is another aspect of Mr. Gupta's report to which not much public attention has been drawn. It is with regard to the discontent among the lower ranks of the police due to their bitter experience of the last 5 months. The

attitude of politicians and party militants towards the police appeared to be one of the major causes of this discontent, according to Mr. Gupta.

The Report is having significant reactions. The politicians are holding the senior officials responsible and are demanding their head. The officials at first became very defensive and introvert. Now one by one they are blaming each other. So that it will be easier for the UF to play one against the other and demoralise them still further and make them surrender to the Minister. Already the Police Commissioner of Calcutta has had to pass on substantial law and order responsibility to his Joint who is known to be a keen admirer of the Minister and who was reportedly picked by the latter for promotion to this post. The Baranagar incident on which the CPI and the CPM are quarrelling is being investigated by him and not by the Commissioner. The reaction among the lower category of policemen who have been dismissed from service is equally critical. They now demand severe punishment for the officers who have been found guilty.

A Memorandum to P.M.

A memorandum to P.M. was presented on behalf of women political workers. Prominent amongst those who signed it were: Dr. Mrs. Sarala Ghose, ex-M.L.C., Smt. Ava Maity, M.L.A., Smt. Reba Sen, ex-M.L.C., Smt. Ava Chatterji, ex-M.L.C., Smt. Sudharani Dutt, Smt. Rama Gupta, Smt. Shova Ganguly, Smt. Sati Sinha, Smt. Bani Ghose, Smt. Biva Mitra, ex-M.L.C.

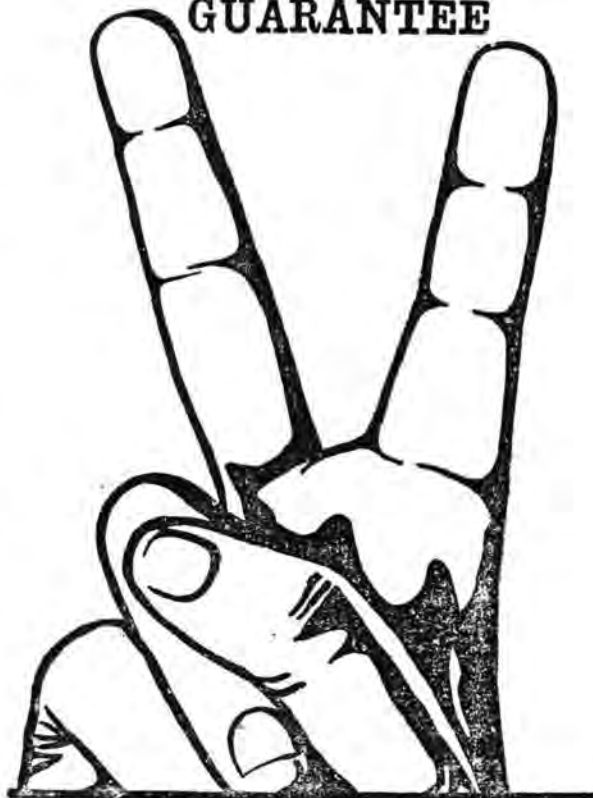
It stated *inter alia*: "Since the inauguration of the U.F. Government, West Bengal has been in a state of chaos and semi-anarchy. Law and order have ceased to exist and all respect for the rule of law has been thrown to the winds. The partners of the U.F. Government themselves are engaged in perpetual warfare against each other and are freely taking recourse to all kinds of terrorism, goondaism and violence. Far from performing the Government's elementary and primary duties of enforcing and maintaining law and order in the State, they are fomenting violence and lawlessness throughout the State."

After enumerating a few glaring cases of violence and murders, it stated: "The people are living in a perpetual state of panic and insecurity."

In the end it stated: "The inter-party clashes prove beyond doubt that the United Front has come into power not to rule and govern and serve the people but to extend their respective spheres of influence and strengthen and consolidate their respective party positions. As a matter of fact the CPM has declared their avowed intention of not working the Constitution but to wreck it. The CPM is exploiting the situation most by making use of the police portfolio. The police has been rendered absolutely inactive and a powerless spectator to the orgy of violence and lawlessness."



**THE SUPERIOR
TYPEWRITER WITH A
2-YEAR
GUARANTEE**



Moscow's Design For Asia

ONE superpower, the U.S., is trying to cut back its role as the policeman responsible for peace and security in that part of the world.

At this exact point in history, the other superpower—Russia—is thrusting deep into Asia with a drive unmatched since the era of Czarist expansion across Siberia to the Pacific.

The U.S. is attempting to liquidate its costly war in Vietnam, a long step aimed at possible reduction of the American military commitment elsewhere in the Far East. U.S. hope is to avoid "another Vietnam."

The Soviet Union is moving to establish its political, economic and military authority in the area from which the U.S. is expected to pull back.

At the heart of this shifting power balance is China, a country that appears to be weak and disunited but which also possesses nuclear weapons and has about a quarter of the world's population.

The two superpowers have differing ideas of how to deal with China.

The U.S. wants to ease tension even though one argument for the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system is that a "thin" defense is needed against a possible Communist Chinese nuclear attack in the mid-1970s. So the Nixon Administration is taking slow, hesitant steps to establish some kind of "dialogue" or relationship with Peking.

In Russia's view, China is a bigger threat to peace than ever before. Tension between the two countries has moved from ideological rivalry into a bitter and dangerous conflict of national interests along their 4,150-mile border.

Russia has greatly strengthened its military forces, including nuclear-armed missiles, along that border. To keep Peking busy at home, Moscow works to stir up trouble inside China. It urges tribesmen in the border areas near Russia to start "people's wars of liberation" against their Chinese rulers.

To some experts, the most significant change of all is this: Russia seems to be preparing to assume the so-called "white man's burden" in Asia without taking on the outworn role of colonial master or the role played by the U.S. in recent years—of policing the Asian world through military alliances.

Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, took the wraps off the new policy on June 7. Addressing the International Communist Conference in Moscow, Mr. Brezhnev said:

"We are of the opinion that the course of events is putting on the agenda the task of creating a system of collective security in Asia."

Potential members of the system mentioned at the

time were India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Burma and Malaysia. Since then the list has grown longer.

Experts rule out the thought that Moscow has any intention of building a powerful military alliance to protect small and large Asian nations, including Russia itself, against possible expansion by nuclear-armed Red China.

Instead, Russia seems to have two objectives:

1. "Isolate" Red China from its Asian neighbours and, the Russians hope, build a political "wall" that will deter Peking from any military action against Siberia or Soviet Central Asia.

2. Move Russia into the vacuum left when the U.S. withdraws to a new defence line in the Western Pacific. The Soviet Union has already established a naval presence in those areas "east of Suez" which Britain plans to leave—the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

To achieve these objectives, Moscow is ready to deal with Communist, non-Communist and even anti-Communist, governments in Asia. Soviet support for Red parties in countries where they do not rule will be subordinated to the new policy of building a common front against China. Moscow may even discourage Reds from starting "revolutions" against established governments.

Moscow will rely on trade agreements and economic aid to extend its influence. Military hardware, made available in grants or through sales on easy terms, will be used in some areas to weaken Red China's hand, or strengthen the nation that feel directly threatened by Peking.

Moscow already can claim a degree of success in its "design for Asia."

Outer Mongolia, a strategic salient that thrusts deep into China, has been converted into a Soviet armed camp and the country's economy is dominated by Russia. Moscow has pledged nearly 700 million dollars to the latest Mongolian five-year plan.

Moscow has no hope of persuading North Korea or North Vietnam to join openly in an "anti-China front." "But by pouring military and economic aid in lavish quantities into both countries, Russia hopes to get their tacit support for a "containment" policy aimed at Peking.

Similar inducements are being used in non-Communist Asia.

India has been promised 600 million dollars in Soviet help for its fourth five-year plan. By the end of 1967, India had already received 610 million dollars' worth of Soviet arms; shipments since then have raised this total still higher.

Through 1967, Pakistan had contracted to buy only 40 million dollars' worth of Soviet arms. Now Moscow

is offering far larger amounts to the Pakistanis in an effort to displace Chinese influence.

Neither Singapore nor Malaysia has received economic aid from Russia, but an expanding volume of Soviet purchases in the two countries and an implied promise of aid to come represent effective use of "foot in the door" techniques.

Russia already buys nearly one-fourth of Malaysia's rubber output. Singapore looks ahead to rising profits from sale of clothing, shoes and other consumer goods to Russia and East Europe.

Singapore, one of the world's great ports and strategically located as a key center for air traffic, hopes to be the hub for Soviet-bloc trade with other Southeast Asian countries—Cambodia, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia, even post-war Vietnam. Aeroflot, the Soviet airlines, flies regularly into Singapore. Each month an average of 30 Soviet-flag ships call there, an increase of 50 per cent over the 1968 level.

Ambiguity marks the Kremlin's policy toward Indonesia, a country enormously rich in natural resources and heavily populated, which not long ago seemed ready to go Communist. Russia had provided military hardware valued at 1.34 billion dollars and its economic aid came to 799 million dollars.

Most of the goodwill from that aid went down the drain when Indonesia's Reds, backed by former President Sukarno, tried to seize power. The revolt was crushed by the Indonesian Army, and hundreds of thousands of Red supporters were killed.

Now Soviet relations with the Army-run Government are correct but chilly.

A key target of the Soviet Union's thrust is Japan, one of the world's mightiest industrial powers and a nation of 102 million people.

Japanese are intrigued by what they call Moscow's new "diplomacy of smiles." Top Japanese officials have been invited to Russia, and Soviet cultural and educational groups tour Japan.

Trade between the two countries is flourishing. It reached a new peak of 632 million dollars last year. But the Japanese are unhappy because Russia's exports to Japan are 2½ times the value of what Russia buys in return.

Soviet Russia is no newcomer to the Asian scene. Three quarters of its 8.6 million square miles of territory are in Asia; roughly a quarter of its 230 million people are of Asian extraction. But the speed with which Moscow is moving deeper into Asia impresses most experts.

This year alone, Soviet Cabinet Ministers have gone to Singapore, Malaysia, Cambodia, India and Pakistan. While stopping in New Delhi, Premier Alexei Kosygin also conferred with Prime Ministers of Afghanistan and Nepal. A few weeks later President Nikolai Podgorny made state visits to Outer Mongolia and North Korea.

Moscow just recently suggested that a direct land route be built across Pakistan and Afghanistan to link India with Russia's territories in Central Asia. The road would be primarily for trade but could be used to support India if Red China should again invade the sub-continent.

Diplomats continue to hear reports that Pakistan has agreed to let Russia build a naval base at Gwadar from which the Persian Gulf could be controlled, and that Moscow has asked India for the right to build a naval base in the Andaman Islands, astride the Bay of Bengal. Neither report has been confirmed by Soviet officials.

Russia may exploit its rising power in Asia to damage important American interests. A Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean could support India against China. It could also be used to back left-wing coups in the Persian Gulf an area where the West has valuable oil concessions.

But if "containment" of China now has top priority in the Kremlin replacing both the "cold war" with the U.S. and a programme of "world revolution", then the U.S. stands to gain. Michel Tatu, a leading French expert on Soviet affairs, claims that "the threat from China... is forcing Soviet leaders to stabilize their relations with America and to tighten their grip on the Eastern European satellites in order to guarantee security of their western frontiers."

—U.S. News & World Report

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George issued an ultimatum to the Prime Minister, putting the latter in the complete background, and constituting a War Committee of three, under himself" as Lord Curzon reported to Lord Lansdowne (Dec. 3rd, 1916). Asquith knew, of course, that refusal would mean the loss of his office of Prime Ministership but chose that honourable course bringing thereby to a virtual close a great parliamentary career. Nearly two decades later another similar situation arose when the Press lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook claimed that Baldwin had won the previous general election largely because of their intensive press campaign in his favour, precisely like the claim now made by the Congress organisation. And what was Baldwin's reply as leader of the Conservative Parliamentary Party? "A more preposterous and insolent demand was never made on the leader of any political party. I repudiate it with contempt and I will fight that attempt at domination to the end". Even more scathing was his comment in a public speech, "what the proprietorship of these papers is aiming at is power without responsibility—the prerogative of the harlot throughout the ages".

Gandhiji's Thoughts

V. B. Karnik

IT is but appropriate that the Gandhi centenary year should see the publication of a number of books on Gandhiji and his work and thoughts. Many of them are merely descriptive and laudatory. The distinction of Dr. Bandyopadhyaya's book* is that, far from being merely descriptive or laudatory, it is a critical analysis of Gandhiji's social and political thought from the point of view of a social scientist.

Dr. Bandyopadhyaya has outlined in the first place the ideal social order, a society of truth and non-violence, of freedom and equality, visualised by Gandhiji and then examined the various methods suggested by him, such as the Constructive Programme and Satyagraha, for reaching that ideal. The delimitation of the ideal as well as the analysis of the methods are done in a strictly objective and scientific manner.

Gandhiji was not merely a political agitator and organiser or a social and moral reformer. Over and above all that, he was a seeker after truth in all fields of life. His interests extended from political independence to abolition of untouchability, from Khadi and village industries to the development of Hindustani as the common national language and from basic education to nature cure. Nothing under the sun was foreign to his mind. And on all these topics he has given expression to weighty views which, whether one likes them or not, deserve deep consideration. It was not a small job to piece them all together and subject them to a critical analysis on the basis of their contribution to the ultimate values that Gandhiji had accepted. Dr. Bandyopadhyaya has performed that task in a highly competent manner.

Dr. Bandyopadhyaya has discussed at length the effectiveness or otherwise of the Gandhian method of Satyagraha, both individual as well as group. The conclusions that he has reached after a detailed and dispassionate study of a couple of instances of both kinds of Satyagraha deserve to be noted by all students of Gandhism. Regarding the utility of fasting as a form of individual Satyagraha his conclusion is: "It can be practised only in a relatively liberal socio-political set-up. It can be practised only against a sympathetic adversary. It may not always lead to the opponent yielding any ground. Even when the opponent makes the necessary concessions, there is no certainty that he has done so out of conviction or of a "change of heart"; consequently there is no certainty that the opponent's action has been based on Justice, even if we make the somewhat unreal assumption that there is an agreed conception of Justice. Whatever solutions may be reached through this form of *satyagraha* are bound to

be temporary, for they are unrelated to the deep-seated causes of the conflict." He has reached this conclusion after studying the three famous fasts that Gandhiji had undertaken. He has then examined the three individual civil disobedience movements organised by Gandhiji. His conclusion regarding the last and most important one organised in 1940 and 1941 is: "The Individual Civil Disobedience Movement was decidedly a failure, whether from the viewpoint of establishing the right of carrying on propaganda against the war or of having any appreciable effect on the progress towards independence."

The examination of some notable cases of group Satyagraha also yields practically the same conclusion. Regarding the result of the Satyagraha in Rajkot the author writes: "Although this method of non-violent group resistance can highlight local injustices, can give a fillip to popular movements, and can even lead to a temporary understanding between the contending parties, it cannot hope to resolve permanently a basic conflict caused by deep-rooted historical, political and social factors. In other words, group *satyagraha* in the form of defiance of violence can act as a palliative rather than a cure for a fundamental social conflict." His conclusion regarding the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-1932 is more categorical. He writes: "Considered from every point of view, therefore, the Civil Disobedience Movement was practically a complete failure, although it had approximately fulfilled the Gandhian condition of a policy of non-violence on the part of the masses. As Gandhi and Nehru both agreed, the movement had failed not due to any unexpected inner weakness or organizational deficiency but primarily due to the repressive policy of the Government. This would seem to indicate that it would be extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, for a *satyagraha* movement to succeed against a hostile adversary, especially a dictatorial form of Government."

Dr. Bandyopadhyaya has then considered whether and how far it is possible to use effectively the weapon of Satyagraha against a dictatorial government and in the case of foreign aggression. According to Gandhiji, Satyagraha is "a universally applicable technique for the achievement of Justice." The author has quoted a statement of Gandhiji made in 1947. It stated: "This I do say, fearlessly and firmly, that every worthy object can be achieved by the use of Satyagraha. It is the highest and infallible means, the greatest force. . . . Satyagraha can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral." The author's finding is however different. He states it as follows: "One of the essential conditions for the success of *satyagraha* as a technique of resistance is a relatively liberal political system, and

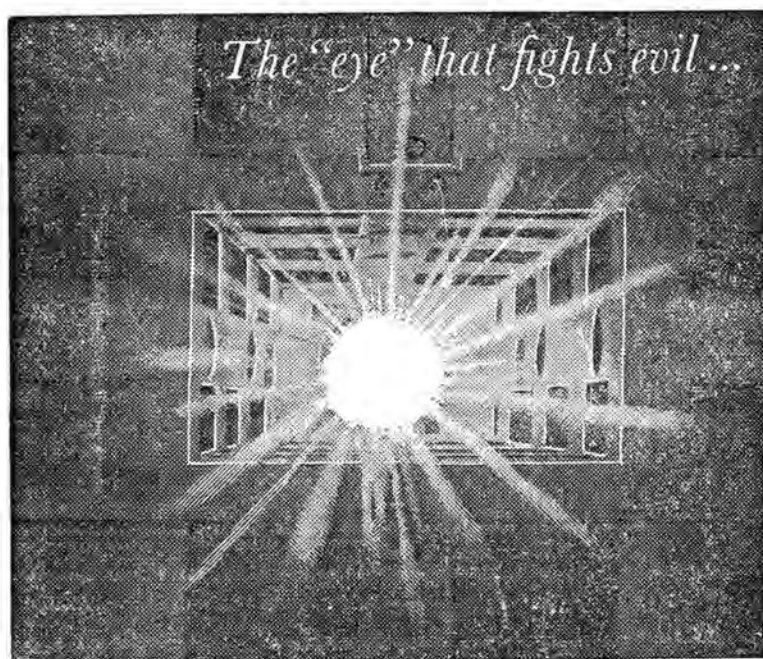
* *Social and Political Thought of Gandhi*, J. Bandyopadhyaya, Allied Publishers, Rs. 32.

that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to organize a successful *satyagraha* against a dictatorial form of government or in a dictatorial political system even when the Government may not be directly involved." In support of his finding he quotes the following from Karl Jaspers, the wellknown philosopher: "In the struggles against totalitarianism, Gandhi's procedure would not be a political way, but a way to certain doom. Every sacrifice would be secret, rendered without publicity, untouchable in its metaphysical substance to be sure, but unknown to men. Because no echoes would reach the public, no political consequences would result. Against a terror that knows no restriction by legal or conscientious qualms, sacrifice is futile in so far as it remains outside the communication of human activities." Curiously enough, Dr. Bandyopadhyaya finds it difficult to fully endorse this assertion of Karl Jaspers. He finds an escape in the excuse that not enough data are available for making a categorical assertion. In the case of national defence, however, he agrees that "non-violent revolution can gradually play a subsidiary role in national defence, but it cannot be a substitute for military power at present or in the immediate future." Far from accepting the sovereign importance that Gandhiji has attached to *Satyagraha*, the only claim that Dr. Bandyopadhyaya is prepared to accept is: "Satyagraha may also be a useful supplement to the legal and constitutional processes of social control." According to

him, *Satyagraha* "is based on a relatively simplistic, and, therefore, unscientific approach to social conflict and its resolution."

This cursory glance at the discussion of *Satyagraha* will make it clear that Dr. Bandyopadhyaya is not a blind admirer or follower of Gandhiji. He is a keen and perceptive student of Gandhiji's thought and he has endeavoured to study it in accordance with the discipline of social sciences. The study, objective and sympathetic as it is, has compelled him to say that "Gandhi's approach to political and social questions... ignores the realities of social evolution and the deep-rooted historical, political, economic, social and cultural causes of social conflict." This conviction has not, however, prevented him from discussing in a fair and dispassionate manner the various aspects of Gandhiji's thought or his programme of action for bringing about social changes. The author has pointed out at some places the similarities between Gandhism and anarchism. There will be no dispute about them. But it is difficult to understand and appreciate the link that he has tried to establish at some places between Gandhiji on one hand and Marx and Mao on the other. There may be some apparent similarity in the ultimate ideal, but there is a world of difference between the means to be adopted for attaining the ideal. According to Gandhiji, means are as important as ends — "Means

(Continued on page 11)



The "eye" that fights evil...

The glaring "eye" of the Cobalt Bomb helps fight cancer. It's one of the many modern weapons used in the world-wide crusade against this dread disease. In India too, the battle is on. Research is helping find a cure for cancer. But research costs money. A lot of it, in fact. You can help with your mite. Every rupee you give will help develop new medicines, new techniques to help save lives.

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Remember, cancer is curable if detected early. **WATCH FOR THESE DANGER SIGNALS:**
1. Any sore that does not heal/ 2. A lump or thickening in the breast or elsewhere/ 3. Unusual bleeding or discharge/ 4. Any change in a wart or mole/ 5. Persistent indigestion or difficulty in swallowing/ 6. Persistent hoarseness or cough/ 7. Any change in normal bowel habits. If you notice any of these 7 Danger Signals—consult a doctor AT ONCE.

Trends In Bengal

(On her visit to Calcutta in the second week of August, a number of prominent Congressmen from the city and its suburbs presented a memorandum to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The following are some extracts from the memorandum.)

SINCE the advent of the United Front Government in West Bengal under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) a state of affairs has been established, (and is being increasingly reinforced) which is making it extremely difficult for ordinary citizens to live in safety and security and to carry on their vocation in peace and without fear.

We note below the trends of events and activities which are taking place almost every day, and each of these items could be documented from published reports.

1. A large number of political workers belonging not only to the Congress but practically to all political parties have been assaulted, attacked and even murdered. Terrorisation of such workers has become a common phenomenon.

2. Freedom to conduct genuine political or trade union activity among industrial workers or peasants has been severely restricted due to the fear of attacks and assaults.

3. Properties of individuals have been burnt or destroyed, and their family members have been either threatened or beaten up, or even killed.

4. Instances of holding of 'Peoples Courts' and extorting heavy fines from innocent citizens have been reported.

5. Lands and fisheries have been forcibly occupied by armed gangs of men organised by competing political parties, and criminal excesses have been committed which have been admitted by the ruling parties.

6. Persons charged with violence, rioting, robbery and even murder and undergoing trials have been released. The Government itself has stated that more than 1000 such cases have been withdrawn, in some cases under protest from the trying Courts.

7. There have been cases of intimidation of judges and in some instances they had to seek the protection of the police.

8. Gheraos and other methods of coercion have been in operation so that the individuals doing business or running industry, or operating as management personnel are severely handicapped in taking judicious decisions in regard to their economic enterprises.

9. The police and the administrative machinery is either paralysed or is behaving in a manner that creates the impression of being partisan. This has encouraged anti-social and aggressive party militants to lord over areas.

10. The direction to the police not to take cognisance of activities arising from "democratic movements" has placed it in an awkward situation and, in conse-

quence, the police in many places has been misunderstood, gheraoed, beaten up and even murdered. The Police Association has asked for non-interference by the ruling parties in the discharge of their duties. But this has not abated. This has made the police more disgruntled and demoralised, and the field has thus been left more open for free operation by anti-socials and militants.

11. There have been dozens of cases where the High Court Judges have issued Rule against Executive Officers and Police directing them to do their normal duties, and even imposing fines on some of them.

12. High Court injunctions have been issued in a number of cases but on many an occasion these injunctions have been of only paper value and the police have not been serious in giving effect to them. The leaders of Government have even criticised the High Court for its actions and decisions.

13. With the erosion of effective public authority, party *senas* are cropping up and these private armies are becoming increasingly aggressive and monopolistic, while the Government leaders are declaring their avowed object of taking over the police function and hand over to these private armies, if the police does not deliver the goods.

14. There is increasing evidence of the use of fire arms apart from bombs, arrows, lathis and daggers.

15. That anti-social elements have become quite active in these operations and have joined political parties is admitted by many leaders.

16. A pro-Chinese political party is openly operating in this State attacking the Indian Constitution and unabashedly propagating Mao's doctrine of armed insurrection.

It is high time that you as Prime Minister of India took cognisance of the developments in this State as indicated by the trends listed above and, after satisfying yourself as to the correctness of the same, take proper action under Sec. 256 of the Indian Constitution.

(Continued from page 10)

and ends are convertible terms in my philosophy of life" — and that puts him in an entirely different category from Marx and Mao. This point does not appear to have received sufficient importance in the book. All the same it is a weighty contribution to the discussion of Gandhiji's thought. It shows how Gandhiji's thoughts on all topics are interrelated and complimentary and how they help the gradual approximation to the goal that he had accepted. It is a book which no student of Gandhism can afford to miss.

With Many Voices

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

The desecration of the Al Asqa mosque was no doubt a most deplorable sacrilege. But who is the culprit? Not Israel but an individual who is on trial.
—*Times of India*, September 20.

By behaving more Arab than the Arabs themselves, Mrs. Gandhi is playing with fire.
—*March of the Nation*, September 27.

What a pity that India's Minister for External Affairs should be Russia's mouth-piece in Moscow as well.
—A. G. N. *Current*, September 27.

The greatest single deception of my life, as in the life of many idealists, has been the failure of socialism, in which term I include Communism.
—Herbert Read, *The Cult of Sincerity*.

The influence of the Government of the Soviet Union on this country has increased enormously, is increasing continuously, and ought, in the interest of the country, to be diminished substantially.
—*Opinion*, September 23.

There is a permanent clash between the workers' policy of trade unionism and the intellectuals' policy of socialism.
—*Swarajya*, September 13.

To the Editor,
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Truly parlous is the plight of a land in which through democratic methods, democracy may well be done to death.
—*Opinion*, September 2.

It isn't fair to run with the hare and hunt with the hound.
—Y. B. Chavan, *Indian Express*,
August 23.

Let a collection of yahoos but take off their clothes, cavort about the stage and yell obscenities, and a great breakthrough in dramatic art is announced and applauded.
—Malcolm Muggeridge quoted in *Time*,
September 5.

Technology without a competitive liberal economy leads to the growth of a leviathan.
—*The Citizen*, September 13.

Mrs Gandhi's new-found zeal for socialism in an outdated form is taking the country back and not forward.
—Frank Moraes, *Indian Express*, September 22.

Should there be an accord between Moscow and Peking once again, it will only be at the expense of India and other non-Communist countries in Asia.
—*Thought*, September 20.

Those who want to exchange democracy for Socialism are blind.
—Svetlana Allilyeva, daughter of Stalin,
Indian Express, September 23.

Let not the Government of India in its anxiety to woo the Muslims lose all sense of proportion or its commitment to secular democracy.
—*Janata*, September 21.

The truth is that the mind of man has enlarged while the heart remains small in comparison.
—Vinoba Bhave, *People's Action*,
September 1969.

Catchwords and slogans are, unfortunately, powerful weapons in these days of hurry, noise and unrest.
—Sputnik, *Economic Times*, September, 23.