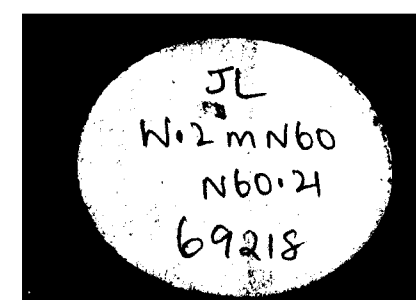




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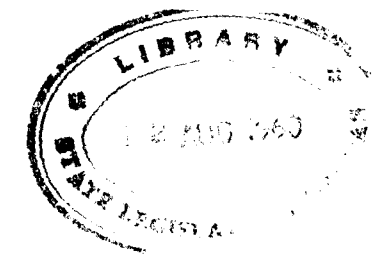
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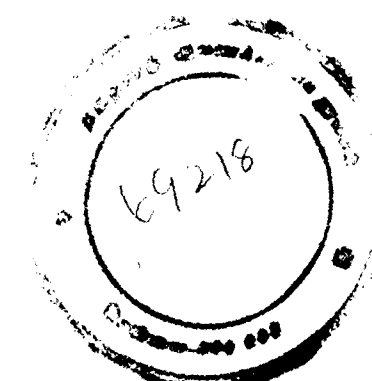
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INDIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

GENERAL SECRETARY & TREASURER

KUKURIAPADA, CUTTACK

15th May, 1960

DEAR FRIEND,

The twenty-third Conference of the Indian Political Science Association will be held in December, 1960 at Patna under the auspices of the Patna University.

The following subjects have been fixed for discussion in the next Conference :—

1. Union-States Relations in Theory and Practice in India.
2. Far East in World Politics.

The Indian Political Science Association is not financially prosperous at the present moment on account of constancy in its membership and rising costs in the management of the Association and publication of the "Indian Journal of Political Science"; so it is the solemn duty of all teachers of Political Science as also of other persons interested in its study and discussion, to enrol themselves as members of this Association. I am sure, if each one of the existing members interests himself or herself in enrolling new members, our prosperity will be restored. I count on your co-operation in this regard. As you know the annual subscription is only Rs. 15/- and membership entitles a person to receive a free copy of the Journal, participate in the annual conference and contribute papers for discussion. If the amount is sent by cheque it is Rs. 16/- nP. including Bank Commission.

I particularly invite your attention to Rules 7 and 10 of the Association in accordance with which a member ought to pay his subscription before the 31st of March of the year and if he does not pay it on or before the 31st July, he will be entitled to all privileges except taking part in the annual election of the Association. If a member is not on the rolls consecutively for two or three years, he has no right to vote or to hold office respectively. The existing members are requested to kindly bear this fact in mind.

At the Jaipur Conference, it has been decided that papers submitted for discussion in the Annual Conference should be published in extenso in a Conference Number of the Journal and each copy priced at Rs. 3/-. For this not only our funds should be increased but the papers should also be sent sufficiently early preferably before the 1st day of September preceding the Conference.

I extend on behalf of the Association a hearty welcome to you to our membership and request you to enrol as many new member as you can.

Yours sincerely,
S. C. DASH
General Secretary & Treasurer

Vol. XXI No. 1

January—March, 1960

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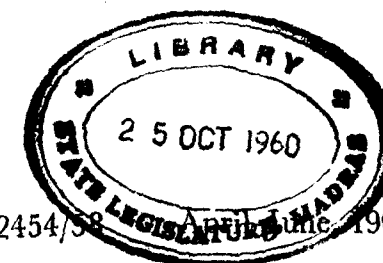
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FORMOSA: A PROBLEM FOR U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

By

MOTI LAL GOVILA*

Never was a great power so tightly bound by shackles of its own making as this country is at present in its relations with the Far East. We cannot go forward; we cannot go back; it is uncomfortable and dangerous to stay where we are. We get relief in petulance, in recrimination, in wild but futile threats, and in self-flagellation in the form of proscription of any American who does not believe that Communist China is the principle of evil and Chiang Kai-shek the avatar of liberty. As a result American dignity has been lowered in the eyes of the world, and we are as much isolated as we were in 1920.¹

So long as we pretend that no Chinese government exists, or that Chiang Kai-shek is still the representative of the Chinese people, our diplomacy will continue to function in a vacuum, while a clear field is left to the Kremlin.²

Formosa, a tiny spot on the map of the world, has acquired in the recent years such a prominent position in the Far Eastern policies of the United States that the State Department has to think twice before taking any final step in the Far East. Not more than a decade ago, Europeans and especially Americans, knew it only by name. Today it seems to be on the lips of every American. The reasons for this change in attitude are not difficult to find.

The current political controversy about the problem of Formosa arises from the fact that there are two claimants for its ownership. There would have been no complications if the Nationalists had retained the control of the Chinese mainland. But now there are two main governments one on the mainland and the other on the island of Formosa which are hostile to each other and advance their own claims to the ownership of this tiny island, or to be more precise, to each other's territory. Chinese intervention in the Korean war brought about a dramatic change in the foreign policy of the United States so far as Formosa was concerned. The present situation is further complicated by the fact that Formosa has become a bastion of legal, political and strategic controversies. In order to understand the present impasse, it is necessary to examine the status of Formosa from all the three angles outlined above.

LEGAL POSITION OF FORMOSA

The first question with which we are confronted here is about the legal status of Formosa, or to be more accurate, whom does Formosa belong to? Now and then it has been asserted that Chiang Kai-shek has no claim to the island. According to Walter Lippman,

*The author would like to express his deep sense of indebtedness to the W. K. Mc Clive Foundation for the study of World Affairs, which has enabled him through financial assistance, to make this study possible. The Foundation, however, does not necessarily share the views expressed in this article.

¹ Nathaniel Peffer, "Our Asian Policy: Part Blunder, Part Thunder", *Nation*, Vol. 179, p. 24, December 11, 1954.

² James P. Warburg. Quoted in Gale W. McGee's article, "A China Policy for the United States", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. LIII, p. 3, July 1954, pp. 336-37.

"Chiang is juridically sovereign where he does not rule and he sovereign where he does."³ In the opinion of Mr. Arthur H. Dean Formosa is an unclaimed territory (*terra nullius*).⁴

It would be recalled that under the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) which terminated Sino-Japanese war, the control over Formosa and its nearby islands to the West, the Pescadores, passed from China to Japan. Since then Formosa has been treated as a part of Japan. However, this situation underwent a change during World War II. The Cairo Declaration issued jointly by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and President Chiang Kai-shek, on December 1, 1943 declared:

that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first world war in 1914, and that all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.

The Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, made by the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic, but later accepted by China also, and agreed to by Japan as the basis of its surrender on August 14, 1945, confirmed that "the terms of the Cairo Declaration were to be carried out."

After the war was over Nationalist Government assumed the control of Formosa on September 2, 1945. The question then arose about the legal status of Formosa, especially between the period of China's de facto control of the island and its de jure right to the portion of her territory — something which was to be decided upon the conclusion of a formal peace treaty with Japan (1952).⁵ The State Department was conscious of the legal difficulties of making a definitive pronouncement. Consequently no public statement was made on the subject. Nevertheless there is ample evidence to prove that for practical purposes Formosa was treated as a part of China notwithstanding the fact that its cession was not complete without the conclusion of a formal treaty with Japan. It would be noted that when the Chinese began to administer the island, no objection was raised by the State Department. Ambassadors and Foreign Service Officers in their dispatches treated Formosa as a part of China.⁶ In applying the China Aid Act of 1948, the United States Government apparently made no attempt to distinguish Formosa from any other part of China.⁷ Again, in a special guidance paper, dated December 1949, sent by the State Department to the Foreign Service Office

³ *New York Herald Tribune*, April 28, 1955, p. 20.

⁴ United States Foreign Policy and Formosa," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 33, § 3, April 1955, p. 3.

⁵ "... the general thinking after the Japanese surrender was that although, by signing the Instrument of Surrender, Japan had relinquished sovereignty over the island, and although the Chinese reoccupied Formosa and assumed an interim administrative authority, the transfer of that to China would require formalization by a treaty of peace." Joseph Ballantine, *Formosa: A problem for United States Foreign Policy* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1952) p. 54.

⁶ Claude S. Phillips, Jr., "The International Legal Status of Formosa," *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. X, § 2, June 1957, p. 278.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

around the world it was stated that "Formosa, politically, geographically, and strategically, is part of China — politically, and militarily it is a strictly Chinese responsibility."⁸

Furthermore, the State Department guidance paper referred to above stated in 1949 that the loss of the island "is widely anticipated," and emphasised the point that the United States had no "responsibilities or obligations, actual or moral" therein.⁹ It was in conformity with this policy that as late as January 5, 1950, the former President, Mr. Truman, maintained a hands-off policy. His observations on this subject are so important that it is necessary to quote them in some detail. He said:

Traditional United States policy toward China... called for international respect for the integrity of China...

The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory. The United States has no desire to obtain special rights or privileges or to establish military bases on Formosa at this time. Nor does it have any intention of utilizing its armed forces to interfere in the present situation. The United States will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China.

Similarly, the United States will not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa. In the view of the United States Government, the resources on Formosa are adequate to enable them to obtain the items which they might consider necessary for the defence of the island.¹⁰

From the evidence presented above it is sufficiently clear that practically Formosa was treated as a part of China. It is not without significance to note that in spite of the Communist victory on the mainland the administration was not prepared to help Chiang Kai-shek because from its point of view such an action would amount to intervention in Chinese Civil War.

However, this policy (hands-off) underwent a dramatic change upon the outbreak of Korean War on June 25, 1950. Only two days after, President Truman declared that Korean conflict and then "the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to the United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area.... The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations."¹¹

This in effect means outweighing of political by military considerations. So far political considerations had influenced the U. S. policy but now the strategic interests of the United States obliged the State Department to change its policy.

In the author's opinion the United States has intervened in the Civil War of China — an action which is contrary to the rules of

⁸ *Id m.*

⁹ *Idem.*

¹⁰ Harold M. Vinacke, *Far Eastern Politics in the Post War Period*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956), pp. 231-32. In fact on January 5, 1950, Truman said that in fulfilment of Cairo and Potsdam Declarations, "Formosa was surrendered to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and for the past four years the United States and the other allied powers have accepted in exercise of Chinese authority over the island." Claude S. Phillips, Jr., *op. cit.* p. 279.

¹¹ *Major Problems of United States Foreign Policy, 1950-51.* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1950), p. 298.

international law.¹² Legally as well as politically, Formosa belongs to China and as such Chiang's government has no claim to its possession. Professor Quincy Wright has argued that "the Japanese surrender (based on the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations) was not a definite renunciation of the island but a commitment to renounce them in the Treaty of Peace. In that Treaty, signed in San Francisco, September 8, 1951, after the Communist Government was in control of China and without the signature of either of the rival governments of China, Japan did "renounce all rights, titles and claims to these islands, but the beneficiary of this renunciation was not stated."¹³ With all due respect to what Professor Wright has said, it may be added that legal truism should not ignore political realities. We have already seen above that for all practical purposes Formosa was treated as part of China before the outbreak of Korean War. It is very difficult to see how a lawyer can disregard these political facts. As for the question of beneficiary, it seems to the author that it was a deliberate and political manoeuvre on the part of the United States and Japan to remain silent on that point because any reference to it would put the United States and other interested powers in a very embarrassing position.¹⁴

And above all, Professor Wright has completely ignored the fact that after August 1945 Japan did renounce her title to Formosa, and the actual control passed on from Japan to Chiang Kai-shek's government. Moreover, the transfer of Formosa from Japan to China was clearly undertaken with the intention of restoring it to the latter on a permanent basis. And last but not the least, if at all there is any point

¹² There is some difference of opinion about the intervention of a foreign power in a Civil War. Some authorities regard it as intervention while others do not. The modern view tends to be that no aid should be given to either party in a civil war.

¹³ "The Chinese Recognition Problem", *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 49, §3, July 1955, p. 332.

¹⁴ Secretary Dulles' comment on the reason why the Peace Treaty made no reference to the status of Formosa was as follows:

"Some Allied Powers suggested that Article 2 should not merely delimit Japanese sovereignty according to Potsdam, but specify precisely the ultimate disposition of each of the ex-Japanese territories. This admittedly, would have been neater, but it would have raised questions as to which there are now no agreed answers". *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. 25, 1951, p. 454.

For reasons of diplomacy, Great Britain has also taken the refuge in this legal fiction. A careful examination of the following statements of Sir Anthony Eden would indicate the official view of the British Government regarding Formosa. On July 26, 1950, it was stated in the House of Commons in an answer about the status of Formosa:

"His Majesty's Government has recognised de jure the Chinese Central People's Government as the legitimate Government of China, and as such entitled to enjoy the rights of the Chinese State. Formosa is still de jure Japanese territory and there is no Government of Formosa as such. Following on the surrender of Japan, the Chinese Government of the day assumed, with the consent of the remaining Allies, the provisional administration of the territory pending the final determination of its status at a peace settlement.

When the Peace Treaty with Japan had been effected (April, 1952), the position of the British Government was as follows:

Under the Peace Treaty of April, 1952, Japan formally renounced all right, title and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores; but again this did not operate as a transfer to Chinese sovereignty, whether to the People's Republic of China or to the Chinese Nationalist authorities. Formosa and the Pescadores are, therefore, in the view of Her Majesty's Government, territory the de jure sovereignty over which is uncertain or undetermined. (Quoted in D.P. O'Connell, "The Status of Formosa and the Chinese Recognition Problem", *American Journal of International Law*, Volume 50, § 2, April, 1956, p. 409).

on which both the Communists and the Nationalists still agree, it is, that Formosa belongs to China.

The discussion of this section may be concluded with the observation that Formosa is a part of China held by the de jure government due to the intervention of the United States in China's civil conflict.¹⁵ The legal status of Formosa has been confused not because of any ambiguity in Cairo or Potsdam Declarations or the Japanese Peace Treaty but owing to different recognition policies followed by different powers. Professor Werner Levi also says:

The Cairo Declaration was implemented when the United States forces enabled the legitimate government of China to accept the surrender of the Japanese and establish a Chinese administration on Formosa. This administration has not been interfered with by the United States or any other foreign power. That this de facto control over Formosa could not be turned into a de jure sovereignty was due to differences in policy among the foreign powers regarding the recognition of the National and Communist governments.¹⁶

More complicated than the problem of extending diplomatic recognition is the question of what to do with Formosa? Should it be handed over to Mao's Government which has been advancing its claims over the island for a long time, or to the United Nations to administer it as a trust territory, or maintain the present status quo? It is very difficult to give a satisfactory answer to any one of these questions. But one thing is definitely certain, and it is that the most important factor which the State Department has to weigh every time before considering the question of according recognition to Peking Government is the problem of Formosa. The legal complexities involved in the Formosan case have already been discussed above. Now we shall examine the political considerations which have influenced the present China policy of the United States.

There are a number of political factors which have influenced the China policy of the United States with the result that no satisfactory policy has been adopted so far. One such important factor is that of diplomatic recognition. It need not be mentioned that under the present conditions the problem of recognition and Formosa cannot be treated independently of each other. Now the political dilemma arises from the fact that Chiang Kai-shek's government commands some confidence of the Congress in the United States. From time to time unanimous resolutions have been passed by the Senate and the House of Representatives against the recognition of the People's Government of Communist China.¹⁷ Although it is a well established rule of American Constitutional Law that the power of recognition lies exclusively with the Executive Department of the State, yet the China policy of the United States is such an important issue that the administration cannot ignore the attitude of the Congress. The very fact that in the elections of 1952 Republicans made a good propaganda of the China debacle further makes it difficult for the present admini-

¹⁵ Claude S. Phillips, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 284.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 289.

¹⁷ See Senator Knowland's article, "The United States should not Recognize Communist China", *Journal of International Affairs* (Columbia University), Vol. XI, § 2, 1957, pp. 168-70.

nistration to take a step in the direction of recognition.¹⁸

Another political difficulty arises from the fact that Chiang Kai-shek had been a faithful ally of the United States in that part of the Asia Continent. He fought against the Japanese and the Communists and supported U. N. action in Korea. Now to hand him over to Mao's government without even considering the fate of those Chinese who have opposed Communist rule may not sound a politically expedient consideration but it does have something to do with the humanitarian aspects of a country's foreign policy. Although moral considerations should not dictate the foreign policies of a particular country, yet it would be definitely an immoral act to hand over those poor Formosans who do not have any say in the matter affecting their very life. One can hardly deny that a good number of them would be exterminated by the Communists for no fault of their own.

Finally, the political situation is further complicated because neither Communists nor the Nationalists are prepared to recognise status quo—a two China policy. No agreement can be reached with the Communists unless the State Department is prepared to allow Formosa to be taken over by the Communists. As late as February 11, 1958, Premier Chou En-lai declared that.

The Chinese Government and people are firmly opposed to the scheme to create 'two Chinas.' We absolutely will not allow this scheme to materialize in any form or on any occasion. There is only one China—the People's Republic of China. The crucial issue in Sino-American relations today is not that China wants American recognition, but that the United States antagonizes the Chinese people, occupies Chinese territory and even wants China to accept this occupation as lawful.

This is a great issue between right and wrong which is not to be obscured. Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan.¹⁹

On the other side of the impasse, the Nationalist Government advances its own claim to the mainland and would never agree to a two China policy. Although it seems that Chiang Kai-shek must have realized by now that his army cannot take over the control of the mainland, yet he is adamant to his original point of view, and would never agree to accept the two China solution. There is no doubt that Chiang's stubbornness deserves some consideration in the sense that if he accepts a two China concept the very government of Formosa will crumble,²⁰ but after all, how long this state of affairs can last? Moreover, this has put the United States in a very awkward position because it leaves no other alternative for the U. S. policy makers. The sooner Chiang Kai-shek realizes the nature of present dilemma, the better it is for himself as well as the United States.²¹

¹⁸ For further details about this point please refer to Robert Towneley, *The Spectator*, Vol. 190, § 6518, May 29, 1953, p. 613.

¹⁹ *New York Times*, February 11, 1958.

²⁰ See Li Tian-hok, "The Chinese Impasse: A Formosa View", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 36, § 3, April 1958, p. 439.

²¹ At one place Mr. Edwin O. Reischauer observed: "Recognition at any time would discourage the Chinese Nationalists, but even for them it would have the beneficial effect of turning their energies toward more desirable tasks than arming for a battle they can never fight." *Wanted: An Asian Policy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955) p. 245.

When everything is said and discussed about the difficulties in the recognition of the People's Government one cannot help saying that American dilemma is rooted in the basic objective of national security. The most compelling consideration in the policy of the State Department is the pressure of some Generals who have constantly emphasised the military significance of this island. Formosa is a high strategic spot—a matter over which there is no unanimity among the strategists—in the opinion of some military experts. The strategic significance of this island in the Far East arises from the fact that it is only about hundred miles off the mainland and is located between the American held Ryukyus in the north and the Philippines in the south. Now and then it is also pointed out that Japanese used this island during the Second World War as a spring board to attack Indo-China and other points in the Pacific. Thus the transfer of Formosa in unfriendly hands will create a major gap in the defensive perimeter of the United States on the Pacific and infest the whole defensive zone with Russian submarines. The most authoritative and representative view along this line is that of General Mac Arthur. Commenting on the significance of Formosa to the United States, he observed:

From this island chain (the island chain of Pacific from Japan to Philippines) we can dominate with sea and air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore and prevent any hostile movement into the Pacific. Our line of defense is a natural one and can be maintained with a minimum of military effort and expense. It envisions no attack against any one nor does it provide the bastions essential for offensive operations, but properly maintained would be an invincible defense against aggression.

The holding of this littoral defense line in the Western Pacific is entirely dependent upon holding all segments thereof, for any major breach of that line by an unfriendly power would render vulnerable to determined attack every other major segment. This is a military estimate as to which I have yet to find a military leader who will take exception.

For that reason I have strongly recommended in the past as a matter of military urgency that under no circumstances must Formosa fall under Communist control.

Such an eventuality would at once threaten the freedom of the Philippines and the loss of Japan and might well force our Western frontiers back to the coasts of California, Oregon and Washington.²²

At the very outset it must be mentioned that there is some amount of truth in this appraisal of Formosa. One cannot deny that Formosa's occupation by a hostile power would definitely weaken the defence of Pacific island chain.

Although the author is not by any means a competent person to evaluate the military significance of Formosa to the United States, yet it so seems that the strategic value of this island has been over-emphasised. With the development of guided missiles and nuclear weapons the strategic location of a particular island or place does not play as much an important role as it used to sometime ago. Under these conditions it is very difficult to see how certain targets can be covered only with the occupation of Formosa and not from the Philippines, the Ryukyus, Japan and other islands in the Pacific. Conversely, Communist China's control of Formosa would not materially increase the threat to the Philippines and South-east Asia, for Canton, now

²² *Military Situation in the Far East*. Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 82nd Congress, First Session August 17, 1951. pp. 3554-55.

Communist, is as close to Manila, say, as Formosa and could be attacked from there as easily as from Formosa.²³ Mr. Peffer has rightly pointed out that:

... the strategic argument may well be more political than strategic. It is doubtful whether navy men eight years ago thought Formosa particularly important. One cannot see why they should now. Presumably we look on Formosa as a bastion. But if the Chinese or Russians wish to attack the United States or its possessions they can do so from a number of points on the Asian coast—say Canton, or Haiphong in Indo-China—far more effectively than from Formosa.²⁴

It would be noted that this attitude of attaching too much importance to Formosa developed as a result of the outbreak of the Korean War. In his policy statement of January 5 1950 President Truman clearly pointed out that the United States will not provide any military aid or even advice to Chinese forces on Formosa. This view was typically expressed by a leading Senator of that time, Mr. Tom Connally who said:

If we should go into Formosa and occupy it we would have a liability on our hands instead of an asset. Chiefs of Staff have found that Formosa would be of no strategic value to us. We have Japan at the north, then Okinawa, then the Philippines. That is our line of defence to the east of Formosa, and none of those place involve the question of Communist government or Communist attack.²⁵

Again, in his address on January 12, 1950 before the National Press Club, former Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, did not include Formosa in the defensive perimeter of the United States.²⁶ Thus it is quite evident that after June 25, 1950 military strategy outweighed political considerations in American policy toward Formosa.

Now it is very difficult to see how far these two appraisals can square with each other from the strategic point of view. Till 24th of June, 1950, Formosa was not strategically important in the administration's point of view but on the 25th it became so important that now it does not even want to negotiate over it.

The foregoing is a brief account of the various difficulties which the State Department has confronted owing to Chiang Kai-shek in the formulation of its policy towards Communist China. The Formosan question has proved to be a deadlock for the policy makers of the United States. Under the present circumstances, the problem of recognition cannot be given any serious consideration unless a satisfactory solution can be found to the above mentioned problems.

²³ Nathaniel Peffer, "China in Reappraisal: Menace to American Security?". *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. LXXI, § 4, December 1956, p. 513.

²⁴ "Our Asian Policy: Part Blunder, Part Thunder", *op. cit.*, p. 506.

²⁵ Quoted in Joseph W. Ballantine, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.

²⁶ See Joseph W. Ballantine, p. 124. However, this does not mean that there was no opposition to this view point. Republicans senators Taft and Vandenberg criticised the policy of the administration and completely disagreed with it.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT IN RETROSPECT

By

MALATHI RAO

F. W. Taylor is generally regarded as the Father of Scientific Management. Here an attempt will be made to trace the evolution of the movement which originated in "Taylorism". We shall see how the limitations of Taylor's work led to a reappraisal of its value in the industrial field. This re-evaluation stressed the importance of the "human factor" which Taylorism had neglected. In our own time, industrial psychology has widened its field to include the "social factors" and their influence on industry as a whole and on labour in particular.

The later developments in "Scientific Management" were the result of a questioning of the basic postulates of Taylor and his followers. Taylorians claimed that the methods they advocated were based on an application of "science" to industry. For the first time in history an approach was advocated that would assist in the formulation of laws based on a study of the needs of the situation and would outlaw mere whim or prejudice. "Every single subject, large and small, becomes the question for scientific investigation, for reduction to law",—law to which management and the workers are equally subject—and "arbitrary power, arbitrary dictation ceases."¹

Taylor had presented himself as a mere engineer—and indeed believed himself to be one—but this only shows how unconscious he was of the vast economic and social importance of a movement of which he was a pioneer. Seen in its historical perspective, Scientific Management appears as one aspect of the movement towards rationalisation which was then taking place. It was aided by businessmen who found in the idea of the "law of the situation", an answer to their labour troubles. This conclusion is not invalidated by the fact that some employers were opposed to scientific management which substituted "technique" for individual judgment and discretion, and which transformed their employer from "the natural leader of the industrial order" into "a leader of men whose success depended in part upon a science."² For the natural desire for solidarity among business people drove the system forward. "The idea of 'the substitution of laws of situations for individual authority, guess and whim fits the desire for solidarity as the glove the hand.'³

To what extent the new "scientific" outlook dominated this age is seen in the views of some contemporary enthusiasts of the movement

¹ See Taylor's *Testimony in Scientific Management*, p. 212.

² Reinhard: *Bendix Work and Authority in Industry*, p. 280.

³ D. Waldo: *The Administrative State*, p. 52.

Thus in 1912, H. L. Gantt said, "What is Scientific Management? It is intelligently to use all the available resources and knowledge of the universe in order to realize definite ideals. (The ideals of Pericles) in this generation for the first time in history can be made the heritage of all and will be made the heritage of those who reach up their heads, their hearts and their hands, and take."⁴ In France, Henry Le Chatelier spoke of Taylorism as "a new and very successful application of the scientific method" and declared that Taylor could be compared with the great pioneers of rational knowledge like Descartes, Bacon and Newton.⁵ In 1916, Mr. A. H. Patterson, of the Social Welfare Association for London, in a letter to Miss Mitchell, Secretary of the Taylor Co-operators, observed: "It is our business to prepare for England's industrial future and to me that is only possible by Taylor's ideal."⁶

But this is only one side of the picture. Taylorism had to face severe criticism from workers and certain technicians. Thus A. Merrheim, a French union member wrote: As we see, personality, intelligence, the very desires of the workers are eliminated, annihilated, banished from the workshops and factories."⁷

Rear-Admiral Edwards severely appraised the results of the application of Scientific Management in the Navy Arsenal. The hostility of the American Federation of Labour resulted in the Hoxie Investigations of 1915, organized by the House of Representatives, and the Hoxie Report ended in "a major condemnation" of the Taylor system. The French General Federation of Labour (CGT) accused Taylorism of being "organized overwork".

It was said that the methods of Taylorians reduced the worker to a mere automation, destroyed initiative as well as the need for reflection and, in short, made him "an accurate and unthinking extension of the machine."⁸

Of the movement as a whole, Mr. Rowland Entwistle of England had this to say: "It is a paradox that what we call scientific management should be largely experimental. For the past ten years this country has suffered from an influx of trans-Atlantic apostles of a so-called new gospel of efficiency which consists of old ideas dressed up in strange language and presented as new facts....Now we are beginning to find that all we have achieved is an Americanization of British industrial and commercial practice, not only futile in result but, probably, one of the greatest factors contributing to the growth of friction and misunderstanding between employers and workers....The American method (of individual management) tends to make a factory a collection of watertight compartments and to

⁴ Cited in D. Waldo's *The Administrative State*, pp. 52.

⁵ See Georges Friedmann's *Industrial Society*, p. 39.

⁶ Cited in *Scientific Management* by H. B. Drury, p. 169.

⁷ Quoted by G. Friedmann, *op. cit.* p. 43.

⁸ *Ibid* p. 43 wherein E. Pougets's criticism of Carl Barth's slide rule is cited.

make managers expert in one particular line and fools in everything else. It is an attempt to reduce the human factor to an algebraic formula."⁹

In Friedmann's words: "The science of machine labour perfected by Taylor was in any case, apart from any other assessment of it, not winning the approval and gratitude of those whom it directly concerned and to whom it claimed to bring easier work and financial satisfaction."¹⁰

A number of influences into which it is not necessary to inquire here—combined to turn the attention of the comparatively new sciences of physiology and psychology to a study of the human factor in industry. This had two effects. It meant, firstly, that the worker was no longer to be regarded as a mere machine but was to be studied as a human being. Secondly, it meant that methods had been discovered whereby Taylorism could be tested. The notion of an "industrial psychology" was developed and, as this applied psychology progressed, it was confronted with "scientific management" which it could now examine with the methods at its disposal.

The defects of Taylorism that led to the reaction have been examined by Friedmann. He analyses them as follows:¹¹

I. TIME AND MOTION STUDY

Time study combined with motion study—the latter chiefly the contribution of Frank and Lillian Gilbreth—sought to determine "the one best way" of performing a task. It was based on the assumption that the worker "resembled a machine whose efficiency could be scientifically estimated; and that the main factors influencing his efficiency were: (a) wasteful or ineffectual movements in doing his job, (b) fatigue, which was believed to be a physico-chemical state of the body due to the accumulation of waste products, and (c) defects in the physical environment such as poor lighting, inadequate heating, excessive humidity and so on."¹²

But time study is not as rational as Taylorians would have us believe and a method involving the study of total time for a job—instead of the stop-watch method that calculated the time spent on each part of a job—is much more scientific for it would cover also the oscillations in work. A rigorous standard based on the Taylorian study method might prove physically and psychologically harmful, for in this sense, scientific management is "a constant appeal to overwork."¹³ Again, where, as in most cases, job standardization is combined with higher wages, it is difficult to isolate and measure the real cause for increased production.

⁹ See *Welfare Work*, April, 1921.

¹⁰ *Industrial Society*, p. 43.

¹¹ See Friedmann for a detailed analysis. I am indebted to him for most of the arguments against Taylorism.

¹² *The Social Psychology of Industry* by J. A. C. Brown, p. 69.

¹³ Friedmann, p. 53.

One must also remember that Taylor in his famous experiments made use of an unusually strong Dutchman. "Taylor was first of all an engineer; he knew the mechanism of the lifeless machine but not that of the living motor."¹⁴ Increased productivity sought by Taylorism is not obtained wholly through rationalization. It is the result rather of intensification of work and there is no guarantee that such intensive work can be performed for any length of time. Taylorism aims at the greatest output for minimal expenditure of time. But in doing so, it neglects the "physiology" of labour which seeks the greatest output for a minimal expenditure of energy in work....¹⁵

This is not to reject time and motion study entirely but to avoid the "Fetishism" associated with such studies. They can prove very useful if it is remembered that:

- (i) they should be undertaken to reduce fatigue, not to increase output,
- (ii) the basic principle of time and motion study is rhythm, not speed,
- (iii) time-study should serve to analyse an operation in order to improve it from the point of view of human efficiency, and not to standardize it and impose this standard, and
- (iv) the analysis of time and motion forms part of a vast field of studies of the human element in industry and can be conducted only in connection with other fundamental problems.¹⁶

II. THE NEED FOR PHYSIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

We have noted that the Taylorians took a narrow technological view. The problem of fatigue was, therefore, either ignored or, what is even more serious, was mis-stated. Thus, a series of experiments were conducted by Taylor regarding which he says: "We were not trying to find the maximum work that a man could do on a short spur or for a few days, but our endeavour was to learn what really constituted a full day's work for a first-class man; the best day's work that a man could properly do, year in and year out, and still thrive under."¹⁷ The experiments failed to aid in the development of a law, in the first three series of attempts made. But Taylor was quite as firmly convinced as ever that some definite clear-cut law existed....and that the necessary information was included somewhere in the records."¹⁸ So Carl G. Barth took over and in a comparatively short time, he "had discovered the law governing the tiring effect of heavy labour on a first-class man. And it is so simple in its nature that it is truly remarkable that it should not have been

¹⁴ Atzler, cited by Friedmann, p. 55.

¹⁵ See Lipmann's view cited by Friedmann, p. 56.

¹⁶ Farmer's principles, cited, *ibid*, p. 57.

¹⁷ The Principles of Scientific Management, p. 55.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 56.

discovered and clearly understood years before."¹⁹ This remarkably "simple" law is "that for each given pull or push on the man's arms, it is possible for the workman to be under load for only a definite percentage of the day."²⁰ A further corollary is that "frequent periods of rest are required in order that the blood may have a chance to restore these tissues (of the arm muscles) to their normal condition." For "throughout the time that the man is under a heavy load, the tissues of his muscles are in process of degeneration."²¹

These conclusions were not based on physiological data and in spite of the fact that considerable headway had been made in this science, his inquiry into its results only revealed to him that "these investigations were so meagre that no law of any value could be deduced from them."²² He, therefore, accepted the following as a 'criterion of fatigue': "At the end of the day", he said to the labourers, "I do not want you exhausted or anything like that, but properly tired. You know what a good day's work is. In other words, I do not want any loafing business or any overwork business. If you find yourself overworked and getting too tired, slow down."²³ The workers were thus qualified to know when they felt tired during the period of experiment. Once, however, the "law" (sic) was established, the worker's period of rest was determined, by having a man, who understood this law, stand over him and check his work, day after day, until he acquired the habit of resting at proper intervals."²⁴ Science, cannot, however, be content with a law of fatigue "compounded of confidence and of approximation".

III. THE NEED FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

Taylorism resulted in the formulation of "scientific laws" of doubtful validity. "To be content to say that 'scientific management' consists in determining the rewards of incentive of 'reward and punishment', the 'good big plum', and 'the whip', and in strengthening them by a 'close, hearty co-operation', with the management, clearly indicates a lack of penetration and even of any sense of the psychological problems of work."²⁵

The idea that the labourer was stimulated chiefly by financial incentives was derived from the idea of an "Economic Man". This itself was the result of looking at man merely as a machine made up of various parts. It ignored the "personality" of the human being and led to the formulation of crude incentives as stimulation to work. Further, the concept of one best man had not led to the formation

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 57.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 57.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 58.

²² *Ibid*, p. 54.

²³ Cited in Friedmann, p. 60.

²⁴ *Principles of Scientific Management*, p. 59.

²⁵ Friedmann, p. 61.

of any scientific principles of selection of men. It did, however, make for untenable generalizations. For instance, it was asserted that 'one of the very first requirements for a man who is fit to handle pig iron as a regular occupation is that he shall be so stupid and so phlegmatic that he more nearly resembles in his mental make-up the ox than any other type. The man who is alert and intelligent is for this very reason entirely unsuited to what would, for him, be the guiding monotony of work of this character.'²⁶ Again, in the case of bricklayers, Taylor seriously suggests that the management 'must also inform each bricklayer at frequent intervals as to the progress he is making, so that he may not unintentionally fall off in his pace.'²⁷ Apparently, it did not occur to either Taylor or Taylorians that the falling off in pace might be the natural result of fatigue—physical or psychological. The management is here visualised as having "new duties" to develop laws, to replace rule of thumb and to teach impartially all of the workmen who are under them the quickest way of working.'²⁸ The workers cannot do this because they have not the time and because their personal interests prevent them from doing so, but Taylor is prepared to trust to the management's impartiality even though he is aware that such trust in them may be abused.

But, perhaps, the cardinal failure of Taylorism is seen not merely in crude principles of selection nor in naive observations on fatigue but rather in the fact that he assigned little importance to occupational intelligence and its changes as a function of technological progress. "The full possibilities of functional foremanship, however, will not have been realised until almost all of the machines in the shop are run by men who are of smaller calibre and attainments, and who are therefore cheaper than those required under the old system."²⁹ But whereas the existence of 'executive functional bosses' and 'functional bosses in the planning room' leaves the worker with little chance to exercise initiative, no effort is made to compensate for the increased specialization by permitting the worker to increase his technical knowledge or to reflect upon his work. All the planning is done for him and he has merely to follow "instructions."

We may sum up in the words of Friedmann:

"One cannot label as science what is only an improved system for increasing the immediate output of equipment and labour. Time-study; the confusions of human labour with the play of inanimate mechanisms; the ignorance of the physical and mental functioning of the organism and its own demands; the procedure adopted to stimulate and reward effort; the lack of vocational guidance; the selection by output, and finally, the empiricism of genera-

²⁶ Principles of Scientific Management, p. 59.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 83.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 104.

²⁹ *Shop Management*, p. 105.

lizations elevated to the status of 'laws'—everything proves that we have here a system created by a man who was doubtless a great technician but who could not see beyond the confines of this engineer's universe."³⁰

Taylorism has had an immense influence in spite of its shortcomings or rather because of its defects for, in stressing maximum output of labour and equipment and in its idea of an ideal factory which come "to bear a close resemblance to a model cow-house", it corresponded to the needs of a definite stage of world capitalism.

The criticism of Taylorism meant the revival of the concept of "the unity of man". The technological revolution had threatened the physical and moral unity of man. The scientific "human factor" movement came both as an answer to the problems posed by Taylorism and as a challenge to its validity. To this movement we now turn.

II

The inadequacy of the assumptions on which Taylorism was based was made clear by the results of certain experiments carried out at the 'Hawthorne Works' which later became famous as 'the Hawthorne investigations'. The Hawthorne Works constitute the most important unit of the Western Electric Co. which supplies equipment to the Bell Telephone Co. The Company had for some time been examining the effects of altered illumination on output. Between 1924 and 1926 a series of experiments were carried out. For this purpose two groups of employees, a "control" group and a "test" group were selected. The "control" group was made to work under constant illumination of the level and type with which both groups started, while the lighting for the "test" group was gradually increased in intensity. The result was that the output of the "test" group increased, as was expected, but so did the output of the "control" group. The latter fact puzzled the investigators who then proceeded to reduce the illumination of the "test" group. Output went up once more. Clearly, some factor was at work which resulted in increased output irrespective of changes in material conditions. The idea that there existed a specific relationship between a physiological cause and its effect which could be measured in terms of output was proved to be false. For the first time, it was realised that there were undiscovered factors which could influence the response of the human organism notwithstanding material conditions.

Further experiments were obviously needed and George Elton Mayo, Professor of Industrial Research at the Harvard Graduate School of Economics was called in to assist in the discovery of the

³⁰ Friedmann, p. 64.

unknown operative factor. A brief description of Elton Mayo and his work prior to the Hawthorne experiments—with which his name is intimately connected—will not be out of place here, for it will serve to illustrate the evolution of his ideas and the change of orientation following the Hawthorne researches which influenced all his later work. Elton Mayo, an Australian, was born in 1880. He went to the United States on a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. He was appointed Head of the Department of Industrial Research at Harvard in 1926 and remained in that position till 1947. In 1923 he carried out an investigation into the cause of high labour turnover among mule spinners in textile mill near Philadelphia. It is not necessary to enter into details here but it may briefly be stated that whereas labour turnover in most of the other departments of the mill was 5 to 6 per cent per annum, in the spinning department it was about 250 per cent. So Mayo began his research by introducing two 10-minute rest-pauses in the morning and similarly in the afternoon. These rest pauses were limited to a third of the men in the department. Labour turnover decreased, output went up and there was an improvement in morale. But what puzzled Mayo was that similar results were obtained from the two-thirds of men for whom rest-pauses had not been introduced. At this point, the superiors who did not like the new system which “pampered” the workers took the stand that rest-pauses should be ‘earned’ and hence, abandoned them when there was a rush order. Production fell, absenteeism increased, and morale suffered. Mayo was once again given charge and the President of the Company himself took an active interest. Rest-pauses were re-introduced and made compulsory for both workers and supervisors by shutting off the machines during the breaks. The workers themselves selected alternating rest-pauses now which kept the machines at work continuously. There was again an improvement all-round in production and morale.

At this time Mayo, who with other industrial psychologists believed in the individualistic psychology and the importance of material conditions, attributed the previous high labour turnover to the monotony of the job which affected both the mind and body of the worker, making him depressed and tired. The rest-pauses were believed to break the monotony by giving ‘physical’ rest and therefore mental relief. This explanation failed to account for the increased output, in the first case of the labourers who had not been given rest-breaks. It also did not explain why earned rest-pauses failed to have similar effect—i. e. to increase output—since the physical effect in their case should have been the same as in the case of ‘unearned’ breaks.

In a later book, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, Mayo gave an entirely different explanation. He pointed out that the mere fact of research being carried out made the workers

feel “important” and this feeling was increased when the President of the Company took an active interest and took up their cause even against the supervisors. But most important of all, when the workers were given control of their rest-pauses, they were imbued with a sense of responsibility. “A crowd of solitary workers had been transformed into a group with a sense of social responsibility.”⁸¹

But when he was called in at the Hawthorne Works, Mayo had not found the answer to the Philadelphia “riddle” and still held to the older beliefs. In fact, it was the Hawthorne investigations which set him on the new line of thinking. The puzzling effects of the altered illumination on output were similar to his earlier problem. Here, however, there was opportunity for further research. It was decided to carry out further investigations in the Relay Assembly test room. For these, two girls were selected and they were in turn asked to choose four other girls thus making a small group of six. The group was employed in assembling telephone relays. The basic rate of production was noted at the start so that the effectiveness of subsequent changes could be judged by the rise or fall in output. One observer was placed in the room, noting all that took place, keeping the girls informed, listening to their complaints and so on.

Various changes were introduced⁸² for test periods lasting between four to twelve weeks, mainly in the form of rest-pauses of varying lengths and shorter hours. The result of these was that production increased and was maintained at a higher level for a long period. Further there was a noticeable “social solidarity” among the six girls. Finally, the girls appeared to be genuinely enjoying the work and this was seen in a high standard of discipline. Many explanations were put forward. It was suggested:—

- (a) that the all-round improvement was due to better material conditions and methods of work;
- (b) that it was the result of rest-pauses which prevented cumulative fatigue;
- (c) that the system had reduced monotony;
- (d) that it was entirely due to financial incentives; and
- (e) that changes in the method of supervision had included more favourable attitude towards work.

The later stages of the investigation made it clear that the third and fifth hypotheses—reduction of monotony and change in supervisory methods—were chiefly instrumental in bringing about the change in attitude. “What the Company actually did for the group was to reconstruct entirely its whole industrial situation.” Realization of this fact that the change in outlook of the worker was mor

⁸¹ Brown, *op cit*, p. 77.

⁸² For details see Urwick & Brech, *The Making of Scientific Management*, Vol. III.

important than any improvement in "conditions" of work, led to a programme of interviews. For the first time, attention was focussed on the mind of the worker rather than on the conditions of work.

Initially, the interviews were carried on by direct questioning but later on "non-directive" interviewing was adopted. Here the interviewer listens rather than questions, and the object is to find out what the worker wants to say, without giving him advice or offering arguments. The interviews brought to light certain interesting facts. It was realised, for instance, that merely giving a person an opportunity to talk has a beneficial effect on his morale. "Thus, a woman who had complained at great length about the poor quality of food in the canteen came along a few days later and thanked an interviewer profusely for taking her complaint to the management and securing such a vast improvement in the canteen meals. In fact, the interviewer had done nothing whatever in this respect."³³ Further, it was found that complaints were often due to some deeply-felt disturbance and were not always an objective statement of facts. The worker again is influenced by factors that may originate either within or outside the factory. Finally, the worker's satisfaction or otherwise is derived not merely by a reward based on objective appraisal of his work. It is rather the result of what he judges his status to be and whether in the light of his judgment, he feels that he has been adequately remunerated.

The results of the Interview Programme gave rise to the final phase of the Hawthorne investigation, viz., experiments carried out in the Bank-wiring Room. For some time it had been observed that there were "social" groups within a factory workshop. These created a kind of "informal organization" which exerted considerable influence on the worker and which at times seemed to operate to the detriment of the individual worker. Thus, in certain cases when financial incentives had led to a fall in the output it was suspected that this was due to the pressure of these groups. With a view to discovering the nature and influence of these groups, investigations were carried out in the bank-wiring room. The problem here was manifestly different from the earlier ones. For, here, the object was neither to improve morale nor to raise productivity. It was merely to see what exactly was happening. Hence an observer was placed in the bank-wiring room with general instructions to be friendly but not to issue orders and to be as "neutral" as possible. An interviewer was chosen to find out as much as he could about the worker's thoughts and feelings, his family and personal history, etc. The interviewer was to do his work in another part of the factory and never to enter the bank-wiring room though he was to keep daily touch with the observer.

³³ Brown, *op. cit.* p. 79.

"The results of the investigation showed that this little group of men had developed spontaneously into a team with natural leaders who had risen to the top with the active consent of the group."³⁴ These "natural" leaders are not always the same as those "officially" at the top of the hierarchy, but within the group, they have more influence than the official leaders. Moreover, the group itself had a code of behaviour that was generally understood and accepted even when it came into conflict with the intentions of management and also when it defeated the purpose of the industry which is to produce more goods.

The Hawthorne investigations showed clearly the importance of group collaboration. Mayo's researches revealed that the labour problem or labour problems could be reduced to one fundamental point — the necessity of building what Charles H. Cooley called "primary group life". Since "group collaboration" cannot be achieved by accident, it becomes necessary to plan for it, to so utilise the social groups within the factory that they become interested, equally with management, in furthering the purpose of industry. This line of reasoning is interesting both in itself as representing a departure from normal ideas on the subject and because it bears a striking resemblance to the line of thinking pursued by another leading thinker — Mary Parker Follett. Mary Follett was the first thinker to put forward in business management, the idea of "constructive conflict". Conflict, she said, will always exist and since it can not be abolished it must be utilised. This can be done if both sides follow the 'law of the situation' — not the Taylorian law — which is a law that rests on an objective assessment of all facts of experience and seeks a solution that will satisfy both sides without resting on compromise. The answer to conflict is "integration" which is neither synthesis nor compromise. Mary Follett was also one of the few persons who realised that authority lies where knowledge is found. It is to be "sought" not in terms of position in a hierarchy but rather in terms of who does the job. She stressed the "informal" organization of industry. Thus Mary Follett and Elton Mayo arrived independently at similar results though there is no indication that the former had ever heard of the Hawthorne investigation. And, in fact, she died before the results of Mayo's work had been fully published.

Certain conclusions have been drawn from Elton Mayo's work:—³⁵

- (1) Work is a group activity.
- (2) The social world of the adult is primarily patterned about work activity.
- (3) The need for recognition, security and sense of belonging is more important in determining workers' morale and productivity than the physical conditions under which he works.

³⁴ Brown, p. 81.

³⁵ Miller and Form, cited in Brown *op. cit.* p. 85.

is power, power over others. He interprets institutions, connections and moves in politics from such a point of view.⁸ In short, Catlin did have a general theory of politics with the help of which he tried to understand political phenomena.

A similar but more sophisticated approach was made by Harold Lasswell. He is read and understood the least on account of his forbidding vocabulary. Like Catlin he also begins with an emphasis on power. He is, however, too conscious of the fact that for Catlin applied psychology and applied economics come to acquire political significance. He, on the other hand insists on the autonomy of Political Science as an intellectual discipline.⁹

He also defines politics in terms of power, power to distribute values in society. For him, therefore, politics becomes, "the study of the changes in the shape and composition of the value patterns of society." Since the distribution of values depends on the influence which an individual exerts on the society, politics must deal with *influence and the influential*. Power and value become the central concepts in his political theory. And he emphasises the need to do empirical research in order to discover the interdependence of these factors in political phenomena. In order to study their interdependence Lasswell also emphasises the study of *elite and symbols* in his *Politics; Who gets What When and How*.

Although Lasswell's concepts of power and value, along with elite and symbols, did throw open the doors for concrete investigations, like Catlin he too could not discriminate between power as such and *political power*. This then remained a major drawback in the political theory of Catlin as well as Lasswell.

In spite of the fact that these writers were quite prolific in their output they were not taken seriously in America till David Easton wrote his *Political System* in 1953 and sympathetically analysed and assessed their contribution towards the rejuvenation of political theory. The British political theorists continued to ignore them. Only David Butler, the Oxford political scientist recently came out with a volume on the *The Study of Political Behaviour* (1958) in which he surveyed the contribution of American political scientists in the recent years. It is, however, too early to speak of its impact on Britain.

Even now in America political theorists seem to be sharply divided among themselves on the question of functions of political theory as an academic discipline. In 1955 Northwestern University of America had arranged a seminar on political theory. Most of the papers contributed to the seminar indicated some kind of unwillingness on the part of a large bulk of political scientists to separate the term 'political theory' from 'political philosophy'. Even the

political theorists who emphasised the behavioural approach to the study of political phenomena could not agree upon the suggestion that methodological individualism which makes communication among themselves and others more and more difficult should be discouraged. Even at this stage of crisis in political theory a seminar on political theory ended up by merely familiarising the participants with each other's points of view.

A student of political theory thus gets very little direction from what has passed so far in the name of 'political theory'. He may be required to begin at the very beginning by asking himself the following question: What exactly is the function of political theory as an academic discipline? A lot will depend on the answer he is able to get. His answer will have to be based on his knowledge of the functions of a theory in other branches of social sciences as well as the natural sciences. He can at least be sure of a common denominator function of a theory. Other functions peculiar to political theory which he may be able to observe would largely depend on his imagination and insight into the subject.

Let us now briefly examine some of the basic problems which a student of political theory has to face in his attempt at the rejuvenation of political theory. They are as follows: (a) Conventionally conceptualized political phenomena; (b) difficulties in determining the boundaries of political phenomena; (c) the need to develop conceptual framework for guiding the investigation of specific problems; (d) the problem of value-judgment and (e) the formulation of a general theory of politics. We shall consider all these problems in some detail.

(a) In the conventional political theory the concepts of 'the State', 'the Individual', 'Justice', 'Freedom', 'Sovereignty' etc., have been freely used by different writers with different meanings attributed to them. These concepts also occupy central positions in their explanations of political activities and institutions. Since different meanings are attributed to them by different writers there are far too many shades of interpretations and explanations of political phenomena. There is no way of checking up the validity of statements which attempt these interpretations and explanations. This can be illustrated by examining the various difficulties which arise in the use of concepts of 'the State'.

The concept of 'the State' in political science is an *a priori* concept. That is to say that no efforts are made to examine it as a *concept*. Nevertheless, it is used as a synonym for the whole of political phenomenon. Being a formal concept it is stretched in order to include almost anything that is political.

So far as the nature and definition of 'the State' are concerned, they are a subject of an incredible controversy. In fact it is almost pathetic to see an undergraduate cramming scores of definitions of

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 117-119.

⁹ *Ibid.* 120.

Mary B. Gilson points out that the Western Electric Company spent nearly \$26,000 on espionage between 1933 and 1936. She further states that there has been no instance of a company employing spies unless the management feared the influence of trade unions, implying that unionism seems to have been suppressed in the Western Electric Company. This is all the more interesting as the importance of social groups was noticed and one might wonder whether these did not acquire greater influence in the absence of a formal organization of employees.

It has been suggested that Mayo showed a bias in favour of management. Brown tries to answer this criticism by saying that "no industrial psychologist has ever shown anything else and it is therefore hard to understand why Mayo should have been selected for this criticism."³⁶ Obviously, this is neither an explanation nor a justification for Mayo's bias. It is true that Mayo was employed by the management but it is also true that he was trying to solve a problem where the absence of bias might have been more helpful. One thing can be said in Mayo's defence. If he looked upon the worker as means to be adjusted to an end, he atleast equated this end with the happiness and well-being of the worker.

Further, in discussions of management, the "formal" organization in industry is stressed, whereas in the case of labour, emphasis is laid on "informal" organization. This creates the impression that while management is logical and rational, labour is irrational and emotional. Whereas the truth is that 'formal' and 'informal' organizations are to be found operating at both levels.

Mayo's bias is also seen in the emphasis he lays on social skills as a means of improving production — an essentially managerial point of view. He was concerned entirely with the goals of management and failed to see that a conflict of interests might well arise in which increasing production might not be regarded with favour by workers. This bias was, of course, understandable since he was dealing with the problem of production but it cannot be justified since it gave him a one-sided view.

The final criticism made against Mayo's work is that it was too empirical. It is suggested that Mayo lacked a theory which would have supplied him with a frame of reference as well as with a standard of evaluation. His critics argue that Mayo ignores the difference between science and technology, that his methods are those of "radical empiricism." It is a little difficult to deal with these criticisms for they do not confine themselves to Mayo's research. There is nothing to indicate that Mayo lacked either a so-called "frame of reference," or was ignorant of "the philosophical background of scientific method." All of Mayo's known works are written after his researches and are based on them. Hence there is

³⁶ Brown, *op. cit.* p. 92-93.

no book where Mayo stated his 'philosophy'. It is true that certain statements made in *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* indicate that he assumed the superiority of physical over the social sciences and presumably, also the superiority of the former's methodology. He states: "Science did not begin with elaborate and overwhelming systems and thence proceed to study of the facts." But it cannot be supposed thereby that Mayo advocated the collection of random facts without any hypothesis whatsoever. He can hardly have been so ignorant of the objectives of either scientific enquiry or social investigation as to "suppose that such inquiries are purposeless or that the observation of facts is not undertaken with a purpose in mind. That Mayo considered "knowledge-of-acquaintance" based on direct experience more valuable than "knowledge-about" based on abstract thinking, does not warrant the conclusion that Mayo believed in carrying out experiments in a social vacuum. An attempt to answer the question "efficiency to what ends and at what price?" would, in the context of his investigations, appear neither feasible nor desirable.

In fact, all the criticisms levelled against Mayo by the sociologists, appear on closer investigation to be the limitations of all controlled experiments. They cannot be said to be real defects in the sense that they destroyed the validity of his conclusions; they can be viewed rather as the natural incompleteness of a psychology that limits itself to the industrial field and does not seek to enter the social sphere. It would be sheer injustice to accuse a man of doing what he neither set out to do nor claimed to have accomplished.

Mayo's conclusions based on the Hawthorne researches are revolutionary and "among the most important in the whole field of social sciences." They revealed on the one hand the limits of Taylorism and on the other hand laid the foundation of future research in industrial psychology.

We might inquire at this stage whether Mayo's work bears any relation to the earlier scientific management movement. Too often it has been assumed that scientific management began with Taylor and ended with the work done by some of his immediate followers like Barth, Gantt, Le-Chatelier, etc. It has been suggested that scientific management is now as dead as the dodo. In a sense it is true that scientific management, as developed by Taylorians, no longer has the same validity that it was once supposed to have had; that it was based on an individualist psychology that has been proved to be one-sided. But it would be wrong to suppose, therefore, that Mayo's work represents a complete departure from "scientific management". One should regard it rather as a slowly-evolving movement that is still not complete. The realization that humanity cannot be adequately described as "a horde of individuals"—what Mayo has called the "rabble" hypothesis of society came slowly. Towards the end of his life, Taylor himself had realized, albeit

vaguely, that the assumptions underlying his experiments were not adequate. He spoke of a "mental revolution" without which scientific management could not exist and his Testimony before the House Committee shows an awareness that Taylorism was not the ultimate answer to the labour problem. But Taylor was unable to rise above such vague generalities.

Henry Ford, of the Ford Motor Company, observes in his autobiography: "The average worker, I am sorry to say, wants a job in which he does not have to put forth much physical exertion—above all, he wants a job in which he does not have to think."³⁷ He believed with H. B. Drury that "scientific management is the more practical, and, for the present atleast, the more commendable in that it had adapted itself to a state of civilization in which men as a rule are obviously not of an ambitious, intellectual typeit is probable that the majority of workmen would prefer to avoid the trouble of systematically planning complicated work".³⁸ But within Taylor's hierarchy of foremen, Ford sought to introduce a flexibility that would enable formality to be reduced to a minimum and would give the worker a chance to ask for explanations or to make suggestions. Yet, fundamentally he did not go deep enough into the psychology of the worker—foreman relationship to alter his conception of the worker's mind.

Thus we notice that very soon after Taylor, modifications were sought to be introduced into his rigid system. The work of Fayol in France formed a kind of complement to Taylor's work.³⁹ The work, therefore, of people in different countries and in ways form part of a movement which reached their culmination in Mayo's work. More and more the worker is being studied as a human being. And, in this sense, the scientific management movement seems to be completing a kind of circle. For from the study of the worker in isolation and as one motivated purely by economic interest, the scene shifted to a study of the worker in the factory motivated by diverse factors and now attention is focussed on the worker as one motivated by factors that operate within as well as outside the factory. The study, in short, has gradually expanded until it covers an ever-widening field in the social sciences. From Taylorism to Industrial Psychology and thence to Sociology is a slow movement which has gradually made itself felt and recognised. It has not reached completion and he would be a bold man who could say when this phase will end or what shape the movement is likely to assume in future. However, it is helpful to regard the movement as a journey—the destination becoming gradually clearer with progress—rather than as disconnected, aimless wandering which has now somehow stumbled on to the correct road.

³⁷ Henry Ford, *My Life and Work*, p. 103.

³⁸ Drury, *Scientific Management*, p. 221-22.

³⁹ See Norman Person's articles *Fayolism as the complement of Taylorism* in *American Political Science Review*, February 1945.

LEGISLATIVE CONTROL OF DELEGATED LEGISLATION A SURVEY

By

RAMESH NARAIN MATHUR

Delegated legislation has been defined by the Committee on Minister's powers 'as the exercise of minor legislative power by subordinate authorities and bodies in pursuance of authority given by parliament itself'. Such delegation of legislative power has become inevitable in modern industrialised society and due to changed concept of a welfare State. A century ago, in the laissez-faire state, the function of the government was chiefly protective and regulatory. It was to prevent violence and fraud, to maintain security and integrity of the State from outside aggression and to enforce contracts. It also performed some functions relating to the care of the poor, education, communications, coinage and a few other social Projects. It was not expected to do anything beyond these. In other words the State acted for the most part as soldier, policeman, and judge. On such basis it was the function of the legislature to lay down general guiding principles, and of the executive to see that they were put into effect and to work out the specific and local details. The position is totally different in the Public Service State of the twentieth century. The welfare activities of the state have assumed enormous proportions and the machinery of the state has developed into a gigantic organization carrying practically every aspect of man's life. A State of this type cannot be governed by the same methods as the liberal state. A tremendous expansion of governmental activity is inevitable. It is not possible for the legislator from his lofty position to direct this giant machine effectively. To a great extent, the constructive initiative has to pass from the parliament to the government offices and a series of semi-autonomous boards and commissions. In terms of law this trend manifests itself in numerous acts of legislative authorization in all democracies. This power of rule-making is conferred on Ministers, Public servants and important governmental agencies under statutory authority. This rule-making power is also known as administrative legislation or subordinate legislation, because this legislation is strictly subordinate to the terms of the statute under which it is made.

REASONS FOR THE GROWTH OF DELEGATED LEGISLATION

The grounds that have led to this increase in delegated legislation may be summed up as follows, in agreement with the Report of the Committee of Ministers Powers 1932.

(1) *Pressure on parliamentary time.* Pressure of parliamentary time is so great that it is not able to cope with the volume of the

legislative task in the modern state. Parliament needs time to concentrate on discussion of high policy and basic problems of legislation. In order to do this, it has no choice but to thrust away subordinate problems to the executive to as large an extent as possible.

(2) *Technicality of subject-matter of legislation.* Modern legislation is highly complicated and of technical nature and can be satisfactorily handled by experts only. Parliament, for example, may place restrictions on the sale of drugs and poisons. It may lay down that the sale of such substances may be made under proper licence. It will have to leave the work of compiling a list of such drugs to experts of medicine in the Health Ministry.

(3) *Unforeseen contingencies.* In the case of large and complex matters, it is not possible for the legislature to foresee all contingencies and local conditions and to work out the administrative machinery to the last detail. Therefore these matters are left to the departments to be regulated appropriately.

(4) *Flexibility.* The method of delegation makes possible a speedy and flexible adjustment to fresh circumstances and technical new developments, without the necessity of continually setting the legislative machinery in motion.

(5) *Opportunities for Experiment.* The method of delegation enables experiments to be carried out which would be impossible if the slow parliamentary method had to be issued on each occasion. Moreover, rules or orders if found unsuitable can be revoked or amended which is not easily possible in the case of statutes.

(6) *Emergency Powers.* In situations of emergency where the national interest demands rapid and effective action, it will be essential to equip the government with extraordinary powers.

There is no doubt that arbitrary exercise or abuse of rule-making powers by the Executive may constitute a threat to liberty of citizens, as pointed out by Lord Hewart in his book *New Despotism* but it will be futile to oppose delegated legislation because of a possibility of its abuse. The Committee on Ministers' Powers after making a searching inquiry on delegated legislation pronounced the verdict that it was necessary and inevitable. "The truth is," said the report of the Committee, "that if Parliament were not willing to delegate law-making power, Parliament would be unable to pass the kind and quality of legislation which modern public opinion requires."¹ The Committee were of opinion that the alleged dangers could be obviated under certain safe-guards. Increasing resort to delegated legislation is essential for the survival and welfare of the democracies, but this power is to be exercised under the authority and scrutiny of Parliament. The Executive

¹ The report, page 32.

must, as Herbert Morrison said in a speech at Bradford on March 5, 1944, make regulations "... under quite specific powers given to it for particular purposes by Acts of Parliament. Parliament will exercise powers of supervision and control of this departmental legislation. There must be the utmost possible freedom of discussion among the chosen representatives of the people so that a genuine crystallization of public opinion may take place, followed by a genuine formulation of the national will."² The focus of our inquiry therefore should shift from desirability of delegation to that of control and it will be pertinent therefore to examine the problem of constitutional limits within which Parliament may delegate legislative authorities in U.S.A., Britain, British Commonwealth countries and India and the nature and extent of legislative control over delegated legislation in the respective countries.

THE PROBLEM OF LEGISLATIVE CONTROL OF DELEGATED LEGISLATION IN U. S. A.

The doctrine *Delegate potestas non potest delegari* (i.e. the legislature cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands; for it being but a delegated power from the people, they who have it cannot pass it over to others) stems from the doctrine of separation of powers on which the U. S. constitution is based. This rule prohibiting the delegation of legislative authority had been considerably modified by vast expansion of legislative powers and needs of administration. The delegation by Congress of the Rule-making power to Federal Agencies has now become a normal feature of the American Federal Government. There are no fewer than 115 Federal Agencies that issues Rules and Regulations that affect the public. Congress has adopted three different methods or plans for delegating the law-making business of Rule-making to the Executive branch, and to the various administrative agencies of the Government. First, by specific grants of delegated power made in particular statutes setting up some particular agencies. Second, by a single general statutory provision enacted by Congress in 1873, and now found in the United States Code, in Title 5 'Executive Departments' etc. Sec. 22. This has been the implicit source of much of the Rule-Making power exercised by the Executive Departments of the Government and all subsidiary Bureaus. Third, Congress beginning from 1932 has introduced a sweeping method of delegating legislative power to the President through the so-called Reorganization Acts.³ The Congress gives formal recognition to Presidential rule-making powers i.e. (i) Presidential Proclamations which are of formal national announcement⁴; (ii) Executive orders by which the

² Cited in *Parliamentary Government in Australia*: Crisp, p. 251

³ By this Congress abandoned its traditional power over structure and organization of the executive branch of the Federal Govt. and surrendered it to the President.

⁴ A good illustration of the recognition of the idea of Proclamation of the President is to be found in the so-called 'Non-Inter-Course Act' of 1809 which authorized the President to suspend the force of the Act by Proclamation under certain circumstances.

chief Executive announces matters of high importance in the field of domestic sphere.⁵

In U.S.A. control of delegated legislation is left to the courts⁶, and there is hardly any provision for laying it before Congress for scrutiny except in the case of reorganization orders which have to be laid before Congress for 60 days during which they can be annulled by Congress. The Congress seeks to control delegated legislation indirectly through prescription of certain requirements to which it must conform. The Federal Register Act, 1935, provides for publication in the Federal Register of all rules, regulations and orders of general applicability and legal effect, while antecedent publicity is secured by Administrative Procedure Act, 1946, which requires notice of the proposed rules to be published in the Federal Register. The Federal Register Act 1935 prescribes three things: (i) Regulation must be duly issued, prescribed or promulgated; (ii) Regulation to be filed with the Division and made available to people; (iii) a certified copy of the regulation to be lodged with the office of the Federal Register. Under the provisions of the Federal Register Act, it is expressly provided that no document required to be published under the Act 'shall be valid as against any person who has not had actual knowledge thereof' until it has actually been filed for publication. In a recent federal case⁷ a criminal conviction was reversed because the regulation which a defendant had violated had never been published in the Federal Register.

DELEGATED LEGISLATION IN BRITAIN.

In parliamentary countries like Britain, Canada, Australia, Ireland and India where separation of powers in the strict sense of the term does not prevail there is no constitutional difficulty in the delegation of legislative power by Parliament to the executive. However, in England, certain standards to which delegation should conform have been formulated and departure from these is regarded abnormal delegation. According to the Committee of Ministers' Powers there are several types of delegated legislation which should be regarded as abnormal.⁸ They are:—

(i) *Power to legislate on matters of principle.* Here the terms

⁵ An example of Congressional recognition of Presidential order is found in the Act of May 29, 1830 concerning Public Lands. In that Act Congress specifically provided that 'Public Lands might be withdrawn from settlement by order of the President'.

⁶ The recent trend of the Supreme Court decisions has been uniformly to uphold broad delegation of powers to administrative agencies: However, in *Schechter Poultry Corp. versus United States* (National Industrial Recovery Act) and in *Panama Refinery Co. v Ryan* (1935) 293 U. S. 388, 1935—295 U. S. 495 the Supreme Court held federal laws invalid for excessive delegation. In these two cases the Supreme Court held the view that there must be an ascertainable legislative intent to which the exercise of delegated power must conform. A delegation without a standard is a 'delegation running riot'. The Supreme Court insists that the law of the Congress making delegation must be within the powers of the Congress to pass and that administrative procedures must be reasonable, fair and must not offend 'due process of law'.

⁷ *Hotch v United States* 212 F. rd. 280 (1954).

⁸ The report, p. 30.

of delegation are very wide. The classic example is section 136 of the poor Land Act 1930 which gives the Minister of Health power to make such regulations as he might think 'for the management of the poor'. This has now been repealed. Another example is the power given to the Board of Trade by section 1 of the patents Design Trade Marks Act, 1883, to make such rules as were in the opinion of the Board required to give effect to the Section⁹; also power given to the Minister of Transport by the Road Traffic Act, 1930, to make such order as he thought fit on an appeal from the Traffic Commissioner. Precise limitation of powers is necessary if the courts are to determine whether their exercise is intra-vires.

(ii) *Power to impose taxation.* Import Duties Act, 1932, gave the Treasury power, on the recommendation of Import Duties Advisory Committee, to exempt goods from ad valorem duty of ten per cent imposed by the Act, and to charge additional duties on certain classes of goods. Section 2 of Emergency Powers (Defence) Act 1939 provides that the Treasury may by order impose, in connection with any scheme of control authorised by Defence Regulations (themselves delegated legislation), such charges as might be specified in the order.

(iii) *Power to amend, alter or modify an Act of Parliament.* Parliament sometimes delegates to a Minister the power of modifying the enabling Act so far as may appear to him to be necessary for the purpose of bringing the Act into operation. This has been done, in several Local Government Acts, the National Insurance Act and Section 78 and Section 67 (1) of the Rating and Valuation Act, 1925. The Committee on Ministers' Powers recommended that this power—nicknamed 'the Henery VIII Clause'—should never be used except to make necessary adaptations to bring an Act into operation and that such power should cease to operate within a year of the passing of the Act. This power has seldom been used after the recommendation of the Committee.

(iv) *Power to oust the Jurisdiction of the Court.* The Jurisdiction of the Court to declare delegated legislation ultravires may be expressly excluded by Parliament. The Committee of Ministers' Powers regarded such Powers objectionable and justifiable only in emergencies or in cases where finality is desirable e. g. planning orders under which title to property is affected or Stock Exchange Regulations under which titles to property may be created or money raised.

(v) *Sub-delegation of power.* This practice was not challenged in 1914-18 and 1939-45 wars. 'Sub-delegation,' as Sir Cecil Carr points out, 'can result in copious orders, the grand-children of the Act, which were sometimes more important to the obedient citizen than the regulations that were themselves the children of the Act;'

⁹ *Institute of Patent Agents v Lockwood* (1894) A. C. 347.

The Committee were of opinion that these powers could be justified in emergency only and not in peace-time.

Retrospective Legislation: It was recommended by the Committee on Ministers' Powers that retrospective legislation should be passed by Parliament and not entrusted to the Ministers.

In Britain the power of judicial control over delegated legislation is limited. Parliamentary statutes sometimes expressly bar judicial review. Sometimes words are used elevating departmental regulations to the status of Acts of Parliament and hence beyond judicial control.¹⁰ Again the Courts can not review orders which are required to be submitted to Parliament for approval. The only effective safeguard against delegated legislation is through parliamentary scrutiny. Parliament provides two kinds of safeguards against abuse of delegated legislation. One is antecedent safeguard and the other is post-natal safeguard. The antecedent safeguards are that delegation of legislative power should be made to responsible bodies only i. e. to authorities directly responsible to Parliament—Another safeguard is antecedent publicity of delegated legislation. This was provided by Section 1 of the Rules Publication Act, 1893, which has now been repealed, and the Statutory Instruments Act, 1946, which replaces the Rules Publication Act, omits the 'ante-natal' safeguard of the earlier statute. This is surprising as antecedent publicity machinery constitutes an additional check on delegated legislation. Another useful safeguard is provision of consultation with the appropriate organized interests affected. A number of acts of British Parliament require consultation of such interests. Section 77 of the National Insurance Act, 1946, which lays down that regulations made under the Act must be submitted in draft to the Advisory Committee concerned whose report must be laid before Parliament along with the regulations, when they have been made. Other Acts require direct consultation with associations of employers and workers.

POST-NATAL SAFEGUARDS

Immediately after the making of any statutory instrument it is sent to be Queen's printer and numbered and copies are printed and sold as soon as possible.¹¹ The Stationary Office, London is to publish lists showing the date on which every statutory Instrument printed and sold by the Queen's printer was first issued by that office. Sub-Section (2) of Section 3 of the Statutory Instrument Act 1946 further provides "In any proceedings against any

¹⁰ In *Institute of Patent Agents v Lockwood* (1894) A. C. the Trade Marks Act 1883 conferred on the Board power to make such rules, as in the opinion of the Board, were necessary to give effect to the provisions of the Act governing Registration of patent agents. Such rules, when made were to have effect as if embodied in the Act itself. The court held that such provisions excluded judicial review.

¹¹ Section 2, Statutory Instrument Act, 1946.

person for an offence consisting of a contravention of any such statutory instrument, it shall be defence to prove that the Instrument had not been issued by His Majesty's Office at the date of the alleged contravention unless it is proved that reasonable steps had been taken for the purpose of bringing the purport of the instrument to the notice of the public, or of the person likely to be affected by it, or of person charged." In *Simmonds v Newell* (1953) 1—W. L. R. 826 a conviction for an offence under Iron and Steel Prices Order was quashed by the Divisional Court because the orders had not been printed and no certificate had been issued under the Statutory Instrument Regulation 1947, exempting from printing, and reasonable steps had not been taken under Section 3 (2) of the Act.

PARLIAMENTARY SCRUTINY

Parliamentary scrutiny of delegated legislation is done through the various forms of 'laying' of rules before the two Houses of Parliament as prescribed under the Act under which they are made¹². One is laying in full and not to be presented in dummy. The procedure of this was defined in a ruling by Mr. Speaker Clifton Brown on 9th April 1951. "On the rare occasions during the last 50 years when statutory rules and orders have been laid before the House in dummy, my predecessors have held that the time during which a Motion for Annulment might be moved against them did not begin to run until a complete copy was available to Members. But I am satisfied that this practice must now be changed in order to comply exactly with the terms of the Statutory Instrument Act, 1946, and to avoid any possible conflict with the courts I have therefore instructed the Votes and Proceedings Office that, in future Statutory Instruments and other rules or orders which are similarly subject to annulment during a statutory period cannot be accepted as laid before the House, unless they are presented complete and in full. In other words, such papers will no longer be accepted for presentation in dummy".¹³ Ten days later, on 19th April 1951, Mr. Speaker gave a Ruling that S. 1. 1951, No. 413 made by the Board of Trade was not in conformity with the Rules that he had laid down and that it was not in order.¹⁴ Another provision (ii) is simple laying without further provision for control. Section 10 (2) of the Statutory Instrument Act provides that the Act is to come into force on such date as Her Majesty may by order in Council appoint. (iii) A third is laying with immediate effect but subject to annulment. This is governed by Section 5 of the Statutory Instrument Act.¹⁵ (iv) A fourth one is laying with operation Deferr-

¹² Report of the Committee on Ministers' Powers, p. 41.

¹³ 486 H. C. Deb. 660 9th April 1951.

¹⁴ 486 H. C. Deb. 2147 19th April 1951.

¹⁵ Sections of the Statutory Instrument Act prescribes a period of 40 days during which time a negative resolution may be passed.

ed until Approval given by Affirmative Resolution. In this the instrument is actually made but it does not come into operation until approved by each House of Parliament. An instance of this is regulation made by the Minister of Transport under Section 14(4) of the Road Traffic Act, 1930, varying the rates of speed laid down in the five schedules to the Act for specified roads. Proviso (b) to the sub-section states that the regulations are to be of no effect until approved by each House. (v) A fifth one is laying with immediate effect but requiring Affirmative Resolution as condition of continuance. This method combines prompt operation with parliamentary control. This procedure is laid down in Section 19(2) of the Import Duties Act. The order is to cease to have effect on the expiration of the period of 28 days from the date on which it is made, unless before the expiration of the period it is approved by a resolution passed by the House of Commons. A similar provision is made in the Emergency Powers Act, 1920, authorising the proclamation of a State of Emergency in face of threats to the life of the community. The proclamation remains in force for one month only; it must be immediately communicated to Parliament. During that month a code of regulations may operate, but the regulations have effect for only seven days unless both Houses resolve that they be continued for the rest of the month. Recourse to this method of subordinate legislation was taken at the time of the General Strike in 1926. A State of Emergency was proclaimed month by month and the Executive had to ask the legislators for an affirmative resolution in order to keep the regulation alive. This is a very strict system of parliamentary control over delegated legislation.

These methods of Parliamentary control did not prove effective due to a number of reasons. Firstly Parliament in the midst of pre-occupation would overlook a set of regulations that come before it. Secondly, the average member would hardly realise the possible consequences of a set of rules unless he happened to be already an expert on the topic to which they related. Thirdly, lack of Parliamentary time would prevent all but the most important rules being debated even if a member called attention to them. Finally, the party machine and the whips could be used to deal with serious opposition. The Committee on Ministers' Powers suggested that there should be a standing committee of each House to report on all bills which sought to confer law-making powers on any delegated authority and also on rules, regulations made under such power. The Lords' Committee known as House of Lords Special Orders' Committee constituted in 1925 has already been functioning,¹⁶ and a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Statutory Instruments was set up in 1944 to scrutinise statutory instruments and to determine whether the special attention of the House should be drawn to

¹⁶ The Lords Special Orders Committee has scrutinized and reported since 1925, 900 pieces of subordinate legislation. Its scrutiny is confined only to Instruments requiring Affirmative resolution and not those requiring negative ones.

it on any of the following grounds:¹⁷ (i) that it imposes a charge on the public revenues or contains provisions requiring payment to be made to the Exchequer; (ii) that it is made under any enactment that excludes challenge in the Courts; (iii) that it appears to make unusual or unexpected use of the powers in the enabling Act under which it is made; (iv) that it purports to have retrospective effect where the parent statute confers no express authority so to provide; (v) that there appears to have been unjustifiable delay in the publication or in the laying of it before Parliament; (vi) that there appears to have been unjustifiable delay in sending a notification to Mr. Speaker where an instrument has come into operation before it has been laid before Parliament; (vii) that for any special reason its form or purport call for elucidation. The Committee between 1944-52 scrutinized 6,900 instruments. The Committee, however, works under certain limitations. Its scrutiny is concerned with matters of form, as set out in terms of reference. It is not concerned with policy, which is a matter for Parliament. The second limitation is that the committee may either accept or reject the rules but it has no power to amend them.

PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND IRISH REPUBLIC

In Ireland the two methods by which the legislature can exercise control over the powers which it has delegated to administrative bodies are either a comformatary act, or the assent of the legislature by means of resolution of either or both houses. The most widely used provision for the exercise of parliamentary control is that of the 'negative resolution'. The statutory period within which resolution of annulling can be passed in Northern Ireland is 10 sitting days and 20 days and in Irish Republic 21 days as against 40 days in England. In Northern Ireland a Joint Select Committee of the two Houses was set up in 1946 to scrutinize statutory Instruments. In Irish Republic it was set up in 1954. The Committee of Northern Ireland not only looks to the form but also to the content of the delegated legislation, i.e. the policy of the legislation, unlike the Committees of Dublin and Westminster whose main pre-occupation is only form of legislation. Both in Northern Ireland and in Irish Republic acts of Parliament have legislated to deal with important matter of publishing copies of subordinate instrument. The Rules Publication Act, 1893, still governs publication of subordinate instruments in Northern Ireland. Provision is made for numbering, printing, and publishing and of Rules and order, with the exception of those whose publication is deemed unnecessary by the rule-making authority. The Statutory Instrument Act of 1947 governs numbering, printing and chronological classification of rules in Irish Republic.

¹⁷ Herbert Morrison: *Government and Parliament*, pp. 153-54.

PARLIAMENTARY SCRUTINY IN AUSTRALIA.

The Australian Parliament has endeavoured to provide against the dangers arising from delegated legislation. Procedures regarding the making of regulations are governed by the Acts Interpretation Act, 1901-50. It requires that such regulations be notified in the Gazette, setting out their operation, which must not be retrospective. Under the provisions of the Acts Interpretation Act regulations issued by the Governor-General-in-Council have to be tabled, within 15 days in either House and are subject to disallowance upon notice given within 15 days in either House. The provisions do not apply to proclamations or orders. The House of Representatives has set up no special Committee for examining and reporting on regulations in detail. The Senate standing committee which was set up in 1932 does this work. Since its establishment 27 years ago the Committee has scrutinized over 4,000 regulations plus about 800 ordinances.¹⁸ It scrutinizes regulations to ascertain (1) that they are in accord with the statute; (2) that they do not trespass unduly on personal rights and liberties; (3) that they do not make the rights and liberties of citizens depend upon administrative and not upon judicial decisions; (4) that they are concerned with administrative detail and do not amount to substantive legislation which is a matter for parliamentary enactment. The Committee has adopted a particular procedure for considering regulations and ordinances. It obtains from the Government Department responsible for the issue of instrument, a full explanation of it and its effect, and the reasons for making it. The Committee has broadened its scope of scrutinising and has scrutinized instruments on broad terms of reference which do not exclude substantive matters. Its reports even when highly critical of the substance of delegated legislation are considered on their merits and not on party lines.

In New Zealand the Regulation Act, 1936, provides publication of regulation in an official series Statutory Regulation. At drafting stage interested parties are consulted. Necessity for laying regulations on the table of the House varies from statute to statute. Confirming Act are passed at the end of each session when regulations are tabled. A Select Committee was set up in 1947 to report on regulations, but this Committee was not reconstituted again. The Attorney-General considers all regulations before they are issued and considers questions about desirability or undesirability of any regulations. There is parliamentary debate on regulations. The legislature needs a Select Committee that will enable it to give informed consideration to every clause that delegates legislative authority and will report what use is being made of the powers previously granted to the Executive.

¹⁸ *Public Law*, Spring 1959.

DELEGATED LEGISLATION IN INDIA AND PARLIAMENTARY SCRUTINY.

The need for making detailed regulations to meet the expanding needs of a progressive Welfare State necessitated a good deal of delegated legislation in India. The nature and scope of delegation in different statutes are varied and manifold. Very few statutes, expressly make any provision how the rules have to be published in the official Gazette before they come into operation. Some statutes provide the procedure of laying the rules on the table before Parliament or legislature and that they are subject to modification by the latter; such as Section 10 of the National Highways Act, 1956, Section 17(3) of the Standards of Rates and Wages Act, 1956 or Section 13(2) of the Central Sales Tax Act, 1956. There are certain statutes which delegate to the administrative authorities powers to impose taxation. The Indian Tariff Act empowers the Government to levy export duty on an article not included in the second schedule. In the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, Section 27, gives power to the appropriate Government to add to the Schedule and thereby amend the Act. Again Section 4 of the Employees Provident Fund Act, 1952, delegates power to the Central Government to add to the first schedule by notification in the official gazette any other industry in respect of employees whereof it is of opinion that the Provident Fund Scheme should be framed in this Act. In delegating this power Parliament has not laid down any standard or guide on which such 'opinion' should be based nor does it provide whether before such opinion is formed it should hear or consult the industry proposed to be added. Another example of abnormal delegation where the statute gives so wide a discretion that its limits are hardly discernible are the local bodies Acts in India which contain such clauses as 'to carry out the purposes of the Act'.

To secure adequate parliamentary control of delegated legislation and to prevent tendency to executive despotism a Committee on subordinate legislation consisting of 15 members was created by the Speaker to 'scrutinise and report to the House whether the powers delegated by Parliament have been properly exercised within the frame work of the statute delegating this power'. Its terms of reference are laid down in Rule 320 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha (1957) and correspond to those within the scope of scrutiny of the House of Commons scrutinising Committee, i. e., whether the statutory rule is in accord with the statute, whether it deals with a matter of substance appropriate for parliamentary enactment, whether it imposes a tax, whether it gives retrospective effect to any provision which is not permitted by the act, whether it calls for further elucidation etc. If the Committee is of opinion that any order should be annulled wholly or in part, or should be amended in any respect, it shall report that op-

nion and the grounds thereof to the House. The Committee is a vigorous and independent body. Since its inception upto April, 1957 it held 16 meetings and scrutinized 700 statutory orders. Between April, 1957 and 1959 (Budget section) it held 17 sittings and examined 1884 statutory instruments. In its reports it made a number of useful recommendations. It recommended that all the rules should be laid down on the table of the House for 30 days before their final publication so that they may be subject to modification by the House. It pointed out that specific section of the parent Act should be invariably cited in the preamble of all rules, regulations for the purpose of enabling all concerned to know under what precise authority the rules have been framed. It also stressed the need of publicity of all rules and orders in one section of the Gazette and to be centrally numbered. An index of the rules should be published every month and a consolidated index be issued annually. It pointed out that the Rules should not be framed so as to contravene the parent Act. It criticised that some statutes made delegation extending to matters of principle and taxation. It explained that merely laying rules on the table of the House was ineffective and that they should be followed by an affirmative resolution of the House. It pointed out the desirability of providing in the parent Act that all rules be laid on the table of the House within a couple of days after their publication and thereby avoid undue delay in laying. The Committee also pointed out the undesirability of sub-delegated powers in a wide language and recommended that some safeguards be imposed before a delegate is given wide powers to sub-delegate its authority to another functionary. It also observed that when an Act requires certain matters to be regulated by rules to be made thereunder, such rules should be framed immediately after the commencement of the Act.

In spite of the vigorous and independent manner the Committee has conducted its work, it is apprehended that with the mounting output of delegated legislation the Committee will be swamped by it and will be less thorough. The Lok Sabha is unduly pressed by volume of work and time. It is suggested that a scrutiny Committee of the Rajya Sabha be also set up which may relieve pressure of work and may scrutinise instruments on broad terms of reference on the same lines as the Australian Senate Committee on Delegated Legislation. The members of the Rajya Sabha are not distracted by the urgencies of political and governmental problems as the Lok Sabha and are expected to apply an impartial and non-partisan approach in scrutinising regulations. Further, regulation should be drafted in a simple language and the terminology should not be vague and indefinite. Antecedent publicity, provision for consultation and hearing of affected interests and rights of representation should be accorded before rules are finalised. Rules and regulations should be published not only in the Gazette but should also be

notified in papers. Finally, the scrutiny Committee should have the assistance of an expert advisory body, independent of administrative authorities and ministers but subservient to the legislature. Having administrative and legal experience they will be very helpful to the Committee in the work of the review of delegated legislation. Legislators may change from time to time but this legislative staff agency will continue to function on a permanent basis and provide a continuity in review.

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tance was opposed to the mendicancy of the Liberals or violence of Extremists. His new type of fearlessness was totally new in the vocabulary of freedom movement not only of India but also of the world. In short, Gandhi was a unique personality and Gandhism a unique philosophy. This enabled him to become "a symbolic expression of the confused desires of the people".⁵² His 'newism' came as a nector, a balm to the articulate, though frustrated and confused, India. This was not unnatural.

Gandhism had two aspects — technique of national struggle and ideal society. In Gandhi, both remained almost inalienable. But in Gandhi, the statesman, the two were kept apart to a considerable extent. The technique aspect assisted the growth of mass consciousness and mass movements. This led the country to independence which promised an era of democracy and progress. It was this aspect that made him the guide and philosopher of the Indian National Congress. For the Congress he was like Rousseau's Legislator — "Capable of constraining without violence and persuading without convincing" and since 1934 being not even its member he was "an authority that is no authority". The second aspect of Gandhism — the ideal society as practised in the Sabarmati and Wardha Ashramas — too added considerably to make his personality overwhelming. The Sarvodaya ideal attracted many well-meaning patriots. It was characterised by self-sacrifice, simplicity, high moral principles and austerity. Gandhi himself practised these. Bands of young men entered these Ashramas and came out of them to preach these virtues. The Ashramas became mines which turned out idealist revolutionaries. This was not unnatural in the conditions of India. Even in the West some individuals with humanitarian and artistic outlook found ample attraction in Gandhian simplicity. Sometimes a well-meaning citizen is tired of the hum-drum of city life. He is disgusted with all-round bossism and exploitation. A temporary rural quiet is, therefore, invigorating. This phenomenon is not absent even in the prosperous U. S. A. Such an escapist is a long week-ender. In an under-developed country like India such escapists are naturally more numerous. At times a frustrated intellectual admires and envies the life of a mendicant. Hence for such intellectuals Gandhi's Ashrama becomes the Mecca and Sarvodaya the ideal.

What was the attitude of the Congress leaders towards the second aspect of Gandhism? The nationalist leadership was generally modernised. It brushed aside the Ashramite morals as "Gandhian fads", the Ram Raj or Sarvodaya as "Gandhian utopia". But these private views could not be publicly announced. For, it was these 'fads' and this 'utopia' which had endeared Gandhi to the millions of village huts. It was these that made him one with the village folk. He lived their life, he spoke their language, he became

⁵² Nehru, J. L.: *Autobiography*, London, 1939, p. 75.

their hero. In short, it was the Ashramite life that made Gandhi the India. Expediency drove the Congress leadership to adopt the Gandhian symbols like khaddar and simplicity. To the Congress leaders these were matters of policy, to Gandhi they constituted the creed. But in dealing with the British imperialism he invariably kept his idealism in the background. After independence he aspired to implement his idealist schemes. He wished the Congress to convert itself into a Lok Sevak Sangh, into a society of selfless workers in the service of the people. But the rationalist and modernist Congress leadership took to power politics and planning on modern lines. The idealist in him was utterly disillusioned and disappointed.

After independence and especially after his murder the Gandhians took to two different roads. Those who believed in Gandhism as a policy found themselves in the seat of power or behind and around it. Those who took it as a creed joined Vinoba and the Sarvodaya movement. These roads, divergent though they are, do not put them in warring camps. They are and seem to be complementary. For the sake of convenience, these two camps may be termed as Political Gandhians and Idealist Gandhians. The former ones are the beneficiaries of the Gandhian technique; the latter are the becharmed Ashramites. The former stand for power, glory and fame; the latter for self-sacrifice, service and puritanism. The former are politicians; the latter moralists. Being politicians they are a bit Machiavellian: they "appear to be" Gandhians. As "repentant Gandhians" they sometimes run away from their Gaddies to Vinoba — just to console their conscience. They seem to assert their Gandhian fidelity only when awakened by some critic. For example, it was the late Dr. Ambedkar's impolitic remarks about the ancient village communities that aroused the subconscious Gandhism of the Congress members of the Constituent Assembly. In short, the two camps of Gandhians owe allegiance to the Master's idealism in different ways — one subconsciously and the other consciously. The difference between the two schools can be illustrated by referring to differences between Gandhi and Nehru. "But as representatives of two different trends of the Indian mind, they adopt different styles of travelling, their destinations are wide apart and their ways, identical for the present, tend to part ultimately."⁵³

What is the upshot of the first aspect, namely, technique of national struggle? Independence of India was largely and indirectly the fruit of the Gandhian technique. The ethos of independence is democracy and progress. To the millions of India this is the meaning and legacy of Gandhi. Independence has meant industrialisation and two general elections. The Five-Year Plans aim at making up the deficiency in industrial progress, enabling India to be industrially

⁵³ Abid Husain, S.: *The Way of Gandhi and Nehru*, Bombay, 1959, p. 162.

Full and integral employment will be possible. The economic organisation will be labour-intensive and not capital-intensive. The worker himself will own his tools. Production will be mainly for consumption and not for commerce, though commerce will not be totally banned. Cooperation, not competition, will be the hallmark of the new society. Industry will have to be organised in three sectors—self-employed, co-operative and social. Mechanical and technological progress will be employed “to increase the productive efficiency of man, to save him from monotonous drudgery and to enable him to utilise his leisure hours for the higher moral and cultural pursuits that give meaning to life”.¹¹ Fundamental, industrial and technical research will receive encouragement. Improvement in power-resources and means of communication and transport will be possible. Thus every advancement will be attuned to the basic principle of society, namely, ‘welfare of all’. To this end everything will be harnessed. Landlords and capitalists will not be permitted to hinder social progress. They will be liquidated and given alternate employment or a rehabilitation allowance. All this will require a new man. For, man is the centre of the whole system. The individual of the Sarvodaya society and of the transition period will be characterised by a new philosophy and a new outlook. Thus Sarvodaya is much more than an economic and political system based on equality and justice. “It is a way of life, a way of modelling one’s own life, and the life of society on the basis of the eternal principles of truth, love and non-violence”.¹²

How far is this picture of the Sarvodaya in conformity with the original Gandhism of the ‘Hind Swaraj’? A simultaneous study of the ‘Hind Swaraj’ and the ‘Planning for Sarvodaya’ will convince one that the two are not identical. The former is mainly negative, the latter is positive plus the influence of rubbing. Gandhism has undergone transformation—apparently beyond recognition. Gone are the original taboos against parliaments, against railways, against hospitals, against machinery. Gone is the crude and out-right condemnation of modernity. Gone is the old concept of Ram Raj as ruralisation of India. Gone is the austerity or wantlessness of the Ashrama life. Now the neo-Gandhism of the ‘Planning for Sarvodaya’ welcomes the gifts of science, machine, intellect and civilisation. This picture of the Sarvodaya will be gladly acceptable to a western socialist, especially to a Scandinavian one. In fact, the ‘Planning for Sarvodaya’ seems to have greater imprint of Jayaprakash Narayan and Achyut Patwardhan than of other seven members of the Committee. And these two reflect the hangover from their earlier faiths. A critic may say that nothing is left to Gandhism except the publishers’ trade mark. But this is only a superficial view. At bottom the ‘Planning for Sarvodaya’ is Gandhian, though in a changed environment. Its

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 88.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 108-9.

inhibition for machinery is patently Gandhian. This is the central feature of the work. The Sarvodayan planners are quite conscious of the reality that modern machinery has come to stay. Hence they utilise it to enhance human comforts and not to revolutionise human life—a subtle adaptation of Gandhian inhibition to modern conditions. The advancement in machinery must be only such as to provide a convenience here and a convenience there to the producer; it is not to be with a view to revolutionise production itself. From the ‘Hind Swaraj’ to the ‘Planning for Sarvodaya’ Gandhism seems to move from “stop” and “Go Back” to “Caution” and “Go Slow”. This is the authorised version of the Sarvodaya. Unofficially, however, Vinoba and his followers often relapse, on some issues, into the negative outlook of the ‘Hind Swaraj’. As regards the strategy of the Sarvodaya movement there is perfect unanimity. It is thoroughly Gandhian—“cooperation, persuasion, love and evident common interest”.¹³

How far are the ideals of the ‘Hind Swaraj’ and the ‘Planning for Sarvodaya’ cent-per-cent Indian? In other words, how far the Sarvodayan claim for completely indigenous origin and character is correct? Purism in ideas and plans has never been possible, more so in the technological age. The ‘Hind Swaraj’ is a protest against modernity and all its implications. It is crude reaction against the industrial civilisation. As such, it is not free from the influence of that civilisation. For, reaction is itself an expression of influence. In every country some individuals criticised modernity on humanitarian, aesthetic and moral grounds. Even to-day such critics are not very rare. In some countries it has been stronger and longer than in others. The difference is more of degree than of kind. Even Britain and the U.S.A., have scores of critics of modernity. This critical outlook had started right since the birth of industrialism. But the march of industrialism could be checked. Science and machines were bound to make progress. This is inevitable and inherent in the very nature of machines and human intellect. Consequently, instead of industrialisation disappearing, the form and character of its condemnation changed from crude form it gradually took a refined shape. This process was repeated in India too—from the naive and outright condemnation of the ‘Hind Swaraj’ (1909) to the refined and subtle “Caution” advocated in the ‘Planning for Sarvodaya’ (1955).

In colonial countries of Asia and Africa the reaction to industrialism was more pronounced than in the West. This was not unnatural. Here industrialism was a second-hand phenomenon, an imposition, an artificial implantation. From this view-point, the Afro-Asiatic nationalism had two wings—occidental and oriental. The occidentalised nationalism welcomed the coming of western civilisation as a boon. The orientalised nationalism, on the other hand, disliked and

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 31.

opposed this intrusion of foreign culture. The original Gandhism of the 'Hind Swaraj' is the Indian version of this orientalist outlook. It was a condemnatory protest of a colonial people against the introduction of industrialism by an alien power to suit its convenience, its economy, its hegemony. There was exaggeration no doubt. This too was not unnatural. "The exaggeration", Prof. D. P. Mukerji rightly asserts, was similar to that of a rebel slave who would assert with vehemence his own human dignity and clothe it in historical terms".¹⁴ A conspicuous aspect of the protest was its harping on the pristine glory and culture of the nation. This too was not unnatural. Where the nation's past was really great and glorious, the protest was inevitably more vocal and more aggressive. And this is what actually happened in India.

China too had a glorious past, a great civilisation. And so had Egypt. Yet none of these fostered anti-industrialism and anti-modernity for such a long time and with so much vehemence as India did. Why? Herein lies the importance of Gandhi's personality. He was a rebel against modernity—a rebel with high ideals, tremendous will-power, and spirit of self-sacrifice and self-discipline. His was a rebellion against the very foundation of the modern civilisation, against its value-system. This rebellion was not metaphysical in character. "It was essentially a moral rebellion, couched in the social terms of civilisation".¹⁵ To him the essence of civilisation was performance of duty and observance of morality. This outlook was diametrically opposed to the dominant individualism of the modern age. The socio-religious movements of modern India had created the Indian Renaissance. It taught 'triple-self'—self-confidence, self-reliance and self-help. To this Gandhi added a fourth one—self-expression. What was the basis of the 'triple-self'? It was the greatness of Indian culture. And what was the basis of that culture? Gandhi said that it was the Aparigraha or non-possession or wantlessness of the Gita. Non-possession was thus the true expression of that culture. So the Gandhian 'self-expression' became the basis of the basis. The Gandhian value-system of wantlessness was represented not only as a counter-poise to the materialistic value-system of the West but also as the soul of India. The marvel was, Gandhi himself became an expression of this 'self-expression'. Naturally, he was a phenomenon the like of which the modern world had not seen. All this makes the reaction to modernity more pronounced in India than in other Africo-Asiatic countries.

So the Sarvodaya was, in its origin, negatively influenced by the modern civilisation. Positively also much was borrowed from the West. Gandhi was attracted by anti-industrialist writings and movements of the West. Right since his boyhood in Britain he

¹⁴ Mukerji, D. P. *Diversities* People's Publishing House, 1958, p. 202.
¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 210.

associated himself with movements opposed to the evils of modern industrial civilisation. Later Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau were to become his guides and philosophers. Ruskin's 'Unto this last' "brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation" in his life. This book provided the seed-bed for the Sarvodaya. Gandhi himself acknowledges that, he arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice." True, he was already attracted by the idyllic village economy of ancient India. But the actual inspiration came from the West.

The Sarvodayan aim 'the welfare of all' or 'the greatest good of all' is an absolutist version of the utilitarian maxim "the greatest good of the greatest number". The idea of a classless and stateless society is certainly not a contribution of Gandhi. It had already figured prominently in the Marxist and Anarchist literature. The sketch of the Sarvodaya order is largely a repetition of the Anarchist Utopia. Certainly the mention of the Arajak form of constitution in Ancient Indian Scriptural works was not the only source of inspiration for the Sarvodaya society. The Gandhian Sarvodaya must have been influenced, indirectly at least, by the writings and speeches of the Indian contemporaries (for example, Besant, B. C. Pal and C. R. Das) who, in their turn, were influenced by the then West especially by the anti-monistic schools. So far as the Sarvodayan trusteeship is concerned, it is an adaptation of the English legal concept of trusteeship—perhaps imbibed by Gandhi during his studies in Britain. Similarly, the "Planning for Sarvodaya", too, is not free from foreign experiences. Japan provides the example of the small-scale mechanised industries, the small plants generating hydro-electricity, and the localised fuel for motor transport. The influence of Jaya Prakash Narayan is clear on the Sarvodaya planning. And Narayan is an ideological emigre travelling from non-cooperation to Communism, then to Democratic Socialism, and finally to Sarvodaya. Naturally his Sarvodaya represents foreign ideological contacts of the ideological travel, the mud of that journey.

Then wherein lies the special and typically Indian character of the Sarvodaya? As said above, Gandhism or Sarvodaya claimed to represent the soul of India. But in reality it represents only one aspect of Indian tradition. Vinoba asserts that the new ideology of collective Ahimsa is "a result of the fusion of science of the West and the ethics of India".¹⁶ The ethical aspect of the Sarvodaya is, therefore, the Indian part. What is this ethics? Its aim is salvation, Nirvana or Moksha. What is the method? Vinoba says that the seeds of the old and the Geeta prescribe three ways—Yagna (sacrifice), Dan (charity) and Tapa (austerity). The Sarvodayan is, therefore, expected to implement these noble precepts. Nay, every Indian, every human being is asked to practise them. Then the Sarvodaya

¹⁶ Quoted in Ramabhai, S. Vinoba and his Mission Wardha, 1954, p. 120

ideal will be possible. These, in fact, are the essential and basic qualities of a citizen of the Sarvodayan order. The Sarvodayan claims that this and this alone is the true legacy of Indian culture and he is its true inheritor. The authors of the "Planning for Sarvodaya" hope that these inherent Indian virtues will make their scheme a grand success. "We are fortunate in that the emphasis of our civilisation has always been on inner rather than outer development, and the values stressed have always been moral and spiritual".¹⁷ In this conviction the Sarvodayan is supported by statements of some western scholars who have been reiterating that Indians were mainly other-worldly by temperament, habit and tradition.

True, Indians have been well-known for their humility, tolerance, compassion and desistance from evil. Indian heroes of the Yore were embodiments of such virtues. But there seems nothing special about India in this respect. Other nations too had such personalities. But then this is not the whole of India; this is only one side of the picture. India was never lacking in world-and-life-affirmation. It had another set of heroes as well. This set practised life-affirming values and not the Aparigraha of the Sarvodayan. The achievement of this set too makes Indians hold their heads high. The nationalist India has been rightly proud of India's gifts in that sphere too. "We could not have lasted so long...if world-and-life-negation was our patented speciality. ...Our people have something positive in them which has remained unvanquished during the ages".¹⁸ But for these life-affirming achievements an Indian nationalist would not have been able to proudly assert that his ancestors were civilised at a time when those of Europeans were roaming in forests. To-day the nationalist state has been encouraging researches in the life-affirming achievements of India, though its masters sometimes preach the life-negation virtues. Hence sacrifice, charity and austerity were not the only peculiarities of Indians. Power, glory and fame too had an important place in their lives. Hence the Sarvodaya ideal of Aparigraha represents only one aspect of Indian character and tradition. In short, the Sarvodaya is neither a purely Indian contribution nor the only Indian way of life.

The problem of "ends-and-means" is all-important. This has been a controversial question in human history—as controversial as 'liberty and order', the origin of state, the nature of man etc. Some have considered "end" as all-important. In this context Machiavelli's words are oft-quoted: "It is well that, when the act accuses him (a ruler), the result should excuse him". On the other hand, moralists have always emphasised "means" as all-important. And Gandhi and his followers have been primarily moralists. In the 'Hind Swaraj' he laid down his vital principle: "The means may be likened to a

¹⁷ Planning for Sarvodaya *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹⁸ Mukerjee, Hiren—Gandhi, a Study—National Book Agency, Calcutta, 1958, p. 206. Also see, Nehru, J. L. The Discovery of India, Meridian Books Ltd. London, 1956, pp. 69-73.

seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree".¹⁹ Further he repeatedly maintained, "We have always control over the means and never on the ends" and "as the means so the end". Gandhi always emphasised the purity of means in the course of national struggle. "If one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself". He insisted on himself observing high morals. He expected his followers to do so. A passive resister or Satyagrahi was "to observe chastity, adopt poverty, follow truth and cultivate fearlessness".²⁰

Here one important problem arises—whether Truth and Non-violence, the two central principles of Gandhism, were to be taken as absolute concepts of relative ones. Gandhi insisted on taking them as absolute. In practice, however, it seems he too viewed them as relative to the exigencies of the national independence. Objectively viewed, perhaps independence was the only absolute ideal for him, rest being subordinate to it. To-day Vinoba considers these two concepts as absolute. His "constructive" Satyagraha is proclaimed as a challenge to the Communist method of mass movement and the Congress method of state legislation, more against the former than against the latter. Here it must be maintained that no revolutionary worth the name, whether Marxist or Non-Marxist, considers violence as an absolute concept or idealises it. In the ranks of the Congress there had always been differences on the vital issue—whether non-violence was a creed or a policy. Vast majority of the Congressmen considered it to be a policy; only the Ashramite Gandhians took it as a creed. And Vinoba is an Ashramite Gandhian. As such he insists on non-violence as the main creed of the Sarvodaya movement.

So the Sarvodayan technique is non-violent or Collective Ahimsa. Vinoba claims his method to be 'constructive' Satyagraha as different from 'negative' Satyagraha of Gandhi. Gandhi was placed in circumstances in which he had to function negatively. After independence a national and democratic state has been established. Consequently Vinoba aims at transforming the Satyagraha into a 'constructive' weapon. According to him the Satyagraha, which seeks to be effective in democracy, will have to be more constructive and less in opposition to one or the other. Gandhi's 'negative' Satyagraha aimed at changing the hearts of the imperialist rulers. Vinoba hopes that his 'constructive' Satyagraha will change the hearts of Indian landlords and capitalists. He once asserted, "I believe hearts do change. The act of donation will lead to a dual between the good and the evil in men and improve their outlook...Non-violence alone is the remedy of all evils".²¹ Thus Vinoba hopes that the rich will be argued and persuaded to abdicate their social and economic power.

¹⁹ The Hindu Swaraj, p. 71.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 84.

²¹ Quoted in Ramabhai, S. Vinoba and his Mission *op. cit.* p. 43.

Whether the Gandhian Satyagraha *with* its mass character *alone* was able to succeed in the liquidation of British Imperialism is a matter of history. Whether the Vinoban Satyagraha *without* mass agitation will be able to liquidate Landlordism and capitalism is a concern of future historian.

The Bhoodan, Sampattidan, Sramdan, Jivandan and Gramdan are the elements of the 'constructive' Satyagraha. What is the basis of these 'dans'? Vinoba believes that 'dan' or 'generosity' is essential to life. Otherwise, disease cannot but follow indulgence. The nature of disease will be "not merely....physical and mental but also social".²² The landlords and capitalists are, therefore, advised to be charitable and to contribute to Vinoba's mission. Hence it is in their interest to do so. If they do not listen to his well-meaning and pious advice, the communist revolution will violently disposses them. So Vinoba's method is to appeal to the instinct of generosity of the rich. No doubt, charity does play an important part in social life and to be charitable is an essential quality of man. But unfortunately millions of exploiters have lived without being charitable and luckily without suffering from "the disease of indulgence". History shows that 'Shylocks' have been common while 'Harish Chandras' rare. A Sarvodayan thinks otherwise. Vinoba's social revolution hopes to convert first the Tatas and then the Rockefellers into 'Dani' Harish Chandras. It aims at converting exploiter-exploited relation into donor-donnee one. But donation, according to the laws of common sense economics, follows exploiter-exploited relations. While so far the acquisitive instinct has been the basis of all civilisations, charitable instinct will be the pivot of the Sarvodaya civilisation. In ordinary life acquisitiveness precedes charity, in Sarvodaya charity will precede acquisitiveness. Is this possible? Only future can say.

Gandhi and Vinoba are optimists so far as their view of life is concerned. Vinoba affirms, "Man is born through love, he grows with love, he thirsts for it in his last moments and feels supremely comforted when he acts it."²³ This emboldens him to hope to "unite hearts", to create "a kingdom of kindness". Sincere appeals are made to the rich to honour the poor". It is this honest conviction that makes him rely on the "power of persuasion", on "the indwelling Godhead waking up sooner or later and impelling the individual to take the right path".²⁴ It is this noble conviction that makes him hope that the rich will "feel prompted to participate in the Bhoodan and Sampattidan which are but one aspect of this all-embracing law of love".²⁵ Vinoba approaches the rich to come forward with their gifts "with the faith that the Lord, who dwells in me, dwells equally

²² *Ibid.* p. 96.

²³ Quoted in Ramabhai, S. Vinoba and His Mission Wardha, 1954, p. 177.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 169.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 177.

in the hearts of others".²⁶ Just tell the rich that charity and love are essential virtues of man and the shape of things will automatically undergo transformation. Addressing the land donors in the Ranchi district he said, "I want to spread kindness, love and equality. It is easy to follow kindness and love. But equality may take some time".²⁷ In this non-violent way Vinoba aspires to create "a silent ideological revolution" in the outlook of Indians and then of humanity. Likewise, the authors of the "Planning for Sarvodaya" believe: "The key to social change, therefore, lies in changing the attitudes and notions of the vast majority of men in a society".²⁸

But unfortunately human nature is not so optimistic. Man is not so pious as Mahatma Gandhi or Saint Vinoba thinks him to be. Man is a complex, complicated and often contradictory being. He is neither so noble as a Rousseau, a Gandhi or a Vinoba would depict him. Nor, is he so wicked as a Kautilya, a Machiavelli or a Hobbes thought him. Compassion, charity and love do play an important part in man's life. At the same time competition, acquisitiveness and hatred also figure prominent in human behaviour. Hence an emphasis on only one set of instincts makes the assessment partial. And so any plan based on only one aspect is incomplete. Also, these qualities are not absolute. Take the case of love. It admits of difference in kind. Often one kind of love come in conflict with another kind. For example, love of power, glory and fame is opposed to love of neighbour and kinsmen. And the love of property is complementary to the love of power, glory and fame. As such it forms an essential aspect of life. Naturally the rich or, for that matter, even the poor will not exchange their love of property for the Sarvodayan Aparigraha. A few exceptions do not alter the trend of human history. Like saints, a Sarvodayan relies too much on the inherent goodness of men. A socialist or a progressive too believes in man's inherent goodness. But there is a vital difference. The former expects that love of one's neighbours will precede, rather create, social revolution; the latter hopes that it will become universal as a result of the social reconstruction following social revolution. Incidentally, Vinoba advises the rich "to read the signs of times" and so willingly convert themselves into donors. In outspoken language this means that the communist-inspired mass upheaval will dispossess them if they do not follow Vinoba's noble and pious advice. In other words, mere appeal to love of neighbours, to charitable instinct, to noble sentiments is not enough for Sarvodayan revolution; a warning about the coming danger is also felt essential.

The theory of trusteeship is yet another basic tenet of Sarvodaya philosophy. Gandhi and following him Vinoba wish the wealthy to be trustees of land and wealth. "My theory of 'trusteeship'," so said

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 75.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 111.

²⁸ *Planning for Sarvodaya op. cit.*, p. 52.

Gandhi, "is no make-shift, certainly no camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it".²⁹ This was the only theory of social revolution "compatible with non-violence". Unfortunately the wealthy did not act according to this theory. But this did not shake Gandhi's optimism; it does not shake Vinoba's as well. The fault lies not in theory but elsewhere—in the honesty, character and understanding of the rich. "That possessors of wealth have not acted up to the theory does not prove its falsity; it proves the weakness of the wealthy".³⁰ So it is not the principle but the human material that is at fault. Hence change the human material. How to accomplish this? Preach the law of love. Once the rich are converted, an era of Sarvodayan equality will usher in. "Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption".³¹ The Sarvodayan firmly believe in this principle of trusteeship of the Master. It is faith in this that impells them to work for an ideal future.

Gandhi "wished it (trusteeship) became a gift from India to the world".³² Vinoba endeavours to fulfil the wish of the Master. But in fact this theory of trusteeship is not new in human history. As said above, perhaps Gandhi learned about this principle from the English legal system. It is a special contribution of Britain to the world legal history. But critics sometimes view this concept as a camouflage. In England the feudal lords used this principle as a method to escape monarchical exactions on land. Then the early merchants employed it to escape feudal exactions. The early bourgeoisie called himself a trustee. In the late seventeenth century John Locke, gave this concept of trusteeship a philosophical justification. In the eighteenth century the ruling bourgeoisie heartily owned this concept. In the next century the empire became their trust. The imperialist bourgeoisie now considered himself a trustee of his colonies and the colonials also. Their U. S. counterpart, willingly borrowed this useful concept. The Mandate System and the present Trusteeship System are, in a way, extensions of this age-old concept. What does all this indicate? While the rich have viewed their wealth and colonies as trust, the 'beneficiaries'—the workers and colonials—have undergone untold suffering. Thus the history of the concept does not embolden one to consider it humane in character and effect. Gandhi and Vinoba wish it to be otherwise. It remains inexplicable why the concept does not find a prominent place in the "Planning for Sarvodaya".

²⁹ Quoted in Sarvodaya *op. cit.*, p. 47.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 27.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 28.

³² *Ibid.* p. 26.

Trusteeship has religious sanction as well. Gandhi said that real socialism had been handed down to Indians by their ancestors who taught: "All land belongs to Gopal, where there is the boundary line? Man is the maker of that line and he can therefore unmake it". Gopal literally means shepherd: it also means God. In modern language it means the state, i.e., the people. "That the land to-day does not belong to the people is too true. But the fault is not in the teaching. It is in us who have not lived up to it".³³ Similarly, Vinoba also maintains that all land belongs to Gopal and that the ownership of land, property or resources must be declared as God's (i.e., Society's). Or, as Tulsidas has said—"All property is His". This sort of appeal is not new in history. Saint Ambrose had preached: "It is the will of God that the earth should be the common possession of all men and should furnish its fruits to all. So Gandhi and Vinoba are in the noble company of the great ones of humanity. But unfortunately the landlords and the rich have not so far acted on the pious advice of the great sons of humanity. On the other hand, as a class they have never behaved like trustees.

Another basic presumption of the Sarvodayan is the importance of intuition and faith in human affairs. Gandhi and Vinoba lay more emphasis on these than on reason and free thinking. In the course of leadership of the Indian national struggle Gandhi's vital decisions were the dictates of inner conscience. This practice was so common that it virtually became a habit with the rank and file to await the dictates of Gandhi's inner voice on every critical occasion. Even a rationalist like Nehru looked to or connived at the Mahatma's intuitional decisions.³⁵ Gandhi believed that faith was "nothing but a living, wide awake consciousness of God within" and that "without faith the world would come to naught in a moment".³⁶ Likewise, Vinoba asserts, "Faith is a like a firm wall.... No important work is ever accomplished without faith".³⁷ So people are rightly expected to have faith in the victory of good over evil, of non-violence over violence, and above all, of the success of the 'Dan' movement. Just have faith in Vinoba's sincerity, in the ultimate success of his mission and soon the Golden Age will dawn. "Thus we should go to the people with full faith in the justice of our mission and perfect trust in the goodness of the donor concerned",³⁸ so Vinoba advises the Bhoodan workers. He asserts that God was using him to complete the task commenced by Buddha. "Till God keeps strength in me I shall tour the country and beg for land for the landless".³⁹ And further, "There can be no rest for me till Ram's work is done".⁴⁰ Vinoba appeals

³³ Quoted in Sarvodaya *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³⁴ Quoted in Sittaramaya, Dr. P. B. Gandhi and Gandhism Allahabad, 1942, p. 285.

³⁵ For examples, See Nehru, J. An Autobiography London, 1939, pp. 260, 373-4.

³⁶ Quoted in Dhawan, G. N. *op. cit.*, pp. 51-2.

³⁷ Quoted in Ramabhai, S. *op. cit.* p. 74.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 122.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 49.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 92.

to the landlords and the rich to donate to their hungry neighbours a part of the property which they are holding as trust from God.⁴¹ In short, the Sarvodaya is a divine solution, Dan a divine method, the Bhoodan a divine movement, Vinoba a divine messenger and donor a divine agent. This seems to be workable tactics but not sound philosophy. "It has been fairly said that Sarvodaya's leaders have not attempted a consistent political theory but are engaged in developing a plan of action, for which they seek a theoretical justification in the Hindu scripture stories which they think best suited to get their ideas across to the millions who cannot read but who know by heart the stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata".⁴²

Decentralisation is the main hall-mark of the Sarvodaya order. The village will be the pivot of the future society. Its Panchayat will be the ruling or managing institution. The Sarvodayan economists have repeatedly referred to the idyllic ancient Indian village. They quote the oft-quoted minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe (1830) — "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts." Such a village community is the ideal of the Sarvodaya. It is synonymous with Gandhi's Ram Raj. History tell us that even in Rama's times there were cities like Ayodhya. Nay, even much before that Mohenjodaro and Harapa flourished. The Gandhian Ram Raj can be likened with Sorel's General Strike. It did serve a very useful and practical purpose. It was the Gandhian way of making the village folk politically conscious.

To-day Vinoba and others follow the Master's strategy. They too look for Ram Raj, for the revival of "little republics" of ancient India. They say they are working for it. But is this feasible? In ancient India the "little republics" were possible in the absence of quick means of transport. To-day in the atmosphere of modern means of communication and transport the decentralisation of Sarvodayan ideal does not seem to be possible. The Sarvodayan wishes to retain and improve time-saving machines. On the other hand, he aims at decentralisation of authority. The two are evidently incompatible. The experience of the West also bears this out. For a long time decentralisation was one of the main items of the British labour Party programme. But the record of the two Labour Governments belies the hope, Narayan very well sees this. "But after all is said and done the democratic socialist state remains a Leviathan that will sit heavily on the freedom of the people".⁴³ He, therefore, favours non-state forms of socialism. This requires selfless workers "to live and move in the midst of the people and help them to reorganise their lives on a self-reliant and self-governing basis". This he calls

⁴¹ See *Ibid.* p. 175.

⁴² Quoted in the Gandhi Marg, Vol. II, No. 1, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Bombay, p. 51.

⁴³ From Socialism to Sarvodaya, *op. cit.* p. 33.

"peoples' socialism" as opposed to state socialism. And "Sarvodaya is peoples' socialism". The idea is, no doubt, laudable. But this alone should not exhaust political education and action. The fundamental feature of the nuclear age is the terrific pace of change in human life. And this pace is bound to increase. It demands an ever-increasing political consciousness of the people and not an escape from political activity. This is possible not by limiting the mental horizon to "little republics" or to "non-state forms of socialism" but in an atmosphere of ever-increasing democratic associations of people or ever-increasing participation in state activities. Then and then alone an individual will be able to keep pace with the tremendous pace of change in human life.

The end of a Sarvodayan and Marxist is identical — a classless and stateless society. But their means are absolutely different; their roads are divergent. In reality, the similarity is only superficial. The major premises of Marxism are dialectical materialism and historical materialism. On the basis of these it analyses history and comes to the conclusion that a stateless and classless society is inevitable.⁴⁴ Marx's conclusions were based on the knowledge of the then developments in technology, philosophy, economics and science. The Marxist analyses past theory, commented on current events and foretells the future course of humanity. They are proud of their analysis and their anticipations. It was on the basis of a definite and thorough analysis that Marxism anticipated the birth of a classless and stateless society in distant future. In the light of the researches of Lewis H. Morgan, Engels concludes that the progress in the economic condition of men leads to the birth of the state, to its growth, to changes in its character and finally to its withering away.⁴⁵ The central thread in the analysis is the class character of the state, called a coercive institution. Not so with a Gandhian or Sarvodayan. To him human history is a record of decline in 'Ahimsa' or non-violence leading ultimately to universal non-violence and withering away of the state, called a violent institution. As regards family Gandhi asserted: "from being a nomad he (man) settled down to civilised stable life, founded villages and towns, and from member of a family he become member of community and a nation".⁴⁶ On the other hand, the "civilised stable life", according to Engels, led to "the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male".⁴⁷ Thus a Gandhite family ushers in an era of peaceful existence, to a Marxist in that of class-conflicts.

⁴⁴ See Selected Works of Karl Marx Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1946, Vol. I, p. 318.

⁴⁵ See Engels, F. The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, p. 277., and Engels, F. Anti-Duhring Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1947, p. 417.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Sarvodaya, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, p. 9.

⁴⁷ Engels, F. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, p. 109.

A Marxist believes that overthrow of capitalism will lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat or socialist society. It will be a transition period between capitalist civilisation and communist society. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the lower stage of communist society and the classless society is its higher stage. These are, according to Marxism, inevitable stages through which humanity will pass. The Sarvodayan too puts forth the thesis of transition period. Vinoba says, "Our first step will be to get Gram Raj (Government by the Village): then courts, law-suits and disputes will be judged and settled within the village". Further, "next it will be Ram Raj (Kingdom of God): then there will no longer be any law suits or disputes and we shall all live as one family".⁴⁸ Gandhi viewed non-violent state as a transition to stateless society. Similarly, the picture of society in the 'Planning for Sarvodaya' is considered as a transition to the withering away of the state.

Thus both Marxism and Gandhism envisage the development of society in their own ways. The Marxist writings anticipate the emergence of certain conditions as a result of all-round progress during the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Gandhian writings also foretell the presence of some phenomena if humanity adopts their line of action. Both say that the difference between urban and rural life will be eliminated. For a Marxian the village will be urbanised, while for an orthodox Sarvodayan city will be ruralised. Both believe that the antithesis between mental and physical labour will vanish. In the former progress of science will make it possible, while in the latter progress of morals. The higher stage of Communist society as well as the future Sarvodayan society will apply the rules: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". Whereas to a Marxist production will increase so that all needs of men will be fulfilled, to a Sarvodayan the needs of austere persons will be minimised. How will this Sarvodayan ideal be achieved? The 'Planning for Sarvodaya' lays down: "Instead of coveting wealth of the rich, they should shed their own possessiveness and acquisitiveness and pool what they have and share it equitably amongst themselves."⁴⁹ The Sarvodayan man is thus an antithesis of the Marxian man. In the higher stage of Communist society the government of persons will be replaced by the administration of things and the whole society will become a single office. In the Sarvodaya society also "every one is his own ruler." But in the former human knowledge will so increase as to enable a citizen to partake efficiently in the administration of the state and society; in the latter there will be not much to administer. In both societies actual freedom will become possible. To a Marxist, freedom means "knowledge of necessity". This will be possible in highly industrialised environ-

⁴⁸ Quoted in the Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. XIX, 1958, p. 360.

⁴⁹ The Planning for Sarvodaya, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

ment of the higher stage of Communist society. To a Sarvodayan, freedom means 'knowledge of duty' and self-abnegation.

In fact, Marxism and Gandhism are two opposed philosophies, view-points and systems of thinking. The one is dialectical and materialistic, the other spiritual and idealistic. The one believes in class-war as the basis of history and society, the other in non-violence and compassion. The one talks about the collapse of dying capitalism, the other hopes to convert capitalists into trustees. The one thinks in terms of more of science and more of industrialisation, the other thinks in terms of less of science and less of industrialisation. The Marxian dictionary of strategy and tactics includes movements, agitations, strikes, elections, legislations and, if need be, violent revolution. The Sarvodayan dictionary bans all these and contains compassion, change of heart, love, appeal in the name of God, compromise, charity, and, above all, non-violence. A Marxist is a materialist revolutionary, a Sarvodayan is an idealist revolutionary. Hence Sarvodayan accepts Marxian end without accepting its premises. Its ideal is Marxist without Marxism; it is its antithesis. This is like having tiger's nature, but not the tiger — perfectly un-Gandhian.⁵⁰ A word must be said about the possibility of the birth of the higher stage of Communist society. Critics consider it utopian despite the Marxist claim that it is based on scientific analysis. Evidently, in the absence of such analysis the Sarvodaya society becomes doubly utopian.

Gandhi was a rebel and a revolutionary. He was the child of Indian Renaissance but a rebel child. His intuitionism was a rebellion against the dominant rationalism and liberalism of the Renaissance. He brought revolutionary outlook, though dominantly conservative and idealistic, in the political scene. He carried Indian nationalism against its tradition. A world divided the prevalent nationalism and Gandhism. The dominant nationalist value-system was materialistic, Gandhian value-system was moralistic or spiritual. The preceding nationalism was mainly rationalistic, Gandhian nationalism was mainly intuitionistic. The former appealed to the intellect, the latter to heart. The preceding leaders were intellectualists, sophisticated and eclectic; Gandhi was simple, clear and straight. They spoke simple things in complex way, he spoke complex things in simple way. The former spoke the language of educated middle class, the latter that of the masses. The former had put emphasis on rights, the latter on duty. The former accepted the regenerating value of modern civilisation to India, the latter called this civilisation 'Satanic'. The former wished to imbibe the virtues of the West, the latter condemned this view.⁵¹ The former talked about reforms and decentralisation, the latter about reconstruction and Ram Raj. In technique of national struggle Gandhi's Satyagraha or passive-resis-

⁵⁰ See the Hind Swaraj, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁵¹ See the Hind Swaraj, *op. cit.* p. 30.

tance was opposed to the mendicancy of the Liberals or violence of Extremists. His new type of fearlessness was totally new in the vocabulary of freedom movement not only of India but also of the world. In short, Gandhi was a unique personality and Gandhism a unique philosophy. This enabled him to become "a symbolic expression of the confused desires of the people".⁵² His 'newism' came as a nector, a balm to the articulate, though frustrated and confused, India. This was not unnatural.

Gandhism had two aspects — technique of national struggle and ideal society. In Gandhi, both remained almost inalienable. But in Gandhi, the statesman, the two were kept apart to a considerable extent. The technique aspect assisted the growth of mass consciousness and mass movements. This led the country to independence which promised an era of democracy and progress. It was this aspect that made him the guide and philosopher of the Indian National Congress. For the Congress he was like Rousseau's Legislator — "Capable of constraining without violence and persuading without convincing" and since 1934 being not even its member he was "an authority that is no authority". The second aspect of Gandhism — the ideal society as practised in the Sabarmati and Wardha Ashramas — too added considerably to make his personality overwhelming. The Sarvodaya ideal attracted many well-meaning patriots. It was characterised by self-sacrifice, simplicity, high moral principles and austerity. Gandhi himself practised these. Bands of young men entered these Ashramas and came out of them to preach these virtues. The Ashramas became mines which turned out idealist revolutionaries. This was not unnatural in the conditions of India. Even in the West some individuals with humanitarian and artistic outlook found ample attraction in Gandhian simplicity. Sometimes a well-meaning citizen is tired of the hum-drum of city life. He is disgusted with all-round bossism and exploitation. A temporary rural quiet is, therefore, invigorating. This phenomenon is not absent even in the prosperous U. S. A. Such an escapist is a long week-ender. In an under-developed country like India such escapists are naturally more numerous. At times a frustrated intellectual admires and envies the life of a mendicant. Hence for such intellectuals Gandhi's Ashrama becomes the Mecca and Sarvodaya the ideal.

What was the attitude of the Congress leaders towards the second aspect of Gandhism? The nationalist leadership was generally modernised. It brushed aside the Ashramite morals as "Gandhian fads", the Ram Raj or Sarvodaya as "Gandhian utopia". But these private views could not be publicly announced. For, it was these 'fads' and this 'utopia' which had endeared Gandhi to the millions of village huts. It was these that made him one with the village folk. He lived their life, he spoke their language, he became

⁵² Nehru, J. L.: *Autobiography*, London, 1939, p. 75.

their hero. In short, it was the Ashramite life that made Gandhi the India. Expediency drove the Congress leadership to adopt the Gandhian symbols like khaddar and simplicity. To the Congress leaders these were matters of policy, to Gandhi they constituted the creed. But in dealing with the British imperialism he invariably kept his idealism in the background. After independence he aspired to implement his idealist schemes. He wished the Congress to convert itself into a Lok Sevak Sangh, into a society of selfless workers in the service of the people. But the rationalist and modernist Congress leadership took to power politics and planning on modern lines. The idealist in him was utterly disillusioned and disappointed.

After independence and especially after his murder the Gandhians took to two different roads. Those who believed in Gandhism as a policy found themselves in the seat of power or behind and around it. Those who took it as a creed joined Vinoba and the Sarvodaya movement. These roads, divergent though they are, do not put them in warring camps. They are and seem to be complementary. For the sake of convenience, these two camps may be termed as Political Gandhians and Idealist Gandhians. The former ones are the beneficiaries of the Gandhian technique; the latter are the becharmed Ashramites. The former stand for power, glory and fame; the latter for self-sacrifice, service and puritanism. The former are politicians; the latter moralists. Being politicians they are a bit Machiavellian: they "appear to be" Gandhians. As "repentant Gandhians" they sometimes run away from their Gaddies to Vinoba — just to console their conscience. They seem to assert their Gandhian fidelity only when awakened by some critic. For example, it was the late Dr. Ambedkar's impolitic remarks about the ancient village communities that aroused the subconscious Gandhism of the Congress members of the Constituent Assembly. In short, the two camps of Gandhians owe allegiance to the Master's idealism in different ways — one subconsciously and the other consciously. The difference between the two schools can be illustrated by referring to differences between Gandhi and Nehru. "But as representatives of two different trends of the Indian mind, they adopt different styles of travelling, their destinations are wide apart and their ways, identical for the present, tend to part ultimately."⁵³

What is the upshot of the first aspect, namely, technique of national struggle? Independence of India was largely and indirectly the fruit of the Gandhian technique. The ethos of independence is democracy and progress. To the millions of India this is the meaning and legacy of Gandhi. Independence has meant industrialisation and two general elections. The Five-Year Plans aim at making up the deficiency in industrial progress, enabling India to be industrially

⁵³ Abid Husain, S.: *The Way of Gandhi and Nehru*, Bombay, 1959, p. 162.

advanced. Perhaps the two nation-wide general elections are the greatest achievement of independence—frankly greater than all the development schemes put together. They are perhaps unprecedented in the history of the world. These have immensely contributed to nation's political consciousness—the main guarantee against the Pakistan way. Now, what is the upshot of the Gandhian idealism, of the Sarvodaya movement—the second aspect of Gandhism? This stands opposed to the above legacy. For, it taboos all that is tabooed in the 'Hind Swaraj'—rapid industrialisation and democracy. Vinobaism is the extreme expression of this aspect; "the Planning for Sarvodaya" is a reformed expression.

What is the Sarvodayan attitude towards modern planning and industrialisation? Vinoba accepts the *bona fides* of the nation's planners but does not see eye to eye with their modernity. "There is a difference between their approach and mine."⁵⁴ He is against heavy industries, especially those connected with armament production. Machines, according to Vinoba, "are of three categories: time-saving, destructive and productive.We are opposed to them (destructive industries)."⁵⁵ This was the view of Gandhi as well—of course, after his entry into Indian political scene. This is the view of the Sarvodayan planner. In fact, no sane person will applaud an increase in armament production. But the truth is that the fault lies not with machines but with the human element handling them. The social purpose of the masters of the machine is all-important in this connection. Similarly, planning may be for construction and progress as in socialist countries. Or, it may be for enhancing markets, conquest of territories and extension of spheres of influence. The Sarvodayan outlook seems to be a reminiscent of the attitude of early workers towards the introduction of first machines: they thought that machines, not the social system, were responsible for their miserable plight. Further, the Sarvodaya plan aims at making heavy industries as auxiliaries of the small-scale, localised village industries. This is, no doubt, ideal. But it does not take into consideration the inherent nature of industries. One industry is auxiliary of the other. Heavy industries too require feeder industries. Railway industry, for example, requires scores of other small-scale or heavy industries to make it function. Industrialisation is thus a well-knit system. It has its own laws of progress. Its organisation and progress are not determined by individual whims but by its own inherent tendencies.

The Sarvodaya planners are not against money economy: they are against monetary manipulations on international scale. This is quite justifiable. But here, again, it is the social purpose that is all-important. Vinoba, however, is against the institution of money

⁵⁴ Quoted in Ramabhai, S., *op. cit.*, p. 64.
⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 196.

itself. "Why do I not want money? It is because money has brought the country to its present state. It is at the root of country's degradation."⁵⁶ Very noble sentiment, indeed. Perhaps this is better put by Gerard Winstanly—"I was once a freeman of thine, but beaten out of estate and trade by thy cheating sons in the thieving art of buying and selling."⁵⁷ And again, "...My heart was filled with sweet thoughts and many things were revealed to me.Then I took my spade and began to dig on St. George's Hill."⁵⁸ Students of history know very well the category to which Winstanly belonged, the fate of the diggers' Movement and also its impact on the subsequent socio-economic history of England. Also, Vinoba is against foreign borrowing by Indian Government. "...The Government is dollar-mad."⁵⁹ Here it is enough to say that economic autarchy has never been possible, perhaps even during the historic Ram Raj.

The Sarvodaya is opposed to modern democracy. The main pillars of modern democracy are mass agitation, political parties and elections. In the Sarvodayan democracy these do not find place at least in their modern form. The Sarvodayan method is different from mass agitation; it is in fact its antithesis. The Dan movement is an anti-dote of mass movement. Vinoba's Bhoodan and other Dans aim at producing "a double awakening, a moral awakening resulting in the change of heart and an awakening of the people's consciousness".⁶⁰ They are like two wings of a bird implying "both the inner awakening and outer change in objective conditions".⁶¹ This attitude is said to be in accord with the Gandhian tradition. Gandhi had also emphasised moral awakening, a moral code for Satyagrahis. But he did not stop at that. He was the unquestioned leader of the mass movements of the pre-independence days. In practice he did not wait for moral purification of the people before launching the struggle movements in 1921, 30, 40 and 42. Gandhi was instrumental in enhancing political consciousness of the people the Sarvodayan wishes to curb it. The latter taboos mass agitation by dubbing it as communist-inspired or expression of violence. How far this attitude of mind is democratic and progressive needs no comment.

The second pillar of democracy is party system. It is the necessary concomitant of democratic atmosphere, of representative institutions. And in its turn, it fosters these. Vinoba is fundamentally opposed to party system. "I do not recognise parties at all... parties in our country cannot only not do much good but are in th

⁵⁶ Quoted in Ramabhai, S., *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Gooch, G. P. *Political Thought in England*, O. U. P., London, 1955, p. 98.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 99.

⁵⁹ Quoted in Ramabhai, S., *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 169.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 170.

long run likely to prove disastrous".⁶² Jayaprakash Narayan puts it in a better way. The party system is condemned as "emasculating people" and as seeking to reduce them "to the position of sheep whose only function of sovereignty would be to choose periodically the shepherds who would look after their welfare".⁶³ He wants a movement free from power politics of party system. He finds that atmosphere in the pre-independence Indian National Congress. "The Indian freedom movement was a people's movement *par excellence*. It was not *rajniti* (politics of the state) but *lokniti* (politics of the people)".⁶⁴ To-day he is disgusted with *rajniti* everywhere; he finds *lokniti* in the Sarvodaya. No doubt, party system has defects. But it has many merits as well. Above all, it is the soul of democracy. It needs reforming and not discarding. Narayan seems to employ the old trick—throw the ladder by which you climb so that others may not follow. His present personality is the product of the party system—the Congress Socialist Party, the Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party. Now he seems to be tired. "As a way out of the faults and failures of the party system, I toyed for some time with the idea of a co-operative, rather than a competitive system of parties".⁶⁵ Such failure leads to an escape in the calm of the Sarvodaya. Then to say that the Congress was totally free from power politics is something unbelievable. Of course, Gandhi discouraged factionalism and power politics in the Congress. As a leader, he always emphasised unity and compromise. He permitted the Congress Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Forward Bloc and small groups within the Congress. The growth of parties was inherent in the movement. Hence to veto party system is to veto an important, though indirect, legacy of Gandhian nationalism.

Allied with the problem of party system is that of elections. A Sarvodayan looks aghast at the money wasted and the feverish activity during the elections. He wants serene and calm atmosphere. Vinoba feels that elections are a curse to the nation and have broken asunder every village and torn it to pieces. Also, elections are sapping the strength of the country. There are conflicts everywhere—intra-party and inter-party. The rule of majority is condemned as of foreign origin and so not conducive to Indian interests. The ideal democracy of the Sarvodayan concept will, therefore, be free from modern elections and all they imply by way of political consciousness. "God speaks through the five". So the village panchayat will be almost sovereign autonomous unit looking after all affairs. According to Vinoba.... "the only way to achieve unity is to accept the principle that God speaks through the five, that is, to achieve the deal of unanimous decision".⁶⁶ No doubt, modern election system

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 155.

⁶³ Narayan, J., *From Socialism to Sarvodaya*, Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, 1957, p. 30.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 29.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 31.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Ramabhai, S. *op. cit.* p. 197.

is not free from defects. But to discard it on that score is to do injustice to the human urge for democracy. The remedy lies not in running away from democracy but in making it more democratic. Then whatever does not suit the Sarvodayan predilection is "foreign" and "against Indian tradition". But the ancient village communities or the Buddhist republics were not free from elections and principle of majority rule.

So the Sarvodayan goes counter to what Gandhism has given to India. To millions of India, Gandhism has become synonymous with independence and the latter with industrialisation and democracy. To a Sarvodayan both these are anathema. He sticks to Master's original thesis of the 'Hind Swaraj' with a few tinkering here and there. In effect then one part of Gandhism cuts across the other. The idealist part is a negation of the legacy of the technique part. Or, the Sarvodaya is a negation of the legacy of Gandhism. The 'Planning for Sarvodaya' is contrary to the idealistic spirit of Gandhism; Vinobaism is a contradiction of the political legacy of Gandhism. This is an enigma. Nay, it is an enigma of enigmas. In fact, such phenomenon is not at all new in human history. That has been the fate of many 'isms or philosophies or movements—Plato's communism, Luther's individualism, Calvin's authoritarianism, Bonapartism, Hegelian Dialectics. So in a way the Gandhism of post-independence period militates against the Gandhism of preindependence period. Vinoba's "constructive satyagraha" is opposed to the constructive aspect of Gandhian Satyagraha, namely, creation of political consciousness among the millions.

Thus the Sarvodaya was in the beginning a protest against modernity. To-day as a result of rubbing against other outlook it stands for cautious application of modernity. Still the basic outlook remains anti-modern—what is natural is immoral. All that is natural in and about man—emotions; passion for more and more democracy ever-increasing political consciousness and associations; mass movements against the inherent evils of acquisitive society; multiplication of wants; yearning to improve material conditions; advance of science technology and urbanisation is immoral. No one will deny that many of the things in the present society are immoral. But to condemn everything modern in the name of morality is certainly unscientific, obscurantism, idiosyncrasy *par excellence*. To over-emphasise only the "world-and-life-negation" aspect of Indian tradition at the cost of the "world-and-life-affirmation" tradition is to do injustice to the Indian culture. Healthy progress demands a happy blending of the two. The Sarvodaya seems to be too much negative in outlook—so much negative that in a way it has become the very negation of the fruitful legacy of its originator. Gandhi's Sarvodaya attracted hundreds of well-meaning and honest intellectuals and others. That was not unlikely under the conditions of arrested economic development. Whether under the conditions of developing economy Vinoba-Naray-

Sarvodaya will attract new and young blood only future can say. The Sarvodaya will perhaps not cut much ice in reverting the march of industrialism and centralism in mitigating the ever-increasing class consciousness among the poor; in changing present wealth and land relations into trusteeship; in helping the bourgeoisie against the Left movements in the presence of better and more effective weapons; above all, in putting the clock back.

But the Sarvodaya cannot be easily brushed aside as a Utopia. If it is a Utopia, it is an extraordinary one. It is not like the Utopia of a Plato, a More, a Winstanly, a Harrington, or a Kropotkin. Sometimes it is likened to Anarchist Utopia. In fact, it is much more than that. The Anarchist Utopia was the parent of modern anti-monistic ideological revolution. Both in economic and political spheres of thinking the pedigree of ideologies has been somewhat like this—from Anarchism to Syndicalism, to Guild-Socialism, to Pluralism and to Left-wing democracy. Directly or indirectly these movements of thought have checked the Leviathan State from becoming super-Leviathan. The Leviathan has to take into confidence the individual and his multiple democratic associations before acting even as a Leviathan. To-day in a democratic country the minister is under the influence of two forces behind his throne—the web of bureaucracy and of vested interests, and the web of popular associations. This tug-of-war is undoubtedly a great gain resultant from the above pedigree. Though itself anti-democratic in spirit in the modern sense of the term, the Sarvodaya indirectly and remotely replenishes the democratic front in this tug-of-war. It is not the only force in this respect but an important force. *The Sarvodaya is not a pull back but a pull from behind.* As such, it is not likely to dethrone the centralising tendency of the technological age. It is one of the methods of keeping the Leviathan State alert to the need of decentralisation of authority, to the interest of the “little republics” and all they imply, to the interest of the man in the street. Josselyn Hennesy has rightly pointed out that Vinoba’s movement “gave India’s exponents of conventional welfare socialism a jolt”.⁶⁷ In the economic sphere the nation’s planners have to think in terms of the immediate needs of the village poor and to act accordingly. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao has significantly said that the influence of Gandhism will be clear if the writings of the present day Indian economists are compared with those of ten years back. “Indeed ‘the distinctly important place accorded by Indian economists now to small and medium-sized industries in India’s economy can largely be accounted for the influence of Gandhian thought.’”⁶⁸ Further, Nehru has acknowledged: “Gandhi has done a service to India by his emphasis on village industry. Before he did this, we were all, or nearly all, thinking in a lop-sided way and ignoring not only the human aspect of the question but also the

⁶⁷ *The Gandhi Marg*, op. cit. Vol. II, No. 1, p. 50.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. II, No. 3, p. 215.

peculiar condition of India.”⁶⁹ Above all this, the Sarvodaya has reminded the materialist world of the moral and spiritual well-being of the individual. This is where it goes beyond the Anarchist Utopia and the above pedigree of ideologies. And this jolt is unique and bigger than the one in political and economic spheres. Its emphasis on moral freedom, on duty, on inward change, on love, on spiritual values is a healthy warning. In the present atmosphere of materialism industrialism and centralism the Sarvodaya constantly reminds us of the value of moral uplift, of small-scale industries and of the ‘little republics’. Above all, it reminds both the rulers and the ruled of the high moral principles for which Gandhi stood. It keeps the idealistic banner of the Father of Nation aloft.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 2-5.

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HAROLD LASKI AND HIS CONCEPT OF LIBERTY

By

KRISNA CHANDRA JENA

Harold J. Laski is considered as one of the most important political philosophers of our time. He has exerted immense influence throughout the thinking world. Very few people had the opportunity to enjoy such success as Laski had. Throughout the world, both in the capitalist as well as the socialistic sphere he had the reputation of being a serious thinker. He might not have been accepted as one who always spoke the reasonable and just. Nonetheless, every body recognised him as one of the fewest who was able to strike the deepest roots of social life and suggest a remedy. In this sense Laski will undoubtedly stand on par with the giants of the political history of men. If the 19th century belonged to the development of socialism and Karl Marx then the 20th century at least to a major extent ought to belong to Laski and his sphere of analysis. His is a splendid voice of sanity amid much irrationality and madness. Realistic commonsense was the major tone of his composition and his penetrating, courageous and incisive account of the modern state merits the closest attention of all serious students of political philosophy.

It is impossible to make a comprehensive study of all the ideas of Harold J. Laski in a single paper. He was a versatile genius and left little untouched in the political domain. He had surpassed all the past masters in his vividness of observation and depth of penetration. His ideas about the role of the state, the individual, the place of Democracy, Monarchy, trade unions and other subjects make a galaxy of flashes of masterly analysis that very few people could so ably perform. Among all the ideas he tackled the most important is his study of Liberty. Though he published a separate book on the subject *Liberty in the Modern State* in 1930, ideas about liberty had originated in him much earlier. His classic work, *A Grammar of Politics* had touched the problem of liberty in a wider context. This work gave birth to many new ideas which were revolutionary in character and hence is considered as a monumental contribution to political literature. Some people compare this work with the *Social Contract* of Rousseau and the *Das Kapital* of Marx in its profound influence. The idea of pluralism, the role of political power, the place of political institutions and other allied subjects made *A Grammar of Politics* a mile-stone in the literature of the 20th century political world. Discussing about Liberty, the book declared new ideas departing from the old notions.

Laski is first of all a radical. He accepted no dogma and believed nothing without experiments. Unlike other political thinkers he was greatly flexible. He had no prejudice for anything or any idea. This extreme flexibility made him an advocate of changing concepts. He said that the hope of going back to the classical liberty of doing whatever one wants to do is over. In the present context laissez faire is impossible. There is no golden age to which we can go back. Unlike Rousseau he did not repent for the past. Laski was a practical philosopher.

The elasticity in his thinking changed his view on liberty from period to period. In *A Grammar of Politics* he defined liberty as "the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves". In the later work, *Liberty in the Modern State*, he defined liberty as "the absence of restraint upon the existence of those social conditions which in modern civilization are the necessary guarantees of individual happiness". This departure from "their best selves", to "individual happiness", poses a fundamental departure from his original thinking. In the later definition Laski is more sure of what he means. In the *Grammar of Politics* he was more abstract and was unable to explain what exactly he meant by "best selves". Even by saying that liberty is a positive thing and that liberty is not the mere absence of restraint he made no basic explanation. In the line of the moralists and the 18th century philosophers he left much for the interpretation of the individual thinker. But in this work, *Liberty in the Modern State*, Laski made a definite definition about the concept. This change is visible. Instead of thinking in abstract terminology he positively asserted the superior position of material freedom. In the *Grammar of Politics* he did not offer so much emphasis on economic liberty; though it was one of the necessities for being one's at the best self. In the *Liberty in the Modern State* he emphasised the superior position of communism of the Soviet type and meant that liberty was more possible in the Soviet Union rather than in other forms of socio-political systems. Laski became so much keen to support the communist type of liberty that he declared that the Soviet Union must be saved from the enemies of freedom. He said:

"It has been a part of the strategy of the enemies of freedom in part to decry the accomplishment of its (Soviet Union) makers, and in part to declare that the price is too heavy for the end. It is vital for those who care for freedom to maintain a proper perspective in this matter. The Soviet Union has been the pioneer of a new civilization. The conditions upon which it has begun the task of its building were of unexampled magnitude in our experience".

Harold J. Laski did not stop at praising the communists; he went further in comparing and contrasting between the capitalistic society and the Soviet experiment. About the Soviet Union he wrote,

"In the last decade, the achievements have been immense. Unemployment has been abolished; illiteracy has been conquered; the growing productivity of the Soviet Union stands in startling contrast to the deliberate organisation of scarcity in the capitalist States."

This strong support towards the Soviet Union made it clear that Laski was thinking that economic freedom is the most important pillar of the philosophy of liberty. He deliberately undermined the value and importance of political and social liberty. He agreed that in the Soviet Union there was no political liberty. He said,

"In the classic sense of absolute liberalism freedom does not exist in the Soviet Union. There is no liberty to criticize the fundamentals of the regime. There is no liberty to found a journal of opinion or publish a book, or hold a meeting, to advocate views which, in the judgement of the dictatorship, would threaten the stability of the system."

It is unfortunate that Laski laid so much emphasis on the Soviet system even though he himself had cited its drawbacks. He overlooked the more important aspects of civil and political liberty and confined within the walls of the liberty for mere living and the superfluous fight to a livelihood. He declared, though this statement is subject to correction, that the soviet worker is a free man in the work of his daily life in a sense to which few English or American trade unionists can pretend. Contrary to the majority opinion about the actual situation of the individual in the communist countries, Laski asserted that the Soviet Union has offered the maximum amount of liberty to her people. There is the liberty for employment, freedom to ensure for the future of the worker as well as his own family, and the liberty for facing the future with all grip is unparalleled any where in the world. There is the sense that the Soviet people feels itself to be the master of its own destiny in a quite different way than that realised by any other people.

Utterances of this nature made Laski an advocate of communism; as least branded him as a fellow traveller. Critics are not rare who remark that he was self-contradicting and denied the same principles which he himself might have suggested. He had said in the *Grammar of Politics* that freedom to think, to act and to possess are fundamental in human nature. Though he was not an advocate of undiluted laissez faire and private capitalism he had not denied the goodness of individual existence and private life. On the other side, he supported the Soviet type regimentation which necessarily means that the individual is to be sacrificed for the good of the society. This deification of the State is incomprehensible with his theory of pluralism.

Again, he was an advocate of internationalism; he believed that in an organic world liberty will be impossible unless we attain international statehood. In this context it may be noted that the Stalinist Sovietism did not make any particular attempt for attaining international life.

Such difficulties in Laski made his concept of liberty very much complicated. He became too eager to attain some kind of escape from the seemingly orthodox world of 19th century ideas. Though he had started as an evolutionary he had turned into a revolutionary towards the close of his career. The later works reflect this aspect

of change in his mental make-up which was greatly for up-setting some of his earlier ideas. The support for the Soviet system in general and the communist type of liberty in particular are the results of his eagerness to change. He remarked:

"Our tragedy is that the character of our social thinking is still set by the categories of 19th century speculation, above all, in the economic realm; while our technological development leaps forward so swiftly that the gap between them grows ever more wide. We have reached a point where liberty depends upon revolutionary reforms: it is the ultimate foundations of our way of life that we have to change."

To him whichever nation changed the fundamentals seem to be more liberal hence more desirable. It is unfortunate that Laski was too partial towards the Soviet government and very hastily gave his favourable opinion in 1939 when the position of the Soviet Union was comparatively not very certain or stable.

Laski attacked the free world and its philosophy of liberty at another point. He believed that the free world with its individualism and individual liberty will prosper only in an expanding economy. He quoted the classical and the neo-classical writers and suggested that not only gluts but also crises would result in contracting economy. Following John Stuart Mill he asserted that it is impossible for the free world to continue indefinitely without crisis for the simple reason that the economy cannot be ever expanding. This society which contracts every day will curtail liberty of all sorts. It is therefore doomed to fall. In the long run the capitalist society will become 'irrational' and 'unjust' hence subject to slavery and incapable to secure security which is the basic condition of liberty. This idea of expansion and contraction of an economy is subject to verification. With all respect for the profound study and knowledge of Laski it may be said that there were some wrong speculations about the exact nature of the problem. Except very few radical critics of private enterprise, like Robert Owen or Karl Marx none had taken such a pessimistic view of the situation. Experience has shown that the theory of contraction and crisis as propounded by the socialists is not fully valid. Harold Laski made too generalised his own apprehensions and burdened the theory of liberty with unnecessary assumptions.

The theory of liberty of Laski can also be studied independently of socialistic or other backgrounds. Laski's association with communism and the Soviet System seems more to be a result of his temperament and sentiment. In the greater analysis of his philosophy he seemed more for the individual. This support for the individual and his freedom is not very clear, though it definitely existed. He had his own interpretation of ideas in his own way. He criticised Rousseau as having forced the individual to be free. He attacked Rousseau as having exploited individual liberty. But it is usually accepted that Rousseau was one of the most important advocates of the individual and his sanctity. Extending his theory of liberty towards

Nazism and Fascism he attacked both of them. Curiously he did not draw any parallel along with communism though communism had a good deal of similarity in its practice, at least in the period when Laski formulated his theory of liberty. The basic conclusion he derived from all these analyses is the fact that liberty is impossible in restraint and to avoid restraint one has to have courage.

Another important conclusion he drew was that equality and liberty cannot be opposed to each other. He contradicted the theory of Lord Acton saying that liberty and equality are antithetic. Possibly this picture of mutual support between liberty and equality made him a supporter of communism and to declare that the Soviet system can offer more liberty because there is more equality among the Soviet people. By equality he did not mean identity of treatment or attaining a standard of dead level. As long as there are differences in human nature dead equality is a matter of utopian aim. But a healthy society ought to offer the basic opportunities for a normal living and give the chance for self-expression; latent talent should have the opportunity for expression. He did not oppose compulsory methods to educate people and felt that any methods which enlarge the intellectual values of an individual, even opposed to his personal choice, are not un-liberal or non-liberal. Concluding his remarks in this context Laski remarked:

"The idea of equality is such an organization of opportunity that no man's personality suffers frustration.... He is given his chance that he may use his freedom to experiment with his powers.... he may not win his objectives, but, at least he cannot claim that society has weighed the scale against him as to assure his defeat."

The clearest idea in the theory of liberty of Laski is that relating to the individual and the power of the state. In the earlier as well as the later periods of his thinking he adhered to a single idea that the individual has the right to revolt against the state if he feels that the opportunities for reasonable self-expression are restrained. Freedom of mind is the first mile-stone in the march for Liberty. Very few political thinkers have ever given such a theory of revolution even though remaining in the framework of law, order and evolutionary development. Laski emphatically declared, "Historically, the road to tyranny has always lain through a denial of freedom in this realm". In the *Grammar of Politics* he was more sure of his position and clearly mentioned that unless the individual resists against undue and irrational political power there can be no liberty. He said, "liberty is nothing if it is not the organised and conscious power to resist in the last resort." Laski still furthered this idea of liberty in the context of opportunity in the understanding of individual personality. Personality is not divided or conflicted, it is always a whole. There will be no meaning to say that one aspect of an individual's life can be free whereas some others are not, "for liberty is a definite whole, because the life I lead is a totality in which I strive to realise a whole personality as harmonious."

The liberty of the mind is the most important and significant of all liberties. No state or political authority can stop and clog the channel of mental liberty. Laski has cited examples from history where inspite of all attempts mental freedom had never been denied. Terror does not alter opinion, suppression has always failed to cloud the mental horizon, and all attempts to exploit thought have miserably frustrated themselves. In the ultimate end Mind and its powers have triumphed over all other obstacles. Laski wrote:

"No state can suppress the human impulse of curiosity, and there is always a special delight, a kind of psychological scarcity value, in knowledge of the forbidden. No technique of suppression has so far been discovered which does not have the effect of giving wider currency to the things suppressed than can be attained in any other fashion."

The example of the Catholics, the Communists in the non-Communist countries and a hoard of other citations make us convinced that liberty of mind can never be denied to any society for any reason. A particular individual may be wrong, but the freedom of expression of his wrong idea must be offered so that he may correct himself. But there are examples in history which indicate that in certain cases such seemingly wrong ideas and wrong individuals had greatly influenced the current of time and the pattern of thought. The examples of Plato and Socrates; Danton and Robert Owen and a number of others where the majority objected to their ideas have been curiously valuable. It will be unfortunate if the majority in the grab of political power gag the thinking of others alleging that their opinions are wrong or undesirable. For the happy growth of human thinking freedom of the mind is the foremost criteria necessary in all climates and all countries.

Harold Laski is one of the rarest specimen of liberal thinking. He is, in a sense, the only political philosopher of this century who took life as indivisible and a comprehensive whole. He left nothing without analysis. His observations on the private life of an individual, including his sexual perversion, speak of the high attachment and keen observation he had for the ordinary men and women. He found no sense why the works of D. H. Lawrence should be censored in one country when the same works have been hailed as masterpieces in another. The state has little knowledge about the more delicate aspects of life. To codify the general behaviour in strict legal regulations will be betrayal of commonsense. In such a situation more liberty should be given to the individual, for he has more prudence to think for himself. This emphasis is on the individualist. In fact, his advocacy of pluralism is an attempt to minimise the role of the state and allow more freedom to the individual. This high value which he attached to the individual, however, did not continue for long. Laski again changed his opinion. Whatever the change in his view of the individual's sanctity might be, essentially Laski had faith in Man. Though he was opposed to Rousseau in man,

aspects, he was very near to him in his assertion of the individual's virtues.

Laski has successfully combined the individual with the society he lives in. The individual has a right as well as responsibilities for the state and more so for the society. Throughout the whole philosophy of Laski, the role of the society is more prominent than that of the state. Laski has not made it clear whether the state is a necessary evil or not, but he is particularly interested in the upliftment of the society. Society must offer liberty to the individual and the individual must exercise his liberty as not to endanger the fundamentals of society. Laski has suggested certain cases where attempts to alter the fundamentals of the existing society had led to miserable consequences.

The role of the society must be so manipulated as to offer some equality among the members. This equality is never meant to imply identical treatment but an "unequal society lives in fear, and with a sense of impending disaster in its heart". Out of excess fear and uncertainty comes an attitude of hatred and perverted mental values which might lead to unexpected results. Such were the cases of the French Revolution as also the American Civil War. A state or society has to see all the consequences and adopt a course of action which should remove all fear from the minds of its members. He is more clear when he said :

"I do not want to be taken as implying that violence is the inevitable end. I only argue that the irrefutable and inherent logic of a society where the gain of living is not proportioned to its toil is one of which violence is the inevitable end. We have never any choice in history except to follow reason wholly, or ultimately, to expect disaster..... the basis of the society being just men are not prepared for conflict over detail; but when the basis itself is unacceptable, conflict over detail is magnified into a fight over principle. In such a temper, men are always discussing with their backs on the edge of a precipice. Social discussion becomes Carlyle's ultimate question of 'Can I kill thee or canst thou kill me?'"

Such were the ideas and concepts of Laski. He is sometimes difficult to understand and a bit complicated in his explanations. This ambiguity in his thesis led some people to feel that he was a communist, though Laski himself had never uttered his attachment for the communistic principles or practice. His association with the individual and society made him an advocate of the state as well as an ardent lover and supporter of the individual. His persistent attempt to find out a compromise between these to incompatible concepts of state and individual will be a lasting contribution to political philosophy. His theory of liberty, often misunderstood and more often little understood, might stand in the eyes of Future as the most spectacular and significant for all time and superior to all attempts made by all the authors of such a thesis. He has never ignored the glory of Man in the context of the essential liberties and was very particular that no part of individual liberty should be lost in the desert of abstract principles and theories. A reconcilia-

tion between the two; the loss of freedom for the state, society and the community, and the individual enjoyment of God-given liberties was a major attempt he made to bridge. The success or failure of this attempt is not yet decided. The present controversy and the noise made by some have clouded the value of the contribution of Laski. We have to remember that Machiaveli, Rousseau, Paine and other political philosophers took a good deal of time to be accepted. We may also hope that Laski and his concept of liberty will be understood in its proper background in course of time, and then alone the real importance of this great political thinker will be properly realised.

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SOCIALISTIC TRENDS IN NEHRU'S PHILOSOPHY

By

MAHENDRA KUMAR

Opinion is divided with regard to the question whether Nehru can be considered as a political philosopher. There are some who would say that he is a political leader, a politician or one who has devoted most of his life to the practice rather than to the theory of politics. But his considerably wide reading and philosophical bent of mind have equipped him to analyse day-to-day problems with a broad theoretical perspective. Nehru, in fact, has not formulated in a doctrinaire way any specific and definite philosophy of politics. But his consistent efforts for the eradication of various social and political evils can be interpreted to be the application of certain principles to different secular problems. These efforts of his when abstracted into a system of certain fundamental doctrines constitute a philosophy which inheres for us more than a casual interest.

The consideration of Nehru's socialism involves three problems, viz., an analysis of the development of Nehru's socialism, a statement of his ideas on the goal of economic democracy, and an inquiry into his approach to these economic objectives.

In his early twenties Nehru was vaguely influenced by the Fabians and the socialistic ideas in general. But as the national movement of India began to claim an increasing measure of his attention, these ideas soon receded into background. His real commitment to socialism came as a result of the influence of Marx and Lenin¹. He found in Marxism a philosophy of history which unfolded to him the mystery of the historical process, a scientific approach to economic and social problems, and a moral concern for the suppressed masses. The philosophy of history provided by Marxism produced a powerful effect on Nehru's mind and it helped him "to see history and current affairs in a new light"². He also realized that the Marxist ideas were not only a comprehensive intellectual philosophy but also a very useful weapon in our struggle for independence³. Lenin's conception of imperialism as the last stage of decadent capitalism filled Nehru with new hopes of the deliverance of Indian masses from the clutches of foreign domination. Secondly, Nehru found in Marxism a scientific approach to various socio-economic problems. He regards *Das Kapital* as a 'purely scientific work' and Marx's extraordinary degree of insight into social phenomena as 'the essential freedom

from dogma'⁴. Thirdly, Nehru discovered in the Marxist philosophy a deep concern of morality for the downtrodden masses which bore a close affinity with his own political idealism. His humanitarian temperament made him restless for the cause of the frustrated and distorted lives⁵.

However, Nehru never cared for the doctrinal differences or inner controversies of the socialists⁶ nor did he consider Marxism a final dogma which could not be modified. He only accepted the fundamentals of the Marxist philosophy and regarded them to be the basic framework for the true understanding of economic and social problems⁷. But he holds all the same that the details of Marxism cannot be applied everywhere unthinkingly⁸. He is quite sure that socialism will have to be modified in accordance with the special conditions existing in a given place⁹. Thus socialism, for Nehru, is not "merely an economic doctrine which I favour; it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart"¹⁰.

During the years intervening between 1935 and 1955 Nehru's philosophy underwent a great change. These two years mark the beginning of two distinctive periods in his political speculation. It would, therefore, be feasible as well as relevant to attempt a comparison between his ideas on various aspects of socialist thought in 1935 and his ideas in the present. In the late thirties of his life Nehru was convinced that there was no middle path between capitalism and socialism¹¹ and that the world had to choose one or the other¹². Thus he did not admit of the desirability of reforms at that time and stressed that "the initial step must be a complete break with the existing order, which had fulfilled its purpose and was now only a drag on future progress"¹³. Conversely, in 1955, he abandoned this extreme position and held that it was possible to adopt a middle path between the two rival economic systems¹⁴. The arguments which Nehru seems to have advanced in defence of this change-over are three. Firstly, since modern capitalism has become something "completely divorced from the old style capitalism"¹⁵, the retention of the old position would be a folly. He holds that an attempt to make a clear-cut choice between socialism and capitalism would mean a choice "between Soviet Russia and something which does not exist anywhere in the world"¹⁶. Secondly, Nehru, in 1935, was acutely

⁴ Nehru : *Glimpses of World History*, p. 539; *Toward Freedom*, pp. 230, 349.

⁵ Nehru : *Toward Freedom*, p. 346.

⁶ Nehru : *The Discovery of India*, p. 19.

⁷ Donald Eugene Smith : *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁸ Nehru : *Glimpses of World History*, p. 548.

⁹ Donald Eugene Smith : *op. cit.*, p. 104.

¹⁰ Presidential Address to Congress, April, 1936.

¹¹ Nehru : *Toward Freedom*, p. 347.

¹² Donald Eugene Smith : *op. cit.*, p. 104.

¹³ Nehru : *Toward Freedom*, p. 230.

¹⁴ Donald Eugene Smith : *op. cit.*, p. 105.

¹⁵ Speech in New Delhi, March 4, 1949 : *Independence and After*, p. 190.

¹⁶ Speech in New Delhi, December 26, 1950 : *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, 1949-53*, p. 16.

¹ Donald Eugene Smith : *Nehru and Democracy*, p. 101.

² Nehru : *The Discovery of India*, p. 17.

³ Donald Eugene Smith : *op. cit.*, p. 102.

conscious of the concept of class struggle which was an inherent feature of the Indian society¹⁷ and which demanded for the evolution of a classless society, a triumph of the oppressed classes over the owning classes. But in 1955 Nehru's main concern became national unity and peaceful, democratic solution of various problems arising from class antagonism¹⁸. Thirdly, in 1935, Nehru had serious doubt about the success of normal democratic process as a means of introducing socialism in the country. The reason of this doubt was class struggle inherent in the capitalist system and the consequent belief that the worker's attempt to bring about democratic socialism would meet with fierce opposition of the privileged classes¹⁹. For these classes democracy only means their own domination and the protection of their special interests²⁰. Therefore, Nehru believed at that time that the class which controlled the power of the State would never abdicate merely because the majority demand it. It is interesting to note that Nehru did not stick to this position for long. Had he followed this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion he would probably have become a Marxist revolutionary. But he asserted, later, that democratic method is the only method of the attainment of a socialistic state as also of building it up on a firm foundation²¹. Thus Nehru's revised socialism involves two fundamental propositions, viz., that the socialist goal of economic democracy is thoroughly valid and that the trend towards a socialistic economic structure with an increasing amount of state ownership over the means of production is desirable. He wants India to adopt these principles, and since November, 1954, he has laid great stress on 'a socialistic pattern of society'.

Examining Nehru's ideas on the goal of economic democracy we find that he dreamt of an egalitarian society based on equality and guided by co-operative effort rather than by the profit motive.

It is interesting to note that due to his 'bourgeois' background in his early years Nehru could not fully appreciate the significance of man's struggle for material goods and was "driven almost against my will to the conclusion that material well-being is just as important in human life as anything else".²² During our struggle for independence he came to realize the evils of great economic inequality in India and began to believe in communism as 'an ideal of society',²³ an ideal "which aims at common possession and enjoyment of almost everything that the people require".²⁴ In 1939 he wrote that equality was the 'sine qua non' of liberty and democracy and this equality

¹⁷ Nehru : *The Unity of India*, p. 118.

¹⁸ Nehru : *Report to the All India Congress Committee*, 1955.

¹⁹ Nehru : *The Unity of India*, p. 118.

²⁰ Donald Eugene Smith : *op. cit.*, p. 107.

²¹ Radio Address, Dec. 31, 1952, *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches 1949-53*, p. 16.

²² Speech in New Delhi, March 31, 1951.

²³ Speech in Calcutta, Sept. 22, 1928, *Important Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 66.

²⁴ Nehru, *Recent Essays and Writings*, pp. 135-36.

could not be brought about "so long as the principal instruments of production are privately owned".²⁵ In 1951 he declared that the purpose of our Constitution as proclaimed in the Directive Principles is to move towards a classless and casteless society.²⁶ In recent years Nehru has used the term 'welfare state' to describe the goal of economic democracy. His concept of such a state is a new type of society whose chief purpose is the material welfare of the people with a provision for the equality of opportunity to all for self-development and growth of personality.²⁷

The second aspect of the goal of economic democracy is the replacement of the profit motive by co-operative effort. In other words, it means the replacement of the acquisitive instinct by the spirit of co-operative effort in a common cause.²⁸ This means a fundamental change in the society and its transformation into a social structure which "is not dominated by the urge for private profit and by individual greed and in which there is fair distribution of political and economic power".²⁹ This means, for Nehru, an involvement of the problems of a profound transformation of man's deeper habits of opinion and character.³⁰ Nehru is convinced that the instinct of acquisitiveness necessarily leads to conflict and that unless it is curbed all our efforts to progress along socialistic lines would prove futile. He also affirms that the co-operative effort is in complete harmony with the old Indian social doctrines for they all are based on the idea of the welfare of the group and suggests, therefore, the revival of the co-operative spirit which had decayed under the British rule.

Having visualized the significance of the principles of equality and co-operation as the goal of economic democracy it will be our endeavour now to examine Nehru's approach to these economic objectives. It may be recalled that Nehru's socialism as revised in 1955 shuns the idea that there can only be a clear-cut choice between socialism and capitalism. According to him, any method which can deliver good to the people could be something between these two rival ideologies.³¹ This something is the middle way or the 'mixed economy'.

His life-long attachment to science and the impact of Marx's 'scientific approach' made Nehru a great lover of pragmatism. He holds that theories can justify themselves only if they are successfully used to produce the desired results.³² Regarding political and economic theories the same test of results should be applied. Thus

²⁵ Nehru, *The Unity of India*, p. 117.

²⁶ Speech in the House of the People, June 1, 1951, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1951, Vol. XII, Part II, col. 9831.

²⁷ Nehru, *Report to the A.I.C.C.*, 1951.

²⁸ Nehru, *Report to the A.I.C.C.*, 1951.

²⁹ Radio talk, Dec. 31, 1952, *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches 1949-53*, p. 103.

³⁰ Nehru, *India and the World*, pp. 179-80.

³¹ Speech in New Delhi, March 4, 1949, *Nehru's Independence and After*, p. 190.

³² Donald Eugene Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

Nehru is concerned more with the practical problems of the distribution of wealth, of food, clothing and housing for the masses rather than with theories. He shuns all 'isms' "my approach is, rather a pragmatic approach in considering the problem and I want to forget the 'ism' attached to it".³³ "The method of working out a plan", said he, "is ultimately the method of trial and error".³⁴

Production, in Nehru's philosophy, is the first essential of economic democracy. He points out that most of the economic ideologies are concerned mainly with the distribution of wealth but these ideologies can hold good only in those countries in which the problem of production has been largely solved. But the most pressing need in an underdeveloped country like India is the increase of national wealth for "there must obviously be something to distribute before we can start the process of distribution".³⁵

Taking increase of production as the primary concern of economic policy Nehru suggests that all the available financial resources should be harnessed to start new industries under state ownership and, if necessary, the existing industries too should be brought under the control of the state. But since this change would require huge amounts of money to be paid in the form of compensation, Nehru does not suggest it. He is also opposed to the nationalization of existing industries by expropriation for such an action is not only against the principles of the Constitution but would also raise new problems and conflict.³⁶

Nehru's ideal of 'mixed economy' involves the recognition of two main divisions in the country's economy—the public sector and the private sector. The former includes all the state-owned and State-controlled industries while the latter includes all the things remaining under private ownership. But there should also be an adequate control over the private sector in so far as it is necessary for the success of national planning.³⁷

Nehru believes that both the public sector and the private sector are absolutely indispensable in India's economy. The public sector is essential because Indian private capital is not sufficient to carry out huge projects such as the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the production and control of atomic energy, and the ownership and management of railways.³⁸ The less vital industries would remain in the private sector and this would be advantageous for the economic development of the country. Nehru asserts that in a mixed economy there is also a place for the development of cottage indus-

³³ Speech in New Delhi, March 4, 1949, Nehru, *Independence and After*, p. 190.

³⁴ Speech in the House of the People, Dec. 15, 1952.

³⁵ Speech in New Delhi, Dec. 18, 1947, *Independence and After*, p. 148.

³⁶ Donald Eugene Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

³⁷ Speech in the House of the People, Dec. 15, 1952, *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, 1949-53*, p. 98.

³⁸ Donald Eugene Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

tries which, by remaining in the private sector, can solve the problem of unemployment to a considerable extent.³⁹

However, Nehru has repeatedly urged that the nature of the mixed economy must be flexible and capable of being adapted to changing conditions.⁴⁰ He asserts that the problem should not be approached on the basis of 'a static technology'. Unlike socialists and communists who base their programme on a more or less static philosophy, Nehru recommends that new methods and techniques of production should always be taken into consideration.

No account of Nehru's socialism would be complete without a brief reference to his ideas on the problem of land reform. He has pointed out in his *The Discovery of India* that the present land system in India is of relatively recent origin.⁴¹ This, according to him, is but another undesirable product of imperialism.⁴² So much so that the British introduced different forms of land ownership in different regions. This was a deliberate policy of the British by which a new class of big land-owners was created whose interests depended upon the continuance of British rule.⁴³ Regardless of its origin, the problem of landlordism is a most serious menace. Nehru realized its seriousness at a very early date and held that "for the Congress the agrarian question was the dominating social issues".⁴⁴

Nehru contends that for the solution of this problem the withdrawal of British imperialism was the prime need. Further, he has been convinced that the size of land holdings should be limited by law to what is ordinarily sufficient for a family to cultivate. He also suggests that "in order to prevent accumulations, we must prohibit all alienations of land and all transfers for debt".⁴⁵ Thus a bolition of big estates is for him a pre-requisite of increasing production and general progress. Considering the relative merits of confiscation and full compensation as the bases of this abolition, Nehru rules out the feasibility of both. For the former would lead to many cases of hardship and the latter would be patently impossible since it would require enormous amount of money. Nehru advocates, therefore, the middle way involving limited compensation.

Several arguments have been advanced by the critics against the abolition of landlordism but they are all based, according to Nehru, on a static conception of property which regards ownership of land as a fundamental right. He believes that this conception is detrimental to human progress and that "it has changed very greatly and, even today, it is undergoing a very rapid change".⁴⁶ There was a

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁴³ Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 304.

⁴⁴ Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 375.

⁴⁵ Speech in Jhansi, Oct. 27, 1928, *Important Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru*, 125.

⁴⁶ Speech in the Constituent Assembly, Sept. 10, 1949, *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, 1949-53*, p. 482.

time when human beings were considered as property. But the idea of property changed as the human society developed so much so that in highly industrialised countries property mainly consists of a bundle of papers – securities, promissory notes etc. The conflict between the dynamic forces moving towards economic equality and the static rights of the individual is, according to Nehru, the greatest menace to the prosperity of the country. He holds that in the ultimate analysis of things the individual rights would be secure only if the present masses were convinced that progress towards economic democracy could be made by peaceful, constitutional means.

The question arises as to how does Nehru's principle of maximum production apply to land reform in which large estates are divided into small plots of land making scientific planning almost impossible. Co-operative or collectivized large-scale farming is often suggested. Although Nehru does not doubt the desirability of such a suggestion, yet he considers it to be out of question at the present. Replying to the critics' common contention that the work should be done on the same line on which it is being done in China, Nehru has often said that in China there are no Fundamental Rights nor any necessity to pay any compensation. The Chinese people have 'a clean slate to write'. And yet any land reform there has resulted in the creation of millions of peasant proprietors, a system which we seek to exterminate.⁴⁷

To conclude, Nehru's approach to the problems of economy is a pragmatic one rather than theoretical as his earlier doctrinaire philosophy tended to be. He asserts not only that the achievement of a socialist state by democratic process is possible but also that this is the only way to build it up on firm foundations. The goal of socialism is for him the gradual evolution of a classless and casteless society bereft of the profit motive and individual greed. His socialism is neither dreamy nor fanciful but calls for the desired social regeneration which we all directly or indirectly seek to emulate and in which individual initiative and spirit of co-operation would be largely dominant.

⁴⁷ Donald Eugene Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

SOCIAL & POLITICAL IDEAS OF D. H. LAWRENCE

By

RAJENDRA AVASTHI

"My great religion is a belief in the blood, the flesh as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our minds. But what our blood feels, believes and says is always true."—D. H. LAWRENCE, in a letter to Ernest Collings.

D. H. Lawrence was the Rousseau of his age in the sense that he depended on feeling for the beginning of thought. In this context he could go to the extent of believing that what was best began in the solar plexus and not in the brain. He was keenly watchful that his ideas should spring from the irrational sources that lay within him rather than from conscious intellect. He writes in Preface to *Fantasia of the Unconscious*: "The novels and poems come unwatched out of one's pen. And then the absolute need one has for some sort of satisfactory mental attitude towards oneself and things in general makes one try to abstract some definite conclusions from one's experience". The theories which he summarised in his *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* and *Apocalypse* were not those imposed on his life but those drawn out of his keen, though, tormented existence as spontaneous and necessary conclusions.

As such, Lawrence is not a philosopher in the ordinary sense. For, his ideas are neither the result of pure ratiocination nor of empirical generalisations from the experiences of others. He offers only his own vision of life.

The study of man, however, remains the core of his philosophy. Though, of course, he also trespasses the field of theosophy and naturalism, yet this is done only to keep in view the proper limits of his subject. Ultimately, the totality of human experience remains the basic theme.

His philosophy may also be termed as naturalistic in the sense that he sees God in nature:

"There is no god

apart from the poppies and the flying fish

men singing songs and women brushing their hair in the sun.

The lovely things are gods that has come to pass."¹

God is the whole natural order and as such more than anyone of its constituents. Man and all other creatures must find their fulfilment in harmony with the entire nature. Man is related to the universe in

¹ *The Body of God, Last Poems.*

some 'religious' way and this relation is even prior to his relation to his fellow-men. Hence to be one in spirit with all human beings is of primary importance. What could each personally be is secondary, because minding one's own self at the cost of others or avoiding others is the root of ego-feeling and selfishness. Hence Lawrence says that he is weary of personality. The need, he feels, is not to develop purely personal relations based on purely personal qualities but to have the relations based on some unanimous accord in belief and truth. For the establishment of ideal human relationship he wants to replace the harmony of personal relations by the harmony of common purpose. Hence "these dead, dry leaves of personalities which flap in every mind"² have no zeal for him and he advises people to be "easy and impersonal" in order to create a new common life, a new complete tree of life from the roots that lie within them. "We should add our lives together, to make one tree, each of us free and producing in his separate fashion, but all of us together forming one spring, a unanimous blossoming."³

Thus social life will be a coherent whole. Due to this unanimity of spirit man will be freer than ever before. It will be just as "when more and more of us fasten our hands on the chains and pull, and pull, and break them apart."⁴ A man will step forward to save his soul because he will be aware that his own soul is not the be-all and end-all but that 'all souls of all things do but compose the body of God and that God indeed shall be.'

But the chief characteristic of Lawrence's naturalism is its dualism. He believes that life itself is dual and that it involves two mutually opposed and conflicting principles—the masculine and the feminine. For, "if there is universal, infinite darkness, then there is universal, infinite light, for there cannot exist a specific infinite save by virtue of the opposite equivalent specific infinite."⁵ Reality exists by virtue of this inter-opposition which, when removed, brings a collapse, a sudden crumbling into universal darkness. In "The Crown", Lawrence explains that the lion, the symbol of the masculine, must always remain at war with the unicorn, the symbol of the feminine. "They would both cease to be if either of them really won the fight which is their sole reason for existing."⁶ The object of this unceasing conflict between the lion and the unicorn is the crown, the symbol of victory, and the success on either side will bring life to an end. Thus, always remaining above and between the combatants, the crown belongs to neither and as such represents the eternal balance in the bi-polarity of these forces. Even compromise between the two is ruled out as undesirable. The lion and the unicorn are not to arrive at agreement,

² *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. by A. Huxley, p. 290.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁵ *Reflections on the Death of a Procupe*, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

because "if they made friends and lay down side by side, the Crown would fall on them both and kill them".⁷ However, polarity⁸ remains the only proper relation between these two conflicting forces. This polarity, though gained as a result of prolonged conflict, is yet a state where conflict is transcended. Nonetheless, it still remains a state of tension, preventing the opposites from being merged and thereby maintaining a balance between them.

This polarity should be established both on intrapersonal and interpersonal levels. In the former case, one should be watchful that this polarity does not become a fixed relation. "We must not think to tie a knot in time, thus to make the consummation temporal or eternal."⁹ These two mutually conflicting halves the individual always is. But he is never *himself* until they are consummate into a spark of oneness.¹⁰ So, within the framework of the law of polarity, which is the primary universal law of dual attraction and repulsion, peace dwells in that perfect consummation where duality is transcended into absorption. "The lion is but a lion, the lamb is but a lamb, half and half separate. But we are the two halves together. I am a lion of pride and wrath, I am a lamb with Christ in meekness. They live in one landscape of my soul".¹¹

On inter-personal level this polarity manifests itself chiefly as the polarity of sexes. Hence the need of emphasising the difference between man and woman and of keeping the sexes pure. By purity of sex Lawrence means pure masculinity in man and pure femininity in woman. The man who leans too much to the side of tenderness and sensitiveness denies his manhood and the woman who, instead of attracting others by her natural endowments, begins to dominate them by will, is not a woman. Besides sex, both the man and the woman have their own proper spheres. Man's sphere is altogether outside the family in outward activities, such as politics and industry, while the woman is the mistress of the hearth and home. But even though the respective roles of both of them are complementary, yet the need of conflict between them must be emphasised. If the husband hates anything the wife does, he should turn on her in a fury, harry her, make her life a hell, and never repent of his real hot rages, whether they are justifiable or not. Similarly, if a woman's husband gets on her nerves, if she thinks him too sweet with other people, she should fly at him, lead him a dog's life and never swallow her bile.¹²

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ This polarity involves unity in duality. "In the beginning the light touches the darkness, and the darkness touches the light, and the two embrace. They embrace in opposition, only in their desire is their unanimity. There are two separate statements, the dark wants the light, and the light wants the dark. But the two statements are contained within the one: "They want each other." *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹¹ *The Reality of Peace*, 'Phoenix, the Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence', p. 69.

¹² *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, p. 171.

Regarding these conjugal relations, one may go as far as to comment that this rousing programme for domestic life calls up images of slammed doors and packed suit cases.¹³ But Lawrence never wavered in his belief in the permanence of marriage and advocated that it should provide stability in life.

In all aspects of social life, Lawrence's naturalism remains the basis. He believes that the unity in the knowledge of God would cast away man's pride and the idea of living for material things. For the elimination of love of property, he attacks the very spirit of acquisitiveness and declares that life does not consist in ownership. The desire to possess whether it be land, money or house must be done away with, because this blind spirit of possession is "the dragon for your St. George; neither rewards on earth nor in heaven, of ownership".¹⁴ In its place the spirit of mutual love should be substituted. The aim of man should not be to grow rich and wealthy but to contribute to the well-being of the body-politic because "a rich man with a beautiful house is like a jewel on a leper's body.... Our business is not in jewellery, but in the body-politic".¹⁵ To Lawrence men are in need of peace and the fulfilment of the spirit rather than of money to remove their 'unsatisfaction'. It is due to this repugnant feeling towards money and the material things in general together with a deep, pious feeling for the mystical world that lies beyond, that Lawrence, since the very beginning of his career as a writer, adopts an attitude of violent hatred for the ugly sordiness of industrial England; and, the impulse of his novels grows out of this deep hostility towards industrial capitalism. He wants to see all this perish and a new order of things established in place of it. In modern capitalist society even culture has its root "in the deep dung of cash", and the golden rule is "either to get money or eat dirt".

To change this state of affairs, Lawrence wants a revolution, but "a revolution not in the name of money or work or any of that, but of life and let money and work be as casual in human life as they are in a bird's life".¹⁶ The important thing is to trust each other and to make living a free thing instead of a thing to be earned. People will have to struggle but neither for money nor for power as they have been doing, but it will be a struggle for individual freedom and common efforts towards goodness. The revolutionary will have to cultivate a feeling that he is a part of a great effort towards goodness. "Every strong soul must put off its connection with this society, its vanity, and chiefly its fear, and go naked with its fellow, weaponless, armourless, without shield or spear, but only with naked hands, and open eyes. Not self sacrifice but fulfilment, the flesh

¹³ Graham Hough, *The Dark Sun, A Study of D. H. Lawrence*, p. 233.

¹⁴ *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, p. 246.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 249.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 771.

and the spirit in league together, not in arms against one another, and each man shall know that he is the part of the great body, each man shall submit that his own soul is not supreme even to himself"¹⁷. Like trees man should cast away all that is rotten and dry in his life and society, while preserving the underlying roots of sincerity, trust and love; and a new life will follow as naturally as spring follows autumn.

Such is the revolution as conceived by Lawrence—a revolution not for gain or reward but for its own joy together with the fun of shattering the elements that form the present system. Such revolution will result not in communism founded on money but in a religion of life. The regenerated or rather resurrected society will incorporate love and cooperation in the social structure.

As regards his political ideas, Lawrence may be called an anarchist so far as his conception of the ideal society is concerned; for, he considers the state to be superficial in an ideal society, which, as he draws it, is itself orderly, and in which harmonious relations between individuals prevail. He thinks the state both a vulgar as well as a superficial institution. It is vulgar in the sense that it checks the spontaneity of life by laws other than natural and thus allows evil to spread over; it is superficial in the sense that it is "an arrangement for myriads of peoples' living together. And one doesn't have brothers by arrangement".¹⁸

In his ideal society, human life knows no riches but the integrity of character, and each individual may satisfy his deep desires to the utmost together with the ultimate satisfaction and joy that spring out in being one with all. People may differ with each other while remaining conscious of the good that underlies all of them. It is on this known, eternal good in each individual that the ideal society rests. People shall agree and thus shall be free to live by the best they know, and they shall have no more churches as they shall have no more government, for, they shall bring church, house and government together. Such a society rests as well as functions on the assumption of goodness in its members.

Hence, Lawrence longs for "some sort of free, lawless life—at any rate, a life where one can move about and take no notice of anything,"¹⁹ and wants to go by himself "something in the manner of a gipsy, and be houseless and placeless and homeless and landless, just move apart".²⁰

But, it is too great an ideal which only a miracle can bring, and Lawrence sticks to the earth and agrees to accept the government, though he will change its form. In place of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, he asks for a government based upon

¹⁷ *Ibid*,

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 213.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 434.

²⁰ *Ibid*,

good, better and best.²¹ As a means to this, he proposes a specific system of education. He begins with an attack on present educational system which, according to him, attempts to awaken consciousness of the child prematurely. For this, both parents and teachers are to be blamed. Parents attempt to awaken the child's love for them as a conscious personal thing at an age when the child is at best capable of responding to warmth, animal tenderness and anger. These impulsive responses should be trained with no more consciousness than is used in training puppies. Similarly, teachers try to develop the child's self-expressing power at an age when the child has hardly any self to express. Such over-stimulation of premature faculties stifles the instinctual forces. The primary thing is to awaken the instinctual and physical life of the child and so there should be no imposition, no schooling prior to the age of ten. The mental education is to begin only when the intellect is ripe, and it is to be cultured only to the extent the individual is capable of it. This mental education should consist of the three Rs. of reading, writing and 'rithmetic, together with the handicrafts. A selective principle of tests and trials is to be applied by teachers to pick up the intellectually and artistically gifted children for further education, and so only a few – capable of receiving the highest education – should reach the stage. This scheme of education, Lawrence believes, will enable each to be what he is really capable of being.

The natural and obvious consequence of this grading system in the scheme of education is the belief in inequality among individuals, and so Lawrence is anti-egalitarian. Hence follows his attack on democracy. "A democracy is bound in the end to be obscene, for it is composed of myriads of disunited fragment, each fragment assuming to itself a false wholeness, a false individuality. Modern democracy is made up of millions of fractional parts all asserting their own wholeness."²² In all republican governments, he smells out one and the same thing, i. e., "a continuing in this state of disintegration wherein each separate little ego is an independent little principality by itself."²³ To him, it seems silly that one becomes fit to govern others since one has managed to gather enough votes for the purpose. Intellectual aristocrats are born, and not made, and there are some who are born fit to govern while there are others born only fit to be governed. "But it is not a question of tradition or heritage. It is a question of incontrovertible soul. If we have right spirit, even the most stupid of us will know how to choose our governors."²⁴

Thus he will allow the machinery of government to be run by the chosen few – those who are born fit to govern. Yet he will not

²¹ D. H. Lawrence's *Letters to Bertrand Russell*, ed. by Hary T. Moore, p. 51.
²² *Apocalypse*, p. 217.

²³ *Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, p. 247.
²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 248.

reject the form of election altogether. He will retain it in the sense that the people will vote for their "immediate surroundings but for no ultimate governments."²⁵ Every one should vote for that which he understands through personal contacts, and thus there shall be no canvassing for the mass votes. Due to the personal contacts the inhabitants of a village will know the calibre of each other and will pick up those who are best fit to govern the village; these governors will, in turn, be the electors of those who will govern the bigger districts and "the electors of the highest places should be the governors of the bigger districts – the whole thing should work upwards."²⁶

And women shall not vote equally with men in this sphere, though they enjoy equality in society. Let men mind the business outside home; women should govern the domestic affairs, and under their charge shall be the management of hearth and home, the feeding and housing of the race, to which they are best fitted. "And if a system works upto a Dictator who controls the greater industrial side of the national life, it must work upto a Dictatrix who controls the things relating to private life."²⁷ As regards marriage, custody of children, etc. they shall have absolutely equal voice as have the men.

All this business of election shall be done in good spirit; one should be unprejudiced, unbiased enough to elect the talented persons as governors – persons who are born fit to govern. They shall have a new king and a new queen who stand for truth, both, without and within homes respectively; a House of Lords and a House of Ladies, but lords of the spirit and knowledge, and ladies of the same. And since they will act in a right spirit, their lord's and ladies will come forth "as the flowers come forth from nowhere in the spring. If we continue in our bad spirit, we shall have Horatio Bottomley for our Prime Minister before a year is out."²⁸

Lawrence's graded educational system provides for the highest government agencies to be vested in the hands of those who have received the highest education – those who are most capable of the conscious intellectual activity. Here, ironically enough, Lawrence falls in the trap of his own logic. The instinctual, impulsive awareness which he so vehemently advocated as the common basis of all life, stealthily slips into the background, and the conscious intellect, which he was at pains to dethrone, daringly comes to the fore.

Lawrence's anti-egalitarianism leads us to his heroic vitalism. The war of 1914-18 did many things to Lawrence besides shattering his nerves. Though physically vast, the war seemed to him to be spiritually trivial which could settle nothing. 'Kangaroo' bears

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 243.

²⁶ *Ibid*.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 244.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 248.

testimony that the war made Lawrence an opponent of democracy, that it tore him up from his roots in English society and that it emptied the universe of all meaning for him²⁹. Giving up Europe for lost Somers, Lawrence's hero in the 'Kangaroo', sails for Australia with the hope of finding solace and solution to the social problems. There he is confronted with two political movements, the communist and the nationalist. The communist leader Willie Struthers is depicted as lean and covetous embodying mere lust for power and the mobmind, whereas the nationalist leader Kangaroo believes in the omnipotence of love tending towards democracy and thus he also entertains the herd-spirit. Somers would have none of them. While writing 'Kangaroo' Lawrence elsewhere expressed his longing to save the common man from mechanisation. Hence, one of the reasons why Somers repudiates Kangaroo is that the latter believes exclusively in love for the mob and does not depise it. There are two great life urges: love and power. All prevalent altruism takes into account only the love-urge, and as such attempts to fulfil only one motive in life. Man does not need love alone; he needs authority also—some one to bow down to. Hence Somers revolts against the one-sided thesis of love, and when Kangaroo proposes to love him he reflects: "He doesn't love *me*, he just turns a great genefal emotion on me, like a tap....Damn his love, he wants to *force* me."³⁰ To him, such love is cut off from its natural roots and, instead of involving a reciprocity, it involves a sort of imposition on the object of love and needs be rejected. Kangaroo gets a bullet in the belly and meets his end. Somers offers the aristocratic virtue of courage in place of self-indulgent, expansive emotion of love. The marriage of love with power is emphasised, and the inference is drawn that the main cause of the failures of most leaders is that either they lean too much to the side of power or too much to the side of love. Caesar and Napoleon leaned too much to the side of power, and they failed: Lawrence would have none of them. Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson leaned too much to the side of love and so Lawrence is against them. Wilson is for Lawrence the archetype of a good man whose goodness makes for bad politics. Lenin, on the other hand, is the embodiment of mob-mind and sheer envy and hence is only an anti-leader. But in his attempt to enjoin love and power, though Lawrence might have succeeded in explaining the futility of the 'white' love when it is left alone, "yet the dark god of power who is to be not destructive but life-giving is never successfully evoked. The attempts to embody him in fiction produce fascist leaders or posturing mountebanks³¹."

Drawn towards the cult of the hero, Lawrence explains in his essays "Blessed Are the Powerful" and "Aristocracy" that authority

²⁹ *Kangaroo*, Ch. XII.

³⁰ *Kangaroo*, Ch. XI.

³¹ Graham Hough, *The Dark Sun*, p. 245.

and obedience are the basis, that every man is either a born master or a born slave, that the society of Europe can be saved only by a single figure, a hero responsible only to God. However, Lawrence's drive for aristocracy was no mere wish for a ruling class; rather, it was a desire for a renewal of manhood and vitality. "If you want a dictator, whether it is Lenin or Mussolini or Primo de Rivera, ask, not whether he can set money in circulation, but if he can set life in motion by dictating to his people"³².

"Leaders—this is what mankind is craving for," Lawrence reveals in 'Fantasia', and adds that the leader will bring in the year that is to be. In this new age, there will be no newspapers because "the great mass of humanity should never learn to read and write—never," there will be no feminism, for women, tied to their husband for life, will only manage the household and not come out in public life. All schools will be converted into gymnasias in which active training in primitive modes of fighting and gymnastics will be compulsory for all boys over ten years of age; the first and foremost thing will be to establish a proud, harsh and manly rule over the people; and lastly, though there will be no more wars under the banners of the ideal or in the spirit of sacrifice, yet there will be wars in the strength of individual men.

One³³ may aptly recall here that Lawrence who is now advocating the permanence of marriage between man and woman is the same person who ran away with the wife of her professor—a mother of three children; that Lawrence who is now advocating harsh rule is one who was goaded to fury because the State interfered with him to the extent of stripping him for medical examination; that Lawrence who is now advocating fighting is one who gladly evaded military service in the only war for which he was eligible; that Lawrence who is now advocating gymnasias is one who was himself a self-conscious weakling; that Lawrence who now wants to keep the masses of humanity ignorant of the three Rs is one who was made opponent of democracy by the cheap bellicose press. His heroic vitalism is both a projection and a compensation. It is a projection of his own sense of vitality and superiority. It is a compensation for his own weaknesses and general debility. No wonder, therefore, that this advocate of heroic vitalism who vehemently emphasised the cult of the hero, himself died of consumption, that is, want of vitality.

But, Lawrence was an ambivalent character who harboured both the feelings of tenderness and violence of temper in him. Hence the cult of the hero which he advocates pertains to only one side of the picture. As for the other side where his tenderness is revealed, we refer to his essay "Democracy" where he longs for the abolition of politics since the problem of life can not be tackled unless the

³² *Blessed Are the Powerful*.

³³ Eric Bentley, *The Cult of Superman*.

problem of food is disposed of. Moreover, in his letters, he longs for a time when, through a correct relationship of leaders and followers, society will be founded on a reciprocity of tenderness.

These feeling of tenderness also explain why to Lawrence the idea of nationality, as it prevails today in its narrow sense, is false. He defines nation as a number of people united to secure the maximum amount of liberty for each of them and to fulfil collectively the highest truth known to them. He refutes and denounces the narrow sense of nationalism that begets war. "I feel no passion for my own land, nor my own house, nor my own furniture, nor my own money. Therefore I won't pretend any".³⁴ Like the narrow sense of nationalism, he explains war to be "utterly wrong, stupid, monstrous and contemptible",³⁵ which nothing can make right. War needs two parties the one ally, the other axis and thus destroys the oneness of mankind; it sows the idea that "I am I, and you are you, and all heaven and hell lies in the chasm between".³⁶ The simple solution which he prescribes for the elimination of war is to allow every body to move according to his conscience. "Every man must live as far as he can by his own soul's conscience. But not according to any ideal. To submit the conscience to a creed, an idea or a tradition, or even an impulse, is our ruin".³⁷ He will not forbid anybody to go to war, as he will not encourage anybody to resort to it, but will only say, "Oh, if you don't spontaneously and perfectly want to go to war, then it is wrong to go - don't let any extraneous consideration influence you, nor any old tradition mechanically compel you. If you want to go to war, go, it is your righteousness".³⁸ Since he believes in the inner goodness of man, he thinks that man will not resort to war if his instincts are given free and spontaneous outlet. Thus according to him war is not in the nature of man. It is rather imposed on him. There was nothing wrong with Napoleon; Napoleon was all right; it was the Emperor who was out of gear.

Aldous Huxley aptly says that when Lawrence offers political advice, it refers to matters which are not really political at all. Lawrence attributed the greatest charm to the primitive communities which, due to their smallness in size, had their politics essentially unpolitical. He saw the modern state with its vast territory and innumerable people, and was stunned by what he saw. He criticized and condemned it primarily, advised for its regeneration secondarily, and felt himself unable to deal with it finally. He could not build hope for the future on the rotten and corrupt order of the present. "I wish there were miracles", was his final utterance in despairing anxiety.

³⁴ *Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, p. 356.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 378.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 379.

³⁷ *Fantasia of the Unconscious* p. 120.

³⁸ *Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, pp. 361-2.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INDIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

The 22nd Annual Meeting of the Indian Political Science Association was held in the Hall of the Academic buildings of the Rajasthan University at Jaipur at 3 p.m. on Tuesday the 29th December, 1959, under the Presidentship of Dr. Akshaya Kumar Ghosal, Principal, Surendranath College of Commerce, Calcutta. The meeting was first adjourned at 4 p.m. to meet again at 8.30 a.m. on Wednesday, the 30th December, 1959, and it again adjourned at 9.15 a.m. to meet at 7 p.m. on the same day. The business was concluded at 8.30 p.m.

The following members were present:—

R. Bhaskaran (Madras), K. P. Bhagat (Ahmednagar), Nirmala Gupta (Delhi), P. D. Gupta (Khurja), A. H. Haqqi (Aligarh), S. K. Mukherji (Calcutta), T. B. Mukherjee and Mrs. Mukherjee (Patna), D. N. Pathak (Gujrat), Ganesh Prasad (Banaras), P. Sen (Kharagpur), B. M. Sharma (Lucknow), Bodhraj Sharma (Punjab), S. C. Singh (Saugar), J. P. Suda (Meerut), Harmandar Singh (Ludhiana), G. K. Gahrana (Aligarh), V. P. Varma (Patna), S. P. Varma (Jaipur), V. N. Gokhale (Bombay), C. R. Rathee (Jhajjar), N. B. Misra (Udaipur), R. P. Pandey (Bhopal), N. C. Bhattacharya (Calcutta), Kunwar Narendra Singh (Delhi), J. P. Kapoor (Rewa), L. P. Choudhury (Lucknow), G. P. Srivastav (Aligarh), R. A. Sharma (Udaipur), R. N. Deshpande (Nagpur), R. H. Saran (Banaras), M. L. Jhingiani (Bombay), K. Gupta (Calcutta), K. L. Srivastav (Dewas), Subrat Mukherjee (Calcutta), D. K. Garde (Poona), M. V. Pylee (Delhi), S. K. Nandi (Calcutta), P. N. Bhattacharjee (Calcutta), Sunil Mukherjee (24 Pargana), T. G. Dugvekar (Jabalpur), V. M. Sirsikar (Poona), Dev Sharma (Delhi), K. L. Valsangkar (Bombay), V. K. S. Nayar (Trivandrum), S. R. Sharma (Jabalpur), A. Avasthi (New Delhi), R. N. Gupta (New Delhi), S. K. Kshirasagar (Anand), B. Singh (Muzaffarpur), L. P. Sinha (Muzaffarpur), K. S. Desai (Baroda), P. N. Malhan (Delhi), B. B. Jena (Cuttack), R. K. Das (Cuttack), S. Saha (Cuttack), Miss Devabala Roy (Cuttack), Miss Renu Ghosh (Cuttack), K. V. Rao and Mrs. Rao (Cuttack), D. N. Vohra (Banaras), N. Vidyarthi (Hapur), N. Y. Dole Nanded), V. D. Mahajan (New Delhi), S. K. Sinha (Muzaffarnagar), Miss Usha Mehta (Bombay), Miss A. J. Dastoor (Bombay), Miss Ruby Choudhury (Calcutta), Mrs. Amiya Chatterjee (Calcutta), Miss Bhanu V. Sheth (Hyderabad), S. P. Aiyar and Mrs. Aiyar (Bombay), Mrs. S. C. Singh (Saugar), H. K. Sherwani (Hyderabad), K. N. V. Sastri and Mrs. Sastri (Bangalore), V. K. N. Menon (New Delhi), P. G. Mavlankar (Ahmedabad), A. D. Gorwala (Bombay), E. Asirvatham (Ranchi), S. Naseer Ali (Aligarh), C. P. Bhambri (Meerut), A. L. Loomba (Lucknow) and S. C. Dash (Cuttack).

The following decisions were taken:—

1. The Annual Report on the working of the Association for the year 1959 as presented by the General Secretary, was adopted.
2. The audited Statement of Accounts of the Association for the year 1959 as presented by the Treasurer was adopted with thanks to the auditors M/s. H. Naik & Co., Cuttack for honorary audit.
3. The Budget Estimates for the year 1960 as presented by the General Secretary and Treasurer were passed.
4. The Annual Report on the working of the Indian Journal of Political Science as presented by the Managing Editor was adopted.
5. The Statement of Accounts of the Journal for the year, 1959, as audited by M/s. Sinha & Co., Lucknow was adopted. The Managing Editor with the full concurrence of the General Secretary and Treasurer announced that from first January, 1960 the General Secretary and Managing Editor will start fresh accounts ignoring mutual arrears prior to that day and pay to each other their respective dues as per rules 28 and 29 of the constitution of the Indian Political Science Association.
6. The Budget Estimates of the Journal for the year 1960 as presented by the Managing Editor were passed.
7. Dr. B. M. Sharma of Lucknow pointed out that some amount to the credit of the Association was lying with Traders Bank, Lahore, before partition of India and the General Secretary was advised to take necessary steps to realize the amount. On the suggestion of the General Secretary, it was agreed that Dr. Sharma should furnish a note to him, dealing with the facts to enable the General Secretary to proceed in the matter.
8. The following were elected office-bearers of the Association for the year 1960.

President :

Prof. R. Bhaskaran, Head of the Department of Political Science, Madras University.

Vice-President :

1. Mr. A. D. Garwala, I.C.S. (Retired), 40/C Ridge Road, Bombay.
2. Principal S. V. Kogekar, Fergusson College, Poona-4.

General Secretary & Treasurer :

Dr. S. C. Dash, Kukuriapada, Cuttack-1.

Managing Editor :

Sri A. L. Loomba, Model House, Lucknow.

Local Secretary :

To be appointed by the Patna University.

Members of the Executive Committee :

A. K. Ghosal (Calcutta), ex-officio.
 E. Asirvatham (Bihar).
 N. C. Bhattacharya (Calcutta).
 N. R. Deshpande (Nagpur).
 P. D. Gupta (Agra)
 A. H. Haqqi (Aligarh)
 V. K. S. Nayar (Kerala)
 Ganesh Prasad (Banaras)
 D. N. Pathak (Gujrat)
 K. V. Rao (Utkal)
 Bodhraj Sharma (Punjab)
 B. M. Sharma (Lucknow)
 V. M. Sirsakar (Poona)
 S. C. Singh (Saugar)
 V. P. Varma (Patna).

9. The following were elected members of the Board of Editors of Indian Journal of Political Science.

1. Dr. S. C. Dash.
2. Prof. Subimal Kumar Mukherjee (Calcutta)
3. Dr. T. B. Mukherjee (Patna).
4. Dr. G. P. Srivastav (Aligarh).
5. Shri A. L. Loomba.

10. Shri A. L. Loomba proposed :

That there should be an Advisory Board of 15 persons for the journal and in the first instance the following should be members :

Dr. A. Appadorai	Prof. A. K. Ghosal	Prof. Bodhraj Sharma
Dr. E. Asirvatham	Dr. B. P. Majumdar	Dr. B. M. Sharma
Prof. D. N. Banerji	Prof. V.K.N. Menon	Prof. H. K. Sherwani
Prof. R. Bhaskaran	Dr. K.N.V. Sastri	Prof. K. L. Varma
Dr. C. J. Chako	Prof. M. Habib	Prof. M. Venkataramgayya

It was passed.

11. The following subjects were fixed for discussion at the Conference of 1960.

1. Far East in World Politics.
2. Union-States relations in theory and practice in India.

12. On the request of the Registrar, Patna University and of Dr. P. S. Muhar, Head of the Department of Political Science of that University the Association decided to hold its 23rd Annual Conference at Patna in December, 1960 under the auspices of the Patna University.

13. The Association considered a note submitted by the President for effecting a change in Conference procedure, and after a thorough discussion the President withdrew the note and announced that the status quo shall be maintained for the time being.

14. The Association decided that the papers submitted for the Conference of 1959 should be published in a Special Conference Number of the Journal and steps should be taken to publish a Conference Number for 1960, before the Conference. Each Conference number should be separately priced at three rupees per copy for members.

15. The Association on the suggestion of the President unanimously elected Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, Governor, Rajasthan and a life-member of the Association as a Patron from 1960.

Dr. S. C. Dash, Dr. B. M. Sharma and Dr. N. R. Deshpande offered thanks to the hosts, the President and the General Secretary respectively and the Local Secretary Dr. S. P. Varma thanked the Association for holding its 22nd Annual Conference at Jaipur under the auspices of the Rajasthan University. All of them expressed their gratitude to Prof. G. N. Singh, Governor, Rajasthan and Chancellor of the Rajasthan University for their active interest in the proceedings of the Association.

The meeting terminated at 8.30 p.m. on Wednesday, the 30th December, 1959.

A. K. GHOSAL,
President.

S. C. DASH,
General Secretary & Treasurer.

Cuttack,
the 8th January, 1960.

**INDIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 28-12-1959.**

The Executive Committee of the Indian Political Science Association met at 9.30 p.m. in the President's Chamber at the Delegate's Camp in the Rajasthan University Campus. Dr. A. K. Ghosal, President was in the Chair.

The following members were present:—

Dr. K. P. Bhagat, Ahmednagar.
Miss Nirmala Gupta, Delhi.
Prof. R. Bhaskaran, Madras.
Prof. S. Mukherjee, Calcutta.
Dr. T. B. Mukherjee, Patna.
Dr. D. N. Pathak, Gujarat.
Dr. Ganesh Prasad, Banaras.
Prof. P. Sen, Kharagpur.
Dr. B. M. Sharma, Lucknow.
Prof. Bodhraj Sharma, Punjab.
Dr. S. C. Singh, Saugar.
Prof. J. P. Suda, Meerut.
Prof. Harmandar Singh, Ludhiana.
Dr. S. C. Dash, Cuttack.

The Executive Committee transacted the following business:—

1. The Committee considered and approved the Annual Report of the Association for 1959 for presentation to the General Body.
2. The Committee considered and approved the accounts of Association for 1959 as audited by M/s. H. Naik & Co., Chartered Accountants, Cuttack and offered thanks to Auditors for auditing the accounts without charging any remuneration. The Committee re-appointed M/s. H. Naik & Co., Cuttack as auditors of the Association for 1960.
3. The Committee approved the Budget of the Association for 1960.
4. The Committee recorded the Annual Report and Accounts of the Journal for 1959 and Budget of the Journal for 1960 as presented by the Managing Editor with the approval of the Editorial Board and directed the General Secretary and Treasurer and the Managing Editor to reconcile the figures of enrolled membership for 1958.
5. On report from the General Secretary that Prof. P. S. Muhur, Head of the Department of Political Science, Patna University has invited the Association to hold its Twenty-third Annual Conference in 1960 at Patna under the auspices of the Patna University, the Committee recommended Patna as the venue of the said Conference.

The Committee recommended only two subjects for discussion at the Conference in 1960 in order to provide greater facilities for discussion to members and contributors of papers.

1. Far East in World Politics.
2. Union-State Relations in Theory and Practice in India.

7. The Committee recommended the following subjects to the International Political Science Association for its Round Table.

- (a) Development of national institutions in South-East Asia.
- (b) Technocracy and the Role of Experts in Government.
- (c) Federalism particularly as it is related to new States.
- (d) Contribution of political behaviour studies to Political Science.
- (e) Role of Courts in the Political System.

8. The Committee decided that the Presidential Address should hereafter be printed by the Managing Editor as a part of the Journal and the Managing Editor, who is to be given the manuscript copy of the Address by the President by the 15th November every year, shall supply at least 300 off-prints of the Address on the Conference Day at the cost of the Association.

9. The Committee decided that hereafter the Universities and other institutions who send delegates to the Conference, shall be asked to remit delegation fees with the names of their delegates to the General Secretary, in case the delegates are not already members of the Association.

10. The question of change of rules and procedure was deferred for the present.

The Committee dispersed at 12.30 a.m. on 29.12.59.

A. K. GHOSAL,
President.

S. C. DASH
General Secretary & Treasurer.

REPORT ON THE WORKING OF THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE DURING 1959.

On behalf of the Editorial Board and the Executive Committee, I have much pleasure in submitting the annual report of the journal for the year 1959, covering the period of volume XX.

The year under review started with an opening balance of Rs. 416. 38. But there were outstanding bills of the previous year amounting to Rs. 994.00 still to be paid. Therefore we had actually a debit balance of Rs. 577.62.

I am glad to report that the financial position of the journal is much sounder than last year. Having paid off all outstanding bills and the journal's debt to the Association on account of outstanding arrears from the the previous editors to the tune of Rs. 2088.29 np, the journal still has a credit balance.

RECEIPTS.

Subscriptions. The total number of subscriptions received during the year was 286 of which one is a new life member, 144 (23 + 111) individual members and 141 institutional members. Out of these the General Secretary received subscriptions for 111 individual members. The total number of subscriptions received by the Managing Editor was 176. Out of these 33 were individual members, 81 institutions and 63 subscriptions were received through Trade Agents on which the journal had to pay a trade commission of 10%. Seven advance subscriptions for 1960 were also received. The total receipts from subscription were Rs. 3890. 64 as compared with Rs. 2700.16 of last year, showing an increase of Rs. 690.48 nP. Rs. 1002.97 nP were realised by sale of back numbers. There are a number of foreign cheques which have been deposited but are pending adjustment because these have not yet been realised by the Bank, amounting to Rs. 404.85 nP. The total receipts from subscription during the year, therefore, were Rs. 4393.61 nP.

Off-print Charges. A sum of Rs. 188.12 nP was realized by sale of off-prints supplied to contributors and institutions.

From General Secretary. The journal has received from the General Secretary a sum of Rs. 800. It was agreed upon between the General Secretary and the Managing Editor that the outstanding accounts between the Journal and the Association be treated as "written off" as on December 31, 1959. Fresh accounts will start on January 1, 1960.

Grants. We are thankful to the Vice-Chancellor, Vikram University, Ujjain for giving us a grant of Rs. 356/- on account of the printing of the synopses of papers for the last conference.

Adding to this a miscellaneous income of Rs. 11.31 nP. and Bank commission realized, the total receipts for the were Rs. 5755. 54 as compared with Rs. 4988. 39 nP for last year showing an increase of Rs. 767. 15 nP.

EXPENDITURE

The total expenditure was Rs. 4966. 31 nP. When from this is deducted the amount of Rs. 356 on account of the printing of synopses of paper, covered by a grant from the Vikram University, the actual expenditure come to Rs. 4610.31 nP. as compared with Rs. 4694.74 nP. of last year, which shows a decrease of Rs. 84.43 nP.

The closing balance on 12th December, 1959, shows an amount of Rs. 1953. 75 (including a sum of Rs 991. 85 on account of cheques deposited but not credited).

There are three outstanding bills to be paid viz — Rs. 14.68 nP. to Prof. G. K. Gahrana, for postage expenses incurred by him in connection with the despatch of back numbers, (2) the balance of Rs. 663. 50 nP. for the printing of number 4 of Volume XX, and (3) to Sri A. L. Loomba, a sum of Rs. 500.95 (Rs. 60.77 nP. for last year and Rs. 448.18 nP. this year, on account of loan to the journal. Deducting these the journal accounts still show a credit balance of Rs. 481.30 nP.

The Managing Editor is fully conscious of his shortcomings. This year again the various issues of the journal could not be brought out in time and the reasons were beyond his control. Firstly printing had to be delayed on account of lack of funds at the disposal of the Managing Editor. On more than one occasion the Managing Editor had to advance funds but there was a limit to which he could do so. There was also the difficulty of obtaining the suitable size and quality of paper. And last but not the least there were breakages in the Press. The Journal has been living a hand to mouth existence and could not afford a really good press.

The crisis period of the journal, I am glad to report, is over. There is already a credit balance and it is hoped that with the co-operation of members it will be possible to improve the financial position still more during the next financial year.

The Managing Editor wishes to take this opportunity of expressing his deep gratitude to the President Dr. A. K. Ghosal, the General Secretary Dr. S. C. Dash, the members of the Editorial Board specially, and numerous friends in general but for whose active co-operation it would have been impossible to tide over this difficult period of the life of the journal.

A. L. LOOMBA
Managing Editor.

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
Statement of Receipts and Payments for the Period Commencing from 30th December, 1958 and ending on 12th December, 1959.

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.
OPENING BALANCE AS AT 30TH DECEMBER 1958 :		SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES	624 00
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AUDITOR'S REPORT

We have examined the foregoing Statement of Receipts and Payments of The Indian Journal of Political Science for the period commencing from and explanations furnished to us and as shown by the Books of Account, vouchers and record rendered and have found the same correct as per information and examinations furnished to us and as shown by the Books of Account.

143/52, Aminabad, Lucknow.
The 17th December, 1959.

A. L. LOOMBA,
Managing Editor.

SINHA & Co.,
Chartered Accountants,
Auditors

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Budget Estimates for 1960

RECEIPTS		EXPENDITURE	
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Opening Balance	709.75	Printing of Journal 4 issues	4000.00
By cheques deposited but not credited	991.85	Printing of Conference Nos. 1959 & 1960	2000.00
From Subscriptions 350x12	4200.00	Audit Fee	50.00
FROM GENERAL SECRETARY :		Salaries and Allowances	624.00
For Life Members 25x12	300.00	Stationery	150.00
Loyalty from Publications	200.00	Postage	600.00
Share of Grants	36.00	Bank Commission	50.00
By sale of Conference Nos.	2500.00	Contingencies	300.00
By sale of Back Numbers	300.00	Purchase of old issues	50.00
By Bank Commission	50.00	Payment of outstanding Bills	1172.45
Advertisements	50.00		8996.45
		Closing Balance	341.15
	9337.60		9337.60

A. L. LOOMBA
Managing Editor

BOOK REVIEWS

MODERN FORMS OF GOVERNMENT—A COMPARATIVE REPORT By MICHAEL STEWART, Rinehart And Company, Inc., New York, 1959, pp. 284. Price \$ 4.00.

This book is the fourth in the Minerva Series of Student's Handbooks. Being a Member of the British Parliament as well as a teacher, Mr. Stewart has the feel of his subject and in a very lucid style he has given within a short compass—the book is only 284 pages in length—a graphic and comparative account of the origin and functioning of modern forms of government. He points out the differences as also the similarities or uniformity between the various constitutional forms and their working. The constitutions of the various countries of the Commonwealth he divides into Queen's realms and the Republics; but he has anticipated events by placing Ceylon amongst the latter. One misses here a description of Ghana. Although the book is published in 1959 and the author has made a passing reference to the establishment of military rule he is at pains to describe the Pakistan Constitution of 1956 and compare it with the Constitution of India; on the other hand he has given a brief account and comparison between the Constitutions of the Fourth and Fifth Republics in France.

His analysis of federalism and of the pattern of the democracies is well done and is quite comprehensive. He brings to bear on his analysis an understanding and sympathy which are not quite so easily expressed.

One may say the same of his attitude to the communist approach. No where is he dogmatic, and though his bias for the democracies is evident, he is also aware of the weaknesses which beset them very much as he is aware of the attraction of the communist for a backward and hungry people.

The index is well prepared; publication values are good and the book amply justifies itself as a hand book for students; but others interested in the working of government are also bound to benefit from this small volume.

ALOO J. DASTUR.

A DECADE OF INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS. 1937-47. By DR. K. P. BHAGAT, M. A., Ph. D. Published by Popular Book Depot, Bombay, nP. 519. Price Rs. 25.00

The decade under review in the book is one of the most pregnant periods not only in the constitutional history of India, but also in

the world history when the stage was set for the enactment of the great drama of the Second World War with its far reaching repercussions on subsequent human history and marking a turning point in that history. Developments in India in the social, economic, political and constitutional fields are to be viewed only as a part of that great drama in which the principal actors were the leaders of the Great Powers as well as of India. The tempo of events in this period in the world at large as also in India moved with an amazing pace. In India the inexorable logic of events led eventually to the happy denouncement of peaceful transfer of power, something unique in world history, although through a thorny path, full of stress and strain, struggle and travail the inevitable birth pangs of a new order. Dr. Bhagat has attempted in the book under review to unravel the tangle of complex forces at work which led up to the finale of the almost two-century old stage of struggle for national independence and has brought a wealth of documentary material to bear on the objective analysis and interpretation made in the book. As an indispensable aid to the understanding of the events of the period in question which are indissolubly linked up with those of the entire period of Anglo-Indian connection, a rapid survey of the constitutional developments throughout that period is made in a chapter under the title 'Prologue' to serve as a background to the main theme of the book. The story of the concluding chapter of Anglo-Indian connection narrated in the book is one of absorbing interest and almost romantic and Dr. Bhagat has presented it in a way to keep up the sustained interest of the readers, but he might have perhaps avoided the extensive quotations to be found in almost every page of the book which have the effect of breaking the continuity of the narrative and perhaps of damping the interest of the readers to some extent. In view of the fact that the source material drawn from the original documents has been exhaustively set forth in as many as twentythree appendices these quotations could well have been largely avoided. On the whole the book is expected to serve the purpose the author has in view, namely, to serve 'as a helpful companion to those who are engaged in the study of the Indian constitution,' and 'those who are genuinely interested in the study of the independence movement.'

The printing and get-up of the book have been excellent, but some serious mistakes in the dates have been noticed by the reviewer which should be rectified in the next edition. These are:— (i) on p. xii in the contents under Chap. v (16) April 22, 1942 should read 1941, and in (216) August 14, 1951 should read 1941 and (2) on page 6 in (1. 15) 1944 should read 1844.

A. K. GHOSAL.

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- The United States in the World Arena*, by W. W. ROSTOW, Harper & Brothers, New York, pp. 568, \$ 8.75. 1960.
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Nazism and Social Changes in Germany by SURINDER SURI, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, pp. 49, S 1. 50, 1959.

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Rajniti aur Darshan by Dr. Vishwanath Prasad, Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad, Patna, pp. 555, Rs. 14/- 1956.

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FEDERAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA, 1959

By
E. O. AWA

In spite of an unnecessarily long and ~~inconclusive~~ electioneering campaign, Nigerians went to the polls on the 12th December, 1959, quietly and orderly to vote for a new House of Representatives. As in 1954 no party secured a majority but in 1959, as in the former year the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) obtained a plurality of the votes cast and a coalition government was consequently formed. Although this result was fairly easily predictable, the political groupings jockeyed for an opportunity to form the government each on its own with great energy and splash for reasons which will become apparent when the background of the struggle is analysed.

THE BACKGROUND

It is a reflection of the nature of the dynamics of politics in Nigeria and of the gradually increasing pressure of international politics on her affairs that the major political parties maintained their relative positions. In the first place the three regions of the federation had been made roughly conterminous with the sociological and physical configuration of the country, the component units being known as the Northern, Western and Eastern Regions. One major ethnic group was predominant in each region as follows: Hausas in the Northern Region, Yorubas in the Western Region and Ibos in the Eastern Region; the population of the Northern Region was more than that of the East and West combined. Education in the country had been lop-sided to the extent that by 1950 the East and West had produced scores of graduates and professionals while the North had produced hardly a single graduate and no more than a couple of professionals. On the introduction of a ministerial form of government the North feared that if educational qualification was a prerequisite for participation in government, the Northern Region would be out of the show completely but the South, that is, both East and West together, feared that if the principle of democratic representation were applied without modification, the North would be established in power indefinitely. In the circumstances it was unwise to make a provision whereby one major political party could by itself alone form the government. The period 1951-1953 had been made a time of mandatory coalition in which the three major parties formed the government although the Action Group (AG) did in fact consider itself an opposition party.¹

¹ A major political party had emerged in each region — Action Group in the West, NPC in the North and National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) in the East. Because of acute communal competition no party was now effectively established outside its home base. The constitution of 1951 provided for the membership in the Council of Ministers of four Nigerians drawn from each region.

Following a review of the constitution in 1953-54 the NPC and the NCNC formed a coalition government in 1954 and the AG formally went into opposition.

The period 1954-57 was marked by a tremendous increase in the power and importance of the regions but the situation began to change when in 1957 a Prime Minister was appointed and asked to form the government. Sir Abubakar Balewa, the Prime Minister, who was the Deputy Leader of the NPC, decided that since independence of the country was in the offing, all hands on deck should work together to pilot Nigeria to the long-sought-for destination.

Several features of the constitution had been made deliberately undemocratic to begin with as a compromise to enable the federation to get off to a smooth start. For instance, the North was given 50 per cent representation in the House of Representatives even though her population was 55 per cent of the total population of the country; the East shared the remaining seats equally with the West although it is larger than the latter. On the other hand the West was deriving less than its proportionate share of the funds available in the country. Furthermore, the franchise was given initially on a tax-paying qualification (women being excluded in the North) and members of the Federal House were elected through electoral colleges. By 1954 the electoral college system was abolished in the East and West, but not in the North, for the purposes of federal election. In the federal election of that year the NPC won the greatest number of seats and was consequently placed in a dominant position in 1957 when a Prime Minister was appointed. Both the AG and NCNC blamed this turn of events on the fact that the North still used undemocratic methods in electing its representatives. By 1959 all the obstacles on the path of democracy had been swept away except that the North continues to deny the vote to women. One of the consequences is that the North is permitted to return to the Federal House more representatives than the East and West combined, the figures being, North 174 seats, East 73, West 62, Lagos (the capital territory) 3.

In the second place, a quasi form of federal government was established for the country in 1951 but by 1954 this had developed into a full blown federal government. Federalism was regarded by Nigerian leaders as a philosophy of opportunity. A federal form of government would bring unqualified benefits to the country, for under a federal government, each region – in effect each major ethnic group – need never suffer the frustration of keeping pace with others, a calamity which the leaders assumed would befall them in a unitary system of government. This led to the insistence between 1954 and 1957 that regional governments must be set up with all necessary paraphernalia and on as large a scale as possible. Not only must the regions be free to function on their own but also the division of powers between them and the federal government must

be clear cut. The powers of the federal government were now enumerated, the regions becoming the residuary legatee of powers. This arrangement was based on the view that original "sovereignty" in Nigeria lay with the regions and that it is they who have the right to assign powers to the new creature, the federal government, while reserving the balance to themselves. On the basis of this attitude the secretary of the NPC declared openly in 1956 that his party would oppose any attempt made to create at the federal level of government an office which might be superior to the position of a regional premier.² Coupled with this attitude was the view, expressed somewhat after the manner of classical theorists, that the existing regions of Nigeria were the natural units of the federation and that if smaller units were used as the territorial basis, federalism would be destroyed, for smaller units could not be economically viable. Threats of secession had in the meantime been uttered by both the AG and the NPC over certain issues where a misunderstanding had occurred among the leaders.³

In the meanwhile each major party set about the task of developing and administering its area of authority with a will unprecedented in the history of Nigeria. Soon development projects appeared everywhere: hospitals and schools were being provided and roads built. Now a number of forces had combined to broaden the attitude of the leaders: constitutional conferences, meetings of the National Council of Natural Resources, the National Economic Council, the Council of Establishments, the Central Marketing Boards and adult education courses provided by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University College, Ibadan. Some scepticism had been expressed in some British quarters regarding the possibility of continued integration of Nigeria once Britain withdrew. This stiffened the determination of the leaders of Nigeria to guide the federation to a success and they more readily reached compromises over their differences. Besides, Nkrumah of Ghana was making a bid for the leadership of Africa; a Prime Minister of the whole of Nigeria can, merely because he leads the largest concentration of African peoples, meet Nkrumah's challenge.

In these circumstances the Nigerian leaders took a close look at the regions and noted that although amenities had grown, development of the country was still lopsided. The Western Region had outpaced the others in every sphere of development but what was more significant was that the serious strain in financial and personnel

² At this time the creation of the office of a Prime Minister for the federation was being contemplated. It should be pointed out that NPC opposition to the effort, although expressed as a backing for the maintenance of regional supremacy, was also a manifestation of the fear of that party lest the office of a Prime Minister might fall to a southerner.

³ In 1955 the NPC threatened to secede from the federation over a misunderstanding arising from an attempt to set a definite date for the independence of Nigeria. The AG on the other hand declared that the West might leave the federation if Lagos, primarily a Yoruba town, were detached from the Western Region because of its status as the Federal Capital.

matters under which the Eastern and Northern Regions operated was not justified by the total resources of the country. For instance, in spite of her gigantic efforts, the Northern Region was not producing enough people to man her public services and enable her to participate effectively in federal administration; the attempt of the Eastern Region to introduce a free and universal primary education had flopped for lack of funds. It became clear that progress ushered by the federal arrangement might, just as much as the retarding forces of the past, cause a condition of perpetual stasis in the relationship existing between the regions. To meet this new situation, a more liberal formula of revenue allocation was agreed on and as will be made clear below, other remedies have been sought.

In the third place, however, the political parties had continued to evolve primarily around ethnic groups. The NCNC which had started out as a nation-wide party had come to rely mainly on Ibos for its strength; the NPC and the AG had been formed initially on a tribal basis. The NPC was not only content to confine its activities to the Northern Region but looked askance on the efforts of other parties to proselytize for their cause in the North while the AG was making all efforts to expand its operations beyond the Western Region. The AG had taken the following steps: (1) in 1954 it formed an alliance with the Kamerun National Congress and the two together achieved the creation out of the Eastern Region of the Southern Cameroons as a separate entity; (2) the party inspired in 1955 the formation of the Ilorin Talaka Parapo and then concluded an alliance with it so as to seek a merger into the Western Region of the Yoruba-speaking people of Ilorin Province, a part of the Northern Region; (3) in the same year it took a similar action with respect to the Yoruba speaking people of Kabba Province, also a part of the Northern Region; (4) furthermore, it encouraged the people of Calabar, Ogoja and Rivers Provinces, the non-Ibos of the Eastern Region, to demand a separate region of their own. Thus the minority groups in the various parts of the country began to agitate for a right to form regions of their own and there developed movements for the creation of a Mid-West State, a Middle Belt State, the COR State, Rivers and Ogoja States. The NCP unequivocally declared its opposition to the creation of a new region out of any section of the Northern Region but the NCNC maintained a similar stand although it made its declarations in a more subtle language. The effect of all these has been that each major party has suffered electoral reverses in its minority area.

Furthermore, the NCNC had had intra-party troubles. Firstly, the party's chief and principal vote-drawer at Ibadan, the capital of the Western Region, died in 1958. The affairs of the party there did not simmer down after that and broke out in utter chaos during the 1959 election campaign. Secondly, a faction of the party led by Dr. Mbadiwe made an abortive effort in the same year to

dethrone Dr. Azikiwe, its leader. Subsequently some members of the faction established a party of their own—the Democratic Party of Nigeria and the Cameroons (DPNC)—under Dr. Mbadiwe while others secured readmission into the NCNC. Thus for all practical purposes there ended the “fief system” in the party whereby some powerful lieutenants tended to regard large sections of the party as their personal followers and wards; Dr. Azikiwe's hands were considerably strengthened. The AG and the NPC had troubles of their own. While the election campaigns were going on the NCNC won the Lagos Municipal Elections, ousting the AG from office, and the point of view of the NPC was rejected in preference to that of the AG in a plebiscite held to determine when the future of the Northern Cameroons should be decided.⁴ Both the election and the plebiscite were regarded as trial balloons and their results were taken as a harbinger of events in connection with the federal elections. For instance, Dr. Azikiwe said, regarding these events:

The recent municipal election in Lagos is an index which indicates the trend of political opinion in the Western part of Nigeria. The fact that the Action Group has been in control of the Lagos Town Council since 1954 is significant in that it shows conclusively that the overall policy of the governing party was unpopular, hence the systematic swing towards the NCNC. I regard the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons also as a straw which shows the direction of public opinion in the Northern part of Nigeria. I speak with a degree of responsibility because I have just returned from a political tour of Bornu and Adamawa Provinces, especially the areas which participated in the plebiscite.... The result of the plebiscite is a faithful reflection of public opinion throughout the trust territory.... Perhaps the results of the Lagos and Northern Cameroons elections will make some visionaries to recall my speech at the Kano Convention of NCNC, last June, when I said that there will be surprises after the Federal elections and that there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth in certain high quarters. That prophecy is being fulfilled and unless a miracle happens, the days of the ‘Have Beens’ of yesterdays are numbered, and the old order is imperceptibly changing, yielding place to the new ‘Will Be's’ of tomorrow. This will come to pass, as surely as the moving finger of destiny writes and moves on.⁵

It should be noted, however, that the AG interpreted the swing away from the NPC in the Northern Cameroons plebiscite as an indication that the mass of people in the Northern Region would cast their votes in the federal election primarily in its (AG) favour. The results were to prove both interpretations wrong.

THE ISSUES IN THE ELECTION

The main issues in the election may be divided into foreign policy, defence and internal security and domestic policy, the last being subdivided into economic development and social welfare including problems of education, health and social security. Charges of maladministration and oppression were bandied back and forth by all the parties and practically all of them raised the tribal issue

⁴ The Northern Cameroons, a Trust Territory, is administered as an integral part of the Northern Region of Nigeria.

⁵ This is an excerpt of a speech made by Dr. Azikiwe on the occasion of the celebration of his 55th birth day and was reported in the *Daily Times* of 21st November, 1959.

at one time or the other. The nature of federalism in Nigeria was an important issue although the matter was never stated quite clearly. On the surface some of the other issues were irrelevant to the federal election, for they dealt with subjects outside federal competence.

On foreign policy all the parties agreed that Nigeria should remain in the Commonwealth of Nations after attaining independence and all would pursue a policy of friendship with the United States of America. Both the NCNC and the AG would work actively to help create a West African Union but the NPC considered such union premature and therefore would merely maintain friendly relations with other countries in West Africa. All the parties ruled out a neutralist foreign policy: the NCNC would pursue an independent policy and would not ally itself with any axis or geopolitical group. The NPC would "look for real friendship and support only to those countries with whom her interests are involved, who respect the sovereignty of Nigeria and whose policies are animated by the same beliefs as her own;" the party would pursue a dynamic policy adaptable to circumstances but founded on its fundamental beliefs. This statement was sufficiently elastic and so the NCNC claimed that in effect the NPC would pursue an independent foreign policy and therefore the views of the two parties on this issue were the same.⁶ The AG would co-operate with the Western bloc of countries as long as co-operation was consistent with the national sovereignty and interest of Nigeria and it condemned as immoral the practice of placing a country uncommitted between East and West in an effort to maximize the economic assistance obtainable from both.

On the question of military alliance both the NPC and AG were silent but presumably their policy of consistent alignment with Britain implies that they would sign a pact of mutual assistance with her. Both parties, however, declared that they would expand the existing military forces so that these might more adequately protect Nigeria and it is apparent that both regard the problem of defence mainly as a matter of maintaining law and order in the country. The three major parties agreed on this matter of internal security for all declared that the Police would play an important role and therefore that it should be free from political interference, administrative encumbrances and from regional or tribal stigma.⁷

⁶ After the elections the leader of the NPC declared that his party ruled out absolutely the idea of consorting with the Communist bloc of countries and would not even obtain technical aid from them, for the Russians, for instance, "do not know how to get on with the Nigerian people". The deputy leader of the NPC who is also the Prime Minister declared that no country can afford an inflexible foreign policy.

⁷ Prior to 1959 there had been some heated debate regarding the problem of the organisation and operational control of the police. The AG and the NPC contended that the police should be regionalized on the grounds that it is an essential part of the executive branch of every government but the NCNC had pleaded that the police should remain a federal agency lest its ability to maintain law and order should be tainted by the incidence of communal competition in the country. The NCNC view, supported by the Colonial Office, had prevailed.

Part of the problem of domestic policy was intertwined with the argument regarding the nature of federalism which took two forms, namely, (1) the territorial basis of the federation and (2) the division of functions between the federal and regional governments and the consequent relationship between the two levels of government. Regarding the former question it should be noted that a Minorities Commission appointed by Britain had advised in 1958 against fragmenting the existing regions on the ground primarily that it would be impossible to set up and try out the working of new regional governments before 1960 when Nigeria was expected to attain an independent status. This advice merely reinforced the stand of those who had opposed fragmentation on the grounds that the requirement of economic viability would not be met. In the meantime, however, the Citizens' Committee for Independence, consisting of a group of younger intellectuals not associated with any political party, had argued that the demand for economic viability meant really that regions should "cut their coat according to their cloth." The Committee argued that in order to infuse a greater feeling of interdependence into the regions, the units in the federation should be made smaller – the old provinces should be used – and that the federal government should be given powers over more functions if necessary.⁸ Prompted partly by the views of this Committee and by its desire to court the minority groups, the AG declared in its manifesto that it would carve each existing region into two, creating the minority groups in each region into a separate region and that it would establish the necessary regional governments before the date of independence. In its manifesto the NCNC went all out in favour of modifying the federal form of government. The party declared that it believes in preserving Nigerian unity through a strong central government with Provincial Assemblies based on universal suffrage and democratic local government for all areas, elimination of tribal and religious discriminations in the public service. It went on: "We are irrevocably opposed to the extremely pernicious regionalism of the present Nigerian Constitution: it undermines Nigerian Unity, encourages fissiparous and disruptive tendencies, hinders normal growth and obstructs national planning." It contended further that the existing constitution was not in keeping with the dignity of Nigerian nationalism or the struggle for greater unity going on in all parts of Africa, for it ignores the essential unity of our people and culture. Concluding, the party declared: "Our ideal is a quasi-federal constitution with residuary powers in the centre and providing for not less than eight autonomous provinces, bicameral legislatures, uniform electoral laws based on universal adult suffrage, direct elections and single member constituencies."⁹

⁸ These views were expressed by the Committee in panel discussions and in the following pamphlets: (1) *Forward to Freedom*, 1957 & (2) *The Case For More States*, 1957.

⁹ The extracts were taken from the manifesto published in the *Daily Times* of 6th October, 1959.

When we turn to the problem of social services we find that all the major parties have unequivocally stated in effect that regional-federal relationships should be modified even though this might lead to an accretion in federal power. For instance, all the parties asserted that they would make federal funds available for primary, secondary and technical education in the regions. The NPC would even get the federal government to finance inter-regional secondary and technical schools in every region where students from all regions would meet and mingle and thus develop a sense of Nigerian nationality. Federal funds, all agree, should be spent on teacher training and for increasing facilities in respect of higher education – there should be a federally financed university in every region. The NCNC would remove health from the regional list, give grants to regions to enable them to build more hospitals and health centres. The NPC and the AG would provide free medical service for children up to the school leaving age but the NPC would extend this amenity to nursing mothers, old and unemployed people while the AG would investigate the possibility of establishing a free medical scheme for all adults. These matters are primarily regional responsibility but the unanimity with which the parties demand that the federal government should take a hand in supplying the necessary services indicate that the leaders are determined not to let sections of the country “starve” in the midst of plenty, that to attempt to be heroically theoretical regarding the relationship between the regions and the federal government would not help the process of integrating and stabilizing the Nigerian society.

Finally it should be mentioned only briefly that the parties promised to stimulate domestic saving and investment and encourage foreign investment. Free enterprise is assured as well as the political institutions that go with it but there will be government protection or control where necessary.

CAMPAIGN TACTICS AND ELECTION ARRANGEMENTS

It is remarkable that not one single party prepared for the elections all by itself alone. Rather there were combinations as follows: AG + UMBC + BYM; NPC + ITU + NEL + NDC; NCNC + NEPU; the AG and the DPNC agreed that where one put up a candidate, the other should support that candidate and not put up its own.¹⁰ Independents and a number of other small parties also contested the election. The combinations are significant for they reveal partly at least the difficulties that the major parties experienced in getting established outside their home bases, in communities consisting predominately of different national groups. This was so with particular reference to the attempt of the southern

¹⁰ These abbreviations stand for the following: UMBC, the United Middle Belt Congress; BYM, The Bornu Youth Movement; ITU, the Igbirra Tribal Union; NFL, the National Emancipation League; NDC, the Niger Delta Congress; NEPU, the Northern Elements Progressive Union.

parties (AG and NCNC) on the one hand and the northern party (NPC) on the other hand to penetrate each other's territory. For instance all the allies of the AG and NCNC were minor parties based on various sections of the Northern Region while all the allies of the NPC were minor parties based in the south, the NDC and the NEL in the Eastern and Western Regions respectively. It should be noted, however, that the AG, taking its courage in its hands set up its organisation in every region in addition to its alignment with the minor parties, the NCNC doing so only in the Western Region.

In view of the concern shown by the leaders over the question of unity and harmony in Nigeria, it is at the first blush paradoxical that the parties and their candidates unabashedly appealed to the base emotions generated by tribalism. The Premier of the Northern Region and leader of the NPC, for instance, implored Northerners to reject southern political parties at the polls because southerners “looked down on northerners and discriminated against them in offices”; he himself had been ill-treated by a southerner in the post office, he added. The deputy leader of the NPC who subsequently became the Prime Minister of the Federation had before this charged that northern political parties were inviting their allies, the Ibos and Yorubas, to rule the 18 million people of the Northern Region.¹¹ Resort was made to tribalism mainly for two reasons, namely, (1) the people invariably react to its appeals like Pavlov's dogs and (2) a great prize was to be won, that was, the Prime Ministership on independence; for to ask, ‘which party would win’ was to ask whether it was to the Ibos, Yorubas or Hausas that the mantle of authority would fall when Britain finally quit in 1960. The electorate responded to these tribalistic appeals by engaging in acts of violence against people whom they considered to be in opposition to their party; people were beaten up and cars damaged and in addition, in the North, hundreds of the followers of NEPU were herded into prisons for minor or trumped up offences. In many places campaigners were denied speaking permits or their meetings broken up by hired thugs.

Alarmed the leaders began to make frantic appeals to the Governor-General to make an order bringing into force the fundamental rights provisions of the constitution.¹² An order made following these requests came into force on the 24th October, 1959. If the leaders thought that the promulgation of the law would automatically calm the situation, they were sadly mistaken for the fury

¹¹ These were excerpts from campaign speeches reported in the *Daily Times* of 8th December and 30th November, 1959, respectively.

¹² In the Constitutional Conference the leaders agreed that any person might apply to the High Courts for protection or enforcement of any of the fundamental rights provisions contained in the constitution and the High Courts were empowered to make all such orders as may be necessary and appropriate to secure to the applicant the enjoyment of any of those rights. A right of appeal lies from a High Court to the Federal Supreme Court.

continued. In the meanwhile, however, the Federal Government adopted several security measures which were designed to eradicate the violence. Late in November the Governor-General announced that the forces at his disposal would be suitably stationed to cover the whole country and consequently, twelve days to the election, the Army, the Navy and the Police were posted to strategic places throughout the country to deal with cases of breaches of the law. As many as 6000 security men including 500 soldiers, for instance, were based in different parts of the Western Region. One week before the elections all Native Authority police in the Northern Region, local government police in the Western Region and the Nigeria Police came under the control of the Inspector-General of Police and remained under him till midnight on Saturday, the 12th of December. These security measures were additional to the arrangements made by the Electoral Commission to administer the elections.¹³

THE RESULTS

The combination of threat with violence and appeals to tribalism make it difficult to evaluate the weight of tribalism as far as elections are concerned but it is these three forces – tribalism, violence and threats which primarily determined the results of the elections. Each major party won the majority of seats in its home base. This is to say that the NCNC swept the Ibo areas of the Eastern Region and here not only the candidates of the AG lost the elections but also independents and candidates of the DPNC, the break away party, also lost heavily. There was at play in the Ibo areas the force of tribalism as well as the personal influence of Dr. Azikiwe to whom the mass of the Ibos attach charismatic qualities – the Ibos voted to ensure that Dr. Azikiwe would obtain the coveted prize of the Prime Ministership of the Federation. On the other hand the AG made a clean sweep of the non-Ibo areas of the East, thus proving that the demand for the creation of the minority groups into a separate region was still very much alive even though one of the leaders had defected just before the elections and two others lost the federal elections.

In the North the NPC won 141 out of the 174 seats and won a plurality in the elections; NEPU, on whom the NCNC had relied for an overall victory, won only eight seats. The AG and its allies

¹³ The Electoral Commission is given power of general supervision of the preparation of a register of electors and of the conduct of the election. The measures taken by the Commission to ensure that the elections would be conducted as fairly and impartially as possible included providing a great many ballot boxes so that only about 500 people would vote, as the law required, in each polling station. As voting was by secret ballot, the Commission emphasized, in an attempt to allay fears regarding possible victimization of voters, that no one could possibly know or see nor could claim any right to know or see how any one else voted. But unscrupulous politicians readily threatened the illiterate mass of voters that unless they voted one way or another they would be penalized in many ways such as having their children dismissed from the civil service or from their teaching appointments or that the Regional Government would cancel development projects intended for the community. It was a thoroughly frightened electorate that went to the polls on the 12th of December.

won 25 seats and so in spite of the oppressive measures adopted by the NPC Government in that region, the people voted overwhelmingly in support of the party so as to keep the Hausa groups in a position of leadership in the federation. The AG won 33 out of 62 seats in the West, the NCNC 23 seats and the independents six.¹⁴

On balance the AG, by sheer force of organization, industry and wild expenditure, had made the greatest relative gain, for it increased its strength in the East and North while recapturing the West from the NCNC who had won the majority of seats there in 1954, but NCNC on the whole had won more seats than the AG. The victories of the AG and the NCNC outside of their home bases occurred mainly in the minority areas of the other regions and this confirms not merely the existence of a strong demand for the creation of more regions but also the great influence of tribalism in the elections, for in each region it was the minority groups principally that voted for the "invading" party.

Three days after the elections when it became clear that the NPC had won the plurality although all the results had not yet come in, the Governor-General appointed Sir Abubakar, deputy leader of the NPC, the Prime Minister of Nigeria and asked him to form the government. There followed one week of frantic manoeuvring by the politicians in order to form the government. For instance the AG endeavoured to get into a coalition with the NCNC to form the government. The Leader of the AG revealed later that thousands of people in the rank and file of the AG and the NCNC urged him to team up with the NCNC "in order to save the Federation of Nigeria from lapsing back into feudalism and autocracy." The AG, continued the leader, had heeded the appeals of the people and was prepared to concede the Prime Ministership to the leader of the NCNC but it would do so only if the following conditions were met: (1) the new AG-NCNC Federal Government would immediately create the three additional regions, (2) efforts would be made by the new Government to get the Government of the Northern Region to allow individuals to enjoy the rights provided in the constitution. The NCNC rejected these proposals on various grounds such as differences in policy and particularly because, the party charged, the AG had been guilty of several instances of failure to keep secrets and respect obligations.¹⁵ The greatest obstacle to agreement between the two parties, however, was the threat of a breakaway from the NCNC of a faction headed by Chief Okotie-Eboh, Minister of Finance in the dissolved government, for no love is lost between the AG leaders and this NCNC chief. In order to

¹⁴ These independent candidates had been formerly members of the NCNC at Ibadan who contested the election in opposition to the official candidates put up by that party. The six candidates subsequently declared for the NPC.

¹⁵ The NPC also reported at a later stage that the AG had made overtures to it in regard to the question of forming a coalition government and that the proposals of the AG were turned down; but the AG itself denied the allegation.

keep the NCNC together Dr. Azikiwe was obliged to forfeit the position of Prime Minister which the AG was ready to surrender to him.

In the meantime efforts being made by the NPC and the NCNC to form a coalition had been retarded by a number of difficulties, principally the disagreement between the parties on foreign policy, the fundamental disagreement between the NPC and NEPU, the ally of the NCNC and the political status of Dr. Azikiwe who had unquestionably made great contributions towards the political development of Nigeria. After deliberating on these matters for several days, the NPC and NCNC finally agreed to form the government under the following conditions: the NPC should retain the post of the Prime Minister; Dr. Azikiwe would give up his seat in the House of Representatives, change over to the Senate where he would assume the post of President; on the 1st of October, that is, on independence, a member of the NCNC should become the Speaker of the House of Representatives; in the meanwhile the NPC should appoint nine Ministers besides the Prime Minister and the NCNC should appoint seven, all from the House.

The campaign tactics and the results of the elections raise important questions regarding a number of problems among which only two, namely, the future of party politics in Nigeria and the problem of individual liberty, need be commented on here. Shortly after his appointment as the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar openly expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that his party had not established any branches in southern Nigeria. A few days later the leader of the NPC himself announced that his party was preparing to launch a political battle to conquer both the East and the West. It may be remarked that the effort to carry the political battle across regional tribal boundaries was bound to be made sooner or later, for it is in keeping with other measures being taken to move away from extreme pre-occupation with regional problems to national ones. The greatest obstacle that the parties will confront will be tribalism. It is true that Dr. Azikiwe in a statement made after elections, denounced in scathing terms, the practice of making appeals to the electorate on the basis of tribalism and Chief Awolowo, the leader of AG has refrained as much as possible from using such appeals, but the NPC leaders have shown no noticeable change in their attitude towards the problem. But what is worse is that minor politicians in all parties when pressed during election campaigns invariably fall back on these tactics and their activities are buttressed by the influence of primary organisations such as clan or tribal Unions and Associations. Once the petty unscrupulous politicians succeed in pouring the venom of tribal hatred into the minds of the leaders of these Unions and Associations, the rest is easy for them. The mass can then be incited to do anything in defence and preservation of their "homeland and custom". Not only does this tactics uphold the use of tribalism but it

also tends to deprive the individual of the enjoyment of the fundamental rights provided in the constitution, for efforts by well-meaning people to eradicate tribalism have often earned them ostracism, injury to their persons or property. The greatest irony in the situation is that it is the educated people – the petty politicians are made up of people whose status ranges all the way from university lecturers to the half-literate school teachers or businessmen – who openly inspire and encourage tribalism. In the final analysis the injunction that the individual should be given the freedom of speech, assembly, religious and social faith is honoured only in the breach. Until measures are taken to safeguard these rights, the effort to place the party system on the basis of social philosophies rather than ethnic groupings is bound to meet considerable difficulties.

It may well be, however, that Dr. Azikiwe's decision to serve in the Senate rather than in the House will pave the way towards the eradication of tribalism, at least as far as the Ibos are concerned. In this respect it should be noted that the Senate having a suspensive veto of only six months over bills passed by the House (excluding financial bills) is relatively unimportant. As a member of Senate Dr. Azikiwe is not likely to come into the political limelight to the extent he had done in the past. Once the Ibos begin to feel that Dr. Azikiwe has for all practical purposes retired from active politics, they will begin to feel relatively free to seek membership in other parties or to cast their votes for the candidates of other parties.

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GOVERNMENTAL PROBLEMS IN COPENHAGEN,
STOCKHOLM & HAMBURG
A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT¹

By
LATHEEF N. AHMED

Three major interviews² and three days in each of these cities are not sufficient grounds for a scientific statement. This is an attempt, therefore, only to share some personal impressions about a question that had kept this writer curious for a long time: Are the governmental problems (and their solutions) of Scandinavian countries, particularly, and Germany very different from those of the United States and India, for instance? The general answer seems to be - No.

Copenhagen has a beautiful city hall. Standing on the top floor one can view most of the city. Inside, there are spacious and well furnished committee rooms, a council hall and a big ball-room for welcoming and entertaining dignitaries. The total staff working here consists of 16,000 permanent and 19,000 temporary workers.

The city municipality³ covers about 20,000 acres and a population of 750,000. There are also 22 independent municipalities in greater Copenhagen without any union between them. "The Consultative Committee of Greater Copenhagen Municipalities" considers questions of common interest. Two major organs of the main city's government are the City Council, a policy making body, and the Executive. The separation of these two functions is a speciality of Copenhagen, and is uncommon both in other Danish towns and also other northern countries.

The city council has 55 members elected according to proportional representation. Direct elections are held every four years. It meets every two weeks and decides on most issues in one session, except appropriations which "must be considered twice at not less than three day's interval." The council's decisions are generally final and its chief tool is the city budget, which it considers between two sessions of November and February of each year, the time in between being used for detailed examination by its Budget Committee. The income side of the budget includes intake from municipality-operated institutions, taxes and rates, particularly

income taxes, and grants in aid from the State and a Special Equalization Fund. Chief expenditures that the council has to keep in mind are the three big items of social welfare, hospitals, schools, as well upkeep of streets, sewers and parks.

The Executive consists of the chief burgomaster, five other burgomasters, and five aldermen - all appointed by the city council for periods of eight years.⁴ Normally they all come from among the council members. The appointments are made on party lines. Once a councillor is appointed burgomaster or alderman, he automatically retires from the council and becomes an administrator mainly. Five burgomasters head five departments under the coordinative powers of the chief burgomaster whose weapons consists of (a) financial strings, from preparation of budget to administering taxes, and (b) his chairmanship of the "plenary sessions of the executive" every Monday morning, at which are taken decisions on matters to be placed before the Council as well as all other important problems. The five aldermen from five departments also attend these executive sessions. They are deputies of the burgomasters and represent them in city council meetings also.

In this background, I mostly concentrated on one specific question in my conversations with the city officials. How much friction exists between the councilmen as policy makers and the burgomaster as executors? The intention was to compare the burgomasters' position with that of the chief officer in India and his equivalent in the U. S., the city manager. The burgomaster is not a career man, as the other two are. Specialized training given to the city manager in the U. S., particularly, and just the fact that the Indian chief officer is pursuing a lifelong career of government service do promote attitudes and values which bring in different elements into the relationships of these people with the elected representatives. But, the burgomasters are not in the same position. Also, coming directly as they do from among councillors, the burgomasters perhaps share the ideas of the policy makers.

Nonetheless, the burgomaster council relationship was not free from friction. This was my own deduction, I must emphasize, though my interviews indicated that, by and large, the council and the burgomasters are public-spirited people who fundamentally agree and carry on with the chief aim of public good. I suspected that in budgetary allocations, for instance, pet projects and pet people were equally a source of friction in such an arrangement also. Personality clashes could be seen in between the lines. Formation of various kinds of cliques did not seem impossible either. Thus as a specific public administration technique, the burgomaster-council

¹ The writer visited these cities during the summer of 1958.

² One each with the city officials of Copenhagen and Hamburg and one with a Social Democrat in Stockholm.

³ See the *Municipality of Copenhagen*, 1957, a pamphlet of the city government.

⁴ The fact that the executive continues for another four years, even after the city council may be displaced in an election, is an anomaly. Perhaps it is meant for preserving continuity in administration. The Danish Embassy in Washington, D. C. indicated that it is working well.

arrangement did not seem to show any special merits. Generalizing from this to the broader question of human relations in government, which was my chief interest, it seemed to me that the Scandinavians are not unique in this regard. More specifically, human problems *inside* governmental organizations in Copenhagen did not seem too different from those in American governmental agencies, for instance.

In Stockholm, I discussed the social welfare program⁵ for the country as a whole, as this lends itself well to looking at government-citizen relationship in general. The national government carries the largest share of social expenditures, though local governments also spend large amounts—almost 30% of the total in 1954. According to the governmental set up of Sweden, the King-in-council is the chief authority for all programs at the national level. Actually, the cabinet, led by the prime minister and the eleven ministers who head the various executive departments, determines the policies and guides their execution. Since most members of the cabinet are elected from the majority party in the parliament, the desires of the Swedish people are supposed to be reflected in the programs the national government pursues. The Swedish social welfare program operates within this total framework as a major public-approved program currently being followed at the national level.

At the local level, two overlapping systems of government operate in Sweden. As representatives of national government, crown-appointed governors head various administrative boards in the twenty-four counties of Sweden (except in Stockholm where the elected city council carries on the city administration quite independently, though certain interference from the governor-general, as guardian of the federal constitution, is possible here too). The governors hold supreme police power, help town planning, fire protection, construction, and have some supervisory powers over the local councils. Also, many central agencies have, their own local branches—field agencies.

But the popularly elected county, rural, and urban councils, are the ones which guide the day-to-day administration with the help of executive boards, committees and a permanent staff. These local councils are at least one strong element in the local government. Therefore, the participation of the local governments in the nation's social welfare program can also be assumed to have the direct support of the Swedish people.

It is in this background that the Swedish social welfare program should be viewed. With the support of the people, it has been extensively developed under post World War II legislation. Four different kinds of insurance are at its base. The National Retirement Pension is the most expensive. It gives to all pensioners a basic

⁵ See *Facts About Sweden*, Forum, The Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1957.

sum, regardless of their economic situation, which assures them a minimum income. Compulsory Health Insurance covers all the inhabitants of the country. It includes maternity grants. On-The-Job Accident Insurance and Voluntary Unemployment Insurance are the other two major schemes. There are other endeavors. The Family Welfare Program aims at distributing the cost of raising children over the entire population, by granting family assistance in the form of cash, goods, and services. Labor welfare is attempted through laws controlling hours of work, wages and factory conditions. Housing Policy tries to keep rents to a minimum and assists new home construction in various ways. Health Services provide low-cost government doctors, more and more hospitals, nurses and doctors. Special campaigns keep up the fight against deadly diseases. Two-thirds of the total medical care is thus organized and financed by the national and local governments.

What is happening in practice? How are the Swedish people utilizing all these services? A detailed discussion with a Social Democrat who is close to government, revealed that in general the program is a success. People's response has been just. There are abuses, he admitted, in the form of even outright destruction of social property. Also the possibility of stifling individual initiative and creating laziness, due to the ease with which social services can be obtained, exists. But, he felt, these were only exceptions. Coming to my main point, he agreed, that the experience with the social welfare program in Sweden does not reveal anything unique about the Swedes. He indicated that the problems and prospects are similar in Sweden, and that whatever success has been achieved here is possible elsewhere too, given the relatively long peace, resources, and other facilities like Sweden's.

Hamburg, with a population of 1.8 million inhabitants, takes pride in being both a town and a state! It has its own parliament, *Bürgerschaft*, consisting of 120 deputies elected for a period of four years. Twelve senators, elected by the parliament and subject to its confidence, form the senate, which is the chief governing body. These twelve senators have the rank of ministers. Included in this number and heading the senate is the president, who is called the first burgomaster. His deputy is the second burgomaster. This is the equivalent of mayor and deputy mayor.

The city's organizational chart shows the chief burgomaster and his deputy at the head. But it also shows them in various other positions. Twelve boxes on the first horizontal line indicate the twelve sections or divisions that together form the senate's secretariat. The chief burgomaster's name appears on the top of more than one division, like the divisions of administration, personnel, and statistics. So do the names of the deputies and one or two other senators. It would seem, therefore, (unless the chart could have been drawn some other way) that some senators (ministers)

have their fingers in everything, a fact further corroborated by looking at the position of the so-called "central administrative departments," at the next lower level.

The administration of Hamburg consists of twelve functional departments and seven regional or district directors and their offices. Finance, Culture, Schools and Labor are examples of functional classifications. These departments are all on the same level and occupy the second position in the total hierarchy, directly below the senate's own secretariat. They are headed by various senators and service the senate for the administration of the city, presumably under the coordinative direction of the chief burgomaster. A direct line connects all of these departments straight with the chief burgomaster. For instance, if there is in the department of labor a personnel problem not solved at the departmental level, it looks like it will go to the chief burgomaster directly who will handle it with the help of the senate secretariat's personnel division. Similarly, he seems to be in charge of all other problems that the twelve departments may put before him. This should take up quite a bit of the chief burgomaster's time, thus adversely affecting his policy formation and total-coordination roles. Some overlapping is also noticeable here again. Two or three senators seem to be in charge of a senate secretariat division as well as a functional department. Confusion and duplication could easily be the result.

The seven districts⁶ into which Hamburg is divided for administrative purposes occupy the third level in the government of Hamburg. They are the field agencies, which act under the guidance of the above twelve functional departments and the chief burgomaster and his deputy. The directors of these districts are career men and have equal standing with one another. Each of them and his office are directly connected with a division at the top (senate secretariat) level. One division at this top level is exclusively in charge of supervising the work of the field districts. It is headed by a senator who, presumably, keeps in touch with the chief burgomaster, and, with the assistance of the twelve functional departments, sees to it that necessary programs are executed in all the districts of Hamburg. The organizational position of this important division, which is located in a corner, does not show either direct contact with the chief burgomaster or with the functional departments. In practice probably things work out. But the arrangement does not show any special efficiency. Field agencies are the most important element in any governmental set up. Hamburg's seven district offices and their directors do not seem to occupy such a position. One can therefore, suspect red-tape and many frustrations for the citizen as well as the administrators of Hamburg, when it comes to day-to-day operations.

⁶ They can be compared, to some extent, with New York City's boroughs.

The above institutional account helps the understanding of the dynamics of Hamburg's administration. This was my concern in the interview with city officials. My thesis, again, was that Germans run into similar, if not worse, problems in city government as other societies. Concentrating on the relationship of the elected officials to the career officers, the interview went into policy as well as day-to-day administrative matters. The interviews, as in Copenhagen, stressed the general co-operation and smooth nature of operations: the elected men being on the whole devoted to the welfare of the city and any differences among the twelve members of the senate or between them and the career people being inconsequential. My own impression was different. It seemed to me that specific matters involving finances and individual preferences ran into trouble both at the senate's level itself as well as at the execution stage. Worthwhile programs had as much good or bad chances in Hamburg's senate as anywhere else, in the face of individual and group animosities and prejudices. So, there seemed no more unique elements involved in Hamburg's senate working as a team than those in the work of any other city's governing body.

Differences in opinion between the policy makers on the one hand and the executors on the other could also be seen between the lines. The director of the Middle Hamburg district may agree and see "politics" in the denial of more sewage or building allowance to his district. Even a total disapproval by most of the chief administrators of the general policy for the town as a whole may be possible. Lastly, inter-office, and intra-office frictions, and personality conflicts in general, can be as much a share of Hamburg's city government as of New-Delhi's. There are undoubtedly differences. But these are either one of *degree* or, even if they are total differences, they can be explained in terms of the environmental variables and not any *inherent* efficiency or otherwise of particular people. The human equation is the same all over the world.

STAFF AGENCIES IN THE ARTHASASTRA OF KAUTILYA: A STUDY IN ANCIENT INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

By

SATYA DEVA

The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya is one of the most precious documents in the literature of ancient India. According to Indian tradition it is the work of the very able adviser and minister who helped Chandragupta Maurya (c. 321-296 B.C) to build and preserve the greatest of India's ancient empires. Some scholars also consider it to be a work of about 300 B. C.; others place it in near-about 300 A. D. It is the most valuable among Sanskrit works dealing with state administration. Unfortunately, however, scholars have often been prevented from bringing out its full import by their lack of acquaintance with problems of administration. The object of this paper is to study the nature and functions of staff agencies as envisaged by the *Arthasastra*. Agencies that advise the chief executive and serve and control the line agencies, and thus help in the management of the administration as a whole, are called staff agencies. Line agencies are those that serve and regulate the public. It has been said that the distinction of line and staff appears in various forms of organization "from the beginnings of recorded history."¹ The actual nature of staff agencies in a particular administrative organization, however, must depend upon its nature, size and functions. To get such a perspective we shall first consider in brief the organization envisaged by the *Arthasastra*.

The *Arthasastra* portrays centralised and sizeable administration. It is significant that Kautilya does not mention any bodies of local self-government. There are various officers to administer the regional units of the realm. The *Arthasastra* sets forth about a score of Departments for various purposes, civil and military, like Agriculture, Weights and Measures, Passports, Armoury etc. A Department is to have "a number of changing heads."² Office is thus not attached to the person of the officer, but may be held by different persons. The Superintendent (*adhyaksha*) of a Department (*adhikarana*) is to perform his duties with the assistance of statisticians (*sankhyayaka*), clerks, coin-examiners, treasurers, and officials riding horses, elephants and chariots.³ There are many references to the use of

documents. The methods to be employed in their preparation are discussed in detail. For example, a whole chapter is devoted to the procedure concerning royal writs⁴. The keeping of records is also described. Thus these are to be books of accounts.⁵

This highly organized and impersonal bureaucracy is to perform welfare and economic services as well as regulatory ones. The *Arthasastra* says, "The king shall provide maintenance for children, the aged, the sick, the afflicted and orphans. And also for women without offspring, and for sons (who have lost their parents)."⁶ This provision is included in the statement of the functions of the state, and cannot be treated as a stray remark. Provision is made in detail for the regulation of prostitutes⁷ and of liquor⁸. The state is to found villages⁹, and to build among other things roads, waterways and dikes.¹⁰ The Superintendent of Agriculture is to pay attention to seeds, soils, manure, pests and irrigation.¹¹ Commerce is to be encouraged and particularly, the import of goods.¹² The amounts of tolls on various goods together with regulations concerning their collection are given.¹³

Not only does the state help to develop the economy, but it is itself a participant in it. Bhattasvami, the medieval commentator of the *Arthasastra*, quotes in his commentary a couplet saying that the king is the owner of both land and water, but that other things may be owned by individual householders.¹⁴ Much of the revenue in kind and its storage is dealt with in detail.¹⁵

The state owns and runs farms¹⁶, forests,¹⁷ and mines¹⁸; and manufactories of yarn and cloth¹⁹, arms²⁰, and ships²¹. State-trading is dealt with in detail²². The state follows the policy of storage or reserve economy. "Of the store thus collected half shall be kept in reserve to ward off calamities, and half shall be used. Old collection shall be replaced by new supply."²³ This could also be a means of controlling prices. "That merchandise which is in a large quantity shall be centralized and its price enhanced."²⁴

It is thus clear that the *Arthasastra* proposes effective control over the economic life of the country. The police function also is dealt with in detail.²⁵ For warfare, a standing army consisting of infantry, horses, elephants and chariots is described.²⁶

⁴ Two, X.

⁵ Two, VII.

⁶ Two, I, 30, 31.

⁷ Two, XXVII.

⁸ Two, XXV.

⁹ Two, I.

¹⁰ Two, I, 21, 22.

¹¹ Two, XXIV.

¹² Two, XVI, 15.

¹³ Two, XXI, XXII.

¹⁴ Bhattasvami's Sanskrit commentary on the *Arthasastra*, Two, XXIV, 23 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XII (1926), p. 138.

¹⁵ Two, XV.

¹⁶ Two, XXIV, 2-5.

¹⁷ Two, XVII.

¹⁸ Two, XII.

¹⁹ Two, XXIII.

²⁰ Two, XVIII.

²¹ Two, XXVIII.

²² Two, XVI.

²³ Two, XV, 23-25.

²⁴ Two, XVI, 3.

²⁵ Book Four.

²⁶ Two, XXX-XXXIII.

¹ James D. Mooney, "The Principle of Organization", in Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, eds., *Papers on the Science of Administration* (New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1937), p. 95.

² Kautilya's *Arthasastra* (Sanskrit text), edited by J. Jolly and R. Schmidt (Lahore: Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1923), Book Two, Chapter IX, sentence 35. Subsequent references are also to the Sanskrit text of the *Arthasastra* unless otherwise stated.

³ Two, IX, 32, 33.

The management of such an organization would certainly require properly organized staff agencies. The *Arthashastra* envisages two types of staff agencies :

1. Three are firstly, there or four Counsellors (*Mantrinah*) to advise the king, either singly or collectively.

2. Secondly, there are three agencies to provide institutional assistance to the king. Elements, primarily of control, and secondarily of service for the line agencies (house-keeping), are present in their functions. They are: the *Sannidhata*—Director of Buildings and Stores; the *Samaharta*—Director of Finance, Statistics and Personnel; and the Director of Accounts (*gananikya*).

We shall consider them one by one.

MANTRINAH—THE COUNSELLORS

The *Arthashastra* states their function as follows :

“Means of starting work, provision of men and money, division of time and place, protection against dangers and final success are the five elements of counsel (*Mantra*)”²⁷. When a new work has to be performed, the first need is to establish an organization for it. Hence “means of starting work” is probably the same thing as organization. The management of personnel and finances needs no explanation. “Division of time and place” suggests programme planning. The inclusion of “protection against dangers” as a staff function is remarkable. “Final success” seems to mean general supervision to ensure final success. In modern times the staff function has been conceived as aiding the chief executive in planning, organizing, staffing, directing, co-ordinating, reporting and budgeting.²⁸ Many of the elements in the two definitions, we find, are common. The formulation of the concept, however, need not indicate the nature of staff work in practice. The latter would depend upon the extent of institutionalization and, more fundamentally upon the development of economic and administrative sciences.

There is an interesting discussion on staff aides in the *Arthashastra*. A sage is quoted as saying that the king should consult no one. Counsellors have their own counsellors, and these others their own. Hence there is a danger of disclosure of secrets²⁹. Another sage is quoted as opposing this. In his opinion no policy made by a single person can be successful. A king's course of action has to be inferred from the perceptible and the imperceptible. To find out, to make sure, to determine, to remove doubts, and to supplement the knowledge of the part with that of the rest — this is

²⁷ One, XV, 47. The term *mantra* means “Consultation, resolution, counsel, advice, plan, design, secret” and so on. Monier Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford Clarendon, 1899), p. 786.

²⁸ Luther Gulick, “Notes on the Theory of Organization”, in Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, eds., *Papers on the Science of Administration*, p. 13.

the job of counsellors. Hence the king shall sit with those of mature minds to deliberate.³⁰ The sage Pisuna is now quoted as saying that the king should deliberate with those entrusted with the performance of work. Policies can thus be kept secret during the process of their development.³¹ In other words, the king should depend upon the advice of line officers. “Not so”, says Kautilya, “this would involve infinite regress. He shall take counsel from three or four counsellors”.³² Kautilya's objection is far-reaching. The implication of “infinite regress” seems to be that if line officers dealing with parts were entrusted with advising on policy concerning the whole of administration, the level at which it should properly be made would no longer be maintained. There would be an increasing tendency for the level of policy — making to lower, as officers further and further down the line — engaged on smaller and smaller parts of the work — were consulted. Hence the distinction of staff and line.

It is remarkable that Kautilya maintains the distinction of staff and line throughout his great work. The generic term for line officers of high status is *amatya*. They are spoken of as being engaged in the actual performance of work and have been sharply distinguished from Counsellors: “The ability of a man is judged by his capacity in work. Having divided the spheres of the powers of *amatyas*, and their place, time and work, such persons shall be employed not as Counsellors (*Mantrinah*), but as *amatyas*”.³³ All Superintendents of the various Departments belong to the class of *amatya*³⁴. Their powers are limited: they cannot take the initiative except in emergencies.³⁵ Their emoluments are 12,000, 8,000, or 4,000 *panas* according to the job.³⁶ Lapses are to be punished with demotion.³⁷ *Amatyas* are said to form an assembly of twelve, sixteen, twenty, or as many as may be.³⁸ In emergencies, the king is to call both, “the assembly and the Counsellors”.³⁹ Those belonging to the assembly get 12,000 *panas*.⁴⁰

The Counsellors, on the other hand, belong to the highest rank. Their emoluments are the same as those of the Sacrificial Priest, the Teacher, the House Priest, the Commander of the Army, the Heir Apparent, the Queen-Mother, and the Queen-Consort — 48,000 *panas*.⁴¹ In keeping with their rank, the Counsellors are also the most highly qualified among officers. They alone must have passed all four tests of the allurements of religion, money, love and fear.⁴²

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT (STAFFING)

The Counsellors are to advise the king either individually or collectively.⁴³ Their part in personnel management is given in

³⁰ One, XV, 15-18.

³¹ One, XV, 20-23.

³² One, XV, 33-34.

³³ One, XV, 35-37.

³⁴ One, VIII, 32-33.

³⁵ Two, IX, 1.

³⁶ Two, IX, 9.

³⁷ Five, III, 8-12.

³⁸ Two, IX, 39.

³⁹ One, XV, 52-55.

⁴⁰ One, XV, 63.

⁴¹ Five, III, 8.

⁴² Five, III, 4.

⁴³ One, X, 24.

⁴⁴ One, XV, 48.

detail. They assist the king, together with the House Priest, in the appointment of all high officers.⁴⁴ This is to be done in two stages. For the initial selection, a long list of qualities has been given. Intellectual attainments, qualities that matter in social intercourse and the possession of skills are all to be considered. These are to be tested through detailed examination, conversation and observation.⁴⁵ At the second stage, those selected are to be faced with the four allurements of religion, money, love and fear.⁴⁶ Thus the religious allurements tests the candidate's steadfastness to duty in face of persuasion to the contrary by a priest. The four tests constitute a method of testing the emotional nature of a person. Whatever the merit of this particular method, the object is certainly to be lauded. Appointments to jobs are to be made in accordance with the candidate's temperamental fitness for them. Every job has its particular status and fixed salary. Those who fail in all the four tests are to be given difficult Departments like those of mines, and forests.⁴⁷ These Superintendents are to get only 4,000 *panas*.⁴⁸ Success in any test opens the way to better jobs.⁴⁹ Thus there are jobs carrying emoluments of 8,000 and 12,000 *panas*.⁵⁰ Those who pass the monetary allurements test are fit to be appointed as *sannidhata* and *samaharta*⁵¹, who have a status and salary (24,000 *panas*) which is higher than that of most Superintendents, but lower than that of Counsellors.⁵² Only those who have passed all tests may be appointed Counsellors, whose emoluments are 48,000 *panas*.

It is obvious that the selection of a large number of high officers would be a heavy burden for the king. He needs assistance of the highest kind in this matter and it is provided by the Counsellors.

SANNIDHATA: DIRECTOR OF BUILDINGS AND STORES

Buildings: The *sannidhata* performs an important service for the line agencies. He builds all important state buildings and is responsible for their maintenance. His duties are laid down in such terms as "The *sannidhata* shall build the treasury, the house of saleable commodities, the house of the produce of the land, the house of forest produce, the armoury and the jail".⁵³ The *Sannidhata* is to build the court and the offices separately.⁵⁴

Architectural details are given to guide the *sannidhata*.⁵⁵ References to underground chambers, baked bricks, separate apartments for men and women in the jail, bath-rooms, wells, and a rain-gauge

⁴⁴ One, X, 1 et. seq.

⁴⁵ One, IX, 1-10.

⁴⁶ One, X.

⁴⁷ One, X, 25.

⁴⁸ Five, III, 12.

⁴⁹ One, X, 20-23.

⁵⁰ Five, III, 8-10.

⁵¹ One, X, 21.

⁵² Five, III, 6.

⁵³ Two, V, 1.

⁵⁴ Two, V, 5.

⁵⁵ Two, V2-5.

are to be found.⁵⁶ The *sannidhata* is also to guard against fire and poison, and to establish deities in the various buildings.⁵⁷

Stores: The *sannidhata* has overall responsibility for the safe-keeping and storage of all state wealth – cash and kind. This involves supervision, particularly over Superintendents of the following Departments: Treasury, Saleable Commodities, Land Produce, and Armoury.⁵⁸ In the performance of this function, the *sannidhata* is to be assisted by reliable persons.⁵⁹ There are to be coin-examiners to test the purity of the gold coin.⁶⁰ Counterfeit coins are to be cut into pieces.⁶¹ The *sannidhata* is to see to it that officers responsible for receiving and storing the various kinds of wealth perform their duties properly. Thus the grain received must be pure, full and fresh. In default, the officer concerned is to be punished with double the loss.⁶² Similarly for officers of other Departments.⁶³ Misappropriation must be punished, whether the chief, a subordinate or his servant in any of the Departments is guilty.⁶⁴ The importance of supervision by the *sannidhata* is great, for the possibility of misappropriation by the Superintendent of the Treasury himself has been considered, and capital punishment prescribed.⁶⁵ The chapter on the *sannidhata* ends with a couplet meaning:

SAMAHARTA: DIRECTOR OF FINANCE, STATISTICS AND PERSONNEL

Finance. The *samaharta* is responsible for overall financial, management. The principle by which he is to be guided is stated as follows: "As wise (*samaharta*) should raise the revenues, showing increase in income and decrease in expenditure, and he should realise profit from barter".⁶⁷ Thus the budget idea is present. It is obvious that the *samaharta* is concerned with overhead management. The Superintendent of a Department is also its fiscal head. He is to report on the work, revenue, and expenditure of his Department, and is to be rewarded if he shows increase in the revenue.⁶⁸ The revenue would naturally be collected as part of the routine work of the Department. The *samaharta*, on the other hand, is concerned with the revenue and expenditure of the government as a whole.

The sources of revenue are grouped under seven heads: "The *samaharta* shall attend to (revenues from) fortified towns, country parts, mines, buildings and gardens, forests, cattle and trade-routes".⁶⁹ These heads are then described in detail.⁷⁰ Each con-

He shall have so thorough a knowledge of both external and internal incomes running even for a hundred years that, when questioned, he can point out without hesitation the amount of balance that remains after expenditure has been met with.⁶⁶

⁵⁶ Two, V, 5-7.

⁵⁷ Two, V, 6.

⁵⁸ Two, V, 8-24.

⁵⁹ Two, V, 23.

⁶⁰ Two, V, 12.

⁶¹ Two, V, 13.

⁶² Two, V, 15, 16.

⁶³ Two, V, 17.

⁶⁴ Two, V, 18.

⁶⁵ Two, V, 19.

⁶⁶ Two, V, 24.

⁶⁷ Two, VI, 28.

⁶⁸ Two, IX, 22, 11.

⁶⁹ Two, VI, 1.

⁷⁰ Two, VI, 2-8.

sists of revenues from several Departments. The description ends with the remark, "such is the body of income".⁷¹ Now are mentioned the heads of expenditure.⁷² There is again a close correspondence between these and the Departments. This is followed by the remark, "such is the body of expenditure." The idea of the "bodies" of income and expenditure is the basis of the budget idea and hence its presence is notable. The fiscal (Royal) year is also mentioned with its divisions and sub-divisions.⁷³

We now come upon an interesting piece of analysis. The categories of income, expenditure and balance are applied to performance and the resulting classification is "work in hand", "work accomplished", and "work left undone."⁷⁴ Each of these categories of performance is then described in detail. Thus work essential for income like the business of upkeeping the government and the collection of all kinds of revenue is "work in hand." Work which leads to expenditure like that on towns and in carrying out the king's orders is "work accomplished." "Work left undone" is comparable to the balance.⁷⁵

Now are considered finances having no immediate connection with performance. Two new categories are added. These are additional income and expenditure for investment. Additional income is of three kinds exemplified by (1) unclaimed property (2) savings from estimated outlay and (3) rise in the price of state merchandise.⁷⁶ Now the new category of investment expenditure is considered :

Expenditure is of two kinds — daily expenditure and profitable expenditure. What is incurred every-day is daily. Whatever is earned once in a fortnight month, or year is termed profit. Whatever is spent on these two heads is termed as daily expenditure and profitable expenditure respectively.⁷⁷

Balance is now defined. "The difference between income and expenditure is balance: in hand, and final".⁷⁸ The final balance is that which would be reached on the realization of all outstanding dues.

The discussion ends with the exhortation to the *samaharta* to increase the income and decrease the expenditure.

Statistics. The *samaharta* is also responsible for the collection and record-keeping of statistics. Each Department would certainly collect much information in its routine work and indeed, it is to be very detailed. For example the Department of Tolls not only collects tolls but notes the names, movements, and details of merchandise, of all merchants.⁷⁹ The *samaharta* is to have an additional service, perhaps as an adjunct of financial management.

⁷¹ Two, VI, 9.

⁷² Two, VI, 11.

⁷³ Two, VI, 12.

⁷⁴ Two, VI, 13.

⁷⁵ Two, VI, 20-22.

⁷⁶ Two, VI, 20-22.

⁷⁷ Two, VI, 23-26.

⁷⁸ Two, VI, 27.

⁷⁹ Two, XXI, 2-3.

He is to divide the country into four parts, and classify and record the villages according to size, and according to the type of revenue or service they provide — grain, cattle, gold, forest produce, soldiers, free labour etc.⁸⁰ For each of the four parts of the country, there is to be an officer, *Sthanika*.⁸¹ Then there are to be officers called *gopa*, each being responsible for five to ten villages.⁸² The *gopa* is thus the field officer. His duties are as follows :

He shall count plots of ground as cultivated, uncultivated, plains, meadows, gardens, vegetable gardens, parks, forests, altars, temples, irrigation works, cremation grounds, feeding houses, places where water is freely supplied to travellers, places of pilgrimage, pasture grounds and roads, after demarcating villages; and on the basis of the boundaries he shall record, forests, roads, gifts, sales, charities, and remission of taxes regarding fields.

He shall count tax-paying and tax-free houses, and thereafter record the number of the inhabitants of all the four castes in each village, cultivators, cowherds, merchants, artisans, labourers, slaves, bipeds and quadrupeds; and the amount of gold, free labour, tolls, and fines which may be yielded.

He shall also keep an account of the number of young and old men of each family — their history, occupation, income and expenditure.⁸³

The collection of statistics is thus to be very comprehensive and is to include a census.

In the chapter which deals with statistics, much space has been devoted to a secret service, consisting of certain "establishments of espionage".⁸⁴ It is to be under the *samaharta*.⁸⁵ Members of this service are to secretly collect information, for example that regarding fields, houses and families of each village.⁸⁶ They are to find out the quantity and price of the royal merchandise — the product of mines, gardens, fields etc. and also manufactured articles.⁸⁷ They are also to collect various details about goods which are imported — "by land or by water".⁸⁸ It appears that this is a system for checking the accuracy of information obtained from other sources — the statistical service (*gopas*), and the Departments. This checking and counter-checking of information would certainly provide a solid ground for the management to work on.

Personnel (Supervision): The *samaharta*, assisted by (police) officers, is to "regulate the Superintendents and their subordinates".⁸⁹ Thus he is to play an important part in personnel management. A whole chapter is devoted to this function of *samaharta*.⁹⁰ It is his responsibility to see to it that the officers from the Superintendents downwards, are honest, dutiful and of good conduct. He is to have them punished if there is a dereliction of duty. Thus officers who are guilty of misappropriation of valuable articles belonging to mines or manufactories are to be be-headed.⁹¹ Smaller punishments are prescribed for smaller offences.⁹² A judge who threatens or brow-

⁸⁰ Two, XXXV, 1.

⁸¹ Two, XXXV, 7.

⁸² Two, XXXV, 2.

⁸³ Two, XXXV, 3-6.

⁸⁴ Two, XXXV, 9-17.

⁸⁵ Two, XXXV, 9, 15, 17.

⁸⁶ Two, XXXV, 9-11.

⁸⁷ Two, XXXV, 13.

⁸⁸ Two, XXXV, 14.

⁸⁹ Four, IX, 1.

⁹⁰ Four, IX, 1.

⁹¹ Four, IX, 2.

⁹² Four, IX, 3-9.

beats a disputant is to be punished.⁹³ Judges or (police) officers who unjustly punish others are themselves to be punished more heavily.⁹⁴ If jail officers torture any prisoner or force him to give a bribe, if they molest women prisoners, or if they (or officers of the lock-up) connive in the escape of prisoners, they are to be punished according to the gravity of the crime.⁹⁵

GANANIKYA: DIRECTOR OF ACCOUNTS

The Director of Accounts is to maintain accounts concerning the whole of administration, and is to supervise the keeping of accounts in the Departments. The accounts that his office maintains present an integrated picture of the financial position of Government. They are to relate to upkeep of government, routine work, products of manufactories, profit, loss, expenditure, delayed earnings, premia, wages, the prices of various materials (the royal merchandise), taxes, salaries and so on.⁹⁶ From them, statements of performance are to be prepared. Thus the Director of Accounts is to "furnish statements of work in hand, work accomplished and work left undone, and of income, expenditure and balance; and of attendance and work of all departments".⁹⁷ From these statements the efficiency of each Superintendent is to be judged.⁹⁸

The Director of Accounts is to supervise the keeping of accounts in the whole of administration. The working year ends on the last day of the month of *Ashadh* (about the middle of July).⁹⁹ On that day, accountants of the Departments are to present themselves with sealed books for checking.¹⁰⁰

High officers of the Departments are to provide explanations.¹⁰¹ If they give false explanations, they are to be punished.¹⁰² Information about the conduct, character, work etc. of all officers concerned is to be kept.¹⁰³

Accounting procedures are prescribed. The various units of time to which the accounts are to relate and the facts which are to be noted in connection with every entry (like year, place, time, head, manner, amount, type, form, and names of those who give, take and guard it) are given.¹⁰⁴ These are somewhat different in the case of income, expenditure and balance. Lapses in the observance of the prescribed procedures are to be punished.¹⁰⁵

⁹³ Four, IX, 40.

⁹⁴ Four, IX, 47.

⁹⁵ Four, IX, 57, 59, 65-67.

⁹⁶ Two, VII, 2.

⁹⁷ Two, VII, 3.

⁹⁸ Two, VII, 4.

⁹⁹ Two, VII, 8.

¹⁰⁰ Two, VII, 17-19.

¹⁰¹ Two, VII, 25.

¹⁰² Two, VII, 26.

¹⁰³ Two, VII, 10, 30.

¹⁰⁴ Two, VII, 31-34.

¹⁰⁵ Two, VII, 35-37.

Auditing: Auditing is discussed, immediately after this discussion of accounting, in a separate chapter.¹⁰⁶ The attitude displayed is typical of an auditor. Consider the following:

There are forty ways of embezzlement: What is realised earlier is entered later on, what is realised later is entered earlier; what ought to be realised is not realised; what is hard to realise is shown as realised; what is collected is shown as not collected; what has not been collected is shown as collected....¹⁰⁷

The *Arthasastra* thus envisages an elaborate organization of staff agencies. This is understandable. In an age when the means of transport and communication are less developed, administration over the same area would require better planning and organization to be equally effective. This would be the case all the more, if control over a large part of the life of the people were aimed at. Further, policy-making would be a much more difficult task if the executive had the sole responsibility for it, than if he were to share it with a legislature. All these factors would accentuate the king's need of assistance in ancient times. The *Arthasastra* has given due recognition to this need.

¹⁰⁶ Two, VIII,

¹⁰⁷ Two, VIII, 21 et seq

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PROBLEMS CONFRONTED IN THE REJUVENATION OF POLITICAL THEORY

By
A. H. SOMJEE

In this paper I propose to examine some of the problems which the contemporary political theory is facing in its attempt to rejuvenate itself. A statement of this nature implies that something is radically wrong with political theory and that attempts are being made by political theorists to set it right. This is precisely what I propose to discuss in this paper.

If there is any branch of political science which calls for a good deal of clear-headed thinking, it is political theory. In comparison to the general theories in the other two branches of social sciences, namely, economics and sociology, the prestige of political theory is pretty low. Its prestige is low not only among the other social scientists but also among political scientists. Conventional political theory being highly speculative it has hardly made any contribution towards the understanding of the complexities of political phenomena. Consequently, certain branches of political science, such as public administration and international politics, have decided to do without it. In place of a general theory of politics, which normally serves as a broad frame of reference in other disciplines, they are content with some sort of theories of administrative behaviour as developed by Herbert Simon or theories of inter-state behaviour as developed by Morgenthau. In short, these branches of political science have succeeded, to some extent, in doing away with a general theory of politics.

In this paper I wish to briefly analyse certain trends in the contemporary Anglo-Saxon political theory and point out some of the problems which any attempt at the rejuvenation of political theory will have to face. Let us therefore begin with the examination of the trends in the contemporary Anglo-Saxon political theory.

In 1952, Professor George Catlin published a paper on "Contemporary British Political Thought" in the *American Political Science Review*. In this paper he maintained that Laski, Barker, Oakeshott and Carr were the representatives of the different political schools in contemporary Britain. At the same time he also felt that they were second raters in comparison to the earlier masters like Hobbes, Burke and Green.¹

A year later another British political scientist, namely, Alfred Cobban, published a paper called "Decline of Political Theory"

in *Political Science Quarterly*. In this paper Cobban maintained that every age feels the need to restate its political principles. This is because in every age new situations arise and old words come to acquire different meanings. So far as the history of modern political thinking is concerned, Cobban felt that no fresh statement of political principles was forthcoming since the eighteenth century. Political activities and institutions have undergone innumerable changes since then but a fresh statement of their underlying principles is still lacking. There has been since the eighteenth century an abrupt termination of political thinking which is similar to the termination of the Athenian political theorizations in the face of institutional changes from city-states to empire.

According to Cobban the lack of political thinking in the subsequent period was due to the fact that the nineteenth century liberalism lived on the intellectual capital of the eighteenth century. It did not do its own fresh thinking. Nor did the twentieth century. It merely converted the eighteenth century political ideas into slogans and shibboleths.²

And now no fresh thinking about the principles of politics is being done in our time because ethical values no longer count in politics. Thinkers like Russell, Jouvenel, Carr, Niehbuhr, Laswell, Morgenthau etc., find *power considerations* to be the strongest in politics and they emphasise, the need to study the phenomena of power in all their manifestations. Cobban, in other words, completely identified political theory with political philosophy and did not find the political theory of power which is devoid of ethical consideration a worthwhile undertaking.

Cobban's paper was first of all read before a critical audience in the winter of 1953 at the London School of Economics. During the following year in the same institution Professor Michael Oakeshott read a paper on "The Concept of Character in the interpretation of modern European Politics." In this paper Oakeshott put forward a very interesting thesis. He maintained that political movements could be divided into secular movements and diurnal movements. Secular movements in politics are those which break the existing pattern of political activity and establish a new pattern. The rise of the nation-state in the seventeenth century, for instance, was a secular movement in politics. Whereas diurnal movements in politics are those which take place *within* the established limits or patterns, such as, the day-to-day administrative and political activities.

Now according to Professor Oakeshott the secular movement of European politics came to an end with the rise of the nation-state in the seventeenth century. The character of European politics after this period became a settled character. From him the movements,

¹ See *American Political Science Review*, September 1952, p. 641.

² *Political Science Quarterly*, September 1953, p. 925.

such as constitutionalism, universal franchise, welfare-state etc., were merely diurnal movements and they did not change the character of European politics which has come down since the seventeenth century. Thus Oakeshott had cut down a century of political thinking and its reaction on the political character which Cobban had conceded. Political theory had nothing new to say, according to Oakeshott, because the secular movement of European politics had been exhausted three centuries ago.

Apart from providing a historical explanation as to why no fresh thinking was being done in politics, Oakeshott goes a step further and asks whether political thinking is a worthwhile activity or not. Questions relating to this he raised in his inaugural lecture on *Political Education* (1951) at the London School of Economics. In this highly controversial lecture Oakeshott maintained that very little can be learnt from the books of politics about politics. That political activity is not amenable to a kind of rational analysis and statement which the writers of books on politics unwittingly take for granted. Much more can be learnt about politics by getting to know the traditions of politics in one's own country. And a person actively engaged in his country's politics has for more to tell about the traditions of politics than a book on politics written by a professional writer.³ Oakeshott thus undermined the value of political science as an academic discipline preparing men and women in the understanding of the working of politics and the complexities of political phenomena.

Needless to say that this kind of thinking was not all conducive to any effort at the rejuvenation of political theory. On the contrary it inspired a movement in mid-twentieth century British political thought which started off with a distrust of any scientific or rational analysis of political phenomena. So great was the influence of this movement in England that it became a topic of countrywide discussion. On January 21, 1955, the British weekly, namely, *Spectator*, published a review of *Heresy of Democracy* reviewed by T. E. Utey. The first paragraph of this review read as follows:

"Democracy is out. The symptoms of this have been multiplying for a long time; Mr. Oakeshott is generating scepticism from his Chair while the ghosts of Graham Wallas and Harold Laski glower; the first volume of Dr. Talmon's massive analysis of *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* which appeared in 1952, Mr. Isaiah Berlin's pedigree of contemporary tyranny (out of Liberty by Rousseau) which the Third Programme produced in the same year, and Mr. Beloff's revival of Mill's objections to majority rule in an article in *Fortnightly* in February, 1953, distinguished by the commendation in *The Times*; all these are only random illustrations of the point that those who enjoy scutage had better look elsewhere than to democracy for their target. It is the main theme of almost all intelligent writing about politics today that our contemporary troubles arise from the eighteenth century and are attributable to the rationalist tradition in political theory and the most popular minor theme is that majority rule, as an institution, has a permanent and increasing tendency to produce either dictatorship or bankruptcy or both."

³ *Political Education* by Michael Oakeshott, p. 11.

There could not have been a more frank denunciation of a rational approach, whatever its shortcomings, in the understanding of political phenomena. During the same year *Political Quarterly* devoted a special number to what it called *Revolt Against Reason*.

Having examined the ideas concerning the "decline" of political theory and the "impossibility" of undertaking a rational analysis of political phenomena let us now go on to the examination of the ideas of another British thinker of considerable repute namely, T. D. Weldon.

Weldon published a controversial book called *Vocabulary of Politics* in 1953. In it he tried to extend the criticism of logical positivists against the conventional philosophy to political theory. Like the logical positivists Weldon also maintained that in order to make verifiable or meaningful statements about the phenomena we must do away with the metaphysical presuppositions of our arguments and the linguistic muddle in stating such arguments. In his *Vocabulary of Politics* Weldon extensively pointed out as to how the conventional political philosophy is full of shortcomings of these two kinds.

In levelling such a criticism against the conventional political philosophy, Weldon's arguments implied that verifiable or true statements are those which merely *describe* the phenomena. Now there is much in political phenomena which is not amenable to descriptive statements. If we accept such a criterion of valid statements which Weldon suggests then many a statement about the phenomena with full of insight into their complexity cannot be made.⁴

Weldon's book was more or less a polemic. It was a much-needed criticism of the fruitless speculations that are undertaken in political philosophy. Its major defect was in its excessive emphasis on verification of statements. And its own criterion of verification was a rigid criterion. For sometime to come in political theory generalizations based on a sound theory should be encouraged. When far too many rival theories interpreting the phenomena on scientific lines are available, we can test them with a criterion of verification although not as rigid as Weldon has conceived.

These are then some of the ideas of important living British political theorists. They do not help us at all in the task of rejuvenating political theory. What is conspicuously absent in them is the appreciation of the role of political theory in the understanding of the complexities of political phenomena. In passing it may also be mentioned that Field and Greaves have also written interesting works on political theory. They, however, do not break any new ground. David Butler, the British psychologist who has produced a few very useful volumes on voting-behaviour has yet to come out with the statement of the theoretical implications of his election studies.

⁴ See my paper on "Problems of Verification in Weldon's Political Theory" in the *Indian Journal of Political Science*, December 1957.

The contemporary British political theorists are it may be concluded, by and large, negative in their approach. They tend to attack speculative thinking in politics from the point of view of tradition and crude empiricism. While the speculative thinking about political phenomena needs to be criticised and discouraged, such a purpose can only be served if these are undertaken from the point of view of a constructive alternative. Tradition and linguistic empiricism cannot be the basis of a new theory of politics.

This brings us to the examination of the main currents of American political theory.

The American political science very strongly reacted against the excessive speculative leanings of the German and British idealist political philosophy of the nineteenth century. Instead of analysing the abstract problems, such as, the nature of the state and individual freedom, it largely concentrated on political institutions and the manner in which they function. In order to accomplish this it laid a great emphasis on *facts* about political institutions and their working. Such a fact-finding approach largely came to be developed under the influence of Lord Bryce. Bryce maintained:

"Political Science is not a deductive science any more than it is a branch of speculative philosophy. Some writers have treated it as a set of abstractions. They have tried to create by efforts of thought, and define, such general conceptions as Sovereignty, the State, the origin of political right, the ground of political obligation, and so forth, following the methods of metaphysics and keeping as far from the concrete as possible... How vague and cloudy are the many of the German treatises of the last sixty years on the theory of State?... What can be more windy and empty, more dry and frigid and barren than such lubrications upon which Sovereignty as we find in John Austin and some still more recent writers. In place of useless speculation what we need are 'Facts, Facts and Facts.' When facts have been supplied each of us can try to reason from them."⁵

Now Bryce took for granted that we *can* collect facts without the help of concepts or theories. In his anxiety to discard the speculative approach Bryce resorted to an impossible kind of empiricism in which facts are claimed to be collected without the help of concepts or theories. In that respect he shared the methodological error of all the inductivists in social sciences.

Bryce's influence on the American Political Science, however, was very great. His emphasis on facts gave a fact-finding turn to the American Political Science. During this period, American universities undertook fact-finding researches in politics and published their findings.

The fact-finding phase in American political science was followed by a premature policy-making phase. At this stage it was felt that political science like economics must help in the making of policy-decisions. The most representative book of this kind of approach was Woodrow Wilson's *Congressional Government*.

⁵ *Op. cit.* Political System by David Easton, pp. 72-74.

The attempt to make political science a policy-making science was however a premature attempt. It was premature because such a stage could have come only after a series of theoretical attempts to know the complexities of the phenomena had been undertaken.⁶

The fact-finding as well as the policy-making phase in the American political science did not emphasise the need for a general theory of politics. Without an adequate theory of politics one can not approach the phenomena either for the purposes of collecting facts or making policies. The absence of a general theory of politics thus remained as one of the greatest shortcomings of the American political science.

The first attempt towards a general theory of politics was made in America by a British political scientist, who spent most of his time teaching in America, namely, George Catlin. He published his *Science and Method of Politics* (1927). During the same year, however, John Dewey, the American philosopher came out with his *Public and its Problems*. Dewey was not a political scientist and therefore he merely raised some general methodological problems that one faces in political inquiry. Dewey's book has not so far received a serious consideration at the hands of political scientists which it deserves. In this book, in fact, he was exploring the possibility of framing a conceptual framework in order to undertake some sort of generic discrimination of more or less similar political entities. His approach was by no means a comparative approach. He, on the other hand, wanted to understand the character and working of political institutions against their broad social and economic background. And in order to understand political institutions against such a background he had formulated his own conceptual framework. Dewey's work, therefore, remains significant in respect of its emphasis on the need to have a conceptual framework in the understanding of political phenomena.

To come back to Catlin we find that his *Science and Method of Politics*, as Easton puts it, is "one of the few deliberate and serious efforts to build a systematic theory for the study of political life".⁷ Catlin believed that neither the entity of the State nor political party can be the datum of politics. This is because neither the states nor political parties are adequate in number for the purposes of a scientific investigation. He therefore treats *political acts*, which are infinite in number, as the datum of politics. Further he defines a *political act* as an act of will which asserts itself over the will of others. Assertion of wills leads to conflicts of wills and ultimately every will seeks to dominate every other will by means of force, cajolery, persuasion, tradition or law. For Catlin therefore, the struggle of wills becomes the subject-matter of politics. Its essence

⁶ *Ibid. passim*, pp. 66-89.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 117.

is power, power over others. He interprets institutions, connections and moves in politics from such a point of view.⁸ In short, Catlin did have a general theory of politics with the help of which he tried to understand political phenomena.

A similar but more sophisticated approach was made by Harold Lasswell. He is read and understood the least on account of his forbidding vocabulary. Like Catlin he also begins with an emphasis on power. He is, however, too conscious of the fact that for Catlin applied psychology and applied economics come to acquire political significance. He, on the other hand insists on the autonomy of Political Science as an intellectual discipline.⁹

He also defines politics in terms of power, power to distribute values in society. For him, therefore, politics becomes, "the study of the changes in the shape and composition of the value patterns of society." Since the distribution of values depends on the influence which an individual exerts on the society, politics must deal with *influence and the influential*. Power and value become the central concepts in his political theory. And he emphasises the need to do empirical research in order to discover the interdependence of these factors in political phenomena. In order to study their interdependence Lasswell also emphasises the study of *elite and symbols* in his *Politics; Who gets What When and How*.

Although Lasswell's concepts of power and value, along with elite and symbols, did throw open the doors for concrete investigations, like Catlin he too could not discriminate between power as such and *political power*. This then remained a major drawback in the political theory of Catlin as well as Lasswell.

In spite of the fact that these writers were quite prolific in their output they were not taken seriously in America till David Easton wrote his *Political System* in 1953 and sympathetically analysed and assessed their contribution towards the rejuvenation of political theory. The British political theorists continued to ignore them. Only David Butler, the Oxford political scientist recently came out with a volume on the *The Study of Political Behaviour* (1958) in which he surveyed the contribution of American political scientists in the recent years. It is, however, too early to speak of its impact on Britain.

Even now in America political theorists seem to be sharply divided among themselves on the question of functions of political theory as an academic discipline. In 1955 Northwestern University of America had arranged a seminar on political theory. Most of the papers contributed to the seminar indicated some kind of unwillingness on the part of a large bulk of political scientists to separate the term 'political theory' from 'political philosophy'. Even the

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 117-119.

⁹ *Ibid.* 120.

political theorists who emphasised the behavioural approach to the study of political phenomena could not agree upon the suggestion that methodological individualism which makes communication among themselves and others more and more difficult should be discouraged. Even at this stage of crisis in political theory a seminar on political theory ended up by merely familiarising the participants with each other's points of view.

A student of political theory thus gets very little direction from what has passed so far in the name of 'political theory'. He may be required to begin at the very beginning by asking himself the following question: What exactly is the function of political theory as an academic discipline? A lot will depend on the answer he is able to get. His answer will have to be based on his knowledge of the functions of a theory in other branches of social sciences as well as the natural sciences. He can at least be sure of a common denominator function of a theory. Other functions peculiar to political theory which he may be able to observe would largely depend on his imagination and insight into the subject.

Let us now briefly examine some of the basic problems which a student of political theory has to face in his attempt at the rejuvenation of political theory. They are as follows: (a) Conventionally conceptualized political phenomena; (b) difficulties in determining the boundaries of political phenomena; (c) the need to develop conceptual framework for guiding the investigation of specific problems; (d) the problem of value-judgment and (e) the formulation of a general theory of politics. We shall consider all these problems in some detail.

(a) In the conventional political theory the concepts of 'the State', 'the Individual', 'Justice', 'Freedom', 'Sovereignty' etc., have been freely used by different writers with different meanings attributed to them. These concepts also occupy central positions in their explanations of political activities and institutions. Since different meanings are attributed to them by different writers there are far too many shades of interpretations and explanations of political phenomena. There is no way of checking up the validity of statements which attempt these interpretations and explanations. This can be illustrated by examining the various difficulties which arise in the use of concepts of 'the State'.

The concept of 'the State' in political science is an *a priori* concept. That is to say that no efforts are made to examine it as a *concept*. Nevertheless, it is used as a synonym for the whole of political phenomenon. Being a formal concept it is stretched in order to include almost anything that is political.

So far as the nature and definition of 'the State' are concerned, they are a subject of an incredible controversy. In fact it is almost pathetic to see an undergraduate cramming scores of definitions of

'the State' and trying to familiarise himself with a barren controversy over its nature without finally arriving at any satisfactory answer.

Even when we consider the various characteristic marks of 'the State' we get nothing out of this concept. Different characteristics were attributed to 'the State' at different times in history. And an analysis of these characteristics does not lead us anywhere.

The concept of 'the State' is not at all helpful in guiding political investigations. This is because as a concept it does not help us in discriminating one state from the other. Even when it is qualified with reference to the type of government it possesses, such as, 'the fascist state' or 'the communist state', it is impossible to find out the type of 'fascist' or 'communist' state that may be there. The term 'the State' is in fact a blank universal for all the kinds of state and as such it cannot help us in any investigation.

Apart from the fact that the concept of 'the State' does not help us in investigation, its central position, which it occupies in conventional political science, is likely to discourage attempts at theorizations about the phenomena. It would therefore be proper to use the term 'political phenomena' instead and emphasise the need for theoretical interpretations of the same.

(b) The second problem which confronts a student of political theory is regarding the scope of political phenomena. So far, 'the State' represented the *whole* of the phenomena. Consequently, no serious attempt was made till recently to determine the limits of political phenomena. The very difficulty regarding the scope of political phenomena arises once we give up the concept of 'the State'.

In order to determine the scope of political phenomena some thinkers have tried to define the nature of political activity. Among others they are Michael Oakeshott and John Dewey.

Oakeshott defined political activity as that which attends to the general arrangements of society. This is certainly a narrow definition. For the purpose of political activity is to acquire support of various organized and unorganized forces of society which may be instrumental in effecting, modifying or revoking fractional or total arrangements of society. Oakeshott's definition thus suffers from his own aversion to any political changes in society. Moreover, he does not care to tell us what exactly are the *political* arrangements of society. In what significant respect do they differ from other arrangements?

John Dewey also attempted a definition of political activity. For him political activity is a secondary and a consequential activity. It is secondary because it is not pursued for its own sake like the economic, religious and scientific activities. As opposed to them it is *generated*, as it were, in order to regulate the consequences of their activities. Political activity therefore becomes for Dewey secondary as well as consequential.

Dewey's mistake however lay in the fact that he did not realise that sometimes there are more organized primary activities which control political activity. The religious activity during the middle ages in Europe was more organized and it controlled political activity. Similarly in our time, economic activity in the form of organized capital and organized labour has effectively tried to control political activity.

Then, as we had seen earlier, both Catlin and Lasswell tried to determine the datum of politics. Catlin restricted it to a *political act* which meant for him an assertion of one's will over that of the other. And Lasswell restricted it to *influence and influential*. In both these cases no satisfactory criterion emerges which may enable us to discriminate a *political act* from the rest or a *political influence* from the rest.

The determination of the scope of political phenomena therefore remains a major problem for the students of political theory. Any satisfactory definition of the scope of political phenomena will have to include political activities which are undertaken within the political institutions and also on their periphery. It will also have to include political values, political beliefs, political prejudices which vitally influence the course of political activity.

(c) Once the boundaries of political phenomena are drawn, the next question which a student of political theory confronts is that of conceptual framework. Without an adequate set of concepts or conceptual framework no investigation can be undertaken.

It would be a sheer truism to say that facts about the phenomena cannot be collected without the help of concepts or theories. They alone help us to identify the kind of facts that we need. Concepts or theories or hypotheses or assertions are indispensable in the collection of facts about the phenomena.

Different branches of political science enjoy different degrees of empirical base. Even in the field of public administration, international relations and behavioural studies, which are supposed to be more factual, there is a growing conviction that without the help of relevant concepts or theories the collection of relevant facts would become impossible.

The fact that we cannot proceed without concepts or theories is realised more in the field of empirical investigation of specific problems of politics. There it has also led to some amount of methodological individualism. That is to say that every time a research worker undertakes the study of a specific problem, he comes out with some sort of theory which guides his approach with the result that there are as many theories as there are investigations. This is bound to be the case for some time till political theorists formulate their general theories about the phenomena which might guide the investigation of specific problems.

(d) This brings us to the examination of one of the greatest problems which a student of political theory has to face in his attempt at the rejuvenation of political theory. It concerns the place occupied by value-judgments in the theories of politics. The problem of value-judgment gives rise to the following two questions: (i) whether value judgments play an important part in our theories of politics. (ii) whether value-judgments or valuational factors are amenable to a scientific examination in the sense in which factual and causal relations in politics are.

Now, so far as the first problem is concerned there seems to be little disagreement among political theorists. Almost all the outstanding political scientists of the last fifty years, with the exception of George Catlin, believe that every political theory has its value-implications. Catlin, however, felt that we *can* have a purely political frame of reference in politics as a scientist has a purely scientific frame of reference in science. Catlin did not go into the details of his standpoint. Consequently, he failed to win supporters. The point of view of remaining political theorists was adequately explained by Weldon in his *States and Morals* when he said that a theory of politics depends upon a prior theory of happiness.

When we come to the second problem, namely, whether we can scientifically study value-judgments or not, we find the range of disagreements among various writers very wide.

Simmel and Rickert – the two German philosophers of the nineteenth century were the first to make a direct statement regarding the impossibility of a scientific discussion of value-judgments. Then came Max Weber's celebrated paper on "Objectivity of knowledge in Social Science and Social Policy" in 1904. In this paper Weber was exploring the possibility of scientific discussion of value-judgments. The earlier part of Weber's paper gives the impression that a scientific discussion of value-judgments in terms of means and ends is possible. However, towards the end of his paper he shows some sort of an ambivalent attitude towards the problem. He concludes his paper in truly Kantian fashion by saying that science cannot select values for us. That the selection of values is ultimately the function of human will and conscience.

So great was the influence of this paper on the methodology of social sciences that it became a starting point of every discussion on value-judgments in the following half a century.

In political theory, Professor Sabine published a paper on "What is Political Theory" in the *Journal of Politics* (1939). In that he maintains that there are three kinds of analyses involved in political theory, namely, factual, causal and evaluative. Out of these a political theorist can combine factual analysis with causal analysis. But they cannot be combined with evaluative analysis.

Lately, Professor Arnold Brecht has produced a monumental work called *Political Theory: the Twentieth Century Foundations* (1959) which deals with views of various philosophers and political scientists on the question of scientific examination of values. Brecht's own views are that enough attention has not been paid to this problem since Weber published his famous paper. The subsequent thinkers in political science, specially, have become victims of some kind of lazy and unenterprising dualism which they attribute to Weber. Laboriously he builds up a few illustrations in order to point out that values are also empirically grounded and that we *can* formulate standards in order to judge values on the basis of common denominators of the meanings of certain important values, such as, justice, freedom etc.

Professor Brecht has done a great service to the contemporary political theory by pointing out that this branch of the subject is not likely to make any progress till we give a satisfactory answer to this problem of value-judgments in political theory. It is a problem which discourages a healthy empiricism in politics and compels political theory to remain where Aristotle left it.

Political theorists must discover the exact influence of values on both rational analysis and empirical investigation of specific problems of politics. Along with that they must also have a clear conception of the factors which give rise to a *value-situation*. Value-situations are not always caused by the values of the analyst or the investigator or the values of his social milieu. There are innumerable other factors responsible for giving rise to value-situations. A political theorist ought to study them.

(e) Finally, the greatest problem facing any attempt at the rejuvenation of political theory is how to make valid generalizations about the phenomena. Economics and Sociology, to some extent, have been able to make generalizations about their respective phenomena. They have their own general theories which are acceptable to a large body of economists and sociologists. So far no such general theory exists about political phenomena.

Economics has fruitfully developed the theory of equilibrium and Pareto applied it to sociology with some success. Equilibrium theory was also applied by George Catlin to politics. But it was soon found out that the success of this theory largely depends on our ability to make quantitative statements about the phenomena. It was therefore given up in political science.

The index to the maturity of a discipline is in fact the presence of a general theory or theories which enable a student to identify significant variables that are present in the phenomena. It is the task of the general theory to reveal the complexities of the phenomena and thereby enable us to pursue meaningful research of specific

problems. Against the background of a general theory investigation of specific problems comes to acquire a wider significance.¹⁰

These are, then, in brief some of the problems which we must face in our attempt to rejuvenate political theory. Our prestige as political theorists would ultimately depend on our ability to come to grips with these problems.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 307-316.

SECOND THOUGHTS ON INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

By

G. P. SRIVASTAVA

Indian foreign policy could very appropriately be described as Nehru's foreign policy. He has since the late twenties of the present century been the Congress expert on foreign affairs. In its various resolutions on international problems adopted since 1927 it has echoed the voice of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. In fact, most of these resolutions were drafted by him. The cardinal principles of Congress policy were anti-imperialism and non-violence or opposition to war. These principles were adopted by the Congress Government when it formulated its foreign policy after attainment of freedom. Actually, the foreign policy of India was outlined by Pandit Nehru on September 26, 1946 after the formation of the Interim Government at the Centre. The two most important principles laid down by him on this occasion were non-alignment with either of the two power blocs and opposition to colonialism in all parts of the world. But both these principles have been violated by the author of Indian foreign policy himself.

Since the very inception of the United Nations India has been its member. She has also been a member of other world organisations. In the sessions of these bodies she has been participating in the debates and has been exercising her right to vote against this or that power. She has been meddling in the affairs of other nations and has even been sitting on judgment over their actions to their great annoyance and discomfiture. She has acted as the salesman of moral values and has even tried to preach righteousness to the materialistic western powers. She has also tried to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for other nations as for example, she has pleaded the case of Red China for entry into the United Nations in season and out of season and has even stolen a march over Russia in this matter. This exhibition of surplus moralism on her part has not been appreciated by other powers with the result that they have been indifferent to her political difficulties, although, strangely enough, Pandit Nehru has expected support from them when he has done everything to offend and even humiliate them.

But from 1952 India has definitely leaned on one side rather than steered clear of entangling alliances. This became apparent to all when she condemned the Anglo-French aggression on Egypt in 1956 in the strongest language but showed hesitancy to condemn the rape of Hungary by the U.S.S.R. This exasperated such a leader as Jaya Prakash Narayan who charged Nehru with being guilty of double standard.

That she has abandoned the policy of opposition to colonialism is amply borne out by her attitude to Tibet. In an address to the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, in October 1949, Pandit Nehru remarked: "Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral." But in 1950 when the liberation army of China marched into Tibet, the latter addressed two appeals to the United Nations. In one she expressed her determination to fight to the bitter end. In the other she questioned Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. But India seemed to be in a hurry to recognise Chinese position in that country and she was instrumental in getting the matter dropped by the United Nations as she pleaded that it would be settled by Tibet and China by peaceful negotiations. In such a plight Tibet had no option but to enter into an agreement with China on May 23, 1951. This agreement entered into by Tibet with China under duress was recognized by India under the Indo-Chinese Pact of April 23, 1954.

In March 1959 China made a fresh effort to conquer Tibet in total violation of the Agreement of 1951 but India did not utter a single word of protest. When the Dalai Lama appealed to the United Nations and the latter considered the matter she remained neutral and even canvassed her point of view among other members. Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon told a television audience at United Nations Headquarters, on October 11, 1959, that a debate in the United Nations General Assembly would promote cold war. But when the South African Government ordered firing in Langa township and Sharpeville near Capetown on March 21, 1960, resulting in the death of 82 persons and injuries to about 200 persons, the Lok Sabha passed a resolution worded by Pandit Nehru himself on March 28, 1960 condemning this action. Although this action of our Government may not be regarded as very diplomatic, morally her stand is fully justified. But she would have been more justified morally and fully justified politically if she had shown half as much interest in the rape of Tibet which was her own concern in every sense of the term. Shri K. M. Munshi, ex-Governor of U. P. and leader of Swatantra Party inaugurating a national convention on Tibet at Agra on December 13, 1959, rightly said: "The tragedy of Tibet hangs heavily on our conscience. For a young, independent nation like ours, with its spiritual heritage our handling of the Tibetan situation has been a crime in history." Thus Pandit Nehru would have to answer at the bar of history for what has happened in Tibet.

It may, therefore, be safely asserted that the foreign policy of Pandit Nehru is not that of non-alignment with either power bloc. But then what it is? Speaking at a news conference at Patiala Shri K. M. Munshi called it "loaded non-alignment". Pandit Nehru himself recently described it as the policy of lighting lamps of peace

throughout the world.¹ But during the course of the debate on Sino-Indian relations in the Lok Sabha on November 25, 1959 Acharya Kripalani described it as the policy of non-resistance.² But whatever its nomenclature, there is little doubt that this policy has been the most miserable failure. Pandit Nehru has himself admitted it so far as China is concerned. In fact, recently he talked more frankly about it. Replying to the discussion on the demands for grants for the External Affairs Ministry in the Lok Sabha on March 17, 1960 he admitted that he could report no progress on India's problems in relation to Goa, Pondichery and Pakistan and said: "We seem to have added one more, the frontier trouble with China."

Even then some Nehru-ites are never tired of repeating that the foreign policy outlined and pursued by him has been quite a success. Those who hold this view, point out that two advantages have resulted from it. Firstly, it has raised the moral prestige of India in the world. In a speech at Bombay on November 23, 1951 Pandit Nehru remarked: "Even at the risk of praising myself I will say that our foreign policy is the greatest factor for raising the prestige of India in the world councils." In fact, winding up the two-day debate in the Lok Sabha on foreign affairs on September 30, 1954 Pandit Nehru claimed: "Leaving aside for the moment these three countries, the United States, the Soviet Union and China, if you look at the world there are great countries, very advanced countries and all that. But if you peep into the future, and if nothing goes wrong, wars and the like, then obviously the fourth great country in the world is India." But this advantage is illusory specially when it is remembered that she has pursued her foreign policy at considerable sacrifice of her interests. To take a commonplace example, if you give me your coat, shirt and tie I would call you a good person. But if you are a realist you would prefer to be a bad man to surrendering your things to me.

Secondly, it is claimed that Indian foreign policy has helped the maintenance of world peace. But here it may be pointed out that world peace has become an obsession with us so that we are even prepared to sacrifice our national interests at its altar. In a speech in the Lok Sabha on November 25, 1959 Acharya Kripalani rightly remarked "that our diplomacy had failed, not in helping to bring about peace and good-will in the world, but in safeguarding the vital interests of our country and diminishing tensions on our borders".³ After all, we are not the custodians of world peace. If it is necessary for us, it is equally so for other countries including China as a global war would destroy her also. Moreover, world

¹ Speaking at Vijayawada on October 12, 1959 Pandit Nehru asserted that the principle that they had followed in international policy was "to light lamps of peace and encourage peace in the world and war." *Hindustan Times*, October 13, 1959.

² *Lok Sabha Debates* (Ninth session), Second series, Vol. XXXV No. 8, Col., 1730.

³ *Lok Sabha Debates* (Ninth Session) Second series, Vol. XXXV No. 8, Col. 1742.

peace can only be secured if all the countries are keen for it. Only one country in the world can not do anything in the matter. If it tries to avoid war at all costs, it would suffer tremendously. It may even happen that her territory is occupied by another country.

The above analysis would show that the advantages of our foreign policy are only so-called and not real. A. D. Gorwala pointedly remarks: "Nehru's foreign policy has been marked by one great achievement and many striking failures. His championship of international communism has indeed been a signal success... The failures have all been in the sphere of national interest. Nehru's foreign policy has, in instance after instance, failed to secure that which was essential to the good of India".⁴

Actually, the foreign policy of a country is its national policy. But Nehru's foreign policy is truly international. Walter Lippmann, the famous American publicist and writer defines foreign policy thus: "A foreign policy consists in bringing into balance, with a comfortable surplus of power in reserve, the nation's commitments with the nation's power".⁵ Defined in these terms, it is a means for fulfilling the nation's commitments or securing its national objectives. It would, therefore, be interesting and instructive to find out our national commitments or objectives in the political and economic field. In the former some of our national objectives are as follows:

CHINESE AGGRESSION, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Many thoughtful observers are of the view that the present Chinese aggression is a part of a preplanned strategy of international communism, although quite a large number of people regard it as the result of a nationalist upsurge. The recent border incursions are serious in themselves but the probability of future aggression is also present. Here it should be remembered that even Pandit Nehru has admitted that the problem of Chinese aggression is a long term one.

GOA

It is another instance of the failure of Nehru's foreign policy. First he encouraged the Goans to start non-violent struggle but when he found that the Portuguese began to shoot them mercilessly he had to reverse his policy. Moral support came from countries like Egypt but it could not avail against a dictatorial regime which could only understand, the language of bluff or blow – the two recognized methods of diplomacy. In fact, Dulles supported Salazar even as Nehru pleaded the cause of Red China against the U.S.A.

KASHMIR

Pakistan has, no doubt, committed aggression in Kashmir. But she is an ally of the U. S. A. It was, therefore, natural on the part

⁴ 'Perils of Panchshilla' in *A Study of Nehru* (Times of India Publication), 2nd Edition, 1960 p. 258.

⁵ *U.S. Foreign Policy*, p. 5.

of that country to support Pakistan in regard to her dispute with India over this issue regardless of its merits, particularly when India supported Red China whom the U.S.A. is not even prepared to recognize as a state. Moreover, India antagonised the United Kingdom and France by being their severest critic over their misadventure in Egypt in 1956. This resulted in the Four Power Resolution for stationing the U. N. forces in Kashmir in February 1957. When this resolution was brought before the Security Council Pandit Nehru, in his childish simplicity, complained that the western powers wanted to humiliate India, forgetting that he had meted out the same treatment to those powers times without number. Speaking at Calcutta on August 25, 1957 Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Indian Defence Minister said: "While we have no enemies in the world we have none too friendly a country at the present time." But actually as early as 1950, Sir Jagdish Prasad, a former member of the Governor General's Executive Council had visualized this danger. In an article published on January 26 that year he wrote: "If our foreign policy is based on the assumption that we are a sort of international court of justice giving our decisions on the merits of each dispute as it arises we may soon find ourselves without friends among the more powerful states". In a letter to the Editor of the *Leader*, Allahabad published on December 2, 1951 Sir Jagdish again pointed out:

"Congress foreign policy, which in reality is the Prime Minister's monopoly, has recently been trumpeted as superior to that of all other powers because it is claimed to be based on truth and non-violence. It is not surprising that such self-praise and arrogant self-conceit have left us with no friends. The great powers do not wish to be told by implication that in contrast to our foreign policy theirs is based on trickery and violence; that we are the only people in the world to handle international affairs on a moral basis, and that our superiority on this score is now universally recognized and receives world wide homage. But what has been the outcome of this ethereal policy? We have no friends left among the great powers."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar also expressed a similar view in his statement on resignation from the Central Cabinet in 1951. He remarked that on August 15, 1947 when India began her life as an independent country "there was no country which wished us ill. Today after four years all our friends have deserted us. We have no friends left."

PROBLEM OF INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Since our independence we have been protesting against the ill-treatment of the people of Indian origin in South Africa by the Government of that country. The U.N. General Assembly has been passing a resolution condemning this action of the South African Government year after year with no tangible effect on that government or the condition of Indians in that country. The poignancy of the situation is enhanced by the fact that South Africa is a member of the Commonwealth of which India also is a member. Pandit Nehru could very appropriately bring this matter before the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference and get South Africa censured. The Commonwealth could even exert diplomatic pressure

on South Africa. India threatened to leave the Commonwealth when Anglo-French aggression on Egypt took place in November, 1956. Why cannot she take a similar stand in regard to this issue? If she cannot secure proper treatment for her nationals in the territory of another member of the Commonwealth, what is the good of her being a member of that organisation? But Pandit Nehru considers it bad manners to bring this ugly issue before that body with the result that the problem is becoming more and more complicated.

In the economic field our national interest lies in securing large amounts of foreign aid and loans for financing our five year plans.

We should, therefore, evolve a suitable foreign policy to secure these national objectives. Here again it would be useful to find out as to how we can secure these aims. To quote Walter Lippmann again, "the elementary means by which all foreign policy must be conducted are the armed forces of the nation, the arrangement of its strategic position and the choice of alliances".⁶

If we take our first national problem into consideration i. e. Chinese aggression, the question is how are we going to deal with it? Pandit Nehru has himself admitted that we may have to be a nation in arms. But how are we going to be so? Can we build so much military strength overnight as to match it with that of China? The present writer's answer is an emphatic 'no'. It is, therefore, obvious that India would have to take military aid from some country which is prepared to help her against the enemy. In fact, in his Lok Sabha speech on November 25, 1959 Acharya Kripalani quite pertinently pointed out: "Our Military strength should be sufficient to defend our borders and to clear the pockets. The Prime Minister has asserted even today that our army is competent for this task. But it is quite possible that any effective action against the Chinese may increase the area of conflict. In that case, it is felt that India, with its present military and industrial resources, and the lack of certain types of modern weapons, may not be able to meet the new danger. As a matter of fact, no country in the world today can hope successfully to resist foreign aggression single-handed, neither Russia nor America. Therefore, the critics want the authorities to make our position clear in this respect. It is that India will not hesitate to get military aid from any quarter, to defend the country".⁷ In the same speech he pleaded for "a declaration of readiness to accept foreign military aid in an emergency"⁸ which would, without minimizing our present strength, provide for a contingency which may not arise. It would also have a salutary effect on China. Moreover, "no nation can wait to resist aggression till its industrial potential has been increased through Five Year Plans".⁹

⁶ *U. S. Foreign Policy*, p. 30.

⁷ *Lok Sabha Debates* (Ninth Session) Second Series, Vol. XXXV No. 8, Cols. 1730-31.

⁸ *Ibid.* Col. 1731.

⁹ *Ibid.*

But our Prime Minister is not prepared for it. In this connection it is interesting to note that the *Dawn* of Karachi recently repeated the words of Pandit Nehru that he is allergic to a joint defence pact with Pakistan. But, in fact, it may be pointed out that Pandit Nehru is allergic to any kind of military alliances. Speaking about military pacts at the recent Congress Session held at Sadashivnagar (Bangalore) on January 15, 1959 Pandit Nehru remarked: "But what does it mean, this business of military pacts. Does it mean that foreign armies will march across our territory. Do you want armies from other countries - I do not want to name them - to come in large numbers? Do you really expect them to come? Is it feasible? It is not. Secondly, if it was feasible, I doubt if this Congress will ever agree to it, foreign armies marching, whatever the consequences. I make no exception. Whatever the consequences we will not have foreign armies on our soil". Such emotional exuberance really clouds the issues. In fact, it is a strange way of interpreting military help from a friendly power. Marching of the armies of a sympathetic power to help a country in an emergency is not the same thing as conquest of the country by that power. If, for example, India takes military help from the U. S. A., does it mean that the U. S. A. would occupy India? Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon said at Calcutta on November 29, 1959, "The day on which we have military allies would mean the beginning of the end of our independence but the political menaces and dangers we have at present, will not lead us to join potential war groups in the world." But what is history if not a record of military alliances? They are a recognized method of diplomacy. To take an example, if I have an enemy and I can not face him myself, I should acquire friends who would help me against him. This is true of a nation as well. The present writer is, therefore, of definite opinion that India has to enter into alliances if she wants to secure her national objectives. The sooner she realizes it, the better. If she does not want to march hand in hand with the U. S. A. at present, she may enter into a limited defence pact with Pakistan or with the countries of South East Asia who have been the victims of Chinese aggressive designs.¹⁰ If, however, she is not prepared to take military aid from any power, it would be inconsistent with her policy to accept even economic aid. In fact, speaking at Madras Shri C. Rajgopalachari said on March 13, 1956 that he was not quite happy about India accepting financial assistance from the United States to

¹⁰ In this connection it is interesting to note that Kautilya, a profound scholar and practitioner of diplomacy in ancient India, says: "When a king finds himself unable to confront his enemy single-handed and when it is necessary that he should march, then he should make the expedition in combination with Kings of inferior, equal, or superior power". *Arthashastra* (Tr. R. Shamasastry) 1951, p. 303. But if India makes her alliances carefully the eventuality may not arise when she may have to march her troops. That the Chinese have not occupied Formosa or Hong Kong which is hundred percent theirs may be advanced as an argument in support of the above view. They also dare not touch a single inch of Pakistan territory.

balance her budget. He continued: "After all a bribe is a bribe though given in a different way and with a different motive." Addressing a public meeting at Hyderabad on December 10, 1959 in the context of the Chinese aggression he remarked: "India can not carry on without consulting others" and gave the same advice: "It is not good for India to be lonely and alone in the world. When one party attacks, non-alignment comes to an end".¹¹

Here it may be pointed out that the policy of non-alignment presupposes that India has friendly neighbours. But that is not so. Actually, she has been pitted against unscrupulous neighbours. It is also wrong to suppose that India and China can become good friends, the reason being that they possess different political systems. India has a democratic form of government while China has a totalitarian system which believes in aggression and expansion. Some time ago Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon said that during the last ten or twelve years India has had to face two aggressions, one from Pakistan and the other from China. This statement itself shows how successful our foreign policy has been during this period. But Pandit Nehru is not prepared to entertain any idea regarding its reformulation at any time. Addressing a press conference at New Delhi on October 21, 1957 he remarked: "We stick to our present foreign policy even if the heavens fall". In fact, again and again he has been repeating such statements. But Kautilya says: "Whoever thinks, 'No enemy can hurt me, nor am I strong enough to destroy my enemy,' shall observe neutrality....Whoever is devoid of necessary strength to defend himself shall seek the protection of another."¹² In fact, Pandit Nehru's over emphasis on neutrality led Prof. N. G. Ranga, Chairman of the newly formed Swatantra party to complain at New Delhi on November 18, 1950 that such statements do not strengthen the country but alienate the sympathies of those who want to help it. But Pandit Nehru has greater clarity in his mind so far as the question of external military help is concerned. In an interview with a National Broadcasting Company correspondent recorded in New Delhi shortly before the arrival of President Eisenhower in India, Pandit Nehru, replying to a question whether he would welcome American support in the event of Chinese aggression, said: "I wouldn't ask for it. One can never be sure of what happens in the distant future....But in circumstances as they exist today, I would not like to ask for that pledge." There is, however, no doubt that the people in general have become sceptical regarding the efficacy of Pandit Nehru's policy. In fact, for the first time in the history of the Congress a storm was raised in the Subjects Committee meeting of the last Congress Session held at Sadashivnagar (Bangalore) on January 15, 1960 when three A. I. C. C. members challenged the Government's policy of non-alignment and avoidance

¹¹ *Hindustan Times*, December 12, 1959.

¹² *Arthashastra*, Book VII, Ch. I, p. 293.

of military alliances. Even the Congress President was constrained to remark in his Presidential Address on January 16, 1960 that although India adhered to the policy of peace and non-alignment, that policy had to be adapted to the situation created by Chinese aggression.

It may further be remarked that the implementation of our foreign policy also is defective. A. D. Gorwala aptly says: "In reality, foreign policy consists in deeds and not in declarations....The essence of any policy is its implementation, and in implementation India foreign policy often appears in guises very different from the Indian Government's declarations about it."¹³ Acharya Kripalani also pointed to the same truth in his speech in the Lok Sabha on September 12, 1959 when he said: "That it is a mistake to suppose that the foreign policy of a country consists merely in enunciating abstract and basic principles. It must also think in terms of appropriate strategy and tactics for effective action....I submit we have failed in our foreign policy at the level of strategy and tactics". In fact, the Praja Socialist Party has accepted Nehru's policy but has pointed out that he has not actually followed it.

Among other defects at the level of execution of our foreign policy may be mentioned the habit of our busy-body Prime Minister to deliver eloquent speeches on affairs concerning other countries; To mention the latest example, the passing of a resolution by the Lok Sabha on the initiative of the Prime Minister of the Indian Government, who confessed that he had drafted the resolution himself on March 28, 1960, violates the canons of diplomacy. So far as the information of the present writer goes, no other Government of the world has adopted such a course. Generally, this work - and it certainly has to be done - is done by opposition parties. The party in power acts in a more discreet manner. Pandit Nehru seems to have taken upon himself the duty of fighting injustice in every quarter of the globe with a few notable exceptions. As for example, although India has recognised the state of Israel, Pandit Nehru has not thought is necessary to establish diplomatic relations with that country.

Our publicity in foreign countries leaves much to be desired. Moreover, our information services abroad lack efficiency. This became quite apparent to all during the Hungarian crisis. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the personnel of these services is not quite upto the mark or proper directions are not given to it. Above all, the mania of our Prime Minister for inviting the Heads of States, big as well as small, and of himself going to such countries should be discouraged. Such ceremonial meetings of Heads of States have no political significance and bear no fruits. On the other hand, according to Harold Nicolson, a seasoned diplomat, such meetings come in

¹³ *Not in our stars* (Jaico Publishing House, Bombay) p. 266.

the way of effective bargaining and negotiations between their diplomatic agents.¹⁴

In conclusion, it may be remarked in the words of Shri C. Rajgopalachari that the foreign policy of the Government of India has been responsible for the present troubles with China and if in the name of Chinese threat to India the Government changes it, we would welcome it and thank China for having created such a situation.¹⁵ It may also be added that India has given a wrong lead to the smaller powers of South and South East Asia. Burma swears by the policy of non-alignment. But what is surprising is that Nepal which under the treaty of July 1950 with India is bound to take India's advice in her affairs and to consult with her in case of aggression on either of the parties is toying with the idea of neutrality regarding the Sino-Indian border dispute. In September 1959 Mr. B. P. Koirala, the Prime Minister of Nepal, said that the MacMohan Line was a matter of Sino-India concern and Nepal had nothing to say about it. This attitude of the Nepalese Prime Minister was severely criticised by General Mrigendra Shamsher Rana, Gorkha Parishad leader in a published interview to Kathmandu's English daily, *Commoner* on September 20, 1959. Moreover, on April 7, 1960 Mr. Bharat Shamsher, the Leader of Opposition in the Nepalese House of Representatives denounced the Nepal Government's policy of "silence" in regard to the current dispute between Nepal's two neighbours, India and China. He also added that "by trying to play between India and China Nepal will commit the same mistake India did when in a bid to show herself up she wanted to play between the communists and democratic countries and suffered for this." Although Shri Rajgopalachari has categorically demanded that India should join the American bloc, some sections of impartial opinion do not think this possible (with Pandit Nehru at the helm of affairs) or even necessary at present (in view of the Russian overtures towards India). The theory of ideological differences between China and her big brother, Russia is being openly discussed. Moreover, Russian inclination and concern for India is also recognized. But Russian friendship for India would have any meaning if she is able to exercise moderating influence on China and press her to give up her unjust claims over India territory. When Mr. N. S. Khrushchev was in India in last February he praised India's foreign policy of non-alignment. But had Pandit Nehru been a realist he would have told

¹⁴ He says: "A more dangerous innovation in diplomatic practice is the tendency of democratic countries to allow their politicians to take a personal part in negotiation. Clearly there are moments when it is essential that the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister should attend important conferences. Yet repeated personal visits on the part of the Foreign Secretary of one country to the Foreign Secretary of the other should not be encouraged. Such visits arouse public expectation, lead to misunderstandings and create confusion." *Diplomacy* (Home University Library), Second Edition, p. 100.

¹⁵ Speech at Coimbatore on November 29, 1959 reported in the *Hindustan Times*, November 30, 1959.

him frankly that he may be compelled to give up his policy if Russia does not intervene in the Sino-Indian border dispute. If the dispute is not resolved to the satisfaction of India even inspite of the good wishes of Russia for her, she may have to join the SEATO in the first instance and ultimately enter into a full fledged military alliance with the U. S. A. as in case of a Sino-Indian war Russia is bound to side with China.

THE CONSTITUTION OF NEPAL X-RAYED

By

BISHESHWAR PRASAD SINGH

The termination of Second World War ushered in a period of Political unrest in almost all the dependencies of the world. Nepal, a small country nestling in the bosom of the Southern slopes of Himalayas could be no exception to it. Political consciousness was also simmering in the minds of the people of that country which happens to be a close neighbour of India. For a century or more the shackles of the despotic rule of the Rana family was riveted on Nepal. Under their arbitrary and tyrannical rule, the masses were seething with discontent. Repression and exploitation were the rule of the day. Even the King of Nepal was powerless in the hands of the strong and powerful nobles and courtiers. He was to all intents and purposes a prisoner in his palace. The people were bereft of all civil and political rights worth the name. The natural concomitant of all those things was that the country sank into all round degeneration and for long Nepal was rated amongst the most backward countries of the world. The discontentment in the people reached its saturation point and found expression in pamphlets and newspapers which soon came out in abundance. Secret associations and several political parties were also formed in the wake of it. The more restive the people grew the more severe became the repression of the ruling Rana family. This age long repression and exploitation came to a head, when the people under the banner of the Nepali Congress rose in armed revolt against the ruling clique in Nov. 1950. The then king of Nepal Tribhuban Vir Vikram Shah also rose to the occasion and rendered valuable service and gave his active co-operation in the people's freedom struggle.

Thus the people could shake off the Rana rule and the king proclaimed the laying of the foundation of a democratic set-up in the country. Efforts were made to overhaul the entire administrative machinery and an expert commission was also set up for drafting a new constitution. But unfortunately for Nepal, democratic institutions could not take their roots for some years. Ministeries were made and re-made within short intervals. Reactionaries also tried to raise their heads and made several attempts to stage a counter-revolution. But these refractory movements were quelled with a stern hand. The sagacity, perseverance and the unruffled nature of the king and his love for democratic institutions went a long way towards the ushering in of a democratic set-up in the country. And not ere long a new democratic constitution was drawn up. The new constitution came in to force from 30th June, 1959 and the new

Government made efforts to implement it through out the length and breadth of the country.

On a deep study of the constitution, certain peculiarities and special features come out on the surface. On the following lines, we shall try to trace those features.

KING

It envisages the provision of the office of kingship for Nepal. Article ten lays down that the executive power in the country will vest in the king. He will be responsible for safeguarding of the constitution and for the maintenance of law and order. But it is stipulated that the king can exercise those powers only on the advice of the Prime Minister. The constitution also provides for some powers which can be exercised by the king on his own discretion. Any decision taken by the king by virtue of this discretionary power will be regarded as final and its validity shall not be called into question by any court of law.

On first appearance it seems that the Nepalese constitution has been framed on the British model. But in constitutions which adhere to British pattern, King becomes a titular head and the real powers vest in the hands of the Council of Ministers, they being responsible to the elected members of the Parliament. But here we find that efforts have been made to make the office of kingship especially strong by investing him with discretionary powers and powers in connection with the safeguarding of the constitution and maintenance of law and order. To my mind this will be prejudicial to the growth of parliamentary institutions in that nascent democracy.

COUNCIL OF STATE

The constitution also provides a Council of States which will be comprised by the different kinds of members e.g. speakers and deputy speakers of the Senate and House of Representatives respectively, the present and the past Ministers of the Crown and such persons whom the King may nominate by virtue of his discretionary powers. The King is empowered to summon the meeting of the Council of State and it is he who will preside over its deliberations. It is one of the functions of the Council of State to form regional councils if and when the King is a minor or suffering from some physical or mental infirmity. Besides these the King may in his discretion consult the Council of State when discharging his duties under the framework of the constitution.

From the aforesaid narrative, it becomes clear that the Council of State will be constituted by distinguished men of pre-eminence in the country. Thus the King will keep in constant touch with past and present leaders. By such a provision a flaw has crept in, which we in no sense can call it minor. The King may choose anybody whomsoever it may please His Majesty. In this way he will be able

to fill the Council with his close adherents, without having due regard to their efficiency and accomplishments. In the interest of democracy it would have been better if the arena of King's choice was circumscribed by adoption of a convention that the King would only nominate persons who have acquired pre-eminence in the field of literature, arts, science and social services etc.

CABINET AND PRIME MINISTER

The provision of a cabinet system of government may also be considered to be one of the salient features of the constitution. The ministry of Nepal will comprise of Ministers and Assistant Ministers whose number will be fourteen and ten respectively. Out of them two Ministers and two Assistant Ministers will be taken from the Senate.

The constitution also provides for an office of the Prime Ministership. Generally the King will appoint such person as Prime Minister who happens to be the Leader of the party which commands the majority in the House of Representatives. But in cases where any of the parties fail to secure a clear majority in the House, the King is empowered to appoint any person who is not a member of either House of Parliament. In such cases a person so selected will have to get himself elected as one of the members of either House of the Parliament within four months. This provision of a possible appointment of the Prime Minister from outside the Parliament seems to be a unique feature.

Like England the Prime Minister will have to tender his resignation if a vote of non-confidence is passed against him in the lower House. In such cases the Ministry will also be dissolved. One peculiar feature is that if the King in his discretion believes that the Prime Minister in the process of governance is working against the expressed provisions of the constitution, His Majesty may after holding due consultation with Council of State remove the Prime Minister from his office. Thus the King of Nepal has been equipped with extra-ordinary powers which have been denied either to the British King or to the Indian President.

PARLIAMENT AND SPEAKER

The constitution also envisages the provision of a parliament for Nepal which will be bi-cameral, the Upper House being known as Senate and the lower as House of Representatives. The Senate shall be composed of thirty-six members out of which half the members will be nominated by the King and the other half will be elected by the House of Representatives. The idea of the half the members being nominated by the King in his discretion seems to accord ill to the best interests of democracy. Because in such cases chances will be there of men of vested interests finding their places in the Senate. I think Nepal will do well if she takes cue from the Indian practice and tries to emulate the Indian President in his

nomination of twelve members of the Council of State from amongst talented persons.

It has been also provided in the constitution that one hundred and nine members will be directly elected on adult franchise for the House of Representatives. But unlike the Indian counterpart there is no provision for reserved seats and double-member constituency. One queer feature in the constitution is that the moment a member is elected the Speaker in the Lower House, he will have to resign his membership from the House. Membership of the House has not been considered indispensable for the selection of a Speaker, and outsiders may as well, be taken as Speakers without any let of or hinderance. Such a novel feature is not to be seen anywhere else in the world and Nepal seems to proffer up a unique experiment in the constitutional field.

SUPREME COURT

A Supreme Court has been provided for Nepal. The Chief Justice will be appointed by the King with the consultation of the Prime Minister and likewise the other Judges with the consultation of the Chief Justice. The Judges can be removed only on the grounds of gross misconduct, dereliction of duty and inefficiency. The question of removal will be decided by a tribunal, the personnel of which will be appointed by the King. It is true that the Supreme Court has been invested with the powers of Judicial Review, but strangely enough the constitution remains silent regarding the requisite qualifications and other requirements for the intending candidates for Judgeship. In the democratic set up, the judiciary has been regarded as the watch-dog of the liberties of the citizens and as such it is desired that judiciary should discharge their functions without caring for favour or frown. But curiously enough here the King through the said Tribunal may have some hold on the judiciary which again is not in consonance with democratic set up.

EMERGENCY PROVISIONS ETC.

The King of Nepal has been invested with some emergency powers which are real and at the same time seem to be arbitrary. Article 17 provides that whenever the King in his discretion thinks that it is impossible to find out a suitable person for the office of the Prime Ministership from amongst the members of the lower Chamber which can command a majority in the House, the King may after consulting the Council of State dissolve the Parliament and all the functions of the cabinet will be exercised by him in his discretion directly or through a cabinet chosen by him in consultation with the Council of State. This interim period will continue till the Assembling of a new Parliament or till a suitable person is found out for the office of the Prime Ministership. For many it will be difficult to reconcile with the idea that the King should continue to wield the arbitrary powers till a suitable Prime Minister is found out.

Whenever the King in his discretion is satisfied after consultation with the Council of State that the system of parliamentary government contemplated by the constitution has broken down, he may by proclamation in his discretion suspend any provision regarding fundamental rights, executive and legislature. Normally the duration of the period of emergency will be twelve months but in cases where it is not possible to hold general election or in situation where parliamentary government is beyond the realm of possibility, this can be extended further.

We also see the apogee of the King's emergency powers during the period of war or external aggression or internal disturbances. In such circumstances if the King in his discretion is satisfied that there is a grave menace to the peace and tranquility of Nepal or any part thereof and if there is any threat to the economic life of the country, His Majesty may take over the entire reins of government in his own hands. He can suspend the whole or any part of the constitution save and except those related to the Supreme Court. To accord such extra-ordinary powers to the executive head in a parliamentary form of government seems to run counter to the best interests of the country. There are ominous forebodings of the King abusing his powers and his becoming a dictator at any length of time.

AMENDMENT

The articles relating to amendments of the constitution have also their own peculiarities. The bill relating to the amendment of the constitution must be passed by two-third majority in both the Houses of parliament. Thus at first sight it may seem that the amending process is flexible. But on a closer study it will be found out that no proposal of amendment can be carried through if the King chooses to oppose it. Because half of the members of the Senate are King's nominees. Obviously enough they can ill-afford to go against the King. Thus this provision also poses a severe threat in the path of the country's progress.

Nepal staged successfully her first general election according to the King's past announcement only last year. Popular government under the Premiership of Shri B. P. Koirala has been formed. The country has pulled her shutters against the political uncertainties and instabilities which they were experiencing since the last nine years. We fervently hope that there will be no recurrence of it. Thus the new constitution has become the first mile-stone in Nepal's endeavour to establish a constitutional and parliamentary set up in the country.

SOCIALISM IN HERBERT SPENCER

By

C. R. RATHEE

Herbert Spencer is generally known as an uncompromising advocate of individualism. Like many other individualistic thinkers, he also called government "a necessary evil" and considered its continuance as a "proof of still-existing barbarism". The State, according to him, is only a "joint-stock protection-society" and its function is merely that of a protector.

"To administer justice, to mount guard over men's rights, to prevent aggression, is simply to render society possible to enable men to live together, to keep them in contact with their new conditions".

The State should not execute anything else than this three-fold function, and "the moment it does any thing more than protect, it becomes an aggressor instead of a protector". Thus he would not allow the State to spend any public money either on the relief of the poor, or on education, or on any sanitary supervision. These are, according to him, not essential functions of the State. But when this staunch individualist deals with the problem of the "right to the use of the earth", we get a different view altogether. Of course, he considers this view to be quite in consonance with the fundamental principle of his book *Social Statics*, namely, that

"Every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man".

We shall here see Spencer as a socialist and his view on the question of property in land is of special interest to us to-day in the context of the present controversy over the problem of ownership of land in this country.

"Given", he argues, "a race of beings having like claims to pursue the objects of their desires - given a world adapted to the gratification of those desires - a world into which such beings are similarly born, and it unavoidably follows that they have equal rights to the use of this world. For, if each of them 'has freedom to do all that he wills provided he infringes not equal freedom of any other', then each of them is free to use the earth for the satisfaction of his wants, provided he allows all others the same liberty". And conversely, it is manifest that no one, or part of them, may use the earth in such a way as to prevent the rest from similarly using it; seeing that to do this is to assume greater freedom than the rest, and consequently to break the law".

"Equity, therefore" he maintains, "does not permit property in land. For, if one portion of the earth's surface may justly become

And speaking about "the earth itself, as that which takes in and carries with it all the rest", he has observed:

"I think it is plain that property in that too is acquired as the former. As much land as a man tills, plants, improves, cultivates, and can use the product of, so much is his property. He by his labour does, as it were enclose it from the common".

"Nor will it invalidate" he adds, "his right to say (that) everybody else has an equal title to it, and therefore he cannot appropriate, he can not enclose, without the consent of all his fellowcommoners, all mankind. God, when He gave the world in common to all mankind, commanded man also to labour, and the penury of his condition required it of him. He, that in obedience to this command of God, subdued, tilled, and sowed any part of it, thereby annexed to it something that was his property, which another had no title to, nor could without injury take from him".

While denying, however the individual's right to property, Spencer admits his claim to compensation for effecting any improvement in land. We shall refer to this point later on.

It may be noted here that Spencer regards an equitable distribution of earth amongst the people of one generation as an impracticable proposition. In the first place, the question of a fair division of land is "vetoed by the difficulty of fixing the values of respective tracts of land. Variations in productiveness, different degrees of accessibility, advantages of climate, proximity to the centres of civilization—these, and other such considerations, remove the problem out of the sphere of mere mensuration into the region of impossibility". In the second place, there is the problem of determining "who are to be the allottees".

"Shall adult males" he asks, for instance "and all who have reached twenty-one on a specified day, be fortunate individuals? If so, what is to be done with those who come of age on the morrow?" etc.

Thus there will be many people who will constitute a class who will have "no right to a resting place on earth—as living by the sufferance their fellowmen—as being practically serfs". The existence of such a class is "wholly at variance with the law of equal freedom".

"United, therefore", he says, "we can produce valid commission authorizing us to make this distribution—until it can be proved that God has given one charter of privileges to one generation and another to next—until we can demonstrate that men born after a certain date are doomed to slavery, we must consider that no such allotment is permissible".

Spencer next asks whether his views will lead to a state of communism, or will make men return to a state of nature. "Neither", he replies. Such a doctrine as his is "consistent with the highest state of civilization; may be carried out without involving a community

of goods; and needs cause no very serious revolution in existing arrangements".

"The change required", he observes, "would simply be a change of landlords. Separate ownerships would merge into the joint-stock ownership of the public. Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great corporate body-society. Instead of leasing his acres from an isolated proprietor, the farmer would lease them from the nation."

And the "stewards would be public officials instead of private ones; and tenancy the only land tenure".

"A state of things so ordered", he continues, "would be in perfect harmony with the moral law. Under it all men would be equally land-lords; all men would be alike free to become tenants.... All would be equally free to bid; all would be equally free to refrain".

Spencer is aware of the great difficulties that "must attend the resumption, by mankind at large, of their rights to the soil". The problem of equitable compensation, for example, to existing proprietors is one of an extremely complicated character.

"Had we to deal", he says, "with the parties who originally robbed the human race of its heritage we might make short work of the matter. But unfortunately most of our present landowners are men who have, either mediately or immediately either by their own acts, or by the acts of their ancestors—given for their estates, equivalents of honestly—earned wealth, believing that they were investing their savings in a legitimate manner. To justly estimate and liquidate the claims of such is one of the most intricate problems society will one day have to solve". But with this perplexity and our extrication from it" he observes, "abstract morality has no concern. Men having got themselves into the dilemma by disobedience to the law, must get out of it as well as they can; and with as little injury^{*} to the landed class as may be."

Thus, according to him, there should not be any appropriation of land without compensation. But this question of compensation should not stand in the way of socialisation of land as the question of the landless class has also to be considered.

"In our tender regard", he warns, "for the vested interests of few, let us not forget that the rights of many are in abeyance; and must remain so, as long as the earth is monopolized by individuals. Let us remember, too, that injustice thus inflicted on the mass of mankind, is an injustice of the gravest nature".

* It is worthy of note here that Spencer's view on this point is in agreement with that of Judge Story who has stated, commenting on the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America that private property must not be taken for public use without first compensation. (*Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 4th Ed., 1873, Vol. II Section 1790).

The fact that this injustice has not been so regarded, proves nothing. "In early phases of civilization", he points out, "even homicide is thought lightly of". The sacrifice of the "suttees of India" and the institution of slavery were once considered to be "perfectly justifiable". But with the progress of civilization new social ideas emerge. "A higher social development however", he remarks, "has generated in us a better faith, and we now to a considerable extent recognize the claims of humanity."

"But our civilization", he continues, "is only partial. It may by-and-by be perceived, that Equity utters dictates to which we have not yet listened; and men may learn, that to deprive others of their rights to the use of the earth, is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties". In conclusion Spencer repeats that

"The right of each man to the use of the earth, limited only by the like rights of fellowmen, is immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom"; that "the maintenance of this right necessarily forbids private property in land"; that the theory of the co-heirship of all men to the soil is consistent with the highest civilization"; and, lastly, that, however difficult it may be to embody that theory in fact, Equity sternly commands it to be done."

Thus the great champion of individualism was an equally great and enthusiastic advocate of socialism when he dealt with the question of ownership of land in a society. The views expressed by him in this connection anticipated many modern ideas about the question.

ELECTIONS IN KERALA - A FACTUAL STUDY

By

K. R. RAJGOPALAN

The nucleus of the present State of Kerala is composed of the twin States of Travancore and Cochin. Both were princely States with long traditions comprising together an area of 9144 sq. miles and a population of 9280 thousand. In 1935, the Maharaja of Cochin had formed a Legislative Council with a majority of elected members and in 1937 a new constitution was introduced by which the "Nation Building departments" were assigned to a minister chosen from amongst the elected representatives of the Council. In Travancore also, there was a representative assembly called the Moolam Sabha. But the main role of these councils was advisory and the real power vested in the Diwans appointed by the Maharajas. Both States were fortunate in having had a series of able administrators, and had none of the backwardness usually associated with Indian princely States. The Maharaja of Cochin was the first to hail the merger of Princely States. Elections based on adult franchise were held in 1948 in both states separately.

For the first time, an Interim Constitution Act was promulgated in Travancore by which Pattam Thanu Pillai, leading the Congress Party in the Legislature with 65 out of 96 members, formed the first popular ministry in March 1948.

But this Ministry resigned, following frictions within the Congress Party and a new leader Parur T. K. Narayana Pillai was asked to form the Ministry towards October 1948. The two States were merged into the United State of Travancore-Cochin on 27th June, 1949 with the Maharaja of Travancore as the Rajpramukh. The same Narayana Pillai ministry continued with two more ministers from Cochin State in the cabinet. At this time, the Congress Party had a strength of 44, Socialists 12, Communists and Allies 32, other parties 9 and Independents 11.

Within 3 years, however, this ministry too resigned and a caretaker ministry led by Kesavan was functioning till March. After the General Elections of 1952, the Congress party formed a Ministry led by A. J. John. This Ministry continued for nearly 18 months and failing to get a vote of confidence from the Legislature, had to resign in September 1953. The Assembly was also dissolved and fresh elections were ordered by the Central Government.

In February next year, elections took place and the first Praja Socialist Party (PSP) ministry was formed by Pattam Thanu Pillai

(who had headed the First Congress Ministry in 1948) on the basis of the support from the Congress Party. But this too fell, owing to a vote of no-confidence in February 1955. The same month saw the formation of another Congress Ministry headed by Panampilli Govinda Menon but after only 13 months in office, this ministry in turn, had to make way for President's rule from March 1956.

The Re-organisation of States followed and elections to the new Kerala State took place along with elections all over the Country in 1957 and the First Communist Ministry was formed (headed by E. M. S. Namboodripad) in April 1957. That this Ministry was dissolved by the President taking over the Administration in July-August 1959 is now too recent to be stressed and the Second Mid-term elections or the fourth elections after the merger were held in February 1960. Congress Party has now been returned with a majority and a government formed by both Congress and PSP members has been installed in office last month.

The aim of this article is to present in the sequel an analysis of the results of voting or expression of popular will in the Four Elections of 1952, 54, 57 and 60. The first two were for the erstwhile Travancore and Cochin State only but before the Mid-term elections took place, there had been a good deal of changes in the constituencies following fresh delimitation. Thus these two results too are not strictly comparable. Elections of 1957 and 1960 are comparable.

1952 ELECTIONS

There were a number of parties contesting, with a usual large number of Independents which has been a characteristic of Indian elections. The important among them were – The Congress, Socialists, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and (RSP), Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (TTNC). The last named was a State-party formed on the eve of elections asking for separate representation on the basis of languages. There was a ban on the Communist Party which was lifted only a few days before the elections and so the members of that party had to stand as Independents mostly. Out of the 12 seats to the Parliament, Congress won six, the RSP and TTNC one each and the remaining went to the Independents. There were 47 contestants in all. Polling was quite heavy with an average of 71 percent. Electoral participation was highest in the Kottayam constituency, (which was a record for the whole country) with more than 80 percent of voters casting their votes. Congress won 35% of votes, the Socialists 13 percent, RSP 6% and other parties and Independents 46%.

For the Assembly which had 108 seats, there were 441 contestants or roughly 4 per seat. Nearly 34 lakhs of valid votes (percentage 70) were polled in the Assembly Constituencies also and the following

table gives the details of candidates set up, won, votes polled etc., along with percentages.

TABLE-I

	Seats			Votes	
	Contested	won	%	Secured	%
Congress	104	44	40.8	1204364	35.4
R.S.P.	11	6	5.6	118333	3.5
Socialists	70	11	10.2	485194	14.3
T.T.N.C.	14	8	7.4	201118	6.0
Others	242	39	36.0	1389184	40.8
	441	108	100.0	3398193	100.0

Electoral participation was highest with 92.6 per cent in the Bharanikavu Constituency (again, an All-India record for Assembly constituencies). It will be seen from the above table that Congress, TTNC and the R.S.P. have won a larger percentage of seats than votes and for the other two groups – Socialists and other including independents – it is the converse. There were only four districts, viz., Trivandrum, Quilon, Kottayam and Trichur. Analysing the results district-wise, the Congress has come out successful only in Kottayam securing 14 out of the 20 seats; and fairly good in Trichur securing 13 out of the 27 seats. In the Trivandrum district having 24 seats, Congress had secured only 3, Socialist bagging 7, T.T.N.C. 6 and the Leftists – Group 6. In Quilon (the merged Cochin State formed part of this district) out of 36 seats, Congress secured 14 and the Leftists group 17 seats. We look at the wins from another angle also. A win will be characterised as an 'outright' or a 'Majority' win if the winning candidate polls more than 50 percent of votes cast in that constituency – or, alternatively he polls more votes than all his opponents put together. In the other case, the win will be characterised as one by 'split of votes'. For the sake of this analysis only 83 seats have been considered excluding the double-member constituencies and uncontested returns. For the whole state, 34 have been 'outright' wins and 49 have been 'split of votes'-wins. Congress had 10 of the first category and 21 of the second kind; Socialists had 3 each and for the other parties the distribution was RSP – 1, 5; TTNC 4, 1; others 16, 19. It is clear that the Congress had benefitted largely from split of votes securing 68 percent of its wins by 'split' only. The smaller group of TTNC had registered 'majority' wins in 4 out of 5 cases showing its strength in those constituencies. The highest votes secured by a winning candidate were in Karthikapally where a Socialist won and in Alleppey where an Independent won, each polling more than 70 percent of the votes cast in that constituency. The lowest percentage was 24 in Nagercoil.

1954 ELECTIONS

After a fresh drafting of the constituencies, elections in February 1954 were for 117 constituencies and the Rajpramukh had the power to nominate one Anglo-Indian Member to the Legislative Assembly. When an election is held soon after the first, it is rare for a very literate democracy to show great interest. But in this instance, it was not so; the percentage increasing to 80. The total electorate increased by about 2 lakhs but nearly 5 lakh more votes were polled than in the 1952 elections. The number of contestants was very low, being only 260 for the 117 seats (average 2.2 candidates per seat, compared to 4 in 1952). The number of contesting parties and independents was also smaller – the Congress, TTNC and the Leftist parties (who had an electoral understanding among them). The Communist party, for the first time, contested the elections under its own name. All the parties were eager to see that Congress was not elected to power and in as many as 90 constituencies, the fight was a straight one between the Congress and one of the Leftist parties. There were only two constituencies which had more than three candidates in the field. The Socialist party was fighting this election under its new banner viz., the Praja-Socialist Party (PSP) – again led by Pattom Thanu Pillai, the veteran. It made an ‘Electoral Arrangement’ and not an ‘Alliance’ with the Leftist parties to multi-cornered fights and hence splitting of the votes. Avoiding scrupulously all mention of its part after the Elections, PSP was able to secure the active support of the Leftist parties in the seats where it was pitted against the Congress – but it had not committed itself to supporting the same group in the Post-election Assembly. But it was widely believed that the PSP would not support any Ministry which might be formed by the Congress, if it failed to secure the majority mandate from the people. The details of seats contested and won, votes secured, with percentages are given in the table below :

TABLE II

Party	Seats			Votes		Average No. Per Candi- dature.
	Contested	Won	%	Polled	%	
Communist ..	35	23	19.7	641,046	17.0	18,316
Congress ..	115	45	38.5	1762,939	45.0	15,330
P. S. P. ..	38	19	16.2	631,622	16.0	16,622
R. S. P. ..	12	9	7.7	212,354	5.5	17,686
T.T.N.C. ..	16	12	10.2	237,408	6.0	14,838
Other parties & Independents ..	44	9	7.7	403,182	10.5	9 163
Total	260	117	100.0	3,888,551	100.0	14,955

As in the 1952 elections, TTNC and RSP and to some extent the Communists also, secured a larger percentage of seats than votes. PSP had the same percentage as before and the Congress and the ‘others’ group had more votes than seats. Comparing the figure with those in Table I, we see that the Congress was able to secure practically the same number of seats as before – but this out of 115 seats compared to 104 seats in ‘52. It has already been remarked that most of the Congress seats in the previous elections were won by ‘split of votes’ and in this election, there are only few (27 to be exact) seats which did not have a straight fight. The Congress polled 5½ lakhs more votes. The TTNC polled almost the same number of votes, and the RSP had about 1 lakh more votes. The Socialist-PSP party also polled more votes than before – 1½ lakhs. Hence the larger number of votes available through heavier polling appeared to have been shared by Congress and the PSP mostly. A better indication of the support that each party had, could perhaps be got by taking the average number of votes polled for each party, working these figures out, we get the figures given in the last column of Table II. These averages show Congress and TTNC were both at the bottom (excluding the others group). The two leftist parties Communist and RSP concentrated in only those places where they had a good backing and hence secured high averages. The low average of TTNC; which is such a compact group is rather surprising and it may be due to the fact that it was involved in more triangular fights than the others. While PSP, RSP and the Communists had an understanding among themselves and against Congress (and TTNC too), TTNC had no such understanding. PSP as a part were able to render a better account, mainly by reducing the number of candidates set up by half. Congress was able to win only 39 percent of its contests (compare this figure with the percentages for majority wins in the previous elections – 31%). While the Leftist parties together won 60 percent of theirs.

Analysing the results districtwise, we get the following figures.

TABLE III

District	Seats won by				
	Congress	UFL*	PSP	TTNC	Others
Trivandrum (27) ..	1	8	8	10	—
Quilon (38) ..	8	23	7	—	—
Kottayam (23) ..	15	3	2	2	1
Trichur (29) ..	21	6	2	—	—

*UFL—United Front of Leftists includes Communists and other pro communist candidates.

Thus the Congress retained its position in the Kottayam district and gained noticeably in the Trichur district, losing heavily in the southern districts of Trivandrum and Quilon. In Trivandrum, the three parties – UFL, PSP and TTNC appeared to be equally in power and in Quilon, UFL led over others.

Thus the picture that emerged from this Mid-term elections was also a nebulous one. The Congress (even taking the TTNC along with it) getting 57 seats, PSP getting 19 seats and the other Leftists 40 seats with a solitary unattached independence. It was never expected that TTNC would make common cause with Congress and so the position was far from being satisfactory. Soon after the elections, Pattom Thanu Pillai expressed his support for a UFL-PSP Ministry and was almost immediately elected leader of the combined group. The TTNC was a party set up on language considerations and the leftist parties being more amenable to linguistic provinces than the Congress, it was perhaps in its interest to support a leftist Ministry. Even with the alliance, the leftist ministry had a precarious majority, (59 out of 117): To add to the confusion, the Rajpramukh nominated an Anglo-Indian Congress member. In the political wranglings and bargaining behind the scenes, and with a verdict from its Head Quarters, PSP openly repudiated the agreement made with the Leftist groups. Congress was not inclined to form a ministry with the meagre following it had in the Legislature. PSP claimed that it was the only party which could offer a clean and good Government—even though it had only 19 seats in a house of 118 and it opined that once it formed the Government, support would come gradually. Congress though not anxious to form a Government, nevertheless wanted 'to avoid President's rule' once again and so it decided to support the PSP ministry 'without any political commitment'. The Rajpramukh took perhaps the only course possible under the circumstances, even though there were many who questioned this, and asked the PSP to form the Ministry. Thus once again Pattom Thanu Pillai headed the cabinet with his small following of nineteen and two weeks after the elections, he was installed as Chief Minister. It has been widely acclaimed as a move which has no parallel in the history of Parliament or of democratic practice any where in the world. This ministry, as has been remarked, fell after being in office only for 11 months, followed by a Congress Ministry, which also fell after another 13 months! So it was President's Rule once again, only two years after the Mid-term Elections.

REORGANISATION OF STATES

On 1st November, 1956, most of the States of India were organised on a Linguistic basis and the present Kerala State was set up by adding the Malabar District and the Kasargod Taluk of South Kanara District from the Madras State excepting the Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands. Four Taluks of Trivandrum, and a part of the Shencottah Taluq (predominantly Tamil Speaking areas, where the TTNC was strong) were merged in Madras State. Thus for the first time all the Malayalam speaking peoples were brought under one State. This part of the Country has had a cultural and social distinction of its own right through historic times. The density

of population is very heavy and the percentage of literacy is also high. The North-western part is a rich plantation area growing coffee, tea, rubber, pepper etc., and with the addition of the forest areas from the Madras State, the forest wealth of Kerala has increased.

Consequent on the Re-organisation of States, a further revision has been made in the distribution of constituencies and the New Kerala State sends 18 representatives to the Lok Sabha and has 126 members in its Legislative Assembly.

BYE-ELECTIONS

Before going into the analysis of the other elections, the bye-elections that took place between 1952 to 1957 may be briefly reviewed. There was only one Bye-election to the Lok Sabha from the Meenachil Constituency and the Congress was able to retain its seat. Four Bye-elections took place for the State Assembly in the following constituencies - Chavara, Chengannur (General and Reserved) and Trichur.

Congress won three of the seats, the one seat going to the RSP, all the parties retaining their seats. Generally speaking, polling was higher in the bye-elections than in the General Elections in all cases, showing thereby that a good deal of importance was attached to these elections.

1957 ELECTIONS-PARLIAMENT

All the 18 seats were contested and the parties were - Communists, Congress, Muslim League (ML), PSP and RSP and a number of Independents. 58 candidates or a little over 3 contestants per seat were in the fight. The details of votes secured and seats won, with percentages are given below:

Party	Seats			Votes	
	Contested	Won	%	Polled	%
Communists	15	9	50.0	22,67,888	37.5
Congress	17	6	33.3	21,02,887	34.7
M. L.	4	1	5.6	3,51,940	5.8
PSP	8	1	5.6	4,38,459	7.2
RSP	3			3,08,742	5.1
Independents	11	1	5.6	5,80,536	9.7

Thus while for the Congress the two percentages are almost the same, for the Communists, the seats-percentage is much higher. *It almost always happens that the party with the majority (or atleast, the largest number) of seats in the Legislature will have polled a lesser percentage of votes.* The number of independent contestants has

been reduced considerably. Out of the 13 who forfeited their deposit amount were, Congress 1, PSP 5 and others 5. No Communist lost his deposit. In all 66 percent of 92 lakh voters exercised their franchise. The largest majority secured was by the Communist candidate (1,08,393) in a three cornered contest in the General Seat of Quilon constituency, and the smallest was 1,382 secured by a Congressman in the Tellicherry constituency – also three cornered. In the Palghat double member constituency, both the elected candidates belonged to Scheduled Castes, and both had filled their nominations for the Reserved Seat only. The election law provides that in a Double-member constituency, when two scheduled caste candidates poll a larger number of votes than others, then irrespective of whether their nominations were for the General or Reserved seats, they should be declared elected. A number of such cases arose all over the country during this election there; in both the elected candidates had contested only for the Reserved seat. The matter was taken to the Law courts also by the affected candidates for the General Seat but the Courts ruled that the procedure was justifiable according to the existing provisions of Electoral Law. The provision still continues on the Statute Book, and we might have many more cases of that type in the ensuing elections also.

FOR THE ASSEMBLY

More than 58 lakhs of voters participated in the Elections with a percentage of 65.5. The highest figure of 83% was in Karunagapally and the lowest of 41.6% was recorded in Kasargod. The table below gives the relevant details of seats and votes for the various parties; one seat – Manjeswar – was uncontested and so the analysis will be only for 125 seats.

TABLE V

Parties	Seats			Votes	
	Contested	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage
Communists	101	60	48.0	20,59,547	35.3
Congress	124	43	34.4	22,09,251	37.8
M. L.	17	8	6.4	2,70,470	4.6
P. S. P.	64	9	7.2	6,28,261	10.8
R. S. P.	27			1,88,443	3.2
Independents	55	5	4.0	4,81,605	8.3
Total	388	125	100.0	58,37,577	100.0

Again, the largest single party in the Legislature – the Communists have secured more seats than votes and for the Congress it is just the reverse though the difference is not much.

The Communists have won 60% of their contests and have lost deposits only in 4 cases: for the Congress the percentage was 35% and 4%. The full figures are given for all the Parties below:

TABLE VI

Percentage of wins for each party and for deposit losing.

	Contested	Won	Seats	
			Percentage of win	Percentage of losing deposit
Communists	101	60	60	4
Congress	124	43	35	4
M. L.	17	8	47	0
P. S. P.	64	9	14	44
R. S. P.	27			82
Independents	55	5	9	55

The rout of the R. S. P. is very definite: 82 percent of their partymen losing deposits. While in the previous elections they contested only a dozen seats, now they had set up as many as 27 candidates. The PSP also has not fared well – again having set up a very large number of candidates. Their position is almost similar to what they were in 1952, when too, they had 70 contestants in the field. The lesson of 1954 elections (when they set up only 38 and won 50% then) does not seem to have had the desired effect. Thus the record of the PSP is only a little better than the motley group of Independents. Communists have registered a very convincing percentage of win, the Congress lagging far behind. While in 1952 the Congress won 42% of its fights, the percentage went down to 39% in 1954 54 out of 115, and in 1957 it has further gone down to 35! Thus though it has been polling a larger number of votes each time, there does appear to be something wrong. The Communists not having contested in 1952, secured 23 out of 35 seats in 1954 (65%) when they had an electoral understanding with other parties: in 1957 even after tripling the number of places it contested, the percentage of wins has been reduced only by 5%.

There were 101 single member constituencies and 12 double-member constituencies or 24 seats. The Communist won 14 double member seats, and 46 single member-member seats: the figures for Congress were 8 and 35 respectively. Thus the Communists appeared to have won more in Double-member areas than in Single member ones. In three constituencies, both the elected members belonged to the Scheduled Castes alone: thus there were 27 scheduled caste members in the Assembly, as against the Reserved strength of 24.

The representation of women in the legislature is good indeed, there being six of them evenly distributed between the two major parties! The only woman member of the *cabinet* won a straight fight and in all other cases, the contest was between three or more people.

The analysis is carried a step further by examining the nature of wins. There have been only 29 seats in which the contestants were more than three. The number of seats won by each party with majority and without majority (or split of votes) are given below:

TABLE VII

	Total	Communists	Congress	ML	PSP	Ind.
Without majority	64	28	21	5	8	2
With majority	61	32	22	3	1	3

Thus the Communists have registered a slightly higher proportion of wins by majority than the Congress. The other two minor parties ML and PSP – much more so the latter; have more by 'split of votes'. All the five elected Independents having agreed to support the Communists (One of them was appointed as Minister later), the proportion of majority win for that party would be more. Again out of 23 straight fights (where there were only two candidates contesting), Communists and the supporters have won 13 in all, the Congress has won 9 only.

We next give a pointer to assess the organisational strength of the contesting parties. Three averages for each party would be computed – (1) A general average vote per candidate of that party e. g. the 124 Congress contestants in all have polled 22,09,251 votes and so the average thereof would be 17,878. (2) A "Success" average, e. g., the 60 winning Communists have among themselves polled 14,70,136 votes and so the 'success' average for that party works out to 24,502. (3) Lastly, the 'failure' average. The votes secured by only the unsuccessful candidates of that party is divided by the number of losses of that party. The full figures for the four parties are given below:

TABLE VIII

Three Averages No. of Votes

	Communists	Congress	M.L.	P. S. P.
'General' Average	20,595	17,818	15,900	9,817
'Success' Average	24,502	21,398	17,807	20,912
'Failure' Average	14,735	15,915	14,224	8,001

Some explanation would be given. So far, in all analysis of Election results presented in this country, the total votes secured by a party as a whole in the elections has been the main point of

consideration for assessing the 'backing' of that party among the electorate. It is submitted for consideration by all concerned that this figure is grossly inadequate for the purpose and usually leads to fallacious reasoning. In a democracy, it is not enough for a party to have 'some' following in the area of its operation (as revealed by the total votes it polls) but it must be able to muster such a backing as to wing the election. Usually parties appear to over estimate their strength and set up candidates without trying to assess whether they are likely to win or not – perhaps in the fond hope that they might secure a win by the 'splitting of votes'. Also the total votes polled by a party may be 'inflated' unduly by the presence of a few important individuals in the party – who would have won the election on whichever party ticket they contested. Many such instances can be cited in support thereof. Voting in India is still largely for the individual (more especially when he is a "big one") than for the party. So, the average vote of the party per candidate will give a better picture than the total votes of party. Elections are won by the margin of a few thousand votes on the border and so if the party has really good backing among the people, it must be able to poll almost the same number of votes (on the average) whether its candidate wins or losses. Hence there should not be a very divergence between the three averages defined above for each party.

Looked at from this point of view, the figures for the ML alone are pretty close – this perhaps is because it has concentrated locally in few places where there is a large Muslim population, and in other places, it has not ventured to contest. The other extreme is presented by the figures for the PSP, where a winning person polls 21,000 votes and a loser has only 8,000 voters behind him. The average for the Congress Party are also not as far out as those for the Communists. But the General Average and Success Average for the Communists are pretty high – the highest for all parties (more than 3,000 than the next figure in the table) and even its 'failure' average is lower only than that of Congress and higher than the other. Thus the wins of this party are quite convincing ones. Remembering that they have won 32 out of their 60 wins by 'majority' alone this view is strengthened.

Next we consider the difference between the winning candidate and the next contestant in the number of votes polled. This is usually referred to as the 'majority' of the winning candidate. There have been 23 cases where the majority has been more than 10,000 votes and out of these the Communists party has secured 18 seats Congress 4, the odd seat going to a Communist-supported Independent. Incidentally, this particular independent (Tellicherry Constituency) has polled the largest percent of votes – 64.20% cast for the election. The next high figure is 63.14% polled by a Congress candidate in the Thodupuzha Constituency.

The picture that emerges out of the foregoing analysis is that the Communist party has quite a strong following in the State and organisationally also it is powerful. The Muslim League too has restricted but nevertheless considerable support in a smaller area. In the PSP, only a few individuals appear to matter and as a party it does not have much backing in the State. The number of Independents has been going down at each election and so not much need be said about them. The Congress Party – though good organisationally from the three averages only – appears to be setting up candidates in places where it does not have much chance of winning. Perhaps, it might restrict the number of its candidates.

AFTER THE 1957 ELECTIONS

The Communist party being the largest single party in the Assembly was asked to form the cabinet. On the 5th April 1957, E. M. S. Namboodripad, a Communist veteran and a member of the Politburo for over 20 years, formed the first Ministry headed by Communists elected through the Ballot Box. Much has been said and written about the fact that the Communists were able to muster only 35% of the voters to vote for them. *In a system of elections as in our country, it has to be remembered that it is the number of seats which a party secures that matters and not the number of votes it polls.* If elections were being held under the more complicated system of Proportional Representation, then only the number of votes cast will become important. This latter system had its enthusiastic supporters in the United Kingdom more than anywhere else in the world and even they have given up this method now. The method is suitable when the number of electors is not unduly large and each of them is politically well educated, conscious and discerning in the exercise of his franchise. All these conditions are not satisfied in our country. But we too have retained the system of Proportional Representation in other restricted elections – such as elections to Legislative Councils, election of President and Vice-President etc. The criterion being the number of seats won by a party it is quite beside the point to argue about the minority number of votes secured by a Party. Enough material has been presented above to show how to assess the organisational strength of political parties. Looked at from this point of view, the Communist party appeared to be quite a well knit one. It would be quite pertinent to point out in this connection, that the Congress Party, which holds a very comfortable majority in the Parliament and had formed the Government in almost all the States in the Country (after 1957 elections) had been able to secure only 48% of votes cast in the Country. None would dream of saying that the Congress party does not have the backing of a majority of the people.

BYE-ELECTIONS

The only bye-election that took place between 1957 and 1960 came off on 19.9.1958 in the Devicolum Constituency and there was

a marshalling of strength by both the Congress and the Communist parties. Devicolum is one of the few places in Kerala State which have a large Tamil population. (There are even now, parties in Madras who blame the present Ministry for not insisting that Devicolum and Peermedu should be included in Madras State when the States were re-organised). The State Congress invited a number of congress leaders from Madras to canvas support for them. It was perhaps a strange sight to see the Chief Minister and other Ministers of one State to go and canvas against the constituted Government in a neighbouring state in a bye-election. Both the parties staked a good deal on this fight which was a straight one. Electoral participation was high indeed – 72% against 55 in the General Election – and the same Communist candidate won with a comfortable margin of 7,000 votes.

Perhaps this was the pinnacle of popularity for the Communist Party. And then the anti-climax started – so much so that fourteen months later it was dismissed by a Proclamation of the President. The factors that brought about this State of affairs have been many. But chiefly the following may be mentioned. The 'freedom' given to workers to strike and an 'assurance' that the police would not interfere, corruption for and on behalf of the Communist Party pervading all the stages in the Governmental hierarchy; the Education Bill, whose provisions though taken by themselves were not very revolutionary, but which were opposed by two very influential sections, namely the Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society. A Vimochana Samara Samiti (Liberation-war-Committee) was set up aiming at compelling the State Government to resign and/or for the Government of India to intervene and the 82 year old veteran Social Leader Mannath Padumanabham led this movement. After six weeks of Direct action, the President's Proclamation followed and the first ballot box Communist Ministry relinquished office on 31st July 1959, and Mid-term Elections were once again ordered.

ELECTIONS OF 1960

Elections took place on 1.2.1960 throughout the State for the same constituencies as in 1957. The conduct of elections was extremely orderly and satisfactory, there having been very few incidents.

This particular election had many interesting features. This was the first mid-term election in the country after the re-organisation of States. This was the first time that a non-congress party Government was dismissed and fresh elections ordered, even though the ruling party continued to command a majority in the legislature. Till now, the voter was required to put the Ballot paper in the box containing his candidate's name and symbol. So, each contesting candidate had a separate box. In this election, the voter was required to make a mark against the candidate he wanted to vote for and so

there was only one box per polling booth, for all the candidates together. This was the first time that this 'marking system' of voting was tried for the whole of a State – even though for many bye-elections the method had been tried. The number of invalid votes in this election has been 89,369 out of 81,93,127 votes polled roughly 1%). In the last elections, the number of invalid and rejected votes was 47 thousands. This, although there has been an increase in the wasted votes, the increase is not a significant one. This is the first time in the history of elections in this part of the country that two elections have been held for the same constituencies as before. The electoral participation has been very high indeed as many as 81 lakhs of votes having been polled, as against 58 lakhs in the 1957 elections. This might and will remain a record for the entire country.

The Congress, P. S. P. and Muslim League (M.L.) had an electoral understanding among themselves and contested the elections as a United Front, the candidates themselves retaining their Party symbols. But the propaganda was carried on by all the three parties together – flying the three party flags side by side, and the election meetings being addressed by the Leaders of all the three parties. Hence, the votes polled by the Front as a whole will have to be taken – as the votes polled by any one party will include the votes of the sympathisers and followers of the other two parties also.

For the 126 seats, the Communists set up 102 of their own candidates and supported 23 other independents. The United Front in all set up 125 candidates. Others in the field included 18 of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), 14 of the Kerala Socialist Party (KSP), 4 of the Lohia-Socialists, 3 of the Jan Sangh nominees, 2 of the Karnataka Samiti and 21 unattached independents. The average number of contestants per seat was 2.5 as against 3.1 in 1957.

There were 78 straight fights as against 23 in the previous occasion. 58 of these have been won by the United Front and the rest by the Communists. Out of the 42 constituencies in which three candidates contested, the Front won 31 and the Communists 8. Only in 6 cases the number of contestants was 4 or more and the Front won 5 of these. It will thus be seen that the Front has been quite successful, in all types of Constituencies.

Out of 126 seats, 102 are from single-member constituencies and 24 are from double-member ones – with 12 seats reserved for Scheduled Castes. Only 12 scheduled caste candidates have been elected as against 15 in the past assembly. The Front has won 77 of the single-member and 17 of the double member seats, figures for Communists and their independents are 22 and 7.

The results party-wise reveal that the other parties have made little impression on the Electorate. All the 14 of the KSP, 3 of the Jan Sangh, 3 out of four Lohia-Socialists and 15 out of the 18 RSP candidates failed to poll one sixth of the votes and so have forfeited

their deposit amounts. As against this, none of the major party candidates have lost deposit. In the last elections, the results were – Congress 5, Communists 4, PSP 28 and 22 out of 27 RSP. Only one RSP nominee, one Karnataka Samiti nominee (this party stands for the merger of the Kannada speaking areas in Kasargod with the Mysore State) and a solitary unattached Independent will be sitting in the newly constituted assembly. The RSP polling only 1.3 per cent of votes will lose its recognition as a State Party.

It has already been mentioned that 81 lakhs of votes have been polled this time as against 58 lakhs in the 1957 Elections. Out of the extra votes of nearly 23 lakhs, Communists have secured 9.2 lakhs; Congress 5.8 lakhs; M.L. 1.3 lakhs; PSP 5.2 lakhs. Thus a large number of the extra votes have been polled by the Communist Party which had practically the same number of contests in the two Elections. But the other three parties, though setting up fewer candidates, have been able to poll more votes than last time. Here it is to be remembered that the votes polled in the 1960 elections e.g. the Congressmen Party, includes the votes of the ML and PSP supporters and sympathisers as well.

We might perhaps compare the *average* number of votes polled per candidate of the various parties in the two elections; a direct comparison however, would hardly be justifiable as the last three parties fought *each other and the first party* in the 1957 elections but now they are fighting only the first party. The PSP which was at the tail end in 1957 has come almost first this time (see table VIII and XII). A better idea could be secured by comparing the total votes polled by the following two groups in the two elections – (i) Communists and Independents supported by them and (ii) Congress, ML and PSP.

TABLE IX – VOTES SECURED BY THE PARTY-GROUPS

	1957	1960	Increase
Group (i)	22,51,750	35,50,136	12,98,486
Group (ii)	30,98,982	43,37,248	12,38,266

Since the two groups had set up the same number of candidates in 1960, the figures in the last column show clearly that the Communists have been able to secure a larger number of voters this time.

For purposes of comparison, the percentages of votes and seats secured by the major parties in the two elections are given below :

TABLE X – PERCENTAGES ONLY

	1957		1960	
	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
Communists	35.3	48.0	36.7	20.7
Congress	37.8	34.4	34.5	50.0
M. L.	4.6	6.4	4.9	8.7
P. S. P.	10.8	7.2	14.2	15.9

Thus the larger electoral participation has resulted in higher percentages in the case of the Communists and PSP only; for the M.L., the figures are almost the same; the Congress has polled a smaller percentage of votes. Again, the largest single party in the Legislature viz., the Congress has secured a larger percentage of seats than votes. It has already been pointed out earlier that this would generally be so. These figures should not be taken by themselves as the Congress had put up 124 candidates last time and only 80 this time. Full details are presented below:

TABLE XI - NUMBER OF SEATS

	1957		1960	
	Contested	Won	Contested	Won
Communists	101	60	102	26
Congress	124	43	80	63
M. L.	17	8	12	11
P. S. P.	64	9	33	20

Thus, the wins for the parties in the United Front have been secured more because of the forging of the Front. The Communist Party had to contend against the combined and united strength of these three parties.

We next look at the average numbers of votes secured by the major parties. As usual, three averages will be presented - the *general* average from all the contestants; the *success* average derived from those of that party that were elected; the *failure* average from among the losers alone. The numbers on which each average is based, are given in brackets:

TABLE XII - AVERAGE NUMBER OF VOTES PER CANDIDATE

	General	Success	Failure
Communists	29,169 (102)	34,958 (26)	27,189 (76)
Congress	34,891 (80)	36,712 (63)	28,730 (17)
M. L.	33,327 (12)	34,508 (11)	20,339 (1)
P. S. P.	34,728 (33)	35,990 (20)	32,787 (13)

The last two parties may be left out as depending on small numbers. Comparing only the Congress and Communists the difference between the two is seen to be about 4,300 in the case of the General Average and only about 2,000 in the other two cases. But the difference in the case of the Communist party among the three averages is about 7,700 whereas for the Congress contesting a lesser number of seats, it is 8,000. From this it can only be said that both these parties appear almost equal in their organisational strength, the Congress being slightly more powerful.

Because of the reduction in the number of contestants per seats, there has been quite a reduction in the number of success by 'split of votes'. In the last Assembly there were only 61 cases where the wins were 'Absolute' ones (i.e. winning candidate polling more votes

than all his opponents put together). This time 107 fights have resulted in successes by Absolute majority and out of these 82 have gone in favour of the Front and 24 for the Communist and the Independents with support of the Communists. Out of the 19 'split of votes' successes, the Front has checked 12, while 5 have gone to the other group.

Lastly, we analyse the successes by taking into account the 'majority' with which the candidate have been elected. The difference between the votes of the successful candidate and his next rival is termed the 'majority' for that seat. Except in a few cases, fights have generally been won by quite large majorities. There have been 71 cases in which the majority was more than 5,000 votes and out of these 60 have been won by the Front and 10 by the Communists. Only in 19 cases has the winner secured a majority of less than a 1,000 votes - out of these the Front gets 10 and the Communists 7. Fuller details are available in the Following table:

TABLE XIII

Majority	United Front	Communists	Others
Less than 100	1	1	1
101 - 1,000	9	6	1
1001-5,000	24	12	0
5001-10,000	25	7	0
Over 10,000	35	3	1

This shows that 'marginal' constituencies are quite few. The largest majority in a single member constituency has been 23,647 in Kuthuparamba where P.S.P. has won over a Lohia-Socialist. The smallest is 23 in Tellicherry where a Congress candidate has beat the former Minister for Law in the Communist Government. Among Double-member constituencies, in Nileswar the contest has been closest - the majorities being 106 and 283 for the two seats. Both have been won by the United Front. In Wynad both Congress candidates have secured majorities of over 37,000 apiece!

103 members of the dissolved Assembly stood for re election and their party affiliations and successes are given below:

TABLE XIV

	Stood	Elected
Communist	46	18
Congress	38	35
M.L.	6	6
P.S.P.	9	9
Ind.	4	3
	103	71

13 women candidates contested the elections and 7 have come out successful – 5 belonging to the Front and 2 to the Communist group. The last Assembly had six women divided equally between Congress and Communists; except one communist candidate all the other five have been re-elected.

Thus the success secured by the United Front is quite decisive. But perhaps most of it is due only to the fact that it is a 'United' Front and they had to contend against the strength of only one party. The Communists might have improved their position if they had set up a lesser number of candidates and concentrated in fewer places. No doubt, as a single party they have secured a large number and percentage of votes. But, as has been pointed out earlier, what counts is the winning of seats and not amassing of votes. But once the 'Front' breaks up, the Communist party may well emerge as a force to be contented with.

POLITICAL CALENDAR

The following calendar gives the important dates and events in the political history of the State for the past dozen years:

- 24-3-1948 Interim Constitution Act passed by which Pattam Thanu Pillai formed the first *Congress* Ministry in the Travancore State (1).
- 19-9-1948 General Elections based on Adult Franchise took place in Cochin.
- 20-10-1948 Parur T. M. Narayana Pillai elected leader of the Travancore State Congress in place of Pattam Thanu Pillai who resigned. Narayana Pillai formed the new Ministry (2).
- 27-6-1949 The merger of the two States into the United State of Travancore and Cochin with the Maharaja of Travancore as the Rajpramukh. The same chief Minister continues to be head the Cabinet.
- 10-2-1952 The Congress Ministry resigns and a caretaker Government is formed by Kesavan (3).
- 11-3-1952 Another Congress Leader A. J. John forms the Congress Ministry (4).
- 23-9-1953 Motion for vote of Confidence in the Ministry fails and the Assembly is dissolved from 24-9-1953.
- 15-12-1953 Central Government announces decision to hold Mid-term elections before 1st March 1954.
- 3-2-1954 Travancore-Cochin Ministry resigns.
- 15-2-1954 Mid-term Elections begin in Kerala.
- 16-3-1954 First *PSP* Ministry formed with Pattam Thanu Pillai as Chief Minister on the strength of the support promised by Congress (5).

- 12-12-1954 Congress decided to withdraw support and co-operation to the *PSP* Ministry.
- 8-2-1955 The Fall of *PSP* Ministry following a vote of No Confidence.
- 14-2-1955 New Five-man *Congress* Ministry headed by Panampalli Govinda Menon installed (6).
- 11-3-1956 Congress Ministry resigns.
- 24-3-1956 President's rule proclaimed (7).
- DECEMBER 56 JANUARY 57 GENERAL ELECTIONS
- 5-4-1957 First *Communist* Ministry formed by E.M.S. Namboodrapad (8).
- 12-6-1959 Direct action by Vimochana Samara Samiti led by Mananath Padmanabhan.
- 31-7-1959 President's Proclamation dissolving the Communist Ministry and introducing President's rule for the second time (9).
- 1-2-1960 Fourth Elections to the State Assembly – 2nd Mid-term Elections.

THE IDEA OF DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALISATION

By

DR. IQBAL NARAIN

The idea of *decentralisation* is in a way inherent in the democratic ideal in its application to political organisation. Democracy as a form of political organisation is an ordering of people's partnership not merely in the sovereign power of the State but also in the day to day conduct of government. The larger and more continuous, quantitatively speaking, and more active, constructive and closer, qualitatively speaking, is the people's participation in the operation of their own government in a country, the nearer it is to democracy as a political ideal. "The perfect Common Wealth, the ideal towards which all social and political endeavour moves forward is", as observed by Zimmern, "a society of free men and women, each at once ruling and being ruled, each society giving his services for the benefit of all".¹ And the road that leads to this *el dorado* is the road of *democratic decentralisation*. It is the medium of people's participation; it aims at associating people in the work of government to the maximum possible extent and in a living manner. In a word, *democratic decentralisation* may be called the backbone of democracy.

One might ask, when the idea of decentralisation is inherent in the democratic principle itself, why the adjective *democratic* be prefixed to it. The prefix is not superfluous. First, it emphasises the purpose of *decentralisation* which entails a greater and closer association of the people with the work of their own government. This purpose is well contained in the prefix *democratic*. Secondly, the adjective *democratic* sharply distinguishes *democratic decentralisation* from *administrative decentralisation*. *Administrative decentralisation* originates in a quest for efficiency in terms of initiative, performance and speed of administrative personnel, particularly at the lower operative levels, while *democratic decentralisation* has its roots in a desire to associate more and more people with the work of government at all intermediary levels in general and at the local level in particular. The former implies the right to the freedom of operation of a project which includes the necessary right to make associated decisions even with regard to its formulation from the operative stand-point rather than a right to initiate a political decision about

the formation of the project itself² and thus may better be called *managerial operative freedom*, the latter, however, implies people's right to initiate their own projects for local well-being and the authority to execute and operate them in an autonomous manner. *Democratic decentralisation* is thus wider than *administrative decentralisation*³ and the vital point of difference between the two lies in their purposiveness, the former laying stress on people's participation and the latter on efficiency. One may thus run counter to the other particularly in developing countries where people's management may not be efficient at least in the initial stages till people learn the art of self-government through the essentially democratic method of trial, error and correction.

¹ Cf. Pfiffner and Presthus: "... Administrative policy should generally be centralised and operating policy decentralised. This means that leaders at the various levels must delegate to subordinates the power to make operating decisions" (Pfiffner and Presthus: *Public Administration*. The Ronald Press Company, New York 1953, p. 214).

There is, however, a difference of opinion on this point. Poul Meyr includes the right to take policy decisions from the political stand-point in *Administrative decentralisation*. "Decentralisation — indicates the shifting of the primary competence from the centre, i. e. the apex of the administrative pyramid. In other words, decentralisation renders the local and regional bodies independent of the central power or at any rate it includes their powers to make their own decisions. As a result of decentralisation administrative power is transferred to local bodies; it is transferred (ceded) i. e., the primary competence rests now with the local authorities which are not subject to the directions or appellate powers of the central administration" (Poul Meyr, *Administrative Organisation*, Stevens & Sons Ltd., 119-120, Chancey Lane, London 1957, p. 57). It may also be added that in the absence of this power to make political decisions, Poul Meyr insists, it is not *administrative decentralisation* and *decentralisation* which "indicates the extent to which delegation of administrative competence has taken place down through the horizontal level of the administrative pyramid" (Poul Meyr Op. Cit., p. 57).

Another thinker William H. Newman is of the opinion that *administrative decentralisation* may not necessarily include the right to political decision-making but it is not necessarily excluded from its scope either and *this appears to be a correct analysis of the term*. According to Newman *decentralisation* "may refer to (1) departmentalizing activities (2) location of actual performance (3) the level in the administrative hierarchy at which operative decisions are made" (William H. Newman: *Administrative Action*, Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd., 1958, p. 202) Newman's viewpoint is that the right to initiate and make decisions form the extreme case of decentralisation which one finds in what he calls, 'Bottom up Administration' type which represents the ultimate in decentralisation. Under this plan "not only authority but also initiative is decentralised" (William H. Newman, Op. Cit., p. 208). One may add here that the three other stages of *administrative decentralisation* noted by Newman viz., (i) centralised administration, (ii) limited decentralisation and (iii) delegated authority, fall more or less in the category of managerial or operative freedom (For details see Newman: Op. Cit., pp. 204-210).

² Cf. Harris: "A distinction must be drawn between the terms 'Local self-government' and 'local-administration'. Dr. Goetz's thesis that 'self-government implies merely a form of communal administration' — in other words, self-government is something less than self-administration. To the present writer the case is precisely the contrary. Local self-administration exists wherever there is local self-government, but it may also exist where a local authority merely carries out the orders of a higher authority, more or less, in its own way. Dr. Goetz, like most Germans, is unable to realise that local self-government implies government by the people themselves, through freely elected representatives. He goes so far as to say that, while it is necessary for local self-government that the power to frame a policy should rest in some organ, it is immaterial what form this policy-framing organ takes. The power may be vested in the individual. "This is the German view and has, ever since Steins reforms were abrogated, been the German practice. It is not the view of any one who looks upon self-government as government of the people, for the people and by the people" (Harris: Op. Cit., 12.)

¹ Zimmern: *Nationality and Government*, p. 355.

Again, the idea of *democratic decentralisation* is not to be confused with delegation⁴ or *deconcentration*.⁵ *Delegation* or *deconcentration* consists in the grant of authority from a superior to an inferior person to be enjoyed by him not in his own right but as a derived concession and that too to be exercised at the pleasure of the superior. *Democratic decentralisation* on the other hand is just an extension of the democratic principle – extension of people's right to self-determination or to manage their own affairs in a local area without any undue interference. If *democratic decentralisation* embodies a right, *delegation* is at best a concession. If the former is a matter of principle, the latter is an outcome of expediency; if the former is enjoyment of original power, the latter is the exercise of derived authority; if the former is a symbol of freedom and self-government, the latter smacks off authoritarianism and dependence.

The term *democratic decentralisation* should also be distinguished from *democratic centralism* which is the basic organisational principle of governmental and party structure in Soviet Russia. The concept of *democratic centralism* which at its face appears paradoxical governs the inner organisational relationship between the people and the leaders in the party on the one hand and the people and the government on the other in the pyramidal structure that exists in Russia. The concept seeks to combine democracy, 'mass participation and approval', with centralism, 'concentrated leadership'. The principle of democracy is supposed to prevail in so far as policy decisions and the election of the leaders in the party or government are concerned. Thus the *party line* or the *government line* is particularly determined with the express approval of the people who are free to determine by majority vote what their party or the government should do. The principle of democracy further obtains in so far as people are free to

⁴ In the case of delegation as observed by Poul Meyr, "the central administration reserves its authority to issue directions and to reverse decision...the centralised organisation is integrated i.e., it is built up in the form of a compact system of superior and subordinate units." (Poul Meyr : Op. Cit. pp. 57-58).

Cf. James D. Mooney. Delegation is "conferring of authority by some authority possessing this right" *The Principles of Organisation* New York and London, 1947, P. 6).

Also compare Mary Follet's observation in *The Illusion of final authority*, "Delegated authority assumes that your chief executive has the right to all the authority but that it is useful to delegate some of it" (Quoted by Albert Lepawsky in *Administration the art and science of organisation and management* published by Alfred-A-Knopp, New York, 1952, P. 326). According to Prof. Albert himself the essence of delegation of responsibility consists in "a clear cut assignment of duties to subordinate individuals or subordinate levels in order to avoid over-lapping or duplication of work and grant of authority commensurate with the responsibilities assigned" (Albert Lepawsky : Op. Cit. p. 413).

Also compare William H. Newman: "the activities of the executive have been divided into three parts planning, doing...and supervising...using this terminology, delegation normally starts by assigning part of the doing and at least a minimum of the associated planning to a subordinate." (William H. Newman: *Administrative action, The techniques of organisation and management*; London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., 1958), pp. 164-165.

⁵ The essence of *deconcentration* which is not different from that of *delegation* has been ably expressed by Leonard D. White in these words: It is a "term generally used to denote mere delegation to a subordinate officer of capacity to act in the name of the superior without a transfer of authority from him" (Leonard D. White: *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* Vol. 5, The Mac Millan Company, New York 1954, P. 43).

choose their leaders who are to be entrusted with the enforcement of the *party or the government line*, as the case may be. But once they have determined the programme and chosen their leaders, their freedom ends. They themselves are bound hand and feet by their two-fold decisions. Thus, so far as execution is concerned, there is centralism. It is the leaders at the top whom the people have chosen that decide about the execution of the policy and issue orders for the same. Now there can be no opposition, no criticism, no ifs and buts, no sabotage by the people, for they can neither go back on the programme that has been decided with their approval nor disown the representatives they have themselves chosen. In a word, *democratic centralism* theoretically means people's participation in decisions about the formulation of the work programme and election of party or government leaders and authoritarianism or complete subordination of the rank and file to the leaders in power as far as execution of the programme is concerned.⁶

One could now note the points of distinction between *democratic decentralisation* and *democratic centralism* which are as follows:

- (i) *Democratic decentralisation* is centrifugal while *democratic centralism* is centripetal. Under the former there is transfer of power from top to bottom levels, while under the latter there is transfer of authority (to the extent of complete surrender and concentration) to the top levels from the popular levels which form the bottom.

⁶ Writers on the Soviet Constitution have taken pains to describe the contents of *democratic centralism* in their own way. In the words of Harper & Thompson who have sought to explain the term in its general aspects "Democratic centralism is a form of inner organisational relationship which has been especially designed to fit the pyramidal type of body prevalent in the Soviet Union...the term...seeks to combine democracy (mass participation) with centralism (leadership)" vide: Harper & Thomson, *The Government of the Soviet Union* (D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc., London 1952, P. 701). Similarly, the general content of *democratic centralism* according to Andrei Y. Vyshinsky is that "the principle signifies that each organ of authority being formed by a procedure at once democratic and logical, is responsible to its electors and it bound to execute their will, while at the same time it is also responsible to superior organs of authority and bound to fulfil all their orders (provided they are given within the limits of their representative jurisdiction)" vide: Andrei Y. Vyshinsky: *The Law of the Soviet State*, Mac Millan Co., New York, 1954, p. 424. Ogg and Zink have explained the principle in an elaborate manner with reference to its application to the governmental structure in the U.S.S.R. in these words "under the theory the various local units of government enjoy the most complete independence and freedom in managing their own affairs and even in participating in the activities of the higher government. There is literally nothing that they cannot do, if they like, which on the surface would seem to make home-rule cities in the United States blush with shame at their lack of freedom. However this independence is accompanied by absolute authority on the part of higher levels to check and even to veto the acts of the government which are subordinate. Thus the local units do exactly as they like as long as the agents of the government which are above them do not object. Vide: Ogg & Zink: *Modern Foreign Governments*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1957 pp. 149-150. The sixth congress of the Bolshevik party held in 1917 authoritatively stated the contents of the principle as applied to the party structure in Russia as follows:—

- (i) that all directing bodies from top to bottom shall be elected;
- (ii) that party bodies shall give periodical accounts of their activities to the party organisation;
- (iii) that there shall be strict party discipline and the sub-ordination of the minority to the majority; and
- (iv) that all decision of higher bodies shall be absolutely binding on lower bodies and on all party members. (Elucidated from Harper & Thomson, Op. Cit. p. 70)

- (ii) The democratic principle finds a wider application in the concept of *democratic decentralisation* than in the idea of *democratic centralism*. Under the former the people not only enjoy the right to elect their representatives and broadly approve the programme as in the case of the latter but with them vests all the initiative to control the programme financially and administer it without undue interference and control from higher levels which is not only permissible but incumbent in the latter.⁷
- (iii) Under *democratic decentralisation* the underlying idea is to widen the area of democracy which may exist at the top by granting both authority and autonomy to people at lower levels. One could say that here the attempt is to create democracies within the broad circle of democracy. In contrast to this under *democratic centralism* the idea is to provide a democratic base to the gilded autocratic top. To sum up under *democratic decentralisation* the emphasis is on people's participation and autonomy while in *democratic centralism* the stress is both on people's participation and authoritarianism, more on the latter than on the former.⁸ One may say that if the end of the former is abnega-

⁷ It may be emphasised even at the risk of digression that the Soviet thinkers have emphasised that the idea of *democratic centralism* whether as a principle of governmental organisation or party organisation combines the need of local autonomy with the needs of national unity and uniformity. As Andrei Y. Vyshinsky has pointed out "*democratic centralism* presupposes centralism in basic questions; in general guidance in the maximum unification of all economic activity according to one State wide plan, in guiding production to the need of rational and economic utilisation of all the country's material resources; far from excluding it presupposes local independence upon condition of developing the creative self-reliance and initiative of the local population (with its differing languages, ways of life and economic relationship) for the best possible fulfilment of general plans of economic and cultural building" Vide: Andrei Y. Vyshinsky *Op. Cit.*, P. 230. One could also quote Lenin with advantage in this context "Just as *democratic centralism* by no means excludes autonomy and federation, so it by no means excludes - on the contrary it pre-supposes that - the different localities and even different communities of the State are completely and utterly free in working out varying forms of State's social and economic life". (Quoted by Vyshinsky, *Op. Cit.* p.424).

⁸ Harper & Thomson have shown at length in their analysis of *democratic centralism* that while the principle of centralism is a reality that of democracy is a growing fiction.

"That there is centralism in the party has seldom been disputed. It is a centralism that is not limited but strengthened by the fact that it is always combined with a strong emphasis on 'mass contacts.' Stalin himself has outlined his principle of leadership as one which involves co-ordination of the views of the central leaders with the experience of those on whose backs so to speak, the policies adopted have to be worked out. Let the leaders think well before issuing orders but when orders are issued, let the members obey without hesitation. The result is a closely knit body bound together by strict discipline and a common ideological outlook.

That there is a democracy in the party, however, has been the subject of considerable debate. The taking of stock in connection with the great purge of the late 1930's for example brought out the fact that intra-party democracy had been extensively violated in the primary and intermediary tiers of the party organs (concerning the higher party tiers there was, as always, discreet silence). Thus in place of the principle of the election of all leading Committees and Secretaries there had gone up a practice of co-optation and appointment. In place of the principle of periodic reporting back of these Committees to their general bodies there had developed a failure to convene general membership meetings. Participation in free and businesslike discussions of party policy either in party meetings or in the party press was, therefore, at a minimum; criticism of local leaders by local members largely precluded and even consultation in decisions regarding one's personal activity or behaviour was not always assured". (Harper & Thomson, *Op. Cit.* pp. 70-71).

tion of top level authority, that of the latter is its preservation and continuous assertion.

We have seen so far what *democratic decentralisation* is not; let us now turn to see what it is. The two words *democratic* and *decentralisation* form the key to the understanding of the synthetic compound *democratic decentralisation*. The word *democratic* explains at once the nature and purpose of the concept as also its basic postulates in its institutional aspect. One can quickly get to realise that its nature is political and its end is widening and strengthening of the area of democracy or the field of people's participation, authority and autonomy. One can also get to know that the basic postulate in its institutional aspect should be elective and representative character of the institutions which form the machinery of *democratic decentralisation*. The word *decentralisation* is essentially indicative of the method to realise the end as contained in the word *democratic*. "The word... has come to be widely understood simply as the anti-thesis to centralisation"⁹ and strictly and etymologically merely implies "devolution of powers from above".¹⁰ By itself thus the word implies hardly has a democratic content and, as Montague Harris has pointed out, "decentralisation also means what *decentralisation* signifies, in spite of the fact that according to French usage the former stands for local self-government and the latter for local State Governments!" It is thus only the prefix 'democratic' that enriches the contents of '*decentralisation*' and the latter when read with the former stands for transfer¹² of authority, and grant of autonomy from top levels to the people at the lower levels in a three dimensional manner viz. (i) taking of decisions about programme and policy in a wide and duly specified area of activity - a function which is essentially *political*, (ii) controlling and managing of material resources, a function essentially *financial* and (iii) supervising, guiding and conducting the actual operation, a function essentially *administrative*, all this without undue interference from the top levels. Thus it will be noted that the idea of *democratic decentralisation* has two aspects - one positive and the other negative. In its positive aspect it implies an autonomous system of local management in which the people of the local area enjoy maximum of authority and

⁹ G. Montague Harris: *Comparative Local Government*. Hutchinsons University Library, II. Startford Place, London, 1948, P. 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Poul Meyer has used the word 'cession' instead of transfer (Poul Meyer: *Op. Cit.*, P. 37) which would imply total and complete absence of control from top, while *decentralisation* in which would imply total and complete absence of control but absence of undue control constitutional practice implies not so much absence of control to the minimum on the other, or interference on the one hand and the restriction of control to the minimum on the other. It is for this reason that the word transfer is preferable more so because it also covers the idea of downward flow of authority and autonomy from top to bottom levels as indicated by the etymology of the word *decentralisation*. Cf. Leonard D. White: "The process of the etymology of the word decentralisation denotes the transference of authority, legislative, judicial or administrative decentralisation denotes the transference of authority, legislative, judicial or administrative from a higher level of government to lower" (vide: *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences Vol. V*. The Mac Millan Company New York, 1954, P. 43).

freedom to manage their own affairs in all spheres such as law and order, justice, finances, public utilities, development programmes and administration and the like. In its negative aspect, it implies absence of undue and unwarranted control and interference from outside both by central and regional governments, or either, as the case may be, and also from government officials. To sum up, *democratic decentralisation* as a political concept aims at widening the area of people's participation, authority and autonomy through dispersion of powers from top to bottom levels in all the triple dimensions political decision making, financial control and management and administrative operations to be exercised by people's representative organisations with least interference and control from higher levels.

The foregoing analysis brings home to us the following ingredients of the concept of *democratic decentralisation* :

First, as the word *democratic* indicates the object as postulated implies a larger and closer association of people with their own government.

Secondly, with a view to pursuing this end, as the word *decentralisation* implies, there will be devolution or dispersion of authority from the higher levels of the government to the lower levels. Thus the process of *democratic decentralisation* is vertical¹³ rather than horizontal.

Thirdly, this dispersion of authority will assume the form of autonomy to the people at lower levels to take political decisions¹⁴ with regard to policy and work programme, to devise ways and means to execute it, to manage and control the finances required therefore and ultimately to guide and control its administration. Thus *democratic decentralisation* is three dimensional – political financial and administrative, or it postulates at one and the same

¹³ Cf. Poul Meyr: "Self-Government in the administrative sense of the term is a manifestation of decentralisation viewed vertically. It occurs either in the form of administrative competence moved from the centre to local agencies; or in the form of agencies whose activities are limited to certain areas of the State (Vide: Poul Meyr: *Op. Cit.*, p. 241).

¹⁴ Cf. David E. Lilienthal in *TVA-Democracy on the March* "decisions could be made and responsibility taken at a point that was close to the problems themselves. That is test of decentralisation. It is not decentralisation to open regional offices or branches in each State, if decisions have to be made in Washington and the officers in the field prove to be merely errand boys. Neither is it decentralisation when bureaus or departments are moved out of crowded Washington. It may be necessary and entirely wise—but it is not decentralisation. You do not get decentralisation as we know it in the TVA unless you meet two tests. First, do the men in the field have the power of decision? Second, are the people, their private and their local public institutions actively participating in the enterprise" (Quoted by Albart Lepawsky in *Administration – the art and science of organisation and management*, New York, Alfred: A – Knop. 1952, Pp. 383-384).

time political, fiscal and administrative autonomy.¹⁵

Fourthly, the authority thus decentralised should be managed by the people directly or indirectly through their representatives and thus the institutional machinery of *democratic decentralisation* should necessarily be elective; otherwise it may be a case of decentralisation but not of *democratic decentralisation*.

Lastly, the concept of *democratic decentralisation* as a political doctrine certainly limits, if it does not deny altogether, the interference and control from above. Though in ultimate theory it may be argued that it implies absence of control from above but from the practical stand-point one has to agree with Harris that as far as the relation of local bodies to Central Government is concerned "complete independence is never accepted but as extensive a freedom as is compatible with a due subjection to Central Government".¹⁶ It is equally true, however, that undue, unwarranted and excessive control and interference from higher levels would strike at the very roots of the concept of *democratic decentralisation*.

Having analysed the idea of *democratic decentralisation* and also having studied its implications one could ask : how does the concept stand in relation to the idea of local self-government? It is just a case of old wine in a new bottle which bears a different label or a case of new wine in new bottles with an entirely fresh label. It may sound a paradox if one writes that it is neither or it is both. What one means thereby is that the two terms are not exactly identical, though they are not also vitally different from each other. Both have democratic foundations. Both of them as such aim at greater participation of the people and more autonomy to them in the management of their affairs. Both of them incidentally limit the control from above. What are then the points of difference? One could say that *democratic decentralisation* is a political ideal and local self-government is its institutional form. One also finds a difference of emphasis between the two : the former laying greater stress than the latter, positively speaking, on more or complete

¹⁵ Cf. Poul Meyr: "In the strict sense of the word, the most important element of self-government is autonomy, viz., the power to make byelaws and other rules and regulations which are binding on the inhabitants. For all practical purposes, however, it is a far more important feature of self government that the local authority is empowered to erect dwellings, hospitals, gasworks, power stations and other utilities to set up schools, hospitals and higher authority and to levy taxes and rates to cover the expenditure entailed by these activities. While autonomy, to a certain extent, is placed on the political level, self-administration is a purely administrative concept. This term means that local authorities are not subject to the hierarchical power of the central administration, which, therefore, cannot prescribe how certain cases are to be decided by the local authorities, nor can they reverse their decision. Self-administration means power of the same character as those assigned to independent regulatory commissions on the horizontal level" (Poul Meyr: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 241-242).

¹⁶ Harris: *Op. Cit.* P. 10. Also compare Herbert Kamsman "...to interpret dispersal of structure and function as the absence of central control would be to fly in face of the face of the facts" (Quoted by Prof. Philip Selznick in "*Leadership in administration a sociologic interpretation*" – published by Row, Peterson and Company, Evanston, Illinois, White Plains New York, 1957, p. 113) from Herbert's unpublished doctoral, dissertation entitled "Pick Man in administration".

autonomy at the bottom and, negatively speaking, on no or very limited interference and control from above. *Democratic decentralisation* is in fact a plea to further democratise local self-government – to enable it to enjoy more authority, shoulder greater responsibility, take more initiative and experience greater autonomy in the management of the affairs of the local area than what local self governing institutions have been doing so far. One may emphasise once again even at the risk of repetition that the concept of *democratic decentralisation* cannot be thought of in isolation from local self government as an idea cannot be divorced from its institutional form. The two go hand in hand. To quote Poul Meyr: “The starting point in the discussion is not self administration (*Salbstverwaltung*) but self-government. In its political sence, *decentralisation* means that local bodies elected or appointed in some other manner by the local voters themselves are competent to make a series of decisions as regards the legal precepts which the inhabitants of the area must conform to.....Decentralisation.....indicates the shifting of the primary competence from the centre i.e. apex of the administrative pyramid. In other words *decentralisation* renders the local and regional bodies independent of the central power or at any rate each increases their powers to make their own decisions”.¹⁷

¹⁷ Poul Meyr *Op Cit.* pp 57-57

Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Indian Political Science Association for the Year 1959

This is the twenty-second Annual Report of the Indian Political Science Association for the year 1959. While presenting this Report our minds go back to the year 1938 when this Association was formed at Banaras with Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh as the First Secretary and it is a happy coincidence that our twenty-second Conference was inaugurated by him here at Jaipur as the Governor of Rajasthan.

The twenty-first Annual Conference was held on the 31st December, 1958 and 1st and 2nd January 1959 in Ujjain under the auspices of the Vikram University. Professor Jyoti Prasad Suda presided. We had the singular good fortune in having Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Minister for Home Affairs, Government of India to inaugurate that Conference. We are grateful to the authorities of the Rajasthan University, particularly to the Chancellor, Prof. Singh for their generous invitation to hold the Conference here literally at the eleventh hour when there was the regrettable apprehension of our not having a Conference at all this year. Happily the Patna University has invited the Conference in 1960 and the Utkal University in 1961.

MEMBERSHIP

During the year, the General Secretary enrolled 111 ordinary members and one life-member and the Managing Editor has enrolled 33 ordinary and 141 institutional members, including 10 foreign institutions. This brings the total membership to 286 and including the life-members, our membership stands at 311 as against 316 last year. Prof. P. G. Mavlankar, Director of the Harold Laski Institute of Social Sciences, Ahmedabad has come into the roll of life-members this year.

The financial stability of the Association depends on subscriptions realised from the members and subscribers to the Indian Journal of Political Science. It is the solemn duty of every existing member to see that all his friends interested in the study and teaching of Political Science are enrolled as members and all the institutions in which our present members serve subscribe to our Journal for their Library. If this is done one year, inertia will carry the Association forward and there will be no further financial crisis in the life of the Association. Many young persons have accepted our membership this year and their enthusiasm is sure to infect other colleagues of theirs.

COLLABORATION

The Association continued its membership of the International Political Science Association. Dr. A. K. Ghosal, our President had

participated in the Conference on Non-governmental Organisations held in the month of April, 1959 at New Delhi under the auspices of the United Nations Information Centre. The Association is also connected with the Indian National Commission of the United Nations Scientific, Cultural and Educational Organisation.

Our contact with the Universities in India, the Indian Institute of Public Administration and the Indian Council of World Affairs, and the United Nations Information Centre, New Delhi and the United Nations Research Centre at Calcutta continues as before.

Prof. John Goormaghtigh, Secretary General of the International Political Science Association has forwarded a list of subjects scheduled to be discussed at the next Congress of that Association in Paris in 1961 and has sought our advice in regard to the choice of subjects. The executive Committee in its meeting yesterday has selected the subjects and these will be forwarded to him.

FINANCE

I will no longer describe the sombre state of our Finances. I am glad to inform you that the crisis has slightly passed and given the same type of stewardship of the finances of the Association, the position will considerably improve in the year to come. The secret lies in the reduction of the working expenses of the Association.

When I had taken charge of the Association in 1958, my predecessor transferred to me an opening balance of Rs. 1720.13 only and I had inherited a liability of Rs. 2422.77, thus giving me a net liability of Rs. 702.64. I have during the first year of my term of office cleared all the liabilities and left a surplus closing balance of Rs. 806.46. At the end of the second year, the closing balance stands at Rs. 1613.61 minus the amount payable to the President for the printing cost of his Presidential address and also the cost of printing the synopses. Last year, the Vikram University had paid to the Managing Editor a sum of Rs. 256 for the printing of synopses and if the cost of such printing is either paid by the Rajasthan University or by the Managing Editor, the net surplus during the year will stand at more than Rs. 1300. You will thus see that the Association has at last turned the corner in regard to its finances.

During the year, the Receipts stands at Rs. 3037.36 out of which membership contributed Rs. 1880 and the balance was composed up of opening balance, delegation fees, grant from the Madras University, royalty on books and bank charges. During 1958, membership subscription contributed Rs. 1820 as against Rs. 1880 this year. This shows that our membership is almost stationary. Except the Madras University, no other University has made a grant and our book "General Election in India" yielded only Rs. 37.50 this year as against Rs. 298.12 in 1958. I have heard nothing during these two years regarding our royalty on the publication, "Public Administration in India." It is to be marked that this source of our income is

gradually shrivelling up. It is for you to consider, if we shall bring out some other books with the papers so far contributed for different Conferences. There is such a dearth of literature dealing with problems in Political Science in India that the Association should endeavour to publish at least two, if not three books per annum to supplement its income. It is also the obligation of our Universities and Governments to make generous grants to these academic associations in order to keep them on a respectably financial footing and there is no doubt that if our members sincerely try in this respect, we shall have a liberal flow of grants next year.

As to the expenditure, the working expenses of the Association stand at Rs. 487 as against Rs. 401.24 last year. When the sum of Rs. 100 paid to the ex-President Prof. Suda towards his postage and cost of printing the Presidential address is deducted, the working expenses stand at Rs. 387.91 only as against Rs. 401.24 last year, Rs. 1100 in 1957, and Rs. 1110 in 1956. Besides the working expenses, I have paid Rs. 800 to the Managing Editor and Rs. 119.69 to the International Political Science Association. I am glad to report that M/s H. Naik & Co., chartered Accountants, Cuttack have again audited our accounts without charging any remuneration. Our thanks are due to them.

The Association is now on a sound footing and I have left nothing undone to prove myself worthy of our confidence so kindly reposed on me.

S. C. DASH

General Secretary & Treasurer

Cuttack,

The 21st December, 1959

INDIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

INDIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the Period from 23. 12. 1958 to 20. 12. 1959.

R E C E I P T S		P A Y M E N T S	
Opening Balance as on 23. 12. 1958 :—		Salary and Allowances	
With State Bank of India, Cuttack		Contribution to Journal	
Cash in hand with Treasurer		Printing and Stationery	
Cheque in hand with Treasurer		Postage	
		Subscription to International Political Science Association	
Membership Fees :—		Bank Charges	
111 Ordinary Members @ Rs. 15/- each		Miscellaneous	
1 Ordinary Member arrear of the year 1958		Closing Balance as on 20. 12. 1959 :—	
1 Life Member		With State Bank of India, Cuttack	
Delegation Fees :—		Cash in hand with Treasurer	
9 Delegates		Cheque in hand with Treasurer.	
2 Students			
Grants Madras University			
Royalty in Books			
Bank Charges realised.			
	510.75		115.00
	280.71		800.00
	15.00		204.77
	806.46		160.39
			119.69
	1,665.00		16.15
	15.00		7.75
	200.00		
	1880.00		1,190.21
	135.00		331.40
	10.00		92.00
	145.00		1,613.61
	150.00		
	37.50		
	18.40		
	3,037.36		3,037.36

AUDITOR'S REPORT

We have examined the Statement of Receipts and Payments of the Indian Political Science Association for the period from 23. 12. 58 to 20. 12. 59 as set forth above, with the books of accounts, vouchers and other records and subject to our following remarks, found the same correct and in conformity with the books of accounts of the Association that were produced to us according to the best of our information and explanations given to us.

REMARKS :—

The balance of Rs. 115.11n.P. as lying with the Ex-General Secretary and Treasurer as discussed in our previous report dated 27. 12. 58 is reported to have been utilised by him in connection with the publication of Indian Journal of Political Science as he is now the Editor of the said Journal and consequently ~~the said amount has not been taken into opening balance as on~~

The Indian Political Science Association

Budget Estimates For 1960

R E C E I P T S	Rs.	P A Y M E N T S	Rs.
Opening Balance	1613.61	Salary and Allowances	300.00
Membership Fees (150)	2250.00	Printing and Stationery	200.00
Commission	20.00	Printing cost of Presidential Address, for '59	283.00
Registration Fees (20)	300.00	Contribution to Journal	1800.00
Library Fees	300.00	Postage	200.00
Library on Books	100.00	President's Postage	50.00
TOTAL	4583.61	Subscription to International Pol. Sc. Asso.	125.00
		Bank Charges	20.00
		Miscellaneous	25.00
		Total	3003.00
		Closing Balance	1580.61
		TOTAL	4583.61

S. C. DASH
General Secretary & Treasurer

THROUGH TRADE AGENTS (48)

INTERNATIONAL BOOK HOUSE BOMBAY

G. S. College of Science & Arts, Khamgaon
 G. D. College, Begusarai
 Oriental Training Centre, Nilokheri
 Mahendra College, Patiala
 Indian Institute of Public Administration, Bombay
 Maharaja's College, Ernakulam
 Samanta Chandra Shekhar College, Puri
 Central Public Library, Patiala
 Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad
 Shri Kalyan College, Sikar
 University of Texas Library, Texas
 Director, Indian Aid Mission, Kathmandu
 Shikshayatan College, Calcutta
 St. Thomas College, Palai
 Parle College, Bombay
 Govt. Arts College, Mangalore
 Mahatma Gandhi Memorial College, Udipi
 S. B. Garda College & B. P. Baria Science Institute, Navasa
 Girraj College, Nizamabad
 Elphinstone College, Bombay

ARMY TIMES SUBSCRIPTION AGENCY, WASHINGTON

Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn

IRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY, CALCUTTA

Jygoslovenska Knjiga. Terazije, Beograd, Yugoslavia

INDI SAHITYA BHANDAR, LUCKNOW

Khun Khun Ji Girls Degree College, Lucknow
 D. A. V. Degree College, Lucknow

AICO SUBSCRIPTION AGENCY BOMBAY

Lok Bhartiya Library, Gohilvada
 Seth G. B. Poddar College, Nawalgarh
 Govt. College, Bhilwara
 University Library, Dept. Libraries (Politics), Bombay

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTION AGENCY, BOMBAY

Sri Shanthi Nath, Jaipur

POPULAR BOOK DEPOT, BOMBAY

Rajaram College, Kolhapur
 Milind Mahavidyalaya, Aurangabad, Deccan

CURRENT TECHNICAL LITERATURE COMPANY BOMBAY

College of Arts & Science Aurangabad
 University of Saugor, Sagar

BOOKLAND, AJMER

S D. College, Beawar
 Savitri Girls College, Ajmer.

DAS GUPTA & CO. CALCUTTA

KERALA UNIVERSITY CO-OPERATIVE STORES TRIVANDRUM

ENGLISH BOOK DEPOT, FEROZEPUR CANT

Govt. College, Muktsar

UNIQUE TRADERS

D. A. V. College, Amritsar
 Govt. Degree College, Ratlam

HIGGINBOTHAMS MADRAS

State Regional Library, Guntur
 Virudhnagar Hindu Nadars Sn. College, Virudhnagar

INTERNATIONAL TRADERS

Govt. Degree College, Neemuch

OXFORD BOOK CO. NEW DELHI

Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi

V. JANARDHANAM, BOMBAY

Bahauddin College, Junagarh
 Samaldas College, Bhavnagar
 Govt. Degree College, Kishangarh

CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY, NEW DELHI

Librarian, Princeton, University Library Princeton, New Jer

Note:—The Managing Editor will be obliged if his attention is drawn to any inaccuracies or omissions in the above list.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS

6, Rue Du Mont-de-sion, Geneva, Switzerland - Cable Address: Interjurists

ESSAY CONTEST ON

The role of the lawyer in the economic and social development of his country within the framework of the Rule of Law

Regulations

1. Subject

Essays may be written on the theme in general or on any specific national or international aspect decided upon by the entrant. The essays submitted should deal with the impact on each other of the need for economic and social development and the promotion and preservation of fundamental freedoms under law. There should be a discussion of the question whether the Rule of Law is properly to be seen as solely a defence against infringements of the fundamental freedoms or whether it requires a positive attempt by lawyers—in the broad sense of the term, i. e., judges, teachers of law and practising lawyers—to promote simultaneously, the conditions in which man's legitimate social, economic, educational and cultural aspirations may be fulfilled. The essay should be prepared in a publishable form, with proper citation of relevant material.

2. Closing Date

Entries must be received at the Geneva offices of the Commission not later than December 31, 1960.

3. Eligibility

The entrants must belong to one of the following categories:

- Persons certified by their respective Dean, Tutor, or other responsible officer as registered students in a recognised school or faculty of law, or in a school or faculty of political and/or social science where instruction and examination of law forms part of the curriculum leading to the degree;
- Persons who have graduated in law or or in a subject which included an examination in law not earlier than 1957;
- Persons reading for the Bar or otherwise undergoing formal instruction, as required in each particular country, with a view to becoming qualified as a judge or to practising law.

In case of doubt as to the eligibility the Adjudication Committee shall decide in the last resort.

4. Languages

Entries may be written in English, French, German, or Spanish.

5. Form of submission

Entries must be typewritten, double-spaced, on one side of the page only and submitted in five copies.

6. Length

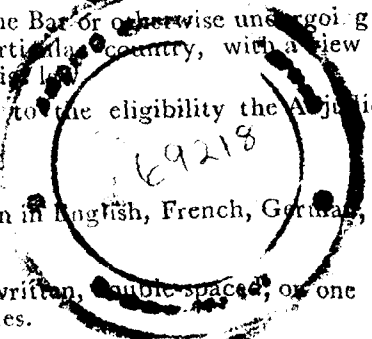
Entries should contain a minimum of 10,000 words.

7. Adjudication

Entries will be judged by an Adjudication Committee of distinguished judges, academic lawyers and practitioners drawn from different countries.

8. Awards

First prize:	Cash award of	2,000 Swiss francs;
Second prize:	Cash award of	1,000 Swiss francs;
Third & fourth prizes:	Two cash awards of	500 Swiss francs;



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