

Foreword



SHRI SRIPRAKASA
Governor of Maharashtra

IT IS indeed a happy thought on the part of friends, to bring out Abhinandan Granth and a souvenir on the auspicious occasion of the 48th birth-day of our esteemed Chief Minister, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan ; and I am grateful to the Celebrations Committee for the honour they have done me in asking me to write a Foreword to the same. For over four years now, I have been privileged to work with Yeshwantraoji in close association in the governance of the State, and have imbibed such admiration and affection for him for his many great qualities, that I must confess I feel a little embarrassed in writing about him publicly. I should, however, not like this occasion to pass without paying him my own tribute for his work and worth, and offering my hearty good wishes for his health and happiness. I am, therefore, sincerely thankful for the opportunity given to me for doing so.

The story of our Chief Minister's life is indeed a moving one. Starting with no advantages such as we understand them, and losing his father at the very early age of three, young Yeshwantrao can truly be regarded as the architect of his own destiny. Helped by an elder brother, he educated himself and started receiving distinctions while yet of tender age. Love of country came to his heart very early indeed ; and at the age of 16, he was already undergoing a long imprisonment for political activities. He, by no means, ever surrendered his judgment ; and only after careful thinking, he joined or gave up any particular political party. He has had, in the course of his life, experience of a good few of these. Service of his people in the truest sense, always attracted



him ; and he gave his all to the land of his birth. He was, by no means, a mere shouter or flag-waver. He studied carefully before he acted, and chose the great figures of the age to inspire him in his high endeavours.

Young Yeshwantrao has played a great though anonymous part—which therefore is the more praiseworthy—in the Freedom struggle. He had undergone the rigours and uncertainties of even underground existence, with a price of his head. Friends recognised his sterling qualities ; and he filled with distinction many offices in Congress Committees. He was of the comparatively early age of only 32 when he first came to the Legislative Assembly of Bombay, and immediately afterwards served the State and its Government as Parliamentary Secretary. Apart from politics and administration, he has had good and valuable experience of law and journalism as well. He has always been fond of physical exercises and general reading. In this, he is a great exception to the general run of our people. That has very rightly helped him to keep a sound mind in a sound body, a high ideal for which all should aspire and which unfortunately not many do. All that certainly makes him a full man ; and his un-falling humour keeps him cheerful even in the most difficult moments, and is so catching that colleagues shed their despondency in his presence, and get encouraged to do their best in public service.

Personally, I have been very greatly struck by the Chief Minister's sympathy for and understanding of men and affairs ; his tact and courtesy that disarm opposition ; his earnest desire to serve his fellowmen to the best of his capacity ; and his success in keeping, despite his busy pre-occupations, close and constant touch with all manner of men. All these great qualities deservedly make him a most lovable figure on the political stage of Maharashtra. We here are indeed happy that our affairs are in such worthy and puissant hands ; and we feel safe when we find him at the head of the Government of our State. He is naturally in great demand everywhere ; and it is truly amazing how he is able to keep in touch with everyone ; to attend endless social and public functions ; to dispose off promptly the innumerable administrative details that continue to come

to him all the time, and to keep ever smiling over it all. He sizes up situations and comes to decisions quickly ; and so never leaves people waiting or in doubt.

Yeshwantraoji is a man without any pride, accessible to everyone, kind and hospitable by nature, yet firm and unbending, when true justice has to be meted out and wrong-doing has to be put down. For his age, he is remarkably cool and collected, and I, at least, have never found him impatient or flurried with anyone or anything. He stands for all that is truly good and noble. I have never found him speaking ill of anybody either. Where an attack is necessary, he does not spare his opponents, for he can and does hit hard when occasion so demands ; but there is no malice in his nature ; and he and his adversary continue to keep happy personal relations despite the utmost opposition in the public forum. I have had opportunities of meeting hundreds of persons during these years of my office here, but I have found no one having a word to say against the Chief Minister. In fact, all have been—supporters and opponents alike—full of praise of him both for his personal qualities and his public work. He is at home everywhere and in all circles, whether he is in the midst of children or adults ; in the circle of the learned or facing angry politicians ; in fashionable society or with unsophisticated village folk. He conducts himself with grace and dignity everywhere and at all times, and appears to be no stranger with any folks or in any situations. It is therefore not surprising that he radiates an atmosphere of friendliness wherever he goes. With his wide experience of varied facets of life, he has imbibed a very strong commonsense that stands him in good stead in all situations, when learned tomes and wise precedents would be of little value.

Not many public men are blessed with happy homes. Their work keeps them so much away from their near ones that a wall is soon created, and life begins to flow in different channels for different members of the self-safe family which seldom meet. Yeshwantraoji is not unmindful of his duties as a family man. In his dearly loved and loving wife Venutai, he has a true helpmate, a comrade who stands by him inside and outside

the home, in sickness and health, in the fulfilment of domestic and social duties, and the performance of the most difficult and dangerous tasks of political life. Our Chief Minister is only 47 years of age today. It is difficult to believe that five years back when he became the Chief Minister of the composite State of Bombay, he was only a little over 42. Maharashtra indeed owes much to him. Many friends who knew Yeshwantraoji better and longer than I can claim to do, have written about his many-sided personality and his work in diverse department of life, in this Abhinandan Granth. That should doubtless help our people in Maharashtra to know their Chief Minister better and

more intimately than they might have done so far. They will thus be enabled truly to appreciate him and co-operate with him in the great tasks of nation-building in which he is engaged.

Alike by his work and his attainments, Yeshwantraoji should certainly go far; and on this occasion when he celebrates his 48th birthday, I join all friends and colleagues offering him in all sincerity and in all earnestness, my heartiest felicitations; and pray that he may long be spared to us in the enjoyment of full physical health and mental peace, to carry on his great and good work in diverse spheres of public activity in the service of our country and our people.

Raj Bhavan, Bombay
February 22, 1961.



उपोदधात



गोपाळराव खेडकर

अध्यक्ष, महाराष्ट्र प्रदेश काँग्रेस कमिटी

महाराष्ट्र राज्याचे मुख्य मंत्री श्री. यशवंतरावजी चव्हाण यांचा ४७ वा वाढदिवस नागपूर येथे सार्वजनिक रीतीने साजरा होत आहे ही गोष्ट अभिनंदनास व अभिमानास पात्र आहे. महाराष्ट्राचा भाग्योदय निश्चित होणार आहे, याचे एक शुभ महान् लक्षण म्हणजे महाराष्ट्राला पुरोगामी ध्येयवादाने प्रेरित झालेला प्रज्ञावंत तरुण नेता लाभला आहे. महाराष्ट्र राज्याची स्थापना इतक्या लवकर होईल, विशेषतः संसदीय कायद्याने शिकामोर्तब होऊन द्विभाषिक मुंबई राज्याची स्थापना झाल्यानंतर इतक्या अनपेक्षित त्वरेने होईल, याची कल्पना त्रिकालदर्शी मुनीशिवाय कोणालाहि करतां आली नसती. महाराष्ट्र राज्य व्हावे अशी तीव्र वासना प्रत्येक महाराष्ट्रीयीच्या हृदयांत वसत होती हे जरी खरे असले तरी ते राज्य फार दुरावले होते. ते राज्य स्थापन व्हावे म्हणून रात्रंदिवस जे धडपडत होते व त्या राज्याकरिता तळमळून ज्यांचा निद्रामंग कायम झाला होता, ते सुद्धा निराशेच्या अंधारमय सागरांत पूर्ण बुडाले होते.

अशा परिस्थितीत श्री. यशवंतराव चव्हाण महत्त्वाच्या स्थानी नसते तर हा निराशेचा काळ अधिक लांबलाहि असता. श्री. यशवंतराव चव्हाणांसारखे धीराचे नेते अशा स्थितीत धीर न सोडतां धोरणीपणाने वागले, मुंबईतील अल्पसंख्याकांचे हृदयपरिवर्तन घडवून आणले, म्हणून नेत्यांचा विश्वास बसला व महाराष्ट्र राज्य स्थापना लवकर होऊ शकली. मुळांतच महाराष्ट्र राज्य निर्मितीला पुष्कळ अरिष्टे आली, अनंत अडचणींनी अडवून धरले, तो आता गतेतिहास झाला व त्यावर विस्मृतीचा पडदा कायम पडला. आता महाराष्ट्र राज्याच्या मंगल प्रकाशांत आपण शुभजीवन जगू लागलों आहोंत.

या सर्व घटना घडत असतां त्यांच्या पाठीमागे दूरदर्शी, निश्चयी, त्यागी आणि पवित्र अशी एक विचारशक्ति शांत रीतीने आणि हृदमनाने अनुकूल दिशेने पावले टाकीत होती. ती शक्ति होती श्री. यशवंतरावजी चव्हाणांची. त्यांचा ४७ वा वाढदिवस साजरा करण्याचा मान महाराष्ट्र जनतेतर्फे नागपूरला मिळत आहे याबद्दल नागपूरकरांचेहि मी अभिनंदन करतो.

चव्हाणसाहेबांच्या वाढदिवसाच्या निमित्ताने हा अभिनंदन ग्रंथ प्रकाशित होत आहे. हा ग्रंथ संपादित व मुद्रित करण्यास फारच अल्प कालावधि मिळाला आहे. अशा अभिनंदन ग्रंथांत लिहिण्यास उत्सुक व



योग्य असे अनेक विचारवंत लेखक आहेत. त्यांना समयाभावामुळे लेख लिहिण्यास सवडहि मिळाली नाही किंवा देतां आली नाही म्हणा.

गेल्या सहा वर्षांच्या राजकीय घामधुमीच्या कालखंडांत श्री. यशवंतरावजी चव्हाण यांच्या साक्षिण्यांत आलेल्या व सहकार्य करण्याचें भाग्य लाभलेल्या शोकडों लहानमोठ्या व्यक्ति आहेत. श्री. यशवंतरावजींच्या दूरदर्शी सल्लामसलतीचा उपयोग करणाऱ्या शासनांतील व संघटनेंतील शोकडों व्यक्ति आहेत. त्यांच्या कार्यक्षमतेच्या विविध अंगाचें जवळून दर्शन घेणारे किती तरी लोक आहेत. त्यांतील मोजक्या व महत्त्वाच्या व्यक्तींचे विचार व अनुभव लेखनिविष्ट झाले तर बहुत मोलाचे ठरतील. त्याचप्रमाणें महाराष्ट्र राज्याच्या परिस्थितीचें मूल्यमापन आणि प्रगतीचें दिग्दर्शन करण्यास समर्थ असे पुष्कळ लोक सापडतात. त्यांचेहि लेख या अभिनंदन ग्रंथाचा शोभादायक ठरले असते यांत शंका नाही. परंतु या ग्रंथास जे कांही लेख लेखकांनी वेळांत वेळ काढून लिहून दिले त्यांचेहि महत्त्व फार आहे. हातांत सापडलेला पक्षी दूरच्या झाडावरील अनेक पक्ष्यांपेक्षा अधिक मोलाचा ठरतो, तसें या लेखांचें आहे.

श्री. यशवंतरावजींच्या नेतृत्वाचा अत्यंत प्रभावी असा हा प्रथम

कालखंड आहे. श्रीयुत यशवंतरावजींच्या नेतृत्वावर महाराष्ट्र काँग्रेसची पूर्ण श्रद्धा आहे. श्री. यशवंतरावजींनी केवळ महाराष्ट्र काँग्रेसचा विश्वास संपादन केला असें नव्हे तर अखिल भारतीय काँग्रेसमध्येहि त्यांना एक थोर मानाचें स्थान प्राप्त झाले आहे. त्याहिपेक्षा मोलाची गोष्ट म्हणजे महाराष्ट्रांतील विरोधी पक्षांनाहि त्यांनी बऱ्याच अंशी विश्वासांत घेतले आहे. महाराष्ट्रांतील सामान्य जनतेला पुष्कळ वर्षांनी फार दीर्घकाळाने आत्मविश्वास उत्पन्न करणारें आत्मप्रतीक श्री. यशवंतरावांमध्ये सापडलें आहे. महाराष्ट्र राज्याच्या सुसंघटित मांडणीचा खराखुरा आधारच हा होय. महाराष्ट्र राज्य हें समताप्रधान समाजाची रचना करण्यास समर्थ होईल असा भरवंसा या आधारामुळेच उत्पन्न होतो. सुसंघटित व व्यवस्थित असें हें लोकराज्य महाराष्ट्रांत वेगाने नवसमाजरचनेचा प्रयोग करावयास आज सज्ज झालें आहे. श्री. यशवंतरावजींचें नेतृत्व दीर्घकालापर्यंत लाभलें तर हा प्रयोग यशाच्या शिखराला जाऊन पोहोचूं शकेल, व हें आदर्शभूत उदाहरण भारतांतील इतर प्रदेशांनाहि प्रगतीच्या मार्गांत स्फूर्तिप्रद ठरेल अशी आशा या शुभ जन्मदिनीं मी महाराष्ट्र प्रदेश काँग्रेस कमिटीचा अध्यक्ष या नात्याने प्रदर्शित करतो.



निवेदन



वा. गो. गावंडे

महाराष्ट्राचे मुख्य मंत्री श्री. यशवंतराव चव्हाण यांच्या ४७ व्या वाढदिवसानिमित्त “श्री. यशवंतराव चव्हाण अभिनंदन ग्रंथ’ आणि सोवनीर प्रकाशित करण्यांत आम्हांस अत्यंत आनंद होत आहे. जाहीर रीतीने वाढदिवस समारंभ साजरा करावयाचा नाही असे श्री. चव्हाण यांनी सांगली मुक्कामी सांगितले असतांना देखील विदर्भातील अनेक चाहत्यांनी, नेत्यांनी यंदाचा हा वाढदिवस नागपूर मुक्कामी साजरा करावा अशी कल्पना पुढे मांडली. आम्हांला ही कल्पना जरी पसंत असली तरी श्री. चव्हाण यांना ती आवडणार नाही याची जाणीव आम्हां सर्वांस होतीच. तरी पण आम्हीं या बाबतीत माघार घ्यावयाची नाही आणि श्री. चव्हाण यांना या समारंभासाठी आग्रहाने नागपूरला न्यावयाचेच असा निश्चय केला.

नागपूर मुक्कामी या शुभकार्याचा निश्चय करणे अत्यंत सुलभ असले तरी पण मुंबईस येऊन ही कल्पना प्रत्यक्ष श्री. चव्हाण यांच्यापुढे ठेऊन त्यास त्यांची संमति मिळविणे अत्यंत अवघड आहे, याची जाणीव मनांत ठेवून आम्हीं मुंबई गाठली. हळूहळू मीतमीतच श्री. चव्हाणांच्या पुढे हा विषय मांडतांच ताबडतोब नकार मिळाला; आणि सांगलीच्या समारंभाचे वेळी ठरविलेल्या निश्चयाचे स्मरण दिले गेले. तरीहि निराश न होता चिकाटीने हा वाढदिवस विदर्भात साजरा होणे किती आवश्यक आहे, विदर्भाच्या भागातील लोकांची समारंभ साजरा न झाल्यास कशी निराशा होईल, सर्वांचा कसा आग्रह आहे याची माहिती सांगत असतांना श्री. चव्हाण यांच्या कर्तव्यकठोर आणि निश्चयी मुद्रेवरील भाव आम्हीं न्याहाळीत होतो. आपला वाढदिवस आता आपला स्वतःचा राहिला नाही त्यावर लोकांचा हक्क आहे, त्यांच्या इच्छेला मान स्वतःची इच्छा बाजूस सारूनहि दिला पाहिजे की स्वतःचाच हट्ट धरावा याचें त्यांच्या मनांत जणु मंथनच चालू होते. आम्ही आपली बाजू निरनिराळ्या रीतीने चिकाटीने मांडीत होतो आणि ते स्तब्धपणे सर्व ऐकून घेत होते. शेवटी उत्तराच्या अपेक्षेने थांबलो. क्षणभर त्यांनी स्थिर दृष्टीने पाहिले आणि सांगितले की, “ठीक आहे, तुम्हां सर्वांच्या इच्छेला मला मान दिलाच पाहिजे—इलाज नाही.”

अत्यंत आनंदाने सर्वांना आम्हीं ही बातमी सांगितली व या समारंभाच्या तयारीला लागलो. हाताशी वेळ थोडा आणि फार मोठे जोखमीचें काम अंगावर पत्करलेले. पण त्यामुळेच सर्वांच्या उत्साहास उधाण आले



व त्याचा परिपाक आजच्या समारंभाच्या रूपाने, प्रकाशनाच्या रूपाने आपणांस दिसत आहे. तसेच हा समारंभ व्हावा ही कल्पना काँग्रेसमधील कांही व्यक्तींनी पुढे आणली असली तरी देखील आजचा हा समारंभ समस्त जनतेचा उत्स्फूर्त समारंभ आहे. काँग्रेस बरोबर खांद्यास खांदा मिळवून हा समारंभ यशस्वी करण्यासाठी निरनिराळ्या मतमतांतराच्या, वयाच्या आणि सामाजिक थरांतील अनेक व्यक्ती येथे आलेल्या आहेत हे पाहून श्री. यशवंतरावांच्या कर्तृत्वाबद्दल सर्वांनाच कसा आदर, आनंद आणि अभिमान वाटतो हे दिसून येते. या समारंभाचे अध्यक्षस्थान कोणा दुसऱ्या व्यक्तीस न देता नागपूरच्या महापौरांना देण्यांत सत्कार समितीने मोठे औचित्य दाखविले आहे.

हा वाढदिवस साजरा करित असतांना श्री. चव्हाण यांना एक 'अभिनंदन ग्रंथ' भेट द्यावा व सोवनीर फाटावे या हेतूने मा. कर्मवीर कन्नमवारजी यांच्या अध्यक्षतेखाली आणि तर्कतीर्थ श्री. लक्ष्मणशास्त्री जोशी यांच्या मार्गदर्शनखाली एक सहागार मंडळ निवडण्यांत आले आणि संपादनाच्या कामी संपादक मंडळाची निवड झाली. मुंबई व नागपूर या दोन केंद्रांचा संपर्क योग्यरीतीने राहावा या दृष्टीने मुंबई येथे एक कार्यालयहि उघडले गेले. ग्रंथाच्या छपाईचे कामहि मुंबई येथेच करावे असा निर्णय घेण्यांत आल्याने मुंबई शाखेवर ग्रंथाच्या मजकुराच्या जुळवाजुळवीची, छपाईची वगैरे सर्व प्रकारची जबाबदारी आली. हे सर्व अवघड काम उरकण्यांत आमच्या समितीच्या मुंबई कार्यालयाचे सेक्रेटरी म्हणून "तरुण भारताचे" मुंबईचे प्रतिनिधि श्री. प्र. ना. हंदूरकर व त्यांचे सहकारी तरुण भारताचे पुण्याचे प्रतिनिधि श्री. महेश जोशी

यांनी श्री. तर्कतीर्थ लक्ष्मणशास्त्री जोशी यांच्या सल्ल्याने व मार्गदर्शनाखाली अत्यंत परिश्रम घेतले हे नमूद केले पाहिजे. या ग्रंथाच्या संपूर्ण सजावटीची जबाबदारी मुंबईला स्थाईक झालेले नागपूरचे सुप्रसिद्ध चित्रकार श्री. दत्ताजी गोडसे यांनी पत्करली. त्यांनी आपले काम किती चोख बजाविले आहे हे ग्रंथ हाती धरताच आपल्या लक्षांत येते. श्री. गोडसे यांच्या सुंदर सजावटीला बॉम्बे प्रोसेस स्टुडिओचे मालक श्री. मोहनराव कामत यांनी उत्तम ब्लॉक्स तयार करून सुयोग्य साथ दिली.

आम्ही लेखक वर्गाला आणि छापखान्याच्या मालकांना फार थोडा अवधि दिला. लेखकांना अनेक कामे असतात. अगोदरच ठरलेले पुष्कळ कार्यक्रम असतात. विशेषतः या अभिनंदन ग्रंथाचे लेखक फार महत्त्वाच्या खाजगी व सार्वजनिक जबाबदाऱ्या शिरावर घेऊन चाललेले आहेत. त्यांना फुरसत नाही. फुरसत वेढा तरी मिळणार. त्याकरिता दोनतीन महिन्यांची अगोदर सूचना देणे आवश्यक असते परंतु आम्ही तसे कांही करू शकलो नाही. पंधरा दिवसांचाच अवधी जेमतेम देऊ शकलो व एवढ्या अवधीत ज्या लेखकांनी सवड काढून लेख दिले याबद्दल त्यांचे आभार मानावे तितके थोडेच आहेत. पुष्कळ लेखकांच्या मनांत असूनहि त्यांना वेळेवर लेख देणे जमले नाही.

मौज प्रिंटिंग ब्यूरोचे श्री. विष्णुवंत भागवत यांनी अत्यंत कमी वेळांत विरोध आपुलकीने इतकी सुबक व आकर्षक छपाई करून आमच्या या ग्रंथ प्रकाशनाच्या कार्यात सहकार केला याची जाणीव आम्ही विदर्भ-वासी विसरणार नाही.



प्रश्नाधना



पन्नालाल देशराज
महापौर, नागपुर

भारत—वर्ष आज विश्वास और धैर्य के साथ प्रगति पथ पर तीव्रता से आगे बढ़ रहा है, उसको अपने प्राचीन इतिहास का गौरव अच्छी तरह से प्रेरणा दे रहा है। इस इतिहास में ऋषि-मुनियों के साथ ही साथ भारतीय वीर जातियों का भी बहुत ही ऊंचा स्थान रहा है। इन वीर जातियों में से एक जमात महाराष्ट्र भूमि में हजारों वर्षों से भारत की शान बढ़ा रही है। इसी जमात के सुपुत्र आज हम श्री. यशवंतरावजी के रूप में देख रहे हैं। शौर्य व वीरता के प्रतीक महाराणा प्रताप तथा छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज की हर भारतीय के हृदय में हमेशा से पूजा होती रही है। पतन के काल में भी उत्साह और जोश भर देने का काम इनकी स्मृतियां करती रही हैं। श्री. यशवंतरावजी का अभी कोई थोड़ी दिनों से संपूर्ण भारत-वर्ष को परिचय हुआ है। इस परिचय से फिर भी ऐसी आशा वृद्धिगत हो रही है कि भारतीय गणतंत्र भी अच्छे अच्छे राज्यकर्ताओं को उत्थानशील करने में बहुत कुछ काम कर रहा है। बहुत ही थोड़े दिनों में श्री. यशवंतरावजी ने अपने कार्यों की ऐसी झलक दिखाई है, जिससे संदेह नहीं रह सकता कि अपना प्रजातंत्र मज़बूती के साथ जनता का कल्याण-कार्य-नियोजन निश्चित रूप से सफल कर सकेगा। श्री. यशवंतरावजी की कार्यप्रणाली, राजनीतिक सूझबूझ, प्रशासनपद्धति और कांग्रेस जैसे संगठन पर भ्रष्टा उनकी महान योग्यता का बहुत कुछ परिचय देती है। उनकी संगठनशक्ति तथा जनता के मन में उत्साह व प्रेरणा पैदा करने का तरीका भी अनुकरणीय है, इसमें कोई शंका नहीं है। बम्बई जैसी भारत की आर्थिक राजधानी का स्थान और विश्व-जनीय संस्कृति का केन्द्र, श्री यशवंतरावजी के अधिकार ग्रहण के बाद, अल्पसमय में ही उनके प्रति विश्वास करने लगा है। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि अब तो सभी स्तर के लोग चाहे गरीब हों या अमीर, उनकी प्रशंसा ही करते हैं। तथाकथित अल्प-संख्य जमातें—गुजराती, हिंदी, बंगाली, तामिली, कन्नड, पारशी, मुसलमान, यहूदी व इसाई आदि कोई भी हो, बिना संदेह श्री. यशवंतरावजी पर विश्वास कर उनका गुणगान करती है। भारतीय एकत के एक श्रेष्ठ पूजक इस नाते से श्री. यशवंतरावजी के प्रति एकदम आदरभाव पैदा होता है। मुख्यमंत्री जैसे ऊंचे स्थान पर विराजमान होते हुए भी गर्व-रहित नम्रता उनके व्यवहार और बातचीत में हमेशा प्रतीत होती है। वे प्रगतिशील विचारों के व समाजवादी समाज-रचना के



ध्येय के एक बहुत बड़े हिमायती हैं। तब भी वर्ग-संघर्ष को वे कभी भी बढ़ने नहीं देते। पूंजीपतियों का भी हृदयपरिवर्तन करने में अपनी कुशलता बतलाते हैं। महाराष्ट्र राज्य के इन नेता में बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे की गुण-संपन्नता देखकर मन विनम्र हो जाता है। युवक होते हुए भी बड़ी गंभीरता व सामंजस्य के साथ वे महाराष्ट्र की समस्याएं, जो कि बहुत जटिल हैं, सुलझा रहे हैं।

भारतीय कांग्रेस के नेता और महाराष्ट्र राज्य के मुख्यमंत्री, ऐसे एक कुशल राजनैतिज्ञ श्री. यशवंतरावजी चव्हाण की ४७ वीं वर्षगांठ,

समारोह के साथ मनाने का सौभाग्य नागपुर नगरी को प्राप्त हुआ है।

नागपुर के महापौर के नाते इस समारोह का प्रमुख पद सुझे प्राप्त हुआ है। विशेषतः इसलिए मैं नम्रता के साथ अपने को गौरवान्वित मानता हूँ कि इस सुअवसर पर मैं यह अभिनंदन ग्रन्थ जिस में प्रसिद्ध विद्वान और विभिन्न विचारों के लेखकों के विचार परिपूर्ण और मंगल भावनाओं से युक्त लेख तथा बड़े बड़े भारतीय विद्वानों के आशीर्वाद समाविष्ट किये हैं, देने का सौभाग्य हमें मिला है। श्री. यशवंतरावजी चव्हाण स्वस्थ रहें और ऐसी बहुतसी वर्षगांठें देखें, ऐसी शुभ-कामना मैं प्रकट करता हूँ।





RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN,
NEW DELHI.

February 27, 1961
Phalgun 8, 1882(Saka).

On the occasion of his 48th birthday, I send my best wishes to Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra. Shri Chavan who is one of the youngest Chief Ministers in India, has distinguished himself for his public spirit, political acumen and integrity. It pleases one's heart to see him cited so often as an example of what the younger generation of Indian public men is capable of accomplishing. It is his successful stewardship of the former undivided Bombay State and now of Maharashtra which has earned him this distinction.

I wish Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan many more happy returns of this day.

Rajendra Prasad
7.2.61.

संदेश



I AM GLAD to know that you will celebrate the 48th birthday of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan on the 12th March. He has done exceedingly well both as the Chief Minister of the former Bombay State and of the present Maharashtra. His accessibility and friendly spirit have contributed to the success of the present Maharashtra.

Wish your function success.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN,
Vice-President,
India.

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श्री यशवंतराव चव्हाण यांच्या ४७ व्या वाढदिवसाच्या प्रसंगी शुभेच्छा व्यक्त करून आशीर्वाद देत आहे.

धों. के. कर्वे

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महाराष्ट्र राज्याचे पहिले मुख्यमंत्री श्री यशवंतराव चव्हाण यांचा ४७ वा वाढदिवस दिनांक १२ मार्च रोजी नागपूर येथे साजरा करण्याच्या उद्देशाने निर्माण झालेल्या समितीचे मी मनःपूर्वक अभिनंदन करतो. राज्यपुनर्रचनेनंतर प्रथम द्विभाषिक मुंबई प्रांताची व त्यांतून परिणत होणाऱ्या महाराष्ट्र राज्याची धुरा जबाबदारीने व यशस्वी रीतीने वाहून त्यांनी या चार वर्षांत स्वतःच्या विविध गुणांचा जो परिचय लोकांना करून दिला आहे त्याने, प्रसंगानेच माणसाची पारख होते, या उक्तीची सत्यता सिद्ध केली आहे. राज्यकारभाराला आधारभूत अखणारी तत्त्वे व लगणारा व्यवहार यांना कोणत्याही प्रकारची बाधा न येऊ देतां शक्य तितक्या लोकांचीं मनें मिळवणें हें प्रशासकाच्या उत्कृष्टपणाचें गमक आहे. ह्या गमकाने पाहिल्यास श्री. यशवंतरावजींनी ह्या बाबतींत भरघोस यश मिळविलें आहे.

स्वार्थत्याग, कष्ट करण्याचें सामर्थ्य आणि बुद्धिबळ या तिन्ही गुणांच्या बाबतींत महाराष्ट्राची परंपरा थोर आहे, आणि या तीन गुणांना एकीची जोड मिळाली म्हणजे महाराष्ट्र राज्य भरभराटीच्या मार्गावर अग्रेसर झाल्या-शिवाय राहणार नाही. श्री यशवंतरावजींचें नेतृत्व या बाबतींत संपूर्णपणें यशस्वी होऊन महाराष्ट्राचें कीर्तिमंदिर झालाने उभें करण्याचें श्रेय संपा-



देल यांत मला संशय वाटत नाही. परमेश्वर श्री यशवंतराव चव्हाण यांना दीर्घायुरारोग्य व देशाची सेवा करण्याचा अधिकाधिक अवसर देवो हीच प्रार्थना.

ह. वि. पाटसकर
राज्यपाल, मध्यप्रदेश

IN CHAVAN COUNTRY has a distinguished and capable administrator and I pray on the occasion of his 48th birthday for his long life, prosperity and glorious career of public service to mother land.

M. S. ANEY

आपण सर्व मित्रमंडळी माननीय श्री यशवंतराव चव्हाण यांचा ४८ वा वाढदिवस साजरा करण्याची योजना केली आहे हे वाचून फार आनंद वाटला. त्यानिमित्त आपण प्रसिद्ध करण्यास घेतलेला अभिनंदन ग्रंथ त्यांच्या जीवनाच्या निरनिराळ्या पेलूंचे दिग्दर्शक करून सर्वसामान्य सार्वजनिक जीवनाला आवश्यक असलेल्या ज्ञानानेहि समृद्ध ठरेल असा विश्वास बाळगतो.

मान्यवर श्री यशवंतरावांना यापुढे अधिकाधिक दायित्वाची राष्ट्रकर्तव्ये स्वीकारावी लागतील अशी माझी अटकळ आहे. तशी त्यांची योग्यताहि प्रकट झालेली आहे. त्यांचे ठिकाणी असलेले अनेक गुण उत्तरोत्तर अधिक परिणामकारक रूपाने व्यक्त होवोत व श्री छत्रपति शिवरायांपासून जी अखिल भारतीय व्यापक दृष्टि आपल्या महाराष्ट्राच्या लोक नेत्यांनी बाळगली व प्रत्यक्ष आचस्वी आहे तिचा परमोत्कर्ष त्यांच्या जीवनात पहावयास मिळो एतदर्थ श्री प्रमुचरणी प्रार्थना करीत आहे. त्या दयाघनाच्या कृपेने त्यांना उदंड आयुरारोग्य लाभून राष्ट्राला हा सुयोग्य कार्यकर्ता सुदीर्घ काळ लाभो.

आपल्या ग्रंथास सुयश प्राप्त व्हावे म्हणून श्री परमेश्वराचा आशीर्वाद मागून हे पत्र पूर्ण करतो.

मा. स. गोळवलकर
सरसंचालक, राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ

IN THE FIRST PLACE I send my good wishes for the effort you are making. Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan has already made a mark upon the political life of the country. Though young in age, he has shown that he has a fund of wisdom.

U. N. DHEBAR

I AM VERY HAPPY to know that the 48th birthday of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, will be celebrated at Nagpur on 12th March and that a Souvenir will also appear to mark the celebrations. Shri Chavan's services to the country are well-known and need no elaboration. At a comparatively young age he has carried very heavy burdens and has endeared himself to all those who have come into contact with him. I have great pleasure in sending him my felicitations on his 48th birthday and wish him many many happy returns of the day.

JAGJIVAN RAM,
Minister for Railways,
India.

श्री आद्य शंकराचार्यांनी विश्वसंस्कृतीचे दर्शन घडविले म्हणून प्राचीन काळी भारताचे ऐक्य धर्म व संस्कृति यांच्या अधिष्ठानावर उत्पन्न झाले. आद्य शंकराचार्यांचा संदेश भारतातील विचारप्रवर्तकांनी व सर्व प्रांतांनी मान्य केला होता. म्हणून हे ऐक्य निर्माण होऊ शकले. त्यामध्ये पुन्हा खंड पडला. संत महंतांनी श्री शंकराचार्यांच्या बौद्धिक कार्याचे रहस्य आत्मसात केले, त्याला भक्तिभावाची जोड दिली व पुन्हा त्या ऐक्याचे पुनरुज्जीवन केले. लहान थोर 'मलते याती नारी नर' या भक्तिभावनेच्या झेंड्याखाली एकत्र गोळा झाले. हा गोपालकालाच राष्ट्रीय ऐक्याचे बीज बनते. हे बीज फोफावले व त्यांत शिवाजी महाराजांच्या कार्याचा विस्तार झाला.

महाराष्ट्र संतांची ऐक्यभावना केवळ भारतापुरती मर्यादित नव्हती. त्यांनी विश्वात्मक देवाची आराधना केली, व "भूता परस्परे जडो मैत्र जिवाचे" असा ह्यास धरला. आकुंचित मतांवर, रुढींवर व संप्रदायांवर त्यांनी हल्ला केला. जातिवादाचे विष त्यांनी उतरविले. एकनाथांनी हरिजनांना पितर म्हणून आवाहन करून श्राद्धसमयी भोजन केले. तुकाराम महाराजांनी "ब्राह्मण तों एक। चोखा मेळा महार" असे जाहीर केले. संतांची बाणी मराठी बोलणाऱ्या प्रत्येक माणसाच्या घरांत व मनांत पोचली आहे. ज्ञानोबा व तुकोबा यांची बाणी आग्नी घरांघरांतून बोलता. विदर्भात पैदा झालेला संत गुलाबराव महाराज होय. स्वतःला ज्ञानोबांची कन्या समजून ते स्वतःला धन्य मानीत होते.

राज्य मिळाले आणि सत्ता मिळाली म्हणून विकास होतो असे नाही. आमच्या देशाच्या हातांत राज्य हजारों वर्षे होते. परंतु विकास थांबला. त्यामुळे राज्य गेले. देशाचे ऐक्य आपण राखू शकलो नाही. सर्व जाती, जमाती व संप्रदाय यांना एकजीव करणारे ऐक्य नांदले पाहिजे. असे ऐक्य नांदविण्यासाठी आपल्या शासनाला यशवंतरावांसारखे नेते लाभले आहेत हे महाराष्ट्राचे मायबक समजले पाहिजे. श्री. यशवंतराव चव्हाण

यांना जवळून पाहण्याचा योग मला आला आहे. त्यांची समाज व संत यांवर नितांत निष्ठा आहे. राष्ट्रपुरुषांचे स्मरण केल्याशिवाय त्यांचे एकही भाषण होत नाही. महामानव निर्माण करणे, समता निर्माण करणे, हे त्यांचे ध्येय आहे. महाराष्ट्रातील योरामोठ्यांचे विचार व आशीर्वाद घेण्याची सुंदर संधि त्यांना प्राप्त झाली आहे. त्यांच्यांत देश, धर्म व संस्कृति यांची मक्ति मरलेली आहे. भाषा, प्रांत, पंथ व जाती यांबद्दलच्या सहकारी भावना विकोपाला जाऊ न दिल्या तरच देश समृद्ध होणार आहे. प्रस्तुत अभिनंदन ग्रंथ ज्यांना भेट करण्यांत येत आहे, त्यांना उदंड आयुष्य लाभो, हीच गुरुदेवाला प्रार्थना आहे.

—संत तुकडोजी महाराज.

SHRI CHAVAN STANDS OUT very prominently as a young leader who made his mark with a meteoric rise in his home State. Son of a farmer, a bright student, always studious, he is perhaps the youngest of our Chief Ministers in India today. His remarkable quality to handle tough situations was called in evidence many a time during his stewardship of the bigger bilingual State of Bombay and will be his great asset in the formidable tasks that await him in building up the new State of Maharashtra.

I wish him a very long life of service to his State and to the Country.

JIVARAJ N. MEHTA,
Chief Minister,
Gujerat.

I AM EXTREMELY HAPPY to send my best wishes to the venture to celebrate the 48th birthday of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra. The very fact, that such an idea has been thought of by a representative committee, indicates how the services of Shri Chavan to the new-born State of Maharashtra have been recognised by the vast majority of the people of that State. Shri Chavan is one of the patriotic servants of India who is sure to distinguish himself further in the cause of the motherland by dedicated service.

The publication of a souvenir in connection with the celebrations is also quite appropriate.

I wish both the celebrations and the souvenir every success.

PATTOM A. THANU PILLAI,
Chief Minister,
Kerala State.

I AM VERY HAPPY to know that the 48th birthday of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, would be celebrated at Nagpur on the 12th March 1961. I join the millions of Indians in wishing many more happy returns of this day to my esteemed friend, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, and hope that the souvenir proposed to be published on this occasion will not only give a comprehensive assessment of his charming personality and his unforgettable services to the country, but also serve to inspire the younger generation in the service of India.

I send my hearty greetings to the organisers of the function and wish them every success.

B. D. JATTI,
Chief Minister,
Mysore State.

THE FUTURE BELONGS to the youth of the country and Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan may well be described as one of the coming men. Member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly at 33, he became a Minister at 39 and Chief Minister four years later. Since 1st May last year, he has assumed stewardship of the newly-formed State of Maharashtra. His meteoric rise apparently sounds like a fairy-tale but long years of hardship and suffering have gone to make Shri Yeshwantrao what he is today. Joining the freedom movement while he was still in his teens, he never allowed his spirits to flag or his steps to falter. The Quit India Movement of 1942 found him ready as ever and he remained underground for about an year. Office has not changed him; he retains the vivacity and drive of youth and possesses all the finer traits of riper years.

I associate myself heartily with the birthday celebrations of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan and wish him many, many happy returns of this auspicious occasion.

PRATAP SINGH KAIRON,
*Chief Minister,
Punjab.*

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IT GIVES ME great pleasure to associate myself with the celebrations of the 48th birthday, on the 12th March next, of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, being organised by the Nagpur Nagar Congress Committee. Shri Chavan has by his manifold services, and his remarkable sense of public duty won for himself a notable place among our national leaders. On this happy occasion, I send my warmest greetings to Shri Chavan and all good wishes that he may continue to render service to the Nation for many many years to come.

KAILASNATH KATJU,
*Chief Minister,
Madhya Pradesh.*

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THE COUNTRY NEEDS MEN with capacity for sober and durable leadership. Such men are rare. Shri Chavan is without doubt one of them. He has served his people well. I am glad that a souvenir is being brought out in connection with his 48th birthday celebrations. I wish him many more years in the nation's service.

K. KAMRAJ,
*Chief Minister,
Madras.*

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I AM GLAD to learn that the 48th birthday of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra is being celebrated next month.

Shri Chavan is one of the youngest Chief Ministers, but already he has acquired a reputation for balance and level-headedness which statesmen of an older age group may very well envy. The way he dealt with the Vidarbha Movement without leaving behind any scars speaks highly of his political acumen.

Shri Chavan is essentially a people's man and has all the qualities required in a successful democratic leader. I am sure the future of the newborn State of Maharashtra is safe in his hands.

On this occasion, I would like to send my greetings and wish Shri Chavan a long life.

C. B. GUPTA,
*Chief Minister,
Uttar Pradesh.*

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I AM VERY HAPPY to know that the 48th birthday of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra is being celebrated on the 12th March 1961. It is also gratifying to know that a Souvenir is being published to mark the happy occasion. I wish the Celebrations and the Souvenir all success.

D. SANJIVAYYA,
*Chief Minister,
Andhra Pradesh.*

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I AM GLAD to learn that a Committee has been formed to celebrate the 48th Birthday of Shri Y. B. Chavan in Nagpur on 12th March 1961. The services rendered by Shri Chavan as the Chief Minister of the Composite State of Bombay were really great. Under his able leadership the State of Maharashtra is on its way to progress and prosperity.

On the happy occasion of his 48th Birthday I offer him my sincere felicitations and wish him many more returns of the day.

V. N. DESAI,
Mayor of Bombay.

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माननीय यशवंतराव चव्हाण १२ मार्च १९६१ या दिवशीं अडे-
चाळिसाव्या वर्षांत पदार्पण करीत आहेत. वाढदिवसाच्या या शुभ प्रसंगी
हा सविच्छा संदेश पाठविण्यांत मला फार आनंद होत आहे. महाराष्ट्र
राज्य स्थापनेची महान् ऐतिहासिक कामगिरी यशस्वी रीतीने पार पाडण्यांत
त्यांचे केवढे मोठे श्रेय आहे, हे मी सुद्धा सांगण्याची आवश्यकता
नाही. लोकसंग्रह, परमतसहिष्णुता, सौजन्य आणि कर्तव्यदक्षता हे
नेतृत्वाला आवश्यक असणारे गुण त्यांनी गेल्या चार वर्षांत वारंवार प्रकट
करून दाखविले आहेत. महाराष्ट्राच्या विपन्नकालीं असा सुयोग्य राजकीय
नेता आपल्याला लाभला हे राज्याचे भाग्यच होय. त्यांचे नेतृत्व आपणाला
अनेक वर्षे लाभो व त्यांचे हातून आपल्या भारत देशाची महनीय सेवा
घडो अशी इच्छा मी प्रदर्शित करतो.

ब. रा. खानोलकर

कुल्युक्त

सुंभरे विद्यापीठ

• • •

I HAVE ALWAYS FOUND the Chief Minister taking a keen interest in University education, and, but for his abiding interest in the progress of the education in this area, which had remained underdeveloped owing to historical reasons, it would not have been possible for the Marathwada University, which is the youngest of the universities in the State of Maharashtra, to make as rapid a progress as it has been able to make within such a short time. He has been most generous in responding to the needs of the University.

S. R. DONGERKERY,
Vice-Chancellor.
Marathwada University

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I AM GLAD to hear that the Nagpur Nagar Congress Committee proposes to celebrate the 48th Birthday of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, at Nagpur on 12th March, 1961.

His stewardship of the Bombay State before and after the partition has proved beyond doubt his qualities as an outstanding statesman and administrator. It is indeed a good fortune for the State of Maharashtra to have at its helm of affairs a proved leader who can inspire confidence in Maharashtrians, Gujaratis, and the minorities of

all shades and views in our State, at a time when linguistic claims are striking at the very root of nationalism, and fissiparous tendencies are threatening the unity of the country. His modest and winning ways add charm to the dignity of his office as Chief Minister, as evidenced by his popularity amongst all classes of society.

It is indeed a great pleasure and privilege to offer our best wishes on the occasion of his birthday. In wishing him many happy returns of the day, we are indeed offering good wishes to the State of Maharashtra with which Shri Chavan's life and career are so happily and inextricably linked.

NAVAL H. TATA.

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IN AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY like India parliamentary politics naturally tends to be pleasing to the masses and the strategic importance of assessment of what is possible is normally overshadowed by popular slogans. During the last four years, Shri Y. B. Chavan has sufficiently proved his ability to assess "what is possible". It is indeed extraordinary that he has courage enough to accept that assessment in the face of all opposition. Industrial and economic development will be on surer grounds under such a bold and realistic political leadership.

In celebrating his 48th birthday at Nagpur, we are, in fact, celebrating the birth of New Leadership. I wish him many happy returns of the day.

HANUMAN PRASAD NEVATIA

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I AM GLAD that you propose to celebrate, in a befitting manner, the 48th birthday of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, at Nagpur. It is indeed fitting that Nagpur should have the honour of celebrating Shri Chavan's birthday, in view of the keen interest evinced by him in the development of Vidarbha as well as of Marathwada.

I have had the privilege of knowing Shri Chavan for a number of years. I am greatly impressed by the breadth of his vision, and the humanity of his outlook ; he has a peculiar capacity of winning over people by his frankness, informality and above all, sympathetic understanding of the other persons' point of view. As the Chief Minister of the Bilingual State of Bombay and now of the State of Maharashtra, Shri Chavan had to face many knotty problems which he has solved with sagacity and understanding. Shri Chavan has the unique gift of combining political idealism with economic realism—a difficult feat indeed. On the one hand, the political ideals and

aspirations of the people have got to be realised ; on the other hand, it would not be possible to overlook the hard realities of the economic situation. May Shri Chavan have always the wisdom and the courage to follow the right path of economic advancement to realise the aspirations of the people.

There is a bright future for Shri Chavan and on this 48th Birthday, I would like to extend to him my heartiest congratulations and felicitations for many happy returns and a long life of service to the country.

R. G. SARAIYA

■ ■ ■



Appreciation



R. P. PARANJPYE

Ex Vice Chancellor, Poona University

I WOULD like to join in the felicitations to our Chief Minister on the occasion of his 48th birth-day and to wish him a long life of health and happiness and many years of useful service to his country.

It is but right to recall that many entertained a certain amount of doubt when Mr. Chavan was, at a comparatively early age, called upon to shoulder the burden and responsibility of administering the State of Bombay in view of his little experience of public affairs till then. He was not known to the general public except as a devoted participant in the national struggle for freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, but his practical experience as a man of affairs was relatively small, coming as he did from a small district town. But he has brilliantly removed all these apprehensions felt even by many of his friends, and has made the State of Bombay, and later of Maharashtra, the best administered and most progressive State in India.

Not the least of his many achievements is the creation of the State of Maharashtra by his steady, though necessarily silent, advocacy of the cause of Maharashtra in the highest quarters. Till the actual decision for the creation of the two States of Maharashtra and Gujarat could be announced, he had naturally to stand by the bilingual state in his public utterances, just as a belligerent, even when privately serving for peace, put on a brave front till the very last moment. It would be churlish therefore, to quote to his discredit his previous statements on the desirability of a bilingual state. A public man cannot lay all his cards on the table on every occasion, for his aims would then be easily frustrated. I am sure that

he is even now doing his best to have the injustice done to Maharashtra on the border questions set right, and it is but fair that the public should strengthen his hands and not indulge ceaselessly in mere carping criticism. Mr. Chavan has, in my opinion, deserved the confidence of the public in view of his previous success.

Mr. Chavan has often displayed courage of his convictions, and I hope he will not flinch from occasionally revising his former opinions, even if publicly expressed, if new or unexpected circumstances call for such revision. To adhere to a policy even when it has been patently proved to be wrong is as unworthy of a real statesman as for him to trim his sails to every passing breeze of public opinion. When one is in opposition, one often holds opinions based on mere theory, but these occasionally prove deceptive in actual practice. A readiness to revise one's opinions on proper cause shown is one of the principal characteristics of a real statesman. To take an illustration, I would like Mr. Chavan to consider in a dispassionate manner the present policy of Prohibition and to judge whether the theoretical merits of Prohibition are not more than counter-balanced by the increase in illicit distillation, or

by encouraging many to participate secretly in liquor traffic, or by familiarizing even women and children with this harmful stuff, or by fostering contempt for law in the general public, or lastly by the growing demoralisation of the Police service.

Maharashtra wants Mr. Chavan's services for many a long year, and I sincerely hope that he will continue to guide its destinies even if more glittering prospects are open to him. Finally I would like to add a word of advice to his many admirers. A man has only a limited amount of physical energy ; it is to his country's benefit that it should be expended only on matters of prime importance and not be frittered away on comparatively trifling objects. It is natural that people should want him to be among them for ceremonial occasions of all kinds. But they should remember that he has a very heavy task to perform. The public should, therefore, save him from needlessly taxing his energy by too many invitations of this kind. This humble suggestion of mine has equal application in the case of several other prominent personalities in India whose time is now being taken up by matters of minor importance.



"Independently and separately, we have no existence ; and all our strength only derives from the fact of belonging to the one nation that is India."

—Shri Y. B. Chavan

Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, his rise to national stature



G. D. PARIKH

Rector, Bombay University

THE EMERGENCE of Yeshwantrao on our political horizon and his almost meteoric rise to the stature of a national leader is widely felt to be a pleasant surprise and the feeling is by no means confined to the critics, the opponents or even those who did not know much of him earlier. True, the temptation for those who knew him earlier to say that they knew him all along is great; but even they have to acknowledge the achievements to have far surpassed their expectations. In an otherwise depressing background, there is now a positive reassurance, a definite ray of hope for all those concerned about the future of freedom and democracy in the country. Wherein lies this reassurance? What exactly is the basis of this hope? The questions are more easily raised than answered. The attempts to find the answers must nevertheless continue; for the possibilities of fulfilment will largely depend on a proper understanding and appreciation of the role of Chavan in the existing background of the country.

An obvious answer given by many is in terms of the success of Chavan as Chief Minister. Living as we do in a situation in which being in power appears to many as a great achievement by itself, to be in power and to succeed, to rule and to be popular must naturally appear as the very height of personal greatness and glory. And Yeshwantrao has achieved it in ample measure. He is perhaps the youngest Chief Minister we have had in the country and, on universal admission, the most successful one. In a custom-ridden society with its peculiar accent on age, seniority and their prestige and influence, this is undoubtedly a tribute to merit and wisdom which in itself might



furnish to a lesser individual all the necessary personal satisfaction. And this, let me add, is not the only achievement acknowledged by the popular mind. Chavan has been equally successful in stabilising a difficult political situation and in leading his party from the verge of demoralisation and collapse to a condition of growing stability and strength. And the series of dynamic adjustments needed for tackling numerous and complex organisational problems involved in the process of doing so have in no way qualified his capacity to keep it together. To any one even remotely aware of the political climate and the background of the functioning of parties in the country, this must also appear as an achievement of no less significance than the success as Chief Minister. And the two together have naturally made a deep and indelible imprint on the minds of the people.

All this is true and reflects the most obvious and popular impression. And still it is not sufficient. It does not seem to explain in any manner how all this was achieved within the short span of three or four years, nor does it throw light on the understanding and actions that have been responsible for it. The impression is one of achievements than of efforts, of results than of reasons. It is mostly a response to success and is hardly evaluative, which it cannot be unless it seeks to explain the success. For, success by itself is a norm of dubious value; it is sometimes dangerous and is always superficial. A proper appreciation of Chavan demands raising and answering the question: what is it that has succeeded in his success, and what are its prospects in future? It is the search for this answer that seems to be of basic significance today.

The first and one of the most striking elements in the answer lies to my mind not in the success of the Chief Ministership but in the acceptance of it. The acceptance came in a situation when it was in every sense a thorny crown, when to rule was not to command or to respond, but to guide and to lead the people: to guide when few seemed to listen, to lead when no one was prepared to follow. The elite appeared in the streets shouting slogans and the mob threatened to rule. The elemental passions of the people, once roused, were respectors of none, but demanded of everyone that he fall in line or be crushed. The deci-

sion to accept the responsibility in that context could be a completely thoughtless decision, unless it was an act of supreme moral courage and informed by deep democratic convictions, expressing in that background in the form of loyalty to Parliament and its decisions. Developments since then have amply vindicated the decision. It was obviously a case of the assertion of reason in an individual whose own emotions were against the decision he took.

But moral courage was not enough; the moral argument seemed to lie with the opponents. While it was possible to deal with everything else, it was difficult to answer the question as to why a particular group should have been chosen for treatment which was obviously different. It was futile to tell them that they were the chosen people, because they were believed to be the most mature people; for they were convinced that the difference in the treatment amounted to discrimination according them an inferior status. Parliaments are of course supreme, but they are also human and can and do commit mistakes; hence the sanctity of the right to get their decisions revised. Here therefore was a situation which demanded a very cautious, intelligent and sympathetic handling so that the argument may not be used for vindicating all sorts of actions. Reason had to be persuasive and appealing rather than sharp or assertive so as to ensure the softening of emotions and the cooling of tempers. The people had to be taught that justice could be demanded only with clean hands and what was essential for it was faith in the potential goodness of man. Emotions and passions were irrelevant and could only spoil the case; and at the same time the decision of Parliament, so long as it remained in force, had to be faithfully carried out. This was thus one of the major experiments of education in democracy which Chavan successfully carried on; and his deep and firm convictions supported by his intelligent understanding and sympathetic handling of the situation enabled him to do so. The bilingual Bombay State enjoyed the reputation of a well-administered State and arguments for and against it began getting gradually divorced from emotions and passions. This again was probably the most trying period in the career of Chavan where courage demanded con-

trol, reason prescribed restraint and understanding had to accept an approach full of conciliation.

But conciliation is one thing and reconciliation is another. Though passions cooled down, people were still not reconciled to the situation. They were still not prepared to accept the solution devised for them and anything that seemed to pacify the people provoked the politicians anxious to capitalise the situation. Conditions remained uncertain, and threats of 'struggle' lay always hanging in the atmosphere. No one could have foreseen the precise magnitude of the danger. Thus arose what may be called the second difficult test for Chavan. To rule might soon cease to mean to guide and to lead; it might involve, on the other hand, the obligation to suppress and to shoot. Parliament no doubt is the symbol of Indian democracy but it still signified only an approximation of the basic human values, respect for which is the essence of democracy everywhere in the world. It seems to me to be highly superficial to say that as a clever politician, Chavan manoeuvred to get on the occasion what he had wanted all along, viz., the creation of the State of Maharashtra. As a matter of fact, the situation confronted him in all its complexities and the issue for a man of convictions and values was extremely difficult. The decision of the Parliament was to be carried out and Chavan was prepared to persuade and to plead, to argue and to administer. But the decision itself could only be for the people, for their interests and well-being. If it therefore led to a point where it would be imperative to suppress and to shoot, Chavan would not defy but would stand down; he would not shoot. It was perhaps necessary for the Parliament to have second thoughts on the matter. The force of persuasion was thus turned in the other direction and the result was bifurcation. This steady movement, in the context of an explosive situation dominated by jingoism and chauvinistic passions, to the humanist core of democracy on which he maintained a fixed gaze all through the period constitutes the real basis of the hopes entertained of Chavan at present. He thereby set an example which effectively educated a whole segment of our population in democratic practice and provided a valuable lesson for others.

The close and intimate relation between educa-

tion and democracy is an old and ever-recurring theme since the days of Plato. And yet every democratic society has returned to it in the context of its concrete conditions. The two terms are obviously much wider in their meaning than what is usually attributed to them. Education in this context need not, and cannot, be identified with formal education alone, although the latter does occupy a significant position in it. The family, the numerous voluntary social organizations and agencies and above all the state play a very significant part in the education of the citizen. And an inescapable corollary of this position is that while formal education must be cognisant of its social obligations and responsibilities, the other social agencies must also function in a way that will not defeat its purposes. Where they conspire to stultify what formal education is seeking to achieve the results are bound to be harmful. The educative impact of all these agencies including machinery of formal education must be harmonious and conducive to the growth of the freedom of the individual citizen and his sense of responsibility and discrimination. This broadly is the perspective of democratic education and Chavan has shown by now in ample measure his full and proper appreciation of the same. In fact, by his example, he has emerged as a great educator of the people. He values representative institutions and the system of taking decisions by majority; but he also knows it to be defenceless in realising the basic objectives of democracy. Democracy therefore must be viewed essentially as a way of life based on respect for basic human values; and Chavan views it as such.

One does not have to underestimate the significance of parliamentary institutions, representation and majority rule. These are undoubtedly important but as institutional devices, they are by themselves incapable of controlling trends in the direction of negating democracy. It is precisely for this reason that freedom of voluntary organisations, Fundamental Rights, Independence of the Judiciary, a free press, autonomy of the universities, and a whole host of other devices have to be maintained as essential safeguards for the proper functioning of democracy. A democratic society is not a monolithic society. It is essentially pluralistic, for truth is plural and no

one can claim to have a monopoly of it. A democratic society necessarily respects the primacy and supremacy of the individual, for he alone can pursue truth and must be left free to do so.

Maintenance of a climate of free deliberate and public discussion of all general issues of social import can alone promote attitudes which, in making his choices and decisions when called upon to do so, will enable the individual to display a rational and discriminating capacity for judgment. A democratic society is not a static society. As a matter of fact in the context of the broad meaning of democracy, emphasised earlier, the term 'democratic society' itself becomes open to question. What we can have are societies at different stages of democratisation. Democracy is not a goal to be achieved at any particular point of time. It is rather a path, a quest. That being the case, eternal vigilance is naturally its most significant watchword. There is no halting place along the path and any cessation of movement ahead contains all the possibilities of a drift in the reverse direction. The democratic faith has to be continually renewed and refreshed if it is to be a living faith capable of enabling us to march ahead. There is no situation which needs being taken as beyond the range of human ingenuity to tackle. The success of Chavan reinforces the belief that a courageous, rational and discriminating individual with integrity, intelligence, imagination and human sympathy can tackle problems which many a strong man would otherwise fail to do. It has shown that there is no room for despair, that democracy is possible. And this, I submit, is of supreme significance in the present political context not only of this State or the country but of the whole underdeveloped world.

One may, however, ask: What about the social question? Precisely the question that need not be asked of Chavan. As a son of the soil, he knows the social realities and the economic hardships of the people much better than many of the intellectuals and theoreticians can claim to do; as to broad social sympathies, he need be second to none. Having learnt, as he himself says so often, his marxism from Roy whose basic inspiration was essentially of human freedom, he seems to recognise that economic justice is a far more complex

phenomenon than mere abolition of private property and that the latter in no way prevented the emergence of cruel dictatorship, mass trials and a whole range of repressive policies and measures. Having grown in the climate of leftism when the latter cast its spell over a whole generation, he is fully familiar with its strength and its limitations. And in no case, can he be expected to accept the contention that freedom and its manifold institutional expressions are merely a façade devoid of any significance in the absence of economic justice and equality. Economic freedom is undoubtedly an essential aspect of the great democratising process, which, however, does not permit any compartmentalisation. Harmonious development of the different mutually related but not causally connected aspects of social existence is its real essence and to promote it is the basic need of the hour.

Chavan, above all, is aware that what we have is a commitment to democracy and an effort to build or promote it; we are a society in the process of democratisation; we recognize as such that a method of decision making which involves representation and majority rule has significance and we have embodied it in our Constitution; and he knows that this method may be subjected to enormous pressures and be eventually given up unless the economic context in which it operates is radically altered and improved. The requirements of an economic-political resurgence of this kind naturally demand social stability. It is here as he has directly experienced, that the major problems and difficulties of the country arise. True, Indian society has been one of the most stable societies in the world but its stability is in no way adjusted to the democratic way of life. It is the stability of hierarchical caste-order buttressed by religion and custom which seek to regulate to the minutest detail the conditions of individual and social existence. Everything that is done in the political or economic sphere with the object of promoting democracy therefore tends to disturb social stability. These conditions of social existence, which reflect the more fundamental basis of public opinion cannot possibly be altered in a short while. What one often witnesses is therefore a throw-back by them on the political and economic plane corroding the func-

tioning of democratic institutions. Democratic majorities become caste majorities. Economic improvement generates scramble between organized groups for benefits. Functioning in such a set-up, political parties in their anxiety to manipulate the people and win the support of majority may find it necessary to adjust to this basic requirement and as a consequence may cease to educate and become willing instruments of a backward and authoritarian social and cultural structure. What is crucial as a need of the community in the process of democratisation is the capacity to resist this throw-back and to re-orientate the social and cultural context in a manner conducive to the promotion of the democratic way of life. This cannot be achieved by mere calculations of numbers. It has necessarily to shift in the direction of quality, in the direction of proper education.

The lack of basic homogeneity in the community is well-known. In fact the differences obtaining are far too many. They are not merely caste or communal differences; there are also the religious and the linguistic ones and a whole host of others too. Education thus faces a stupendous problem which it is bound to find extremely difficult to deal with. It further faces a very complex problem in so far as it has to make its products both critical and confident, possessed of the capacity to revolve the past and a faith in the future. In so far as the democratising effort in the economic field goes on under the direct aegis of the state, the latter occupies a key position in this picture. Never before the men at the

helm of affairs in this country had an opportunity of shaping the lives of so many so significantly as they seem to have today. It is therefore very natural to expect that they possess the requisite sense of moral responsibility and the capacity and wisdom adequate to the task. It is in this setting that they have to be judged and their contributions have to be evaluated. And the achievements of Chavan so far provide ample basis for hopes in this respect.

The major difficulty of Indian democracy, arising from the ignorance and backwardness of the large masses of our people can just not be removed by mere extension of formal schooling or education. Even as a political problem, the problem of democracy can be solved only by taking it over to the moral plane, that is essentially as a problem of education. A mere pathetic faith in economic improvement can be no solution. The crisis essentially is intellectual and moral. Nourished in his youthful days by ideas of freedom which eventually flowered into a philosophy of cosmopolitan humanism and inspired by a leader whose unaging youth provides a perennial source of hope and action, Chavan seems to be well on his way to the solution of this crisis of leadership. Leader of a party, his influence transcends its limits; leader of a state, he has risen to a national stature. His success rouses greater hopes; his performance heightens the expectations. May we hope that he will continue to rouse ever greater hopes and expectations in the future and to fulfil them through his actions and achievements.



Shri Y. B. Chavan as administrater



K. L. PANJABI

I.C.S (Retd.), Ex-Chief Secretary, Bombay State

Y ESHWANTRAO Chavan's rise to fame has been meteoric. Eight years ago he was a youthful politician who had drawn much attention to himself by his earnestness of purpose, his habit of close study, his integrity of outlook and above all by his breezy cordial manner. But he was picking up the threads of administration and had still to be tested. He suffered from one handicap; he was too shy to push himself. But very soon he proved his worth. Today he is among the top leaders of the country and his advice is valued in the inner councils of the Congress. He is known all over India as a disciplined soldier and inspired leader in whom the country can put its trust.

Early Life

His rise has been due to a curious compound of force of character and favourable circumstances. Yeshwantrao comes from the hills of Satara which have been the home of lovers of freedom. They had nurtured Shivaji and had been silent witnesses of his march to victory over the foreigners. They had bred stout hearts and tough bodies—men of determination, courage and defiance. When great leaders like Mahatma Phule and Lokmanya Tilak raised the flag of national movement Satara awakened from its stupor and responded with fervour. The district became notorious for its turbulent fighters and gave the police and the Government an anxious time.

The Satyashodhak movement gave the enthusiasm of the people a purpose and direction. As a boy, Yeshwantrao came under its influence. And so also the writings of Lokmanya Tilak which he devoured while still in school. He was so much affected by them that in the school maga-



zine he urged all the boys to follow the teachings of Tilak.

His early life had been one of struggle. Born in a humble family of small peasants, his mother had to undergo hard sacrifices to educate him. His father died when he was a child of four. The boy Yeshwant saw grim poverty, ignorance and disease in the villages round him. Being sensitive at heart he asked himself: "Must this be? Is there not a way out? Cannot the village people at least have the amenities which the city people enjoy? Must they always remain the stepsons of the nation?" Thus was the seed of socialism dropped in Yeshwantrao's mind at an early age.

Political Activity

However, the immediate problem was the freedom of the country. At the age of sixteen he was thrilled by the Independence Resolution passed by the Congress in 1929 and responded to it by defying the ban on Prabhat Pheries. He was arrested but released after a few weeks under the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. He went back to school but continued his work as a boy-agitator. Two years later he was again arrested with illegal leaflets, which he had been distributing, and had to spend eighteen months in jail with hard labour. He was fortunate in meeting many kindred spirits there. Study circles were held among the politicals and Yeshwantrao felt as if he was at a University for patriots. On release, he passed the Matriculation examination and joined the Kolhapur College and obtained his graduate's degree in 1938. Three years later he obtained his degree in law and started legal practice at his home town Karad.

Throughout his university career he continued his political activities. He wanted to widen his horizon by study of political literature. Bertrand Russel's "Road to Freedom" had a great influence on him and so also the writings of the Fabians and of M. N. Roy whom he met personally. Karl Marx's dynamic interpretation of history caught his imagination. But the idea of mass coercion was repugnant to his sensitive nature devoted to ideals of individual freedom. Although he was a voracious reader yet he never allowed the books to act as a barrier between himself and the people. With them he moved about freely.

He visited every village in the district and got to know the people intimately. To him the people were the ore from which the yellow metal was refined. He has great faith in their good instincts which can be developed by sympathetic leadership.

Underground Resistance

Although he had started legal practice, his heart was in politics, and when the "Quit India" call came he decided to join the resistance movement. At first he thought of organising morchas to the taluka offices, but soon abandoned the idea. The police had been given a blank cheque to crush the movement and their loyalty had mounted to a frenzy of repression. Being young and vigorous, the prospect of being shut behind bars did not appeal to him and he went underground. A reward was offered for his arrest but the villagers took him under their protection. Some of his colleagues resorted to sabotage but he could not reconcile himself to it and even tried to persuade them to desist from such work, leading to loss of life. They countered: "What other remedies have we against the brutal methods of the police who torture the families of political workers? Must we not hit back?" Yeshwantrao's elder brother and his own wife—innocent of any political activity—had been arrested. After some weeks his wife had been released. She had developed a serious ailment and Yeshwantrao, in spite of a price on his head, visited her and made arrangements to send her to Poona for treatment. As soon as he had done so, the police arrested him. He spent two years in jail.

On his release in 1944 he worked as secretary of the M.P.C.C. and in 1946 was elected to the Legislative Assembly and appointed Parliamentary Secretary for the Home Department. Shri Chavan soon made his mark in the Assembly. His peasant upbringing had given him a human touch, a realistic outlook and a knowledge of men and their urges. Frank and open in manner he inspired confidence and trust. He had the look of the soil with deep earnestness in his eyes. Within five years he became a Cabinet Minister and was given the troublesome portfolio of Civil Supplies which called for exercise of strict integrity and impartiality. He had to deal with shortages of food and to administer an elaborate system of

controls. He soon realised that curbs and controls were a double-edged weapon and helped in removing them. When the Bombay State was reorganised in 1956 he was elected leader of the party and became Chief Minister.

Chief Minister

The people of Bombay wondered how this youthful Chief Minister would fare. Outside the legislature he was still an unknown quantity. His predecessor, Shri Morarji Desai, had a reputation of firmness verging on rigidity of authority. He had set up ideals of austerity for the citizens and preached them with weariness. It was whispered that Shri Chavan had been trained under him and the same policy and approach to problems would continue. But very soon the conditions changed. The people were agreeably surprised by the cheerful cordiality of atmosphere. They were struck by his informal manner and frankness of expression. He frequently shed his dignity of office and spoke to them as man to man. Above all, he was willing to see the other man's point of view and to appreciate his difficulties. The Opposition members noticed the change and paid him handsome compliments in the Assembly, for they felt that he listened to them and considered their views. Many of them crossed the floor and joined him. A tenuous majority soon swelled into a substantial one and Yeshwantrao had acquired a comfortable saddle. Maharashtra felt that it had a leader who would take it forward.

Shri Yeshwantrao has the gift of making friends even of his bitterest opponents. There is no trace of spite or prejudice in him. He reminds one of a luscious Alphonse Mango, all sweetness without a hard fibre in it. His soft heart has no crust in it.

I had often wondered what the source of his strength was. I discovered that it was his mental attitude to life. Unlike most politicians, he takes his work more seriously than himself. He is completely merged in the work to be done. This gives him a feeling of humility, for he feels that the cause he serves is greater than himself. It also prevents a mood of bitter frustration; having done his best, he leaves the rest to Destiny. In the pursuit of his goal he would seek co-operation even from his bitterest critics. He told a member of the Opposition: "I shall welcome

your co-operation in working for the good of the people because that is what I am here for. Come and help me".

Administrator

His attitude to the Services is conditioned by the same factor. He has the knack of enthusing the officers to give their best and produce results. He is accessible to all and will listen to them, chide them for their shortcomings and encourage them in their good work. He gives a feeling to each one that he is trusted and he is being watched by him. Sometimes the delinquents are let off out of goodness of heart, but on the whole his method of tackling the officers pays a good dividend.

His accessibility is often exploited by self-designing persons. They visit him and surround him to exhibit to the world that they are close to him. He is too good-natured to ward off their attacks, but his shrewd mind must be putting him on guard against their manoeuvres. Subtle flattery can even pierce the armour of the gods and the public wonders sometimes why the Chief Minister cannot show more discrimination in the choice of those who surround him.

The art of administration is largely the skill in assigning priorities. Theoretically, all are equal and administration should ensure equality, neutrality and impartiality. These are good slogans, but all administrators know that they cannot apply them in practice without damaging the fabric of Government. Many people and institutions consider themselves more equal than others and they can create trouble if their demands are not satisfied. After all the primary duty of a Government is to put first things first. Some people and pressure groups are more important than others. Equality would demand impersonal administration according to strict rules of priority and procedure. The administrator is therefore faced with a situation wherein he has to manipulate in such a manner as to maintain a facade of impersonal administration while satisfying the demands of priority. Shri Chavan's merit is that he is inclined to favour institutions and not persons—institutions which are for the welfare of the public. But he insists that no one should suffer thereby. I remember a case in which he declined to side-step a rule to help a deserving institution.

But he amended the rule for future guidance by which the institution—and several others—got the benefit. This is a wholesome convention. The rules must be observed but if they are too rigid they should be amended. By no means can a Government ignore a rule or declaration of policy except at the risk of opening wide the flood gates of favouritism and corruption.

Shri Yeshwantrao is at the head of a State which has long held the reputation of being one of the two or three best-administered States in India. It is knit together by common language and traditions. It is rich in resources of men, money and materials. The stage is well set for the achievement of his dream of a prosperous State wherein villages will have richer crops,

better roads, more schools and more amenities; small industries will be scattered in the rural areas; the conflict between capital and labour in the cities will give place to a spirit of joint enterprise; the people will devote themselves to produce more rather than indulge in internal wranglings. Will he achieve it? Only the future can tell. Can he keep the disruptive forces at bay? He has the healing touch to smoothen all differences and he has the full support of the people. The hopes and aspirations of Maharashtra are concentrated in him as its leader, just as rays of light meet in a convex glass and leave it in the shape of a single hot beam. It has put its full trust in him and wishes him godspeed in his mission through life.



“While promoting the growth of industry and thus creating wider employment opportunities, one could of course not be oblivious of the requirements of social justice. Development and social justice are not antithetical; growth of industry and a fair deal to labour can and indeed must be simultaneously achieved.”

—Shri Y. B. Chavan

Significance of his leadership



V. V. DRAVID

Labour Minister, Madhya Pradesh

I HAVE had the good fortune of coming into fairly intimate contact with Shri Yeshwantraoji Chavan. I certainly like him. Even so I would not have thought of writing a personal anecdote for publicity. For, I am rather allergic to the personal cult. In the present instance, however, not only was there no hesitation at all, but in fact, a positive desire to pay a deserving tribute publicly. This is because I feel convinced that Shri Yeshwantraoji represents a very significant and most welcome phenomenon in the development of our body-politic. In fine, it heralds the phase that we can all wish and expect to arrive after the Independence and the period connected therewith.

In this new phase we cannot do merely with sentimental nationalism with its attendant hunt for scapegoats on the one hand and the patronising attitude towards poor people on the other. These old attitudes have to be dropped. A fresh and careful look at the modern and fast changing world has to be taken and the problems, opportunities and tasks presented before the country in this comprehensive and dynamic setting have to be approached with new insight and resilience.

It is not always humanly possible to make a drastic, almost basic re-adjustment and such inability in many of the Congress veterans should not be castigated as personal failure, especially when the individuals concerned are very much past the eventful prime of their lives. It is however one thing to be fair and even appreciative on the personal level and another thing altogether to assess the impact of the lacunae, inadequacies and maladjustments in positions of leadership of the country's affairs. From this latter point it



has to be realised that at least on the short-run the situation is indeed serious.

The members of the old guard of national stature are superannuating. Apart from infirmity of age quite a few of the elder statesmen are suffering from the difficulty in readjusting their attitudes and approach as already mentioned. On the other hand, there has not been any worthwhile effort at training other Congressmen, even on a selective basis, so as to enable them to re-orientate their outlook and undertake the new responsibilities. Consequently there is for the present a considerable weakness and confusion, if not vacuum, at positions of leadership in Congress.

Panditji has to compensate for this shortfall and he is doing it. It is however too hard on him and he requires worthy aides not only for his personal sake, but for the benefit and progress of our country. With its high potential of physi-

cal resources and basically good and responsive people, this country can certainly achieve even greater progress if there is inspiring and capable leadership at all levels.

Shri Yeshwantraoji represents the rise of such new leadership. We are therefore glad and grateful to have him amongst us. His performance during this short period itself gives us confidence that our expectations in him will be fulfilled. He possesses in ample measure qualities necessary for his role. He is young and likeable. He is particularly successful at 'Lokasangraha'. He is enlightened and progressive. He has handled delicate and difficult situations in his province with natural ease and tact and as a result he has been able to convert these same crucial occasions into important stages in the positive build-up of an integrated and forward-looking community. Who will not congratulate him ?



"Formation of the new State of Maharashtra is indeed a challenge to all classes and sections of people. But the intellectuals have a special burden of responsibility in this regard. It is essential that they should come forth to discuss the important issues facing us, to formulate specific viewpoints on them and give a lead to public opinion."

— SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN

Political Consequences of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan

- a few
reflections



AN ASSOCIATE

IT IS difficult and perhaps not quite opportune to try to assess the political personality of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan at the present juncture. It is only three or four years since he made an essay into high political life. His political future is doubtless larger and of much greater importance than his political past. It is therefore his promise rather than his performance, even though the performance itself has been quite spectacular and distinguishing, which is the more adequate measure of the man's political personality.

The following reflections are offered more from the point of view of the place he occupies in political life and the forces and trends that he represents, both in the life of Maharashtra and of the country, than his personal attributes.

It is a matter of historical fact that the Bilingual State of Bombay survived for three years and eventually yielded place peacefully and uneventfully to the two separate linguistic States of Maharashtra and Gujarat principally owing to the personality of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan as its Chief Minister. If the High Command had not been able to discover in Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan a Maharashtrian leader capable of discharging the onerous and unpopular duties of the Chief Minister of that State, despite a slender Congress majority in the Legislature derived principally from Gujarat, the Congress authorities at the Centre would have been greatly embarrassed. The Bilingual State would have proved unworkable and might have had to be replaced, as indeed it was eventually done, *not* so smoothly and uneventfully but rather like a wrong being righted, an old mistake being corrected. The smooth and uneventful manner in which the unilingual State



of Maharashtra was ushered in, almost as if it was the next historical step in evolution after the bilingual State of Bombay, was made possible by a combination of some rare attributes in Yeshwantraoji. He was able to create confidence in his sincerity and earnestness simultaneously both amongst his opponents and his followers; he was able to demonstrate that the Administrative machinery of Government, whether of Bombay or a separate Maharashtra State, would be safe in the hands of Maharashtrian leadership; he was able to convince the High Command, while retaining on the one hand the confidence of Maharashtrian public opinion, that Maharashtra would view the welfare of the Marathi-speaking regions constantly within the context of the welfare of the whole country. In short, he demonstrated that the creation of the State of Maharashtra was 'safe' for the Indian Union.

The issue of Bombay City which had been such a ceaseless centre of controversy in the Reorganisation of States was settled smoothly, and as it were automatically, mainly as a result of Shri Chavan's successful steering of the Bilingual Bombay for three years. There was hardly a whimper on the inclusion of Bombay City in the State of Maharashtra last year when that State ultimately came to be formed. Such inclusion was indeed taken for granted on all sides. This was more than half the battle in the creation of Samyukta Maharashtra. Notwithstanding this however, Shri Yeshwantrao had had to do much political 'horsetrading' to bring about the smooth advent of the unilingual States of Gujarat and Maharashtra out of the Bilingual Bombay; compromises had to be made on issues like the Dangs, Umbergaon and the financial settlement with Gujarat. His outstanding merit in this respect lay in that he could distinguish the trees from the forest and could see each issue in its correct perspective.

By securing the inclusion of Bombay City within Maharashtra without grumble or grouse and by winning the confidence of the mercantile community and the commercial interests of Bombay, Shri Chavan has secured to the new State of Maharashtra an invaluable springboard for the dissemination of industrial and commercial prosperity in its undeveloped and neglected hinter-

land. He has tackled the sore issue of Vidarbha equally with courage, imagination and understanding. By his sincerity, patience and genuine goodwill he has brought Vidarbha opinion round to a willing acceptance of Samyukta Maharashtra.

By bringing about the creation of two separate States of Maharashtra and Gujarat, in an atmosphere of mutual agreement, Shri Chavan has helped settle a sore outstanding issue and neutralised some festering poisons of the body politic of India in this part of the country. Maharashtra has ceased to be a problem State for the Indian National Congress and is now one of the stablest and strongest units of the Indian Union.

While these achievements are outstanding, Shri Chavan's significance in political life lies principally in the promise that he holds for the future. He represents the new leadership in Congress politics. The age of the giants has ended as indeed it had to. The great legendary giants of the struggle for independence, Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Azad, have all departed the scene. The last of the giants, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, is fortunately still with us but obviously the country has to seek a new leadership in its youth for carrying the torch. It is the promise that Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan holds as a prominent member of such a new leadership that is of significance from the point of view of contemporary political life. The number of such leaders thrown up from the younger elements has been painfully inadequate hithertofore. It is inevitable therefore that a good part of the burden of the new leadership would fall on Shri Chavan's shoulders.

This new leadership is youthful and realistic. It is not content merely with slogan-shouting but wants the slogans to be translated into hard reality. It is not seated on the pedestal in the public mind as the old giants of the Independence struggle; it can win its way only on its merits. This new leadership is inevitably inclined towards the political left. At the same time it shuns violence and the doctrines of class-hatred and would build up a new India without loss or detriment of the traditional cultural values of this country.

The old leadership and indeed a good part of the emergent leadership as well are largely derived from the intellectual and upper classes. Shri Chavan because of his peasant stock brings

to bear, within the new leadership, a fresh outlook derived from a sense of belonging to the masses. This lends special distinction and merit to his thinking and outlook.

The tasks of the older leadership in attaining Independence and subsequently in establishing parliamentary democracy in India were different from those facing the new generation of Indian leadership. In the independence struggle inevitably the old leaders attained the stature of giants in the public imagination. The new leaders will have to subject themselves to much closer analysis at the hands of the public. Today leadership consists in organising in detail the numerous political and administrative tasks into which the urge for national reconstruction can be broken down. Such leadership has to appeal to reason and logic and not merely sentiment; such leadership has to be patient and painstaking and mere slogans and flourishes are not adequate for its purpose.

Maharashtra's political and psychological complex has for certain historical reasons strange ego-centric tendencies. Maharashtra has a recent history of political independence unlike other parts of India and a tradition of helping to shape all-India political destinies. Maharashtra is conscious and proud of its historical record. In recent years for various reasons especially since the death of Lokmanya Tilak, Maharashtra leadership has been disunited and generally of second class

timber. With the emergence of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan as the undisputed leader of Maharashtra political life, both within the Congress and outside, Maharashtra once again gets an entry and a place of honour on the all-India political platform.

Shri Chavan combines respect for the regional tradition of Maharashtra with regard for national integration and views the prosperity of Maharashtra within the perspective of a prosperous Indian Union. As a result of this, instead of being a drag on the political life of the country, Maharashtra politics now bids fair to be an element of strength and stability and to help forge a new trail of progress in national politics. Maharashtra is peculiarly fitted to play the role of the Left Ginger Plank in Congress politics. It has always been radical: it has an active, intellectual middle-class without the moderating leaven either of feudal zamindari or of the new rich from industry and commerce; it has a vigorous and go-ahead small farm peasantry and a growing proletariat of skilled labour. If it plays this radical role successfully, without alienating the rest of the country and without frightening over-much the Right and the 'haves' of Indian economy, it would have contributed notably to the progress of India at this juncture. In these trends and developments Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan is obviously destined to play a crucial and indeed a decisive role.



A Profile



Y. G. NAIK

IT IS a difficult undertaking to draw the profile of Shri Y. B. Chavan. He needs to be presented in the round. Shri Chavan with his face and figure proves his distant ancestry with the Maharathi donor couples, which grace the facade of the Karla Cave. His massive build, shapely but without sharp contours, is indicative of the granite-like strength of character. It leaves its impress upon all who come in contact with him. It cannot be said about Shri Chavan, as Hazlitt observed about Younger Pitt, that he supports the House of Commons on his nose. The Caesarine nose and the imperiousness of will go together. The absence of the first perhaps indicates the negation of the other. So much the better for the modern democratic set-up of the Government.

During the last fifteen years, he has risen from the ranks with the force of natural gravitation and with the smoothness of planetary bodies, moving in their normal orbit. Remarkable as his rise is, it does not appear to have lost its velocity ; if anything, it has gathered greater momentum and seems to be moving towards higher destinations. He seems to have opened only a chapter or two of the Book of Life and the subsequent chapters promise to be still more spectacular.

While thinking about Shri Chavan, one is reminded of the thumbnail-sketch of Asquith, drawn by A. G. Gardiner. He observes : "He (Asquith) is a constructive engineer of politics, not a seer of visions. His is a purely masculine understanding, powerful and direct." The words, "masculine understanding, powerful and direct" come pat while describing the qualities of Shri Chavan as a politician. His is an astute mind, sober and sincere, and blessed with clarity and



soundness of judgment. His grasp of situations, as they arise, and the agility with which he reacts to them are usually as adroit as they are appropriate. Grown among the masses, he can feel their pulse with a sure insight into the working of the common man's mind. He can appeal to their deep emotions and command their loyalty. He moves on familiar terms with them without losing his distinction and their sense of deference for him. As the Chief Minister of a State, with its capital in the sophisticated city of Bombay, he has to move constantly in the highest strata of society but he does not forget that his own roots are in the soil, from which he draws his strength. "The Sahyadri" is more than symbolical name. There the crowned heads (metaphorically speaking) as well as the bowed heads of the hardy peasants appear with equal frequency and prominence.

As a Parliamentarian, he is a master of effective under-statement, using plain but serviceable words, which are usually galvanized by a sincerity of purpose and an assurance of good intentions. Blessed with "a large, benevolent-looking personality" (to borrow the words from G. K. Chesterton), he impresses with his stable bearing. He appears solid and well balanced without becoming stolid. He inspires confidence in others; and, in his turn, commands the confidence of his associates. A well-known diplomatic correspondent of a British Weekly once observed that Shri Chavan disarms opposition by his innate courtesy and succeeds even in penetrating the fire-proof reserve of a seasoned diplomat.

Though his intellectual interests are very wide, they are intended more for self-culture than for public exhibition. He rarely launches into tirades or crusades from the seat of vantage, which he commands. His convocation address at Aligarh, for instance, is a model of brevity and lucidity with a thoughtful approach to some problems of higher education. It contains no excathedra pronouncements, nor pontifical admonitions to the erring younger generation, nor passionate exhortations on patriotic service.

One of the important duties of the great office Shri Chavan graces, is to attend to a wide variety of social gatherings, dinners and parties. He moves among the fashionable and the elite circles, where

rustling silk and glittering diamonds outshine even blazing chandelier-lights, with an interested but detached attitude. He does not become flurried or fussy. He does not show total insensitiveness to their Circean charms; nor does he strike the self-righteous, Saint Simonian airs. In such gatherings, he himself remains at ease and keeps others at ease. With graceful dignity, the peasant-born Chief Minister, beaming with smiles, moves through the world of wealth and culture, which he has conquered and which, in its turn, attempts to assimilate him in their system. A detached observer of such functions is reminded of the courteous retort of Lord David Cecil to Lady Cynthia at the occasion of a fancy-dress ball, that "he may appear as King Charles I, but does not intend to lose his head."

The study of the process by which Shri Y. B. Chavan attained the great stature promises to be a fascinating one. But neither the occasion nor the space allows a full-dressed study thereof. A retrospective glance over the formative period of his life is, however, worth presenting. It is usually presumed that persons attain the full stature of their personality in their college career.

Shri Y. B. Chavan and some of his colleagues were students in Rajaram College and after their graduation in the Law College in Kolhapur in the last thirties. The Rajaram College for more than seventy years now has been the nursery of the backward classes. Thanks to the liberal educational policy of the successive Maharajas of Kolhapur the college and the large number of free hostels offered every facility to poor classes of students to pursue their higher education. The institution became particularly centre of variety of activities during the thirties and forties of this century, when the waves of successive national movements awakened the masses from their age-old lethargy. During the period the Rajaram College was flooded with students, hailing from the distant districts of Maharashtra. Most of them belonged to the families of farmers and wage-earners.

A large number of these students worked hard, desiring to acquire general culture rather than high meticulous scholarship. With wide interests and open minds they absorbed a variety of knowledge. There were many outstanding aesthetes

and athletes among them. Shri Y. B. Chavan made the best use of the splendid library of the College, which was built up by the generous grants from the state-treasury. His reading was wide and catholic. Even the novels which he read were of a higher type, wherein the character-study rather than mere story-interest predominated.

His study of the British political history and political institutions, as well as the economic problems was as wide as it was purposive. The deep impression the study has left upon his mind can be well ascertained by his work in political sphere during the last twenty years or more. The small monograph, "On Compromise" by Lord Morley,

which was one of his texts for the B. A. Examination, has left its deep impression upon his mind. The inevitability of gradualness in all social and political changes is the lesson he seems to have learned from Morley's philosophic discussions on all reforms. Politics is an art and not a science and a politician has to adapt his methods to suit to the material with which he has to work. That is why compromise has become an important watchword in the sphere of political activities. Shri Y. B. Chavan, who jumped into the national struggle in 1942, did so over the broad back of Karl Marx. Since then he has remained loyal to the party, which moves on the lines of evolutionary socialism, avoiding the extreme path of revolution and dictatorship.



"Now Maharashtrians will be required to make a direct leap into industry without the advantage of reaching it via the trade route. In view of this a new technique and new method may be needed. Briefly, an exceptional and tremendous effort is called for."

—Shri Y. B. Chavan

Shri Y. B. Chavan as Chief Minister



R. K. KARANJIYA
Editor, Blitz Weekly, Bombay

TO BE asked to write about Yeshwantrao Chavan, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, is a privilege. As a journalist as well as a citizen, it has been my job to watch his career during the last five years. The most difficult period of his life providing a crucial test of his leadership came soon after his assumption of the Chief Ministership of the old bi-lingual Bombay State, when his mind must have been sorely confused and confounded between his loyalty to the Congress Party and his convictions on the side of Samyukta Maharashtra. The patience, confidence and courage with which he met this challenge to resolve a major personal no less than national crisis provides its own tribute to his statesmanship and diplomacy.

It was a fascinating study for me to watch Chavan transform this most dangerous period of his political career into his finest. He then braved the wrath of the majority of Marathi speaking people and today he is the idol and trusted leader of the same majority. Is this not a miracle? The man who can work it shall always attract a journalist's attention. He must be possessing some extraordinary resilience along with innate sympathy with the people who, after all, have the last word in any form of democracy, not to mention the courage and capacity involved.

Chavan a Socialist

What characterises him in my opinion and what has endeared him to Jawaharlal Nehru as well as to the common people, is his ability to place the nation above all smaller or narrower loyalties and his down-to-earth realism.

He is young and he is a socialist. His socialism is not the copybook variety. His is the people's



socialism. No Marxian maxims or redtape clog his thinking. He has the fortitude to adopt Marxism to Indian conditions and, therefore, he is able to blaze the trail not only to the academic socialists but also to the veteran Congress leaders who have accepted but not adapted themselves to socialism.

He knows his mind as very few of his colleagues in Congress do. When a BLITZ-team interviewed him for our Independence Number, I put a straight question to him "Are you a Socialist?" Forthright came the answer. "I am." No quibbling, no hesitation, no equivocation, no attending conditions! Asked to explain himself, he said his was a practical pragmatic socialism, not expressed in platitudes but in actual legislative and administrative measures.

There are Congressmen who think they have acquitted themselves when they say Congress stands for a Socialist Pattern of Society. Chavan is not content with clichés. Like Gandhi, he believes that the test of the faith is "action". He has found himself in a leading, active and responsible position. He wants to deliver the goods.

Ever since he became Chief Minister, Chavan has been working to put as much of his faith into action as possible. During the days of the old Bombay State, his burden was very heavy. He did not allow himself to be weighted down. He preserved his vitality and laid his plans. As soon as the linguistic Maharashtra State was brought into existence, he could launch his plans into action. His period of sporing was finished: and he advanced with firmness and assurance.

The Maker of a Progressive State

Within months of his assumption of office, he brought a new wind to blow in Maharashtra State. Chavan has embarked on many new and progressive schemes and has displayed great imagination, courage and generosity. More perhaps than his opposite number in any other State, he has brought to bear on the doings of his Government the impact of his vigorous personality. He has insisted on a fair deal to labour, on industrialisation of the rural areas, on the eschewing of regionalism and casteism and all kinds of petty-isms, on encouragement to artists, writers and others of their ilk, and on all such things big and small as would serve to make Maharashtra a great, progressive

State and a powerful unit of the Nation that would be a tower of strength to the Union.

By his humanity he has won over the poorer and humbler sections of the community, and by his universality the members of the opposition both in the legislature and outside. His simplicity and naturalness have endeared him to the masses, and his rejection of anything that approximates to snobbishness has made him respected and feared by the classes. Both are aware that Chavan stands no nonsense, from whichever quarter it may emanate, and both know that their cases must rest on merit and justice and not on misleading and hypocritical arguments designed to lead him up the garden path. Nobody can spot the hidden dangers and perils in the deceitful garden more quickly than Chavan; and nobody can hope to decoy him to a corner and take him by surprise. For his mind is alert, his eyes are farseeing, his shoulders are broad; he is what I would like to call a *man-sized man*.

The unique charm about Chavan, to my mind, is that he eludes the obsessions—magnificent or otherwise—that plague so many of our personages at his level. He has the remarkable gift of maintaining his loyalty to the essential creeds and principles of the organisation that claims him and at the same time of ridding his mind free of the inhibitions and fallacies and the creeds that "refuse and restrain". He realises that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the State but from the hand of God. He appreciates the ineluctable fact that his responsibility extends over and above the domain of the political organisation to the authentic welfare of the vast masses who have put the organisation in power not for strengthening itself but for enabling it to bring to them justice, prosperity, peace and contentment—in short, the fruits of their labour.

Chavan is a friend of—and believer in—the free press. He is not afraid of speaking out his mind on matters of significance, and he is forthright and to the point. Having the journalistic blood in his veins, he likes the company of the press and can relax with them, but they dare not take liberties with him.

He can more than hold his own in his repartees and his answers to their queries can be cute and devastating. The press likes him and respects him.

Not Parochial in Outlook

He has succeeded—as nobody else would have done—in winning over the bulk of the population of Vidarbha to the Maharashtra State. He goes to the so-called opponents not only with courage but with sympathy which is stronger than logic, statistics or dry administrative measures.

Chavan does not need any higher testimonial to his loyalty to the nation and to the Congress than the complete confidence of Nehru that he enjoys. There is nothing wrong in his aspiration to secure the first place among the States of India for Maharashtra—so long as he is not parochial in outlook. And no sane man can accuse him of

parochialism. He has succeeded in putting at ease all non-Marathi-speaking people living in this State.

The outstanding fact about Chavan, is that in doing well by Maharashtra, he is fired by the ambition to do well by India. He is one of the few, very very few *Indians* in the multi-lingual and almost multi-national India of ours, a fact which leaves one in no doubt whatsoever that his name and fame will spread in course of time beyond the boundaries of Maharashtra seeking and finding newer and ever newer frontiers within and outside India.

In that faith, I wish Mr. Chavan very many happy returns.



“Obviously equality of opportunity must be an important element in any conception of social justice and we must strive to create conditions in Maharashtra in which nobody need fail to get scope for his talents merely for lack of money.”

— SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN

A Versatile Personality



DR. A. V. BALIGA

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN is in many respects a unique personality whose meteoric rise, popularity and fame are fully merited by the sterling qualities of head and heart that he possesses. The opportunity presented in recent years as Chief Minister has brought into relief his innate tact, statesmanship and administrative ability combined with goodness and sincerity.

In spite of their professions of concern for the public health the authorities did little to develop medical education and research till Chief Minister Chavan came on the scene. The J.J. Group of Hospitals have now a fine array of buildings and what is more important are well equipped with appliances necessary in all progressive scientific medical institutes. They have many new facilities including a blood bank and eye bank and Shri Chavan's Government has given a real impetus to academic work and research undertakings. This is as it should be, pledged as we all are to rapid scientific development. All over the State vigorous health measures have been adopted and rural dispensaries and hospitals are springing up everywhere. If progress in this direction takes place as planned, the people in Maharashtra will have their health requirements adequately attended to within a decade.

In 1942 the 'Quit India' movement brought Shri Chavan into prominence. His revolutionary spirit found a full expression in this movement and he became associated with militant nationalists. Though originally a Royist in his political ideology, he soon identified himself with the Congress organisation. In the Congress his reputation is that of a true Congress soldier, earnest and dutiful. He is one of the few leaders who, like Prime Minister Nehru, sincerely believe in



and work for a socialist society and have faith in the co-operative movement and Panchayat Raj. Planning for industrial and economic development is an article of faith with him and in the short time that he has been at the helm of affairs, at first in the Bilingual Bombay State and since May 1960 in the Maharashtra State, he has done all he could to implement the development plan in the State. He has made full use of the Central financial allotments to the State.

Shri Chavan is truly secular in his outlook and every utterance and action of his bears this out. I recall an incident when Shri Hafizka was being felicitated on his election as the General Secretary of the integrated Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee and Shri Chavan was in the Chair. Two Muslim speakers expressed their joy and satisfaction that Shri Hafizka would safeguard Muslim interests. Shri Chavan reacted sharply and said that he was pained to hear that in his State some Muslims expected their Muslim representatives to protect their interest. He said it was his duty as the Chief Minister to protect the rights and interests of all minorities. The proper thing would be for Mr. Hafizka to evince interest in Hindus and for the Hindu leaders zealously to guard Muslim interests. This simple but quick and forthright expression of his sentiments and politically the most desirable attitude towards an entirely non-communal and nationalist stand in everything evoked loud applause.

Shri Chavan is intensely human in his outlook and is very quick in coming to grips with any problem. When you meet him and discuss any problem—big or small—he displays an unusual capacity for understanding and soon comes to a decision.

Shri Chavan has also been taking keen personal interest in the housing problem. In Bombay city alone several housing colonies have come up during the past three years. New flats have been built not only for Government employees but for a large number of middle class families. A programme of liquidation of the slums in the city is underway and tens of thousands of tenements for low income groups are being put up. In the provision of housing for Government employees top priority is being given to the needs of the poorest, Class IV, employees. New one-room

tenements are being built for slum-dwellers. Before the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, Bombay will be able to do away with several slum areas which are at present a blot on the fair name of this industrially prosperous city.

In matters of foreign policy, though the Chief Minister has not spoken often, his pronouncements have been unequivocal and well informed and have indicated a keen understanding of the International situation. His recent statement in the Assembly following demonstrations near the Belgian Consulate in Bombay is the best illustration of this. Like millions of people in the country he was shocked and upset over the murder of Mr. Lumumba. While the people had every right to express their feelings in a peaceful manner, he said, any violence or damage to foreign consulate premises could not be tolerated.

Labour conditions in Bombay are probably better than any other State in the country because Shri Chavan enjoys a position and status commanding the confidence and trust of both the employers and the employees. He is very friendly and sympathetic to the workers and has a thorough understanding of their difficulties and problems. His intervention in labour disputes, has produced dramatic and happy results and averted or ended many a strike. It is anticipated that before the end of the Second Five Year Plan he will forge a formula for an era of industrial truce. He realises that the economic prosperity of the country lies in uninterrupted production which can only be expected under conditions of industrial truce. It is necessary therefore to enthrone the workers to make them work harder.

As a popular head of the Government, Shri Chavan has to attend many important public functions and though as a good and tolerant person he cannot prevent others from making long speeches, he himself is brief and precise in all his public utterances. The result of long talks by others at any given function causes a dislocation in his programme and he is delayed—sometimes inordinately—for his next public engagements. Since he is keen on punctuality, he has to readjust his programme and have fewer engagements, so that he can have a comfortable margin of time between one and the next. The people should not make too much demand on the

time of the Chief Minister who has to attend to his onerous duties as the head of the Government.

A reference must be made to the two most difficult problems that Shri Chavan has had to face in recent years. The Bilingual State of Bombay came into existence in the teeth of opposition of the intelligentsia as well as the masses in both Maharashtra and Gujarat. As a dutiful lieutenant of Prime Minister Nehru and as a true soldier of the Congress, he sincerely did everything to work and popularise the bilingual formula. After a fairly long trial when he had convincing proof that the bilingual formula was unworkable, and was not in the interest of smooth progress, both for the State and the country, he piloted the division of the bilingual into two separate States of Maharashtra and Gujarat with exceptional tact and statesmanship. He did the job with speed and great thoroughness. The wisdom of his initiative has been demonstrated in the enthusiastic and happy working of the two units brought into being on the 1st of May 1960.

After the creation of Maharashtra, Shri Chavan entrusted the development of the State to certain study groups including those for industrial and economic planning. Their reports will help the Government to plan more rationally. Whatever he takes in hand is after due deliberation and the approach is bold and purposive. He has the most cordial and friendly understanding with the members of the opposition and this helps him to carry out his policies often with their co-operation. He has all the qualities needed for political and administrative leadership and it is not surprising that many people already think of him as one worthy of succeeding Prime Minister Nehru. Such talk is heard outside the Congress circles also and even outside India. Shri Chavan is genuinely pledged to the evolution of a socialistic pattern of society—socialism which is an inevitable content of any State in the present context of world thinking. In this also Shri Chavan stands for the same idealism as Prime Minister Nehru.



"The birth of the State of Maharashtra constitutes a challenge thrown by history. Its future depends on how its people meet this challenge.

Now starts a new journey—a pilgrimage long but rewarding, because at the end of the journey lies the people's ultimate salvation."

— SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN

Shri Y. B. Chavan as Teacher of Democracy



ONE WHO KNOWS HIM

COUNTLESS millions of words must have been spoken and written on democracy ever since the concept came into being. It is the favourite talking point of the politician, the student, the common man and—nowadays—even the scientist, the philosopher, the sportsman, and the movie star. Ironically, the majority of these words extolling the virtues of the democratic way of life issued, more probably than not, from the mouths (and pens) of those who not only had not the slightest regard for the democratic way but despised it to their heart's content, using it merely as a cloak and a cover for their arbitrary and dictatorial acts.

From all of which it follows that, in the case of democracy at least, it is seeing (and not speaking or hearing) that is believing. In other words, he is a democrat who not merely preaches democracy but practises it.

If this is the test—as it should be—to which a politician or statesman is to be subjected in assessing his calibre and worth, then it may truly be said that Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan has been a democrat to the manner born. By birth, upbringing, experience, and his own inherent constitution he expresses himself and functions as a democrat in a way that all can see and feel. His is not an affected democracy, much less a feigned one; it comes to him naturally and effortlessly, and he has taken to it as a duck takes to water, because he was born in it and to it; and grew in it and believes in it and lives for it. Briefly, he walks with kings—and queens—and yet keeps the common touch.

The fountain spring of Yeshwantrao Chavan's belief in democracy is his faith in love for the people. To him the vast masses are not mere



guinea pigs fashioned by God for the politician's exploitation, but living, breathing, important, noble souls—the noblest of God's creatures—for whom the earth revolves and the sun and the stars and the entire solar system functions in a ceaseless round of hectic activity. In one sentence, the people, to him, are very important persons who give an opportunity to the leaders to serve and to justify their existence before God.

This outlook is demonstrated by the way he moves and behaves with people whether at his home, at their homes, in his office, or in large assemblies. There is something in his behaviour toward them, in the manner of his talk, his deportment, his approach, which makes it clear that he regards them as his peers in every way and is not comporting toward them from a height or a position of patronage. Tens of thousands of peasants and workers, and other folk from different walks of life, can testify from personal experience to this aspect of his personality of which they are the beneficiaries.

His understanding acceptance of the will of the people in Maharashtra in respect of its political setup provides an outstanding lesson in democracy. No doubt, he could have continued to maintain his position both in the organization and in the administration if he had desisted from taking the initiative in readjusting the setup of the composite Bombay State. Nobody would have blamed him. Yet he took the risk of being misunderstood, of losing caste with leaders and people alike, when it became clear to him that the people wanted a State in which all Marathi-speaking people would be together. His move in this regard showed great understanding, courage, selflessness—and faith in the ways of democracy, in the right

of the people to live their own lives.

The same respect for and faith in democracy is reflected in his handling of the Opposition in the Legislature. He misses no opportunity of accepting the views of the Opposition whenever he is convinced that those views redound to the advantage of the people at large. For he realises that there are more roads than one to the people's welfare, that there are more ways than one to attain it, and that, where the interests of the people are concerned, no stone must be left unturned, no avenue left unexplored, even though such turning and exploration may be initiated by a member of the Opposition. The proceedings of the Legislature during the last few years provide ample and incontrovertible evidence to this effect.

The most charming and wonderful aspect of the democratic way as practised by Yeshwantrao Chavan is that he is so little self-conscious about it. He functions democratically not as a matter of policy or of expedience but because he cannot help functioning so. Democracy is in his blood, in the water and soil of the land that bore him, and so he exudes its various elements without let or hindrance. The democracy practised by him has been known to be extremely infectious; and many high and mighty personages—and others not so high and mighty but contemptuous of democracy nevertheless—have been known to take a leaf out of his democratic book because they found it irresistible.

Yeshwantrao Chavan is a true and great teacher of democracy not because he talks about it (indeed he talks very little of democracy or, for that matter, of anything else), but because he is putting it into practice all the time. Example is not merely better than precept—it's The Thing.



Shri Chavan

a man of courage



G. S. ALTEKAR

I HAD an opportunity to watch the life and career of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan since he joined the Tilak High School at Karad. Though not at the top of the students in his class he was very clever and impressive. Like many students in this High School he was fired with a spirit of patriotism and took prominent part in the political agitation of the Thirties and even earlier. The urge to place the interest of the motherland above everything else was so irresistible in him that he sacrificed his career in the school, college and vocation as well.

He was never dogmatic in his views. He has been in search of truth and did not hesitate to discard the views and organizations when he was convinced that they were wrong.

He does not mind the unpopularity he may incur for his faith and actions when he feels sure about the correctness of his stand. His attitude and action at the time of the agitation for Samyukta Maharashtra is an eloquent instance in this connection. He sponsored the idea of formation of Samyukta Maharashtra as any one of those who were carrying on keen agitation for it. But he sincerely and rightly believed that the way to attain the objective was not by weakening or breaking the great party to which he belonged by causing a split in it, but by persuading its High Command to realise not only the justness of the demand but the desirability and inevitability of it as well. He accepted the decision of the Parliament establishing bigger bi-lingual of Maharashtra and Maha-Gujarat, and gave it a fair trial with all the sincerity and earnestness that a Chief Minister placed in its charge should bring to bear upon it. But when after a sincere experiment for over two years the people of Maha-



rashtra and Gujarat would not get reconciled to the ideology and establishment of the bi-lingual state, it was he, who, impressed upon the great leaders of the Congress Party of the Centre that there was and could be no emotional integration of Gujarat and Maharashtra and in the absence of such integration no good will come to either of them or the nation. That it was better that two separate states should be formed. His submission was accepted and the result is well-known. But before it could be achieved we know what ordeal he had to go through. It is needless to describe the indignities he was put to and the calumnies which were hurled upon him by the agitators and their followers. High sense of duty to put national interest over everything else, discipline to maintain the solidarity of the party for the good of the country, and uncommon courage to stand firm for these in the face of fierce criticism, are some of the outstanding features of his personality, which beamed vividly into light during this critical period, as never before. They show the stuff he is made of. He will not swerve from doing the right thing irrespective of the favours or frowns of the people or of the powers that be. He risked self-effacement but was ultimately crowned with glory. No wonder that those who opposed and hurled abuses at him showered

flowers and began to rally round his flag. When we see a sorry spectacle of split and bickerings in the Congress Party and tussle between the Parliamentary and Organizational wings in some states in the country, we see in Maharashtra the happy establishment of smooth and harmonious relations between these two wings. The guidance and statesmanship of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan have no mean part in bringing it about.

He has been successful in gathering round him a large following of young and enthusiastic workers to strengthen the Congress Organization and go ahead with the work of reconstruction of Maharashtra on a socialistic pattern of Society. It is always the young blood that gives strength and vigour to a nation or society. For the spirit of self-sacrifice, hardwork, steadfastness of purpose and devoted dedication to the cause of the country, it has the inspiring personality of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan by its side and his able guidance ever at its door.

The nation has very high expectations from him. May God give him long life to enable him to render greater services to the country. On the eve of the celebrations of his 48th birthday, I wish him, for the benefit of all, many many returns of this happy day.



Cosmopolitan Bombay



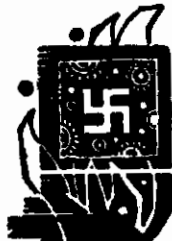
K. K. SHAH, M. P.

WHEN the new State of Maharashtra came into being a year ago, there were doubts and misgivings in the minds of a section of the people whether Bombay city would retain its unique cosmopolitan character. In this country, transitions have not always left behind happy memories and such doubts, to say the least, were understandable. In fact, quite a few people expressed their fears openly, particularly when it was decided to change the name of the new State from Bombay to Maharashtra.

There was of course, an explanation for this change of name. Historically, the people of this part of the country have been known as Maharashtrais, and have throughout struggled for the emotional integration of India. It is, therefore, but natural that when a new State of their own was coming into being, they felt that such a State should revive this urge for unity by naming the new State as Maharashtra.

This explanation stressed the obvious, yet it is significant that at the moment of jubilation and emotional upsurge, it was left to Yeshwantrao to sense the mood of uncertainty and strike the right note by pledging the new State to the preservation of the cosmopolitan character of Bombay. Mr. Chavan went further. He said: Maharashtra is to be the name of the new State, not of the city. Bombay will still remain the name of OUR cosmopolitan city.

Once again, the Chief Minister had touched the tender cord. The collective term "our cosmopolitan city" carried just that feeling of warmth. What is more, it included everybody—Muslims, Parsis, Christians, South Indians, Punjabis, Biharis, Bengalis, Uttar Pradeshis—; in effect, anyone who lived in Bombay and had made the



city his home. Not only did this simple approach dispel the clouds of anxiety and fear, but it set the tone for the people's behaviour.

The Centre of Fusion of Cultures

This perspective of life has undoubtedly been associated with a psychology which has emerged from a fusion of different cultures. It unfolds the past and guides the future. Bombay, it is said, does not reflect any one particular character just as Calcutta, Madras or Delhi does. It is a nursery in which the finest instincts are moulded, differences are tolerated, and traditions of understanding and goodwill developed. People from all walks of life, not only from India but the world over, have shed their distinctive backgrounds to mingle into one nameless, classless mass of people.

It is just out of this intermingling of peoples that Bombay has acquired its one peculiar characteristic cosmopolitanism. No signs of parochialism and provincialism exist. Tolerance, the essence of democracy, has taken root. There is none of the dogmatic fanaticism which still prevails among certain sections in the country. The *Urbs Prima*, as it is called, has also strangely enough—considering that it is a fusion of all cultures—become the nerve centre of the country's cultural, social, political and economic movements. In all these activities it has set the pace for the rest of the country.

Maharashtra is thus entrusted with the care of the fountainhead of democracy and the main-spring of tolerance. With its intellectual background it has had to reconcile itself to the political and commercial life of the city. This it has, of course, done as is so creditably reflected in the policies which the Chavan Government has accepted. The fact that the portfolio of Industry demands the special attention of the Chief Minister is demonstrative of the mood which cosmopolitan Bombay breeds. The blending of the intellectuality of Maharashtra with the cosmopolitan character of Bombay will give a healthy content to the industrial and commercial status of the city.

Chavan is intensely human, and displays a sober understanding of human feelings. He is willing to listen, and accept the other man's point of view,

simply because he realises that not to do so would represent the highest form of bigotry. This rational outlook makes him the composite cosmopolitan.

He has never been heard to refer to people as Marathis, Gujaratis or Bengalis. To him they are people, and he accepts them as such without the regional trimmings. Nor has the word "minorities" weighed with him, as he believes it is a very inept term to describe citizens of Bombay. He has struck a balance between sentiment and pragmatism. While moving with the masses he has found no voice too small or insignificant to be brushed aside or ignored. There is room in his scheme of things for every man. None has been left out.

It is the feeling of "oneness" among the people of Bombay and the absence of artificial barriers which have obliterated all signs of bitterness. It is the sinking of all differences and the nurturing of a sense of brotherhood that have retained the distinctive character of Bombay. It is the engagement in a co-operative effort for progress and prosperity that has preserved the greatness of Bombay.

At the time of bifurcation of Bombay State there were many who said that noticeable changes would take place, particularly in Bombay city. Extremists even envisaged an exodus of non-Maharashtrians, chiefly Gujaratis, from the city and the State. Mr. Chavan had, however, all along argued against the possibility of such eventualities. That he was right is as much a credit to his astute judgement as to his Government's policy and sincerity. It is also a testament to Mr. Chavan's fair-mindedness, not only in implementing the guarantees he gave at that time, but to the spirit in which those guarantees have been implemented. It is not that Mr. Chavan is above making mistakes. He would be the first to disagree with such a view. But he has developed that invaluable spirit of accommodation, which is an inherent quality of a citizen of Bombay. It is just this spirit which has helped Mr. Chavan to elevate himself to his present position, and enabled him to play an important role in the city and the State.

This investment in goodwill has paid rich divi-

dends, and will continue to do so in the years to come. Today, political bitterness, which at one time had assumed extravagant dimensions, has almost completely vanished. This does not mean that there are, and will be, no problems. Problems are bound to crop up when large masses of people with differing outlooks, different languages, and varying ways of life are to be integrated into a harmonious whole. But one thing is certain, that the citizens of this great city—be they Muslims, Hindus or Greeks—think of themselves as Bombayites first and all else afterwards. There are few people living in Bombay who are not

proud to indentify themselves with its unique personality.

Appreciation of loyalty always cements bonds of unbreakable friendship and understanding. And Mr. Chavan has had a big hand in instilling this sense of loyalty among the citizens of the State. Though essentially a politician Mr. Chavan is more humane, and inspires confidence by honouring commitments and extolling loyalty. The road to socialistic pattern in Maharashtra is difficult but not gloomy, the problems are numerous but not insurmountable, for Chavan is steady, and is capable of controlling the waves of changing moods.



The Ramayana tells of Manthara, maid of Queen Kaikeyi, who poisoned her queen's ear against Sri Rama. The different sections of the community in the State must guard against false rumours and doubts and suspicions that may be created by mischievous elements. An atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence must rule the land. Now that the concept of a united Maharashtra has been transformed into a geographical fact, there is no room for discord or distrust, and all sections of the population must settle down to work for the good and glory of their State.

—From : Guiding Principles of Maharashtra State

Education of Party Cadres in Democracy



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I. *The Attack on Democracy*

THE present century is characterized by a global struggle between democracy and totalitarianism. In a sense, the struggle is not new; it is as old as civilization itself. For with his emergence from the tribal stage man also became conscious of his individuality, of the fact that he was more than a mere member of the group, that his aspirations and plans went beyond what was provided for in the social framework. The birth of this consciousness added a new, characteristically human dimension to the struggle for survival and gradually transformed it into a quest for freedom. All subsequent history can be looked upon as the story of this quest.

However, two factors distinguish the contemporary period and endow it with unique significance for the ultimate outcome of this quest. In the past the clash between the forces of freedom and those of slavery was always of local interest. Even if freedom was subverted in some region at some time, its effects were generally confined to that region and did not have an all-pervading and enduring scope. In the twentieth century that is no longer true. The unification of the world brought about by modern means of transport and communication has shown, for example, that the Himalayas are no more an impassable barrier to the successors of Kubla Khan than the Maginot line was to those of Bismarck. No country can, therefore, afford to remain indifferent to happenings beyond its frontiers, nor can it afford to misjudge their import for its own future. We welcomed the triumph of communism in China and, except in words, remained indifferent to the liquidation of Tibet. We have not yet been able to

extricate ourselves from the consequences of these mistakes.

Secondly just as modern technology opens out unlimited vistas of freedom and prosperity, it also places immense power at the disposal of the enemies of freedom. It gives them the power not only to wreak physical destruction but also to mutilate the minds of men. The techniques of mind-control have now reached such a stage of development that the modern dictator can make most of his slaves believe that they are more free than those who do not have the good fortune of living under his rule. This is accomplished by re-writing history according to the requirements of the state, suppressing truth, steady indoctrination through complete control over education and the press and other media of communication, and extermination of those who refuse to be lumps of clay in the hands of the rulers. The net result is that once a country goes under a totalitarian regime, there is no chance left of its people being ever able to regain their liberties by their own efforts. And since unchecked power, whether of Hitler or of Stalin and Mao-tse-tung, has limitless appetite, it seeks to extend its sway over the whole known world. Totalitarian governments are therefore inherently destructive of the freedom not only of their own people but also of others.

It is this feature of the modern age that makes the preservation and steady growth of democracy in India so important. If democracy fails in India, it will be replaced not by an undemocratic rule of the old type which would leave open the road to freedom, but by a dictatorship which would block it for an indefinite period of time. At the same time, the attack on democracy is no longer military alone. It is also ideological—exaggerating the defects of democracy, and making them appear as the defects of democratic institutions instead of those who run these institutions; arguing that incomplete freedom is in the ultimate analysis, worse than no freedom at all; and claiming that the journey to freedom requires a surrender not only of our partial liberties but also of the right and the opportunities to work for their extension. Along with the theoretical attack on democracy, the totalitarians also carry on a ceaseless campaign of intellectual seduction,

offering justice to the oppressed, security to the poor and power to the intelligentsia.

Both the attack on democracy and the campaign of conversion are made to appear persuasive by a free use of pseudo-rational argument based on half-truths, falsehoods and selected facts, and counts for its success on man's natural love of freedom and equality. In societies in which the evolution of democratic institutions had already proceeded sufficiently far before the rise of modern totalitarianism, the totalitarian attack on democracy as a way of life and the campaign of conversion referred to above were met with indifference or amusement. For the people there had a tradition of working for and extending the frontiers of their freedom, and were therefore not taken by the propoganda of its enemies.

But in societies like ours, with no indigenous democratic traditions of their own, totalitarian propoganda can find favourable ground in the authoritarian cultural heritage of the people.

It should also be noted that this tradition is not inseparably related to industrialization. For example, Germany was highly industrialized, and yet not only the German masses but even the German universities put up no fight to prevent the triumph of Nazism. The difference between England and Germany lay in the fact that the British people were for centuries—since, in fact, the days of the *Magna Carta*—getting familiar with the democratic way of life and had experienced the glow of freedom. The German people, on the other hand, were brought up in an authoritarian tradition. The subversion of the young Weimar Republic therefore signified no deep loss to them. Secondly, not only the experience but also the cultural tradition of the English-speaking peoples was liberal as a result of the Renaissance which harbingered a new and secular philosophy of life in Western Europe. Germany and Eastern Europe did not go through this liberating phase in their cultural history. Consequently, while industrialization brought economic prosperity to Germany, as with Japan it also meant the strengthening of the indigenous authoritarian regime and facilitated the rise of modern totalitarianism. The experience of Russia has been the same, and we are now witnessing its repetition in the case of China and Eastern Europe.

This is not to suggest that industrialization, even planned industrialization, is in itself inimical to democracy. What is sought to be emphasized, and what is generally not realized in under-developed countries, is that economic development is not enough to ensure the survival or growth of democracy. It is true that starving men will not, as a rule, put freedom above bread. But neither are well-fed animals keen on throwing off the yoke that harnesses them to their master's end—and they need not even be well-fed: habit, and the hope of a luscious bunch of grass at the end of the day's work, are enough to keep them happy and contented. The fact is that freedom can live only if the people have the will to remain free. Where such a will does not exist in sufficient measure as the crystallization of tradition and experience, it has to be created by planned effort undertaken by those in whose custody the future of democracy lies.

II. Conditions for the Defence of Democracy

The creation of such a will is the real task of all who are committed to democracy in this country. It is therefore necessary to examine the conditions for the accomplishment of this task. One, immediately obvious, condition is institutional in nature. The other is cultural. Experience shows that even if the first condition is satisfied, in the absence of the other it can at best give a breathing space to democracy. More often, in such a situation it is likely to be used for the subversion of democracy itself. It is therefore necessary to formulate briefly these two conditions and bring out the bearing of the one on the other.

The first condition means the existence of various institutions in our public life which would enable individuals and groups to participate actively in the shaping and implementation of policy, and thus to experience the values of democracy in their day-to-day life. That this implies decentralization of power is recognized by all democratic parties and by Government, and a beginning has already been made in some States in that direction. What is generally not realized is the need of splitting up power into its different forms. If this is done not only more persons can participate in the social process of decision-making at some point or another, but also the danger of power being concentrated into a small group at

the village level may be minimized. Another point to be borne in mind in decentralizing power is the need to avoid mechanical uniformity. There is no reason why for example, every village panchayat, irrespective of its efficiency, should be given the same powers and resources. It would be more fruitful to grant to it powers and resources commensurate with the initiative, team spirit and the other qualities essential in a grass-roots democracy that its members exhibit in practice.*

However, as remarked earlier, the institutional frame-work of democracy is by itself inadequate unless it is informed by the will to freedom. For institutions can only facilitate the operation of such a will; they cannot be substitute for it. The problem—and the challenge—facing the new democracies consists precisely in this; they have to create *simultaneously*, and in a reasonably short period of time, both the economic and cultural conditions for the successful functioning of democratic institutions. For under-development is seldom economic without also, at the same time being cultural.

The cultural under-development of India is very often emphasized by the Prime Minister. But unfortunately his anxiety to take the Indian people out of the 'bullock-cart' mentality does not seem to be reflected either in Government plans or in the programmes of political parties that accept his diagnosis. The pains are almost exclusively economic in their objectives. It is true that some provision is made in them for the expansion of education and the promotion of the arts. But one looks in vain for evidence in these plans of the realization that education in a democracy is not merely literacy or the technical or professional knowledge necessary for the efficient working of a modern society. It is also to be liberating, freeing man from the habits, attitudes and outlook that prevent him from exercising the rights and discharging the obligations of the citizen of a democratic state. In particular, education must, among other things, promote the habit of critical and rational inquiry into problems and their alternative solutions in the light of relevant

* For a discussion of this issue cf. "The Problem of Democratic Decentralization"—by G. D. Parikh in "Navabharat" (Marathi), Nov. 1960.

facts, an appreciation of human values like freedom, truth, justice, intellectual integrity; the willingness to question authority unsupported by rational argument and humane principles; and finally, the ability to stand alone, to be misunderstood and maligned as an enemy of the people, if the people seem to be rushing to the mad-house. For democracy does not mean that the people are always right in whatever they do. For instance, even a ninety-nine percent majority has no moral right to deny freedom and equality to a single person on grounds of sex, or caste, or creed. What democracy primarily means is a certain set of fundamental values that are sought to be realized by a certain way of life. Democratic institutions are a means to an end; their working is based on the principles of persuasion and majority vote because argument is better than force and, in controversial issues which do not involve a violation of basic principles, it is more reasonable to accept the decision of the majority than of the minority. But there is nothing in the theory of democracy that would sanction, for example, the liquidation of democracy even by the full vote of a state legislature or the plebiscite of a people.

III. *Education of Party Workers*

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that education for democracy must continue beyond the years in an educational institution. Since it is education not for a livelihood alone but for life in a free society, there must be provision for the continued education of the citizen even after he completes formal instruction and enters life. This is especially true in the case of political workers. Because of strategic position they occupy in the life of the country—especially during the transition from the pre-Independence period, characterized by an obsession with politics and an agitational approach to social problems, to the time when sober and informed discussion would be the means of finding their solution—it is of crucial importance that political workers assimilate the spirit of democracy and have an intelligent understanding of how democracy should function. They must affirm, by deed as by word, that democracy is a way of life, not merely a set of institutions. They must realize that power is an

instrument of values, not the end of politics or a means of furthering personal or group interests. They must beware that unchecked power debases not only its victims but also those who wield it; they must, therefore, respect those who, on grounds of principle and with rational argument, criticize and oppose and refuse to bend down to the agencies of power, official or private. They should be jealous of the freedom and autonomy of dissenting individuals and groups—universities, co-operative societies, local bodies, voluntary organizations, opposition parties which observe the democratic code of conduct. And, finally, they should perceive that cliches and good intentions are no substitute for a sound theoretical and factual study of the problems of social reconstruction in the light of our democratic commitment. Whether the problem is that of nationalization of industries, or of collectivization of agriculture, or of expansion of technical education, or of providing facilities for higher education to employed students—makes no difference to the validity of the approach advocated here. Unless political parties make it an article of faith, politics will not cease to be what Dr. Johnson, perhaps in a fit of irritation but with considerable truth, thought it to be.

The systematic education of political workers in the theory and practice as also in the attitudes of democracy is one of the most pressing needs of our public life. In the absence of such training, party members can have no clear idea of the type of society visualized by the philosophy and programme of the party, nor can specific issues be examined in the light of their implications for other issues as well as for the goal set for itself by the party. For both ability to think clearly and the knowledge of facts on the basis of which thought can fruitfully proceed can come only as the result of sustained and disciplined study. The unity that is rooted in common understanding can alone survive and give to the worker a grip over the complex and ever-changing modern situation. Where no such unity exist, parties become gangs of self-seekers, leaders degenerate into ring-leaders and loyalty to the professed principles and programme of the party is replaced by loyalty to personalities. That this is undesirable for the political life of the country is obvious. Not many

seem to realize that it is also the cause of *factionalism within the party* and may in course of time lead to its total disintegration. Such a danger is common to all democratic parties in India. For in the absence of indoctrination, rational understanding alone can provide the sustenance for ideals and the cementing bond for its individual members. The danger is all the greater for a party in power for reasons that need no mention here. For example, who would be surprised if efforts are made within the next two years to send some of the most successful and popular chief ministers to Delhi or along the Sampurnanand way? And who would deny that if the efforts fail, that would be due not so much to the ideological cohesion and emotional integration of the party members as to the manoeuvring skill of the persons concerned?

IV. *The Pattern of Political Education*

If the importance of the political education of party cadres is appreciated at its real worth, the next question is: What would be the pattern of such education? The answer would be determined by the ideal of the party and the empirical situation in which it is sought to be realized. The ideal of the democratic parties in India has been succinctly formulated as democratic socialism. In this connection it is necessary to clarify an ambiguity, which may otherwise distort the entire perspective of our effort. Socialism, in its popularly known economic aspect, emerged as an instrument of democracy. The realization that unrestricted right of ownership in the means of production resulted in brutal exploitation and even the denial of human decencies led nineteenth-century thinkers to imagine that abolition of private property would usher in an age of liberty and equality for all. That assumption has been proved false, indeed dangerous to freedom and equality themselves, in the twentieth century. The reasons have been numerous, of which only two may be mentioned here. Socialists did not distinguish between the right of ownership and the control of economic power. Today the distinction has assumed great significance, for economic power can be subjected to public control and direction without resorting to large-scale nationalization. Such a procedure can secure abolition

of exploitation without causing the springs of personal initiative to dry up as a result of bureaucratization. The second reason is related to the nature of power. Nationalization supplements the political power of the state with economic power, and since those who control the state are, by and large, subject to the usual human failings, corruption and inequality grow to larger proportions than in a civilized non-socialist society. Party bosses and the bureaucracy are the only beneficiaries of such a development.

This digression is necessary because few who swear by democratic socialism are clear as to how the two components of the slogan are related to each other. For example, in a seminar organized at Delhi about two years ago by the so-called Ginger Group of the Congress, a cabinet minister formulated the theme of the seminar as the examination of whether democracy was compatible with socialism or it would have to be discarded in order to hasten the advent of socialism. If this is how a cabinet minister of the Union Government understands democratic socialism, one can easily imagine the confusion prevailing in the mind of the rank and file of our political parties.

If one accepts the interpretation of democratic socialism offered in this paper, namely, a social order in which men and women can live in dignity and freedom, free from exploitation of any kind and united as equals in a co-operative endeavour for the realization of their human destiny—if we interpret democratic socialism in this sense, the method and content of the education of party workers would be radically different from what they would be if democracy were to be looked upon as a dispensable luxury of socialism. The latter position would imply indoctrination, not education, and is by now well-known from the experience of totalitarian parties abroad and at home. Here we are concerned with the question from the former viewpoint.

The theoretical training of a political worker would aim to give him his bearings in the modern world especially the socio-political and ideological context in which he has to function. It would also aim at training him in the habit of critical thinking. Such equipment would enable him to understand the implications of the values he stands for and the problems he is called upon to

take up on behalf of the people. It would also help him to contribute to the deliberations of his party—and keep the latter in form, for if people do not have ideological or intellectual issues to fight for, they generally fight on the personal plane.

The practical aspect of his education would consist in work in co-operative societies, village panchayats or municipalities, social service organizations, and such other bodies on non-party lines. One who has contributed to the building up of such institutions, or worked in them in a constructive spirit for solving genuine problems, knows what an exhilarating experience it can be. It makes democracy meaningful to him and fires him with a new vision of politics that no amount of exhortation alone can ever do.

A system of education which would meet the two-fold purpose briefly stated above can take the form of summer schools and short-period study camps; directed reading; regular discussions on fundamental as well as topical questions; mailing service for keeping party workers in touch with current developments in political thought and practice both in the country and in the outer world; translation and abridgements of important books like *Twentieth Century Socialism* or *Contemporary Capitalism*; planned studies of specific problems such as the impact of labour or tenancy legislation, or the possibilities of developing new forms of agriculture or industries in one's district and a host of other things. It is true that no political party today has the necessary personnel to undertake such work on the requisite scale, nor many have the resources for it. However, if the importance of this work for the success of democracy in India is realized by those who lead the parties, it should not be difficult to elicit the willing co-operation of intellectuals, who are at present outside all political parties. The cross-fertilization of the ideas of the intellectual and the experience of the party worker is bound to be fruitful for both. It is true that intellectuals are associated with the administration at the Union level or, in some cases, at the State level. But this association is most of the nature of experts advising policy-makers or administrators, and has little educative significance for any-

one concerned. What is suggested here is a partnership, a *camaraderie*, between political workers and leading members of the intelligentsia at each level. My own experience is that such association is enthusiastically welcomed by both sides, especially at the district level, without any ulterior motives or expectations. The grain is ripe; what is needed is a farmer of vision who will call in his team and reap the harvest.

In Yeshwantrao Chavan such a husbandman seems to have appeared. Coming from the rural masses, he understands their needs and can share their dreams. At the same time, unlike romantic idealists from aristocratic families whose understanding of the masses came out of the Marxist scripture, he also knows their weaknesses and would not idealize them beyond recognition. His vision shows a quality of practical idealism, which is generally difficult to find in intellectuals or men of affairs. Maybe this is to some extent due to the opportunity he had during his youth of associating with some of the finest minds of Maharashtra. However, the credit would mainly go to him, for his own habit cultivated during his period of apprenticeship and then of one of the most formidable crises in his career—of looking at local issues from a wider viewpoint, and of seeking to derive the "philosopher's satisfaction" from political victories.

However, his real work has only just begun. For one great leader by himself can build up an empire: he cannot build up a democracy unless his vision is shared and his values are cherished by others, especially by his co-workers in the party and in the administration. In the last resort, education is the only means of enabling them to do this and to join him as partners in the great understanding that building up a democracy is. His public pronouncements and some of the actions of his Government and his party show unmistakably that Chavan has full realization of this. The wisdom and moral courage he has shown during the last four years and odd give reason to believe that, given time and co-operation from his party, he can accomplish this task and blaze a trail in our national life which others, perhaps greater and better placed than he, have failed to do.

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Strikes and Industrial workers



V. B. KARNIK

Secretary, Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom.

A STRIKE is a time-honoured weapon in the hands of industrial workers. There was a period when they had no other weapon. There were no laws and no rules and regulations pertaining to their conditions of work and terms of employment. Employers would not listen to their representations or discuss with them their problems and difficulties. A stoppage of work was then the only course of action left open to workers which could secure for them a hearing and consideration of their demands. In the early years of the development of factory industry, workers resorted to that course on many occasions and secured improvement in their condition as well as the far more important right of organisation and collective bargaining. Once the right of organisation and collective bargaining was secured, it became less and less necessary for workers to make use of the weapon of strike. The weapon could not be, however, thrown away or altogether discarded. In the last analysis the only guarantee for the successful outcome of collective bargaining was the threat of a collective withdrawal of labour. That being the case, the right to strike had to be kept intact as a safeguard against any encroachment on the gains made and as a possible instrument for securing further advances.

The right to strike is a concomitant of the abolition of forced labour which heralded the dawn of industrial civilization and the birth of a democratic society. In a democratic society, nobody can be compelled to work against his will. A worker is free to negotiate with his employer the terms and conditions of his work. If those terms and conditions are not acceptable to him, he is free not to work for the employer. A strike is a concrete expression of that freedom to work or not to work. It has therefore become one of the fundamental

freedoms of every democratic society. A democratic society jealously guards that freedom as it is part and parcel of other freedoms which are the very basis and *raison d'être* of its existence. In common with other democratic constitutions, the Constitution of India has also recognised that freedom as one of the fundamental rights of citizenship, not by express words, it is true, but by necessary implication. Essentially, it is only industrial workers who can exercise that right, but the abrogation of that right will have such baneful consequences on the very structure of a democratic society, that all democrats value it and are at one with workers in preserving it as an ultimate weapon in their hands.

No right, howsoever fundamental, is absolute. Society is entitled to impose reasonable restrictions on the exercise of every right. Even such a right as the freedom of speech and press is subject to a reasonable restriction like the prohibition on the uttering of a scandal or the publication of a libel. The right to strike is not moreover a merely personal right. It becomes meaningful only when it is exercised collectively by large bodies of workers. That being the case, the restrictions that can be reasonably imposed upon the right acquire a bigger dimension and larger variety. For example, the right may not be available in emergencies like those of war or civil commotion, or it may not be open to certain classes of workers such as those employed in the Army or the Navy, or it may be necessary to fulfil certain conditions such as that of giving prior notice. Many such restrictions have been imposed by democratic societies. Some of them have been imposed through legislation, but most of them through tacit or express agreements between employers and employees. The experience has all along been that it is the latter type of restrictions which have proved more effective and fruitful.

Strikes which were common and frequent during the early period of capitalism became progressively less common and less frequent as it became better organised and more prosperous. Prosperity depended on continuous and uninterrupted production. Enlightened self-interest persuaded capitalists to recognise the strength of the growing organisations of workers and enter into agreements with them specifying the terms and conditions of employment as well as provisions for securing their adjustments or revision. Strikes were thus avoided or rendered unnecessary. The arrangement suited both employers

and employees. Having secured through collective agreements alternative methods for representation and redressal of grievances as well as improvement of conditions, workers found strikes more and more unnecessary. The number of strikes and their duration and intensity did not therefore increase with the growth of industries and of the number of workers employed in them. There was, on the other hand, a progressive decline in the number and intensity of strikes, except during short periods of acute economic crisis. At a certain stage, the Government also found it necessary to give up its role of a ringside observer and take upon itself the positive responsibility of avoiding strikes through appropriate action such as the appointment of Boards of Conciliation, Courts of Inquiry or similar authorities. Strikes sometimes created problems of law and order, sometimes they resulted in grave hardship to the general public and sometimes they dislocated vital sectors of national economy. These likely results made it necessary for the Government, on many occasions, to intervene and stop employers and employees from indulging in a trial of strength. Sometimes it could be done through persuasion. On other occasions, it was necessary to resort to legal measures. Then there was the awakening of the public conscience which resulted in the enactment of a body of social legislation providing relief and protection. All this made it less necessary for industrial workers to make use of the weapon of strike.

The progressive disuse of the weapon of strike was not to the liking of one school of thought, the school of thought of communists and Marxists. They are wedded to the doctrine of class war and a strike of industrial workers is to them not so much an attempt to secure some improvement in their condition but a skirmish in the ultimate class war which is to overwhelm the capitalists and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. A strike is useful and valuable not because it secures some concessions but because it sharpens the class-consciousness of workers and weakens the position of employers. Those elements could not take kindly to the attempts of workers to secure concessions through representations and negotiations and legislation. They were full of contempt for those attempts and regarded those who were engaged in them as having committed the cardinal sin of class-collaboration. Advocates and followers of that school of thought

are to be found in all countries. They try in their own way to emphasise the importance of strikes and to foment them wherever possible. Economic distress and the obduracy of employers help them many a time. But on the whole their influence is waning and workers do not respond too readily to their calls for a strike.

The surprising thing, however, is that these advocates of strikes and class war abolish the workers' right to strike as soon as they get into power in any country. In Soviet Russia the right to strike was abolished as soon as the communists established their rule. The same has been the experience in all other countries under the rule of the communists. The abrogation of the right to strike was not, it is now clear, a short-term temporary measure. It is a permanent feature of the communist system of government. It is not only strikes which are banned. Independent organisations of workers and other sections of the people are also banned. Under communism, there is no place for free and independent trade unions. Trade unions exist in name in Soviet Russia, but the only function that they can perform is to act as an agency of the Government for enforcing discipline and the fulfilment of plans and for the distribution of social welfare benefits. They cannot act as independent bodies for the protection and advancement of workers' interests. It is necessary, therefore, to remember that the right to organise and the right to strike exist only in democratic countries. Those who feel attracted by communist slogans and by rosy pictures of life under communism, may keep that fact in mind before they allow themselves to be dragged into the communist net.

Apart from the communists, there is another school of thought which attaches a rather exaggerated importance to strikes and to trials of strength between employers and employees. They stand for free and independent organisations of workers and desire them to settle freely and independently the terms and conditions of their employment through collective bargaining with employers. Nobody can say, they contend, what is fair between the offer of employers and the demand of workers. Let the two haggle over it and fight it out, if necessary, through strikes and lockouts. That is the only sure way, according to them, of finding out what employers can afford and what workers will find acceptable. If the two parties were evenly matched and if the

contest between them were not to do any damage to the society as a whole, one could agree with them and watch and enjoy the fight. But the two parties are not evenly matched except in a few countries like the United States of America. Moreover, strikes and lock-outs do not inflict a loss only upon employers and employees. They inflict a loss upon and cause grave hardship to the society as well. In the earlier period of industrial development, when the society was not so compact and complex, even long-drawn-out strikes or lock-outs did not have effects far beyond the particular employers and employees involved in the struggles. But the society is now so compact and complex that dislocation in one sector affects the entire economy and causes a serious countrywide disturbance. This is particularly so in the case of basic and vital industries and in what are known as public utility services. The fact therefore is, in the closely interrelated society of today, disputes between employers and employees do not any longer remain, except in a few cases, domestic quarrels between the two. They become an issue of vital public importance and the society cannot any longer sit back and allow the two parties to fight them out. This has happened on many occasions even in that classic land of free enterprise, the United States of America. It is these far-reaching consequences of industrial disputes which have persuaded statesmen and enlightened employers and labour leaders to think anew about strikes and lock-outs and devise ways and means for avoiding them.

There is general agreement now that strikes and lock-outs are undesirable from the point of view of workers, employers and the society as a whole and that all efforts should be made to prevent and avoid them. It has been easier to achieve that objective in industrially advanced countries where trade unions are strong and there is a long tradition of collective bargaining. The problem is far more difficult in countries which are just beginning to industrialise themselves. And it is in these countries that it is far more important and necessary to avoid interruptions of the normal processes of production. Industrial development of those countries will be held up and rendered more difficult if from time to time disputes develop and lead to stoppages of work. The easy way to avoid them is to ban all strikes and lock-outs and organisations of workers as is done in communist countries. But

that is a way which is not open to a democracy; for, it is not enough to ban strikes and lock-outs: it becomes obligatory to go much further and abolish all democratic rights and liberties and establish a regimented totalitarian system. Nor is it possible to lay down that no disputes and frictions should arise and that there should be perfect peace and harmony in industrial relations. Disputes and differences are bound to arise when human beings with different interests have to work together and what is necessary is to devise easy and expeditious ways for resolving them and avoiding their degeneration into long-drawn-out conflicts between capital and labour.

One way that has been tried in our country since the days of the second world war is the way of compulsory adjudication under which disputes are referred for adjudication to courts and tribunals and their awards are made binding upon both parties. Experience has proved that the method is not found satisfactory by workers as well as employers and is proving less and less effective. It leads to delays and protracted proceedings and involvement in legal technicalities. It is, moreover, unsuitable to a dynamic industrial set-up in which rapid and constant changes take place in the manner and methods of production. The worst defect of the system is, however, its tendency to discourage internal settlement of disputes—and the consequent weakening of the trade union movement. It has, therefore, become necessary to think in terms of some other way. The other way can be nothing better than the well-tried and well-known way of internal settlement of disputes through collective bargaining. Both employers and the Government express their preference for the method and pay lip homage to it from time to time. But nothing concrete is being done to develop it as the normal procedure for the settlement of disputes. It will be unrealistic, in the conditions obtaining in the country, to expect workers to ensure the adoption of that procedure through their unaided efforts. The Government must render them some assistance. The best assistance the Government can render will be to accept collective bargaining as a national policy—and to regard failure to enter into collective bargaining with employees as an unfair labour practice. Employers indulging in an unfair labour practice of the type should be denied all government assistance and patronage. Collective bargaining and

internal settlement of disputes will then become the general practice. There would be provision in collective agreements for the reference of unresolved disputes to arbitration. It would effectively avoid strikes and ensure the smooth functioning of the industrial machine.

A mere avoidance of strikes need not be, however, accepted as the goal of national policy. The goal should be the creation of a positive atmosphere of mutual trust and co-operation. Rapid industrial development, which is the common desire of all in the country, will not take place without the creation of that atmosphere. In that atmosphere there will be few disputes and the few that arise will be settled expeditiously, through negotiations and arbitration. Workers must be made to feel that atmosphere not merely through words but through concrete action. They must be given in the first place an express assurance that there will be no deterioration in their existing standard of living and that they will progressively receive an equitable share of the increase in national wealth. In the next place efforts must be immediately taken in hand to improve the wages and other conditions of work of those who are at present below the standard. If some serious action along these lines is taken, it will create confidence in the minds of workers and give them the hope that their conditions will improve as industries develop and the national wealth increases. They will then be prepared to work harder and to avoid all disputes which may affect production.

It is a matter for gratification that the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, is keen on improving industrial relations in Maharashtra and in creating an atmosphere of good will and co-operation which will enable the State to avoid strikes and other disturbances. He gave that objective a high place in the statement of policy that he issued on the birth of the new State and gave a call for industrial peace. He repeated the call in his latest policy statement in the Budget session of the Assembly and assured that he would take early steps to bring the two parties together. It is to be hoped that the matter will be pursued. Industries are bound to grow all over the new State of Maharashtra. During the five years 1955 to 1960 the number of registered factories in the State increased from 7,364 to 8,684 and the average number of workers working daily in factories from

6,62,811 to 7,18,851. The third Five-Year Plan will ensure a much faster rate of growth. If the growth is to lead to all-round development and not to create tensions and problems it will be necessary to pay particular attention to the development of healthy industrial relations. They cannot be realised through the banning of strikes or by the adoption of

similar coercive measures. What they need is a sympathetic understanding of the difficulties and problems of labour and an expeditious method for their ventilation and redress. If they become readily available, workers will not think of strikes which they know are a double-edged weapon which inflict as much harm upon them as upon employers.



"It is unthinkable that the universities of the present day, wherever they may be, can function without reference to the realities that exist around them. I would, therefore, emphasise that the university students should be fully sensitive to the happenings around them and react constructively and helpfully to these happenings."

—Shri Y. B. Chavan

Congress and Future of Leftism in India



R. K. KHADILKAR
M. P.

IT IS indeed difficult to characterise the role of the Left movement in the present context of our national situation. Nobody in the Left movement could have imagined that the transfer of power would be so peaceful and complete from British hands to the Congress leadership. After Congress assumed the reins of power, in the eyes of the Left, the national leaders were suspects. As a result, it was thought that the Congress would consolidate reaction and the Left will have to undertake the task of completing the unfinished revolution in the country. With this assessment of the situation, almost all the Left elements that were within the Congress at the time of transfer of power decided to sever their connection with the parent body and started functioning independently. But, unfortunately for the Left, the fears that reaction would get the upper-hand were belied largely because of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's far-sighted leadership.

Soon after, Congress decided upon planning Indian economy so as to accelerate economic development. Besides, at the Avadi Session, Congress adopted 'socialism' as its goal. This was perhaps another shock to the Indian Leftist Parties, as they felt robbed of their ideological clothes. Consequently, it became all the more necessary for the leaders of the Left to search for an ideological bearing for their survival.

Parliamentary system of Government and rapid economic growth generally do not go together. An under-developed country accepting Parliamentary institutions shall have to secure an agreement among all the political parties on the necessity and desirability of economic planning as an instrument of socio-economic progress. Some of the leaders of the Left who had grasped this basic truth and had a deeper understanding of the socio-economic forces



in the country could not fail to reach a conclusion that the fortunes of Leftism in India were bound to be adversely affected by the policy and programme adumbrated by the Congress. The compulsions of the situation in a developing economy of our country impelled the intellectual leaders with social insight and political courage to propound a thesis advocating the necessity of extending the areas of co-operation with the Ruling Party; but unfortunately they had to surrender themselves so as to fall in line with the rank and file—clamour for militant opposition to the Congress. Thus, the lesser lights of the parties who were most vociferous in their opposition to the Congress got the platform victory and leaders with vision and understanding were left with no other alternative but to toe the line of their own followers. In this predicament, efforts were made to bring about unity among the Leftists sharing common ideas which led to the emergence of the Praja Socialist Party.

The leading lights of the Praja Socialist Party could legitimately claim national heritage and, to a large extent, shared common national ideals of progress through parliamentary democracy to the cherished objective of socialism. But the PSP composed of several groups rallied round individual leaders. It has neither the organisational cohesion nor ideological unity. It therefore failed to present a united structure that could serve as an alternative to the Congress. When final attempts were made to give a unified lead to the party, it rejected Shri Ashoka Mehta's line and adopted the thesis of "equi-distance from both the Congress and the Communists". The split became inevitable and a new Socialist Party led by Shri Ram Manohar Lohia branched off, dividing the democratic socialist forces in the country.

The Communist Party was not a passive spectator in all these years. It should be noted that the thinking in the Left was considerably influenced by the formulations of the Communist Party, though it may not be openly admitted. The Party had suffered a severe defeat in the adventurist line when it entered the field of elections in 1952. Even then, it did secure support from the voters which nobody could have imagined or predicted. The role of the Communists in the Indian Left movement must never be under-estimated. During the course of the national struggle, the Communist Party pursued its zig-zag line with its dialectical understanding of

the situation. It did not always identify with the national struggle; still it was considered by quite a few as a revolutionary force. All the tactics of the Communists since India became free are directed so as not to allow the emergence of a united socialist party in which the Communists have no say. No doubt they advocate unity. But it is in the final analysis on their own terms and if it does not materialise, they would see that they will spare no efforts to sabotage attempts at unity by other Leftists. As a result of all their tactics, all attempts to build up unity in the Left camp failed and the Left movement in the country was fragmented to bits. Smaller groups and parties which functioned more or less on a regional basis could not stand on their own and therefore they quite often lend enthusiastic support for the united front politics and have been taking shelter under Communist umbrella for their survival.

The inherent weakness of the Left movement including the Communists lies in its lack of deeper understanding of the Indian complex. All the attempts since Mr. M. N. Roy wrote "India in Transition" were concerned more in applying the methods of social analysis that orientated in the industrially advanced western society. Sufficient thought was hardly given to understand the peculiar caste hierarchy in India, nor was there any serious attempt on a philosophical plane to give an ideological battle with the traditional hold of the old world ideas on the minds of the people. No doubt, economics and technical advance affects the society in general; on that basis, Marxism provides a coherent and rational analysis of social evolution.

The pattern of the transfer of power did not allow a break with the past. It therefore helped the Gandhian concept of revolution in terms of continuity and not in terms of break with the past. Most revolutions are conceived in terms of break and violence. But the peaceful transfer of power in India has been a great stabilising factor and it has influenced in a significant way the Indian developments since the achievement of freedom. Leftism in India as it was more Western orientated has failed to fully grasp the consequences emanating from this continuity.

It should be realised that parliamentary democracy with all its shortcomings suits Indian conditions than the authoritarian way, because caste system on many an occasion baffles class analysis

and class unity. Of course, the parliamentary democratic system has its own weaknesses, particularly when the State undertakes to develop a rational economy at a rapid stride. But it provides opportunities to the various sections of the people for self-expression.

The international situation in the post-war era proved more baffling to the Left movement, in a peculiar balance of forces in the world, in which the capitalist system is faced with a challenge of the emerging socialist system with all its revolutionary vitality. India in transition, as she has kept herself non-aligned, receives help and support for her programmes of socio-economic development. This peculiar balance of the world forces is reflected in their attitude to India, advancing support, which not only insures India against the dangers of internal economic crisis, but also brings forth political and moral support to Indian democracy. The theory of co-existence strengthens the forces of stability as against the forces of change. These factors no doubt in themselves adversely affect the fortunes of the Indian Left.

In this background, the Congress emerges as a centrist party—Liberal-Socialist Party. In the Indian situation, therefore, the emergence of the party of the right conservative sections had become inevitable. Thus the Swatantra Party is coming to the forefront. One may disagree with its policies or deplore the poverty of its political outlook or economic approach; but it has its own *raison d'être*.

However one may look with great misgivings at the Communists, they are bound to remain a force in this country, influencing the course of the Left with all the prestige and power of the socialist world at their back. If it were to take to democratic and parliamentary method as they have formally accepted at Amritsar in all sincerity, it would be able to rally round more people. Frustrated middle-class, expanding industrial labour and the vast army of landless in the country are the sections where the Left is bound to get more support. But, unfortunately, no Left Party, not even the Communists, has got a sound peasant base. They are struggling

to enlist the support more from the industrial labour and the frustrated middle class.

With the exception of the Congress, there is no other party which could claim organisational network covering the entire country. Next to the Congress, the Communist Party had the largest organisational centres in the different parts of the country. Praja Socialist Party would perhaps stand third in the list on the Left side. This is the position of the Left on the national level. Social democratic parties all over the world are in decline. Some of the intellectuals among them have reached a conclusion that an alternative Government in Parliamentary democracy is more a myth than a reality. Neither the Communists nor the Praja Socialists, left to themselves or in combination with other groups or parties, are in a position to mobilise sufficient strength to undertake the responsibility of the Government and to run it. Except for emphasis on certain aspect of the programme, there is no radical difference in the programmes of the Congress and the Left. In the broad historic context, it is apparent that the Left in India will have to struggle in wilderness for some years to come.

Though Congress adopted socialism as its objective, it has not so far given enough thought to the development of organisational pattern that would serve as an instrument to bring about socio-economic transformation. It had not given sufficient thought nor directed its efforts to train ideological cadres wedded to the creed, so that they could mobilise the masses to support and underwrite the implementation of the Plans of development.

Pandit Nehru's approach, as he himself admits, has always been the mass approach or the public meeting approach. It has no doubt been instrumental to a large extent in advancing social consciousness among the people and creating a broad mass sanction to the policies advanced by the Congress. Socio-economic basis of the Indian revolution is still weak and incomplete. With all its inherent weaknesses, Congress alone is destined to fulfil the historic mission.

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Congress and Parliamentary Activity



BHANU SHANKAR YAGNIK

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THE subject, "CONGRESS AND PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY" which I was asked to write on, is also, to my mind, appropriate to mark the celebrations of the birthday of a person, who, amongst our younger leaders, succeeded the most in reconciling the Congress organisational work with parliamentary activity. Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan's example constitutes a positive demonstration of the fact that, given a spirit of mutual trust and understanding, there can never be any conflict between the organisational and parliamentary wings of Congress—a conflict which, in recent years, has become a serious malady in some of our States. What is popularly known as "Chavan touch" in political circles is worthy of emulation in the solution of variety of problems which besets many parts of our country.

Prior to the Independence of India, the Indian National Congress had two-fold programme : firstly, to lead the Indian people in the struggle for freedom and secondly, to engage in constructive activities enunciated by the Father of the Nation for the economic and social regeneration of the Indian masses. Even when Congress entered Legislature or accepted office it did so mainly with a view to advancing the cause of freedom and raising the economic and social standard of the downtrodden. It came out of the legislature or gave up office whenever it felt that its fundamental objectives could not be served through them.

The Best Organised Party

But after the achievement of freedom, the role of Congress radically changed. Essentially Congress took up parliamentary role. In the wake of the withdrawal of the British power, the onus of administering the country fell on Congress shoulders ; and it must be stated to the credit of Congress



leaders that they succeeded in giving best administration to the country, in spite of certain catastrophic events as a result of the partition, and in spite of the up-rooted millions in Pakistan, who crossed into India for succour and rehabilitation. The Parliamentary role of Congress has continued since then.

Political Parties in Opposition

Since Independence, Congress has successfully faced two General Elections and emerged the best organised Party in the country. All other political parties which had wielded some influence at the time of Independence and after have largely disintegrated in the course of last ten years. New political parties or alignments which were formed after freedom have either suffered the same fate or remained as local pressure groups in the States. In short no political party in the country, besides Congress, is organised on country-wide basis or is in a position to command confidence and trust of the people of the entire country. In other words, as things stand today, Congress is the only political party in the country which is best organised and has network of its branches in all the States and almost in every district, tehsil and the village, and being in power, can speak to the outside world on behalf of the people of India. Further, it is the only political party which is genuinely interested in the maintenance of communal, social and industrial peace in the country; believes in the indivisible unity of the country in all respects—political, economic and cultural; strives to promote emotional integration of all the people of the land; adopts a constructive policy towards the solution of country's problems; adheres scrupulously to the purity of means for the achievement of national ends. Further, Congress is the only political party which has unshakable faith in democracy wherein every individual, irrespective of the fact whether he belongs to the majority community or minorities, has a significant place to occupy and a role to perform in the scheme of things; adheres to the ideal of socialistic pattern of society to be achieved democratically and peacefully, that is, through people's consent and participation and as Bernard Shaw has put it through "TRIAL AND ERROR". Congress is the only political party which regards truth and non-violence as fundamental principles of political and social action.

In contrast, all other political parties are opposites of what Congress has been all these years. None

of them has as comprehensive organisational and ideological character as Congress. It is true that some opposition political parties subscribe to democracy and socialism in theory, but violate the spirit of these human ideals in practice. None of the opposition political parties has an integrated approach to the problems of the country. In fact, their complete identification with linguistic conflicts, parochial agitations and class tensions, which, in effect, have sought to undermine national unity and emotional solidarity of the Indian people, has given a lie to their professions. For all political parties other than Congress, the ideals of democracy and socialism lost their meaning, because these political parties never rose above linguistic and ethnic group-loyalties to concern themselves with the wider national issues and because they developed narrow outlook and exploited every minor issue or event for sectarian political purposes—thus losing in the process the broad humanistic perspectives of democracy and socialism. The opposition parties naturally alienated themselves from national consciousness which Mahatma Gandhi had so assiduously built through successive national struggles. Some opposition political parties are obviously communal in character or seek to serve feudal class interests or are pledged to protect capitalistic exploitation or *laissez faire* by ostensible advocacy of free enterprise. The Communist Party of India and its allied front organisations are essentially anti-democratic and totalitarian and, if voted to power, will destroy the very basis of democracy and socialism and the finest elements of Indian Culture.

The above given facts about the Congress and the opposition parties bring into bold relief the need of Congress playing an effective parliamentary role in the country. These facts suggest that otherwise the very foundations of democracy, socialism and national solidarity will be seriously undermined, thus throwing the country into the morass of confusion, chaos and disintegration.

When I say this I am not for a moment deprecating the emergence of healthy democratic opposition in the country. As a matter of fact Congress would very much welcome such a development, although I am sure that even if responsible and patriotic opposition does not crystallise itself, Congress would, by its precept and practice, safeguard democracy and protect freedom of the individual to enjoy economic equality and social justice.

Two Wings of the Congress

In order to play an effective parliamentary role the Congress must take certain concrete steps. First, it must bring about a complete unity of purpose, a spirit of mutual adjustment and understanding between the organisational and parliamentary wings of the Congress by constantly stressing the common ground between the two. It would be irrelevant here to discuss which of these two wings of Congress must take precedence. To my mind, it would be wrong to pose a problem of this kind. Some time ago, Prof. Humayun Kabir, quoting the examples of Britain and the United States of America suggested that the parliamentary wing of the Congress must take precedence over its organisational wing. He stated that it would help to remove the confusion created by the dualism of authority in the country—authority divided or shared by the party-in-power and the Government. Frankly I am certain that there is no confusion of the kind Prof. Kabir has alluded to, as the functions of the party and the Government are clearly demarcated. I feel strongly that the organisational and parliamentary wings of the Congress are of equal importance and one wing does not assume precedence over the other. In the interest of the party and the country, both wings must work together in harmony and reduce to the minimum the chances of conflict and misunderstanding. Indeed, both wings are complementary to each other and one strengthens the other. Secondly, Congress must help to generate faith amongst the Indian people in parliamentary democracy. It is true that some confirmed believers in democracy like Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan have stated that parliamentary democracy is inadequate and hence they have advocated partyless democracy. It is not necessary for me here to discuss this new idea which, of course, may have its own merits. But I would like to emphasise that if, under the present circumstances, parliamentary democracy fails in India, totalitarian tendencies—both communal and communist—would be on the ascendance and deal a death blow to the very basis of democracy and socialism in the country. The inadequacies of parliamentary democracy have to be removed not by rejecting parliamentary democracy itself, but by broadening its base so as to impart maximum free-

dom to the individual. So, whatever may be the flaws in the functioning of parliamentary democracy in India, Congress must seek to strengthen it in the interest of the country. Further, with the faith in parliamentary democracy strengthened, the tendency towards resorting to the so-called satyagrahas, agitations and morchas would be on the decline and the people will have more peaceful times. Thirdly, Congress must try to train up cadres from amongst the ranks of younger Congressmen to take up parliamentary positions in future. I am afraid that many elder Congressmen are oblivious of this task. It is necessary to build up second rung of leadership for parliamentary work as much as for the organisational duties. Then only Congress will be in a position to bring about increasing efficiency in the administration. The State of Maharashtra is noted for clean and efficient administration for the simple reason that younger men have come forward to shoulder the responsibilities of the Government. And indeed Shri Chavan symbolises that younger spirit in the administration. Congress must see to it that Maharashtra's example is followed in other States and more and more younger men and women are encouraged and trained for parliamentary responsibilities. Fourthly, Congress Members of Parliament and State Legislatures must cultivate a habit of discussing and eliciting public opinion in their constituencies on the bills, which are before the Parliament or the State Legislatures. This is one effective method of procuring the co-operation of the people in the Government of the country. The Congress MPs and MLAs must help to develop public forums in their constituencies with a view to keeping the public well-informed regarding the various measures which the Congress Governments have been taking in the constructive service of the people. These forums will also foster the emergence of healthy traditions of direct democracy in our country, which, in the long run, will pave the way for the crystallisation of a new progressive institutional framework in our country.

If these steps are taken, I have no doubt in my mind that Congress will be in a position to carve out for India an eminent place in the annals of the parliamentary history of the WORLD.

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Social Equality and Legislation



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THE French revolution gave to the modern Europe three noble principles,—liberty, equality and fraternity—the principles which have been the anchorsheet of the constitutions of freedom-loving countries. These principles have been and are the watchwords of human civilization and human progress. The founding fathers of the Indian Constitution who were brought up in the tradition of liberalism and who had inherited from our rich past the glorious doctrine of human dignity, incorporated in our Constitution, these noble principles. The ideal that India has placed before herself is the attainment of dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. This can be achieved only if equality is established, not otherwise. Hence, the Constitution has rightly referred to equality, social, economic and political. The achievement of equality is a process of social revolution. Education can help to a great extent in this process. However, that alone will not be adequate. Legislation will be equally necessary, nay, it may be said, more necessary than education in a country where old prejudices die hard.

The achievement of economic and political equality with the help of legislation is not a difficult task. India has achieved political equality. Planned economy aims at establishment of economic equality. If the schedule of the Plan, works satisfactorily, achievement of economic equality will be an easy task. Bentham, the noted English jurist, laid down philosophy of law which advocated social reforms with the help of legislation. In a society which accepts Bentham's philosophy, the inter-play of State action and public opinion deserves to be closely studied. This interplay is determined by the type of political system that controls legal action and secondly by social interest sought to be achieved



by legislation. In a democratic State, this interplay is seen in various ways. The attainment of social interest depends upon the magnitude of social pressure and also on the type of the constitution the country has.

The establishment of equality in communist countries is achieved with the help of coercive measures. In a democratic country, however, legislation is utilized for this purpose. It is true that an element of compulsion is present in legislation also, but it is not to the same extent as in the case of totalitarian countries. For, in a democratic country social reforms are to be brought about with the help of means which are consistent with the dignity of the individual.

The problem of social equality is a delicate problem in our country. The establishment of social equality is the primary need of the day. The Constitution has given it the first place and the Government have been doing their best to establish social equality with the help of all available democratic means. For, establishment of social equality is a problem of human values. It aims at restoring man to his rightful position with a view to enabling him to develop all that is best in him. Social equality is the step in the direction of human progress and human perfection. Hence, its achievement is most essential.

Law has been used as a means of bringing about great social changes. It has been found as a very useful weapon for creating a new society, at various stages of human history. However, it must be remembered that the utility of law in this behalf is not unlimited. There are at least two important aspects of social equality—the material and the psychological. Law can be successful in the former but not in the latter. Anti-untouchability legislation or anti-caste legislation will, in theory and for all outward purposes, abolish untouchability and caste distinctions. However, such legislation is not able to bring about the desired psychological change. Education is necessary in addition to legislation in such cases. Another point about social legislation is the problem of its compatibility with public opinion. It is urged that legislation in order to be effective should not be far ahead of the public opinion; otherwise its very purpose is defeated and a kind of discord between law and public opinion is created. Such a discord is not desirable for a smooth social change. This argument has attractive

simplicity. But it fails to convince. If social reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy had awaited for the creation of favourable opinion for the abolition of *Sati*, one does not know, whether *Sati*-abolition could have been achieved during the lifetime of Raja Rammohan Roy. Anti-slavery legislation would have probably experienced the same fate. Public opinion is generally rooted in the past. Hence, breaking the old chains and burying the inherited legacies of superstitions becomes extremely difficult. Therefore, social reformers have to ignore what is generally known as public opinion in order to establish human values. This disrespect shown to the public opinion is not inconsistent with democratic traditions. No doubt democracy means respect for the views of the majority. However, democracy does not rest there. Democracy is a way of life based on human values. It is accepted for maintaining the dignity of the individual. Hence legislation that is necessary for this purpose must be accepted even if it appears to be opposed to the so-called public opinion.

The problem of social equality is not peculiar to India. Even in England there has been inequality and changes were introduced with the help of law. The legal position of women in England will serve as an instance. Till the year 1891, wife was regarded as subordinate to her husband. It was only as a result of the judicial decisions from 1891 to 1952 that woman is regarded as a partner with her husband. A series of Acts of Parliament from 1870 to 1949 conferred on her right to own her property, earn money, make her own contracts and sue and be sued alone. It was only in 1929 that she acquired a right to have an equal voice in matters relating to her children. The history of legislation in the matters of relation of the employers and labourer proves the same thing.

The problem of social equality in India is a problem of social reconstruction. Hence law can and has played a very significant role in this behalf. An analysis of the legislation passed by Union Parliament during the last eleven years points out that law has been very busy in establishing social equality and thus bringing about social reconstruction. These laws can be briefly grouped together as follows: (1) Laws relating to abolition of untouchability. Article 17 of the Constitution abolishes untouchability and its enforcement in any form is made a punishable offence. Details regarding the

abolition of untouchability are laid down in Untouchability Offences Act passed in the year 1955. These provisions along with other similar provisions have helped to a great extent in eradicating the evil of untouchability and establishing social equality. (2) Laws relating to the status of women. The legal position of women in the systems of personal law has not been satisfactory. The rights of Hindu women to property were limited and restricted. Muslim women did not enjoy the same rights regarding dissolution of marriage as the Muslim males. The Hindu Succession Act, the Hindu Marriage Act and the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act have raised the status of Hindu women and conferred on them status of equality. This equality could be established only with the help of legislation. For, in absence of a law, it would have been difficult for a Hindu daughter to get a share in her father's property and for a Hindu woman to get absolute rights to property. No amount of education or persuasion would have been successful in this behalf. No legislation has been passed relating to Muslim women, with the result that in their case social inequality continues as before. In other respects the Constitution has prohibited discrimination on the ground of sex. This has naturally resulted in giving equal status to women in all other walks of life. This is a great step in the direction of establishing social equality. (3) Union Parliament has been very busy in regulating the relations of the employers and the working people, with a view to achieving social equality. Not less than fifteen important statutes have been placed on the statute book during the last ten years. All these measures primarily aim at social equality. Without this legislation, the status of the working class would not have improved and progress towards social equality would not have been possible. (4) State legislatures have been busy in regulating the relations of the landlords and the tillers of the soil. Legislation passed by them has also aimed at establishment of social equality. Abolition of Zamindari, or the Malguzari or the Khoti have definitely contributed towards the achievement of social equality. (5) Taxation laws of the Union Government and also of State Governments have indeed helped considerably the process of establishment of social equality. The Estate Duty Act, the Wealth Tax Act, the Expenditure Tax Act

and the Gift Tax Act prove beyond doubt the tendency towards equalisation. This is further strengthened by the provisions of the Constitution relating to the right to property. Emphasis on public sector, and the spread of co-operative movement are also attempts in the direction of social equalisation.

This very brief survey of legislation indicates the aspiration of Indian soul, for the achievement of social equality. Legislation has been preferred for this purpose because we, in India, live under the rule of law and not rule of man. If law is to rule supreme, it must work more enthusiastically in the sphere of social equality. If social inequality is allowed to continue to exist, it might result in replacing the rule of law by the rule of man. History of the world proves beyond doubt that the failure of law to solve social problems has resulted in recourse to arms.

Law alone may not be able to establish social equality under all circumstances. This is so particularly in a society which has inherited the evil of inequality from the past. Education in addition to law is essential for eradicating the evil; then alone the ideal of social equality will be attained. However, it also deserves to be noted that in such a society law would be more effective than education for such purposes. The sanction behind law, the coercive element in law and the readiness of people to obey the law, all these factors contribute to the success of law in establishing social equality. Legislation is playing its role in establishing social equality in India. It is now for social reformers to come forward and achieve the ideal. The social reformer of today must accept the help the law is giving to him. He must also accept that an element of coercion in a legal system is inevitable. Permissive legislation for social reforms is no legislation. The social interest in law has been accepted as a very important factor by modern jurists. There cannot be a greater social interest than social equality. In our country, which has accepted the ideal of a Welfare State, establishment of social equality is the condition precedent for the creation of the new order of social welfare. There cannot be social welfare without social equality. If law is a means for attaining the ideal of social welfare, it is definitely a powerful means for attaining the ideal of social equality. ● ● ●

Economic Policy for Maharashtra



A. R. BHAT
M.Com., M.L.C., Poona

THE State of Maharashtra is considered an economically advanced State. Its *per capita* income in 1957-58 was Rs. 342 while the national average was Rs. 290. The composition of the State income shows that nearly 24 per cent of it is derived from mining, manufacturing and small enterprises and another 22 per cent from commerce, transport and communications. *Per capita* power consumption for the State as a whole is 71 units as against 31 for the country. The percentage of factory workers to total urban population is 7 per cent as against 5 per cent for the Indian Union. This favourable position is due to the enormous development of commerce and industry within a small area of 111 square miles comprising Greater Bombay. In the areas outside Greater Bombay, whatever economic development has taken place, it is in and round about a few cities and industrial townships. The rest of the State is industrially and commercially as backward as any other in the Indian Union. So far as agriculture is concerned the State of Maharashtra is handicapped. Not only the percentage of cropped area under irrigation is small at present but there is an inevitable limitation on its future expansion also. At present only 6.31 per cent of the gross cropped area is under irrigation but it has been computed that in spite of the best efforts hereafter to utilise river and underground water resources, the area under irrigation is not likely to exceed 20 per cent. It is estimated that as against a deficit of 16 lakhs of tons in cereals at the end of this year, the State will be faced with a shortage of 25 lakhs of tons at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan.

A Complex Problem

2. This poses a complex problem for our State

Planners. Agriculture which is a principal occupation of major section of the people of the State is responsible for 37 per cent of the State income. It is clear, that agriculture as a whole cannot be a source of *per capita* surplus production. The economy of the preponderating majority of land holders is a deficit one. The holdings are too small and a large majority of them would not turn economic in spite of investment that may be made to improve the basic productivity of land. Further, there is a very large number of landless workers and it is not likely to be reduced to any appreciable extent in spite of the ceiling on land holdings and consequent distribution of surplus land, as also, of cultivable waste land. Compulsory consolidation of holdings will only add to the ranks of landless labour. Land is a factor of production, the availability of which is physically limited. Therefore an all-out effort will have to be made to find additional avenues of employment for those who are at present sticking to agriculture as a means of their livelihood out of helplessness. A lesson of economic history has been that it is the development of industry and increase in its productive efficiency that leads to the employment of modern technique in agriculture and consequently leads to increased production.

Third Plan Objectives

3. Economic growth of Maharashtra has to be an integral part of the economic development of the country as a whole. The main objectives of our country's Third National Plan are (1) to secure during the quinquennium a rise in national income of at least 5 per cent per annum, the pattern of investment being designed also to sustain this rate of growth during subsequent Plan periods; (2) to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains and increase agricultural production to meet the requirements of industry and exports; (3) to establish basic industries and particularly to increase machine-building capacity; (4) to ensure a substantial expansion in employment opportunities and (5) to bring about a reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power. These principal tasks have to be achieved by the country as a whole and some of them could be achieved by the Central Government. They are not to be attained separately by each State. For the economic development of the country as a whole, there has to be a division of labour among the States, each trying to exploit its resources

in a way as will lead to optimum industrial and agricultural production. Therefore to achieve at least an increase of 5 per cent in the State income, the resources of the Maharashtra State have to be properly harnessed, to yield the maximum income.

Proper Crop Pattern

4. Viewed from the above criterion, the State policy in respect of agriculture should be directed towards maximisation of irrigation facilities and improving the basic production of land. Where the cash and commercial crops are likely to yield the best return no attempt be made to divert lands under them to food production. The attempt made during the last World War at crop planning under statute proved an utter failure. What therefore should be systematically done as a considered policy is the evolution of a proper crop pattern. Since after the full utilisation of water resources, some 80 per cent of the gross cropped land will still remain under dry farming, the only means of increasing the basic productivity of such land will be contour bunding and terracing and sinking wells wherever practicable. Improved methods of agricultural production have to be practised and adequate supplies of proper seed have to be assured.

Statewide Integrated Grid

5. The fundamental problem that faces the State of Maharashtra is to develop industries in rural areas as will lead to the full utilisation of locally available resources in capital and raw materials and others in which skill and labour account for a substantial part of cost production, so that employment opportunities for surplus working population will be created. Thus the pattern of economy of Maharashtra has to be *Agro-industrial*. But this is not an easy task. First and foremost, the basic factor for the development of such an economy is the availability of reasonably cheap electric power in rural areas. In the Maharashtra State, although the production and industrial consumption of electricity is the highest in India, there is no integrated grid system, with the result that there is a wide variation in the unit charge of power supply and consequently a concentration of industrial development in localities where the same is available at a cheap rate. As a step, therefore, towards the development of agro-industrial economy, an integrated power grid system will have to be developed, if not all at once, by stages. It will on the one hand reduce the necessity of maintaining idle stand-by

capacity to its minimum and to the extent practicable equalise the tariffs. Once power is taken to the villages it will generate industrial activity. The State Government proposes to spend Rs. 82 crores for augmenting the power supply during the Third Five-Year Plan. But even so, it will partially cover the rural areas.

Decentralisation of Industries

6. Development of industries in rural areas means decentralisation of industries. Decentralisation is two-fold; one of location and the other of capital. Such decentralisation helps attainment of two of the principal tasks to which the Planners have attached importance. Decentralisation of location would help creation of opportunities of employment in new areas and that of capital, economic power. The number of large-scale units is indeed small. It is the medium, and more so, small-scale units that very much outnumber the big units, say those employing more than a hundred workers, even in highly industrialised countries. The type of industries that could be developed in the rural areas are, generally, small-scale, to some extent medium and few large-scale ones. Such units abound in industrially advanced centres. They have grown there because of the availability of several important facilities and services, such as availability of trained labour, expert advice and technical know-how, banking, markets, transport, telephone, easy rates of general insurance, etc. In order, therefore, to attract industries to rural areas special, compensatory facilities, not available to units in industrial cities, have to be given. A number of facilities are already being given by Government and Government-sponsored institutions to large, medium and small-scale industries, irrespective of their location. Further, industrial estates are being provided in industrial cities also. Unless, therefore, preferential facilities are provided to industrial units started in rural areas, ordinarily entrepreneurs will not be induced to start industries there. Such a policy of granting special facilities is being followed in the United Kingdom to attract industries to pockets of growing unemploy-

ment. In India, the former princely States succeeded in attracting industries to their areas by granting them various kinds of facilities. Some States of the Indian Union have already offered certain concessions. The State of Maharashtra, therefore, needs formulate and make an early announcement of a definite policy in this behalf.

"Development Areas"

7. Our resources for bringing about the growth of industries by affording various facilities are limited. The development of industries presupposes adequate provision of communications and the same are not likely to be available all over the State to the extent required during the Third Five-Year Plan. It would, therefore, be advisable to select certain areas in various economically backward regions of the State and demarcate them as 'Development Areas' and make available various special facilities to industries started in them.

Co-operative Processing Industries

8. So far industries processing agricultural produce such as cotton, oilseeds, paddy, etc. are concerned, they should be developed in the co-operative sector. The formation of co-operative processing societies not only enables the producers to earn a reasonable price for their produce but help formation of local corporate savings. Further, they help creation of industrial consciousness in the rural areas which in its turn prepares ground for other industrial activity. The formation and successful conduct of sugarcane processors' co-operative societies has paved the way for further expansion of this movement.

It is a matter of gratification that, in view of limited resources available to the State, the Maharashtra Government led by Shri Y. B. Chavan has decided to give preference to programme of economic development and economic overheads over programmes of social services. It has committed itself to the development of agro-industrial economy. On its effective implementation depends the prosperity of Maharashtra.

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A Great Symbol of Democratic Potentiality



FRANK MORAES

IN a recent book on India I wrote that "with a few rare exceptions, such as Bombay's Chief Minister, Y. B. Chavan and the Finance Minister of Madras, C. Subramaniam, no new leaders have developed or emerged from the Congress ranks". Since then Bombay State has been divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat, and as Maharashtra's Chief Minister, Mr. Chavan has consolidated and reinforced his reputation.

To speculate on politics is almost as hazardous as to speculate on horses. There are no set rules to the game, and temperament, timing and the shifting elements of chance and luck all play their part in this incalculable business. Every soldier, it may be true, carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack but Napoleon was in the habit of inquiring when one of his commander's name came up for promotion, "Is he lucky?"

Given, therefore, the very vital element of luck I venture to predict that some day Mr. Chavan will achieve the office of Prime Minister of India. He has the requisite timber which mellows rather than hardens with experience and keeping. He has the Maharatta's down-to-the-ground earthiness but also a resilience and flexibility not always associated with that forthright race. Courage is a quality identified with his people, and perhaps calculation. He has both as he pre-eminently proved during his underground days which followed the historic Congress resolution of August 1942. With his peasant shrewdness he combines not only a positive purposefulness but something which I have rarely encountered in India's politicians and businessmen—a love for books and good reading. This suggests that contemplativeness marches alongside practicality.

All this might conjure up visions of a super-



man, flexing his muscles for the opportunities that lie ahead. No one of us, preeminent or humble, is a superman. And Chavan, I am sure, would not like to be consigned or condemned to that category, which really a dustbin, for he is too human to pretend to supermanship. His doom will come the moment he believes he is one, and attempts to climb high moral pedestals or political pinnacles in order merely to look down on his fellowmen. But of that there seems to be no danger.

I was asked to write an article on "Leftism in India" and I feel that remarks with which I preface it are not inapposite or irrelevant for all those who occupy seats of authority, whether at the State or national levels, will at some time or other be called upon to assess and face the problem. The Congress party is really a Socialist party, certainly since the Avadi Congress session early in 1955 when it spiked the guns and stole the thunder of the Congress Socialist party which was formed in May 1934. In 1952 the Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Sabha had merged to form the Praja Socialist party with Acharya Kripalani as its president and Asoka Mehta as General Secretary. On the economic plane there is little to distinguish the policies advocated by Asoka Mehta from those implemented by Nehru. The differences, if any, are on the level of foreign policy.

Administrators like Chavan, who are potential Prime Ministers, are well aware of these facts. The criticism has been made that Nehru's socialism in its domestic as also its foreign manifestation, is hardly distinguishable from Communism. Here Chavan's rustic shrewdness and down-to-the-ground earthiness should help to restore a sense of balance and perspective if he does finally occupy the office of Prime Minister.

Stability in Asia too often hinges on the existence of a single individual. In India the passing of Nehru will eventually see the breakup of the Congress party into two groups, right and left. The survival of democracy will then depend on whether the Communists or the Socialists are able to attract the allegiance of the left group, for in an underdeveloped country such as India democracy can only survive as a system of democratic socialism. The alternative is Communism.

Asia cannot escape from itself as Europe did.

The dislocations caused by the Industrial Revolution in Britain impelled emigration abroad where in the older Dominions such as Australia, New Zealand and to a lesser degree South Africa empty countries with small indigenous populations offered room for settlement and advancement. Asia's mammoth and rapidly-growing populations have no such escape reservoirs, which is why the impact of science and technology—that is, of the Industrial Revolution—must cause tremendous displacement and disorganisation unless advancement keeps pace with the rate of population growth, which in turn must be rigorously controlled. To avail themselves of modern industrial techniques and simultaneously to preserve their economic and social stability the countries of Asia must possess a sufficiency of managerial and technical talent and of financial surpluses, both of which were available when Britain and the countries of Europe achieved their Industrial Revolution.

Lack of these prerequisites compels Asian lands to depart from the road of traditional capitalism, which even if they wished it is not open to them, and to plan the transformation of their societies under some form of state direction and control. Hence the adoption of a mixed economy which includes free enterprise and governmental planning.

Thus the Asian picture resolves itself as a battle for the survival of peoples and ideas. Communism believes it can win through by the process of the double squeeze, by legal and illegal methods, by persuasion and violence, by identifying nationalism with Communism and simultaneously by invoking the example of Russia and China, by the promise of jobs to the unemployed and the bait of dictatorial power to the politically frustrated. Behind all this is the formidable power of the Russo-Chinese bloc. For Communism's first and last weapon is force.

The virtue of Communism in Asian eyes is its promise of economic security; its vice consists in its denial of individual freedom. Based on force, its sanction is force, the violence incarnate in a system motivated primarily by fear and hate. Communism, therefore, can offer the new independent countries of Asia neither democracy in the form of individual freedom nor peace as an

assurance against violence, fear and hatred. But it does seek to delude the vast, rapidly growing masses of the underdeveloped world with the promise of economic security, and by using parliamentary instruments for the capture of political power it assumes the garb of democracy while simultaneously attempting to equate nationalism with Communism.

What have the democrats of Asia and the West to offer against this? Political freedom means much to the renascent countries of Asia, but the value of individual liberty has still to be fully understood and respected. In Asia's eyes independence symbolises the self-respect which for centuries it had lost with the loss of its freedom. The nations of Europe have enjoyed political freedom long enough to take it for granted and to elevate the value of other ideas such as democracy, free enterprise and individual freedom above it.

Democracy no more than Communism can survive in Asia on guns alone. There must be bread. Political stability can be built only on a base of economic progress and order, and the West must recognise that politically and economically the roads that lead to democracy need not be the same for Asia and Europe. The different circumstances in which Asia is achieving its Industrial Revolution call for different means, economically implying a larger degree of State direction and control than the West experienced or envisages. Politically nationalism having reached Asia a hundred years late, its forms of political democracy must differ and might be distinct. The difficulty is that though the forms of government are democratic in free Asia, their spirit is not always democratic and in some countries is becoming increasingly authoritarian.

The spirit surely is of primary urgency. In what form it is contained is of secondary importance, provided the form is true and authentic and worthy of the spirit it enshrines. We come back to where we started, the old problem of means and ends. In achieving and preserving the end which is democracy, Asia and Europe labour under a common misconception, believing that the same means must automatically lead to the same ends, which is not true; for different means, provided they are animated by the same high spirit and

resolve, can equally lead to the same ends; while similar means, deployed in a conflicting spirit, will lead to different ends.

If democracy as a political system has not worked successfully in Asia, it is not because the principles of democracy are wrong but because the political system or institutions through which Asia works it are too close to the Western mould and unsuited to Asian conditions. Asia must be left to reshape and build a true Asian form of democracy, institutionally different from that of the West but in no way departing from the principles which commonly inspire it. For the principles are basic and universal; the forms or institutions are capable of infinite variety. In Asia the principles of democracy are best expressed economically and politically as democratic socialism.

Democracy is ensured economically when the instruments of economic power are so employed and controlled as to guarantee social justice, while politically democracy is safeguarded as long as political power rests in the people and in their representatives who also participate in the functions of government. The choice in Asia is not between Communism and democracy as America and the West understand it, but between Communism and a type of democracy, such as social democracy or democratic socialism, which is better suited or adapted to Asia's needs.

The institutional forms in which such a democracy expresses itself must be left to each Asian country to determine. In India the feeling in certain socialist and liberal circles that democracy is not working successfully as a political system has led to a retreat from the present Western parliamentary forms to a grassroots search for a true democratic base in the villages. Some such emotive force has moved politicians like the American-trained socialist Jayaprakash Narayan to ally himself with the Bhodan movement which has its roots in rural India.

Gandhi had much the same idea of democracy, for in a talk with Louis Fischer some years ago he envisaged the pyramid of India's political structure as broad-based on her villages. Like Plato's city-state Gandhi's ideal was the Indian village state with each of India's seven hundred

thousand villages "organised according to the will of its citizens, all of them voting".

"Then," he said to Fischer, "there would be seven hundred thousand votes and not four hundred million. Each village, in other words, would have one vote. The villages would elect their district administrations, and the district administrations would elect the provincial administrations, and these in turn would elect a president who would be the national chief executive".

"This is very much like the Soviet system," Fischer commented.

"I did not know that," said Gandhi. "But I don't mind."

He didn't mind because the spirit of democracy mattered much more to him than its institutional forms, and the institutional forms he conceived were those which he believed were best suited to India. There is a relish of irony and of poetic justice in the thought of Asia's using Soviet institutional forms for expressing and consolidating the democratic spirit.

In assessing Asia the West must recognise that the vast majority of Asian intellectuals and leaders are not anti-capitalist and anti-Communist, much like the men and women in the Soviet satellite

countries behind the iron curtain who rebel against the tyranny of the Kremlin. Neither politically, economically nor socially do the satellite countries want the clock put back by exchanging one master for another. Their attitude is curiously similar to that of Asian countries, for like them they feel that their underdeveloped and unbalanced economies can be best expanded and enlarged by a form of socialist planning, while individual freedom can again be most effectively preserved in the form of democratic socialism. Like many Asian countries they also incline to a policy of non-alignment. They want to be left in peace and to live in peace with everyone.

Here is in Asia the task of the West, if the world is to be made safe for democracy, is to help the people to help themselves; for just as Asia's hungry masses can only achieve better living standards through their own efforts aided technically and economically by the West, so also the captive peoples behind the iron curtain know that freedom must be won primarily from within. As in Asia also, the vacuum created by the withdrawal of an over-riding power in Eastern Europe can only be filled effectively not by another power stepping in but by the peoples of these regions organising themselves.



A Biographical Sketch



RAFIQ ZAKARIA,
M.L.C.

WHAT sort of man is Yeshwantrao Chavan ? There are millions both inside and outside India who are anxious to know the answer, until five years ago, however, his was hardly a name to be conjured with. His rise to power and fame has indeed been meteoric. It has, moreover, raised such expectations that not a few look upon him now as the man of the future. His friends and admirers apart, even a journal of the status and standing of the *Manchester Guardian* while discussing the question: 'After Nehru, Who?' opined: "Another year or two and at least one more General Election may produce a Chavan after all."

Rise to Power

To say that Chavan is a good man is hardly enough; it cannot explain the secret of his success. True, as he rose to power he showed more charity to all and bore malice to none; but the task that he faced in 1956 as the Chief Minister of the then bilingual State of Bombay was stupendous; it would have broken a smaller man. But somehow Chavan mastered the situation; the phenomenon surprised him as much as others. Moreover, in less than five years he came on top of it. How did he achieve it? For that one must necessarily go back to his past!

Yeshwantrao is a son of the soil. Born in a village he is of a peasant stock. He was brought up in poverty. His place of birth is Deorashtre, an obscure village typical of the semi-human conditions that prevailed in the India of those days, about ten miles from Karad, a small town in the District of Satara. He was born on March 12, 1914, just on the eve of the First World War. About his childhood Chavan has said, "I am a typical product of village life and hence during our boyhood days when we compared urban life



with village life we found it rather oppressive. That paved the road to the demand of equality on our part—in the sense that we yearned for equal opportunities. There were no facilities of education in our village and their absence together with many other necessities of life made us more and more hungry for them.”

Family Life

Yeshwantrao's father Balwantrao was a simple man who knew no comfort. He was part bailiff attached to the Court of the local Sub-Judge and part farmer. He died young—in fact, at the age of forty-four, becoming a victim of that terrible scourge: Plague. His youngest son, Yeshwantrao, at that time was hardly five to six years old. The other two sons Dnyanoba and Ganpatrao were only a few years older; so was the daughter, Radhabai.

Yeshwantrao spent the early years of his childhood with the family of his maternal uncle in Vite. He, therefore, had his primary education there. However, when his father became a bailiff at Karad, the whole family moved there. Things changed for the better, but then suddenly Balwantrao passed away and everything looked dark. Meanwhile, because of the kindness of an English official, Dnyanoba managed to get the same bailiff's job that his father had. That stemmed the tide of adversity; but still life became a problem for the widow, Vithabai, with three growing sons and a daughter to be looked after. Nonetheless, she was determined—whatever be the odds—to educate her two other sons. Hence she put them in the newly-founded Tilak High School at Karad. Yeshwantrao was rather thin and poor in health in those days; but his self-confidence was supreme. One day a teacher asked the students in Chavan's class who they would most like to be. One said, “Shivaji”; another, “Tilak”; a third, “Gandhiji”; but when Yeshwantrao's turn came, he got up, and to the surprise of all, announced, “I just want to be Yeshwantrao Chavan.”

Schooling in Karad

Of the two brothers Ganpatrao gave better promise. He was good both at the studies and games. He loved physical culture, particularly wrestling. But Yeshwantrao was of a different make. More than the studies or games the national struggle for freedom attracted him.

He took to Congress agitation while still at the school enthusiastically; as he explains: “That school had great influence on me. I must say that the whole social life there was motivated by patriotic ideals and nationalist sentiments. I studied Tilak's biography, wrote articles about him, and took part in essay-competitions and elocution contests which were invariably on subjects of national or patriotic interest.” Bright and intelligent Yeshwantrao won many prizes both in essay and elocution competitions. One of his articles on Lokamanya Tilak was so appreciated that it found a place in the school magazine. Another influence on Yeshwantrao was of Mahatma Jyotiba Fule, whose Satya Shodhak Movement appealed to him greatly, particularly because of its radical approach to social and economic problems. Denying that the movement was a product of the same forces which gave rise to the Justice Party in the South, Chavan says: “It grew among the working and poor people. Mahatma Fule was the founder of that movement. I will give you an instance. When the Congress Session was held in Poona in 1895, he had erected at the venue a huge statue of a peasant and placed it before the Congress pandal as a reminder to the delegates that they must think of the peasant and his life. That showed the character of the movement.”

Differences with Brother

Yeshwantrao's brother, Ganpatrao, who also became—albeit a little later—politically conscious had, however, a different approach; he joined a group of non-Brahmins—“anti-Brahmin to the core and rather reactionary” who stood by the British rule. This naturally created a conflict between the two, but their affections for each other remained unchanged. As years passed, progressive nationalism became a motivating force in Yeshwantrao's life. “It was this factor,” he says, “which took me away from reactionary non-Brahminism.”

Of these early years Yeshwantrao cherishes the fondest recollections of his mother. She taught him the basic values of life. Moreover, as he recalls, “She gave me education at great sacrifice. Otherwise I would have been an ignorant peasant in a village. She used to work hard to see that I and her other sons became educated and she did it against heavy odds almost single-handed.”

Civil Disobedience Movement

The Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 produced a tremendous impact on Yeshwantrao. He was then hardly fifteen years old. "The immediate influence on all of us then," he recollects, "was the Independence Resolution passed by the Congress at Lahore in 1929 under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru and the observance of the 26th January the following year as the first National Day. I wrote a pamphlet about it and circulated it in the town. I and my friends then decided that we must do something. At that time I must have been in the V or VI standard in the school. To start with, we organized *Prabhat Feries* and then helped to call public meetings and to try and get people to attend such meetings." Furthermore, Yeshwantrao took the lead in organizing Hartals in schools. He was a good speaker and made fiery speeches. Soon he became the leader of the youth. To quote his words: "Leadership came quite early to me—of course only in my town. There was one Mr. Narullah, who later became the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, who was then the Inspector of Schools. He was camping in those days just opposite our school. One day at about 8-30 in the morning he saw us doing the *Zenda Vandan*. About 40 to 50 students participated in that salutation. Narullah saw this. Being a Government servant he naturally objected to it and asked the school authorities about it. They denied any knowledge but he told them, 'I saw it with my own eyes. I must come to the school and find out who were those boys.' The School authorities did not want to report against us, but the Inspector was anxious to find out the real people behind it. Ours was a good school and so when the news spread the whole town got panicky. Some old people began to blame us. They thought that the school might have to close down. The Inspector came that very day to our school and went from class-room to class-room asking who were the boys who participated in the flag-salutation. Nearly 80 to 90 per cent of those who had participated were from my class. Hence when he came to our class I told him that I was one of those boys. He asked me who were the others, but I refused to divulge their names. He then asked me to come out of the class and took me with him to find out how far the school authorities were behind it. I assured him that they had

nothing to do with our activities and that we were doing things by ourselves. I thought that Narullah would rusticate me. But, on the contrary, he let me go with the advice that I should not bring the school into trouble by holding such activities within its presincts." Such advice, however, could have had no effect on Yeshwantrao who enjoyed picketing liquor-shops and organizing boycott of foreign goods. The greater the risk the more he enjoyed it.

Leader of Youth

Because of all these traits Yeshwantrao was respected by his compatriots; and being friendly by nature he was adored by the younger group. In consequence, his popularity increased and soon engulfed the whole of Karad. The authorities became alarmed and even before he was sixteen he was put in prison. Yeshwantrao recalls: "I was in prison for a few weeks only. Our batch included the sons of some local pleaders. Their fathers started defending their sons' cases. As a result I also had to remain an under-trial prisoner for some time. But soon thereafter the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed and the cases against all of us were withdrawn." To his mother these developments came as a great shock. She wanted Yeshwantrao to study and obtain some Government job. To quote Yeshwantrao, "Particularly as my elder brother was a Government servant she was anxious that I must follow his example. My brother naturally disfavoured my activities. Mother had some argument with him; but I explained to her that I was not doing anything wrong. I gave her the examples of Shivaji, Tilak and other leaders. She softened and realised that there was something in what I said. She, therefore, told my brother that what I was doing cannot be a bad thing."

In 1932 Yeshwantrao courted his second arrest at the hands of the British. That was due to the sudden starting of the 1932 Movement. He had become by then a confirmed agitator with a sense of triumph. He was one of the most popular men in Karad and round about, and hence people started inviting him to neighbouring villages to address political gatherings. Therefore, as soon as the movement began the authorities arrested him. About it Yeshwantrao writes: "They found a bulletin on my person and they prosecuted me. I pleaded guilty and I was sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment. I was lodged in

a camp jail at Yeravada near Poona. I remember I was in that jail for a few months, and then along with others I was transferred to another jail. That jail became a sort of a community centre, as good as a university. There were people from Bombay, Poona and several other parts of Maharashtra—men like S. M. Joshi, P. S. Patwardhan, and even leaders from Gujarat and Karnatak. It was there that I came in contact with S. M. Joshi for the first time. He was a known leader of the Youth Movement. All of us used to gather together, have discussions and even hold lectures. There used to be some sort of a study circle, and we managed to build up a library of good books and secretly circulated them among the inmates. I remember how people from Bombay supplied us a large number of books. These helped us greatly in understanding the political problems.”

Jail Life

One of the books which exercised tremendous influence on Yeshwantrao was Bertrand Russel's "Road to Freedom". Then there were the little pamphlets on various aspects of Socialism written by the British Fabians which also interested him. He also read eagerly some Labour Party pamphlets written by men like Strafford Cripps. Though lodged in "C" Class Yeshwantrao soon became adjusted to prison-life; he read a lot and tried to understand political problems. As he puts it: "That was really the year of revolution for me."

Another influence on him was that of M. N. Roy. He was impressed by his historical perspective and revolutionary approach. Further, some of the Royists became his personal friends. He was particularly attracted by their dynamic outlook.

Graduation

Soon after his release Yeshwantrao took to his studies rather seriously and appeared for the Matriculation Examination, which he passed in 1934. He then joined the Rajaram College at Kolhapur whence he graduated in Arts in 1938. He then took up Law and obtained his LL.B. degree from the Law College, Poona. Having thus qualified himself he set up legal practice at Karad where he made his mark and became a flourishing lawyer, specializing in criminal cases. However, politics was his first love and the same year that he graduated he became a member of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee. He also travelled much and knew every nook and corner of his district.

There was not a single village which he did not visit. As he observes: "I knew the whole district as I know the palm of my hand."

In 1939 the Second World War broke out. By then Yeshwantrao had become one of the rising leaders of Maharashtra. He, however, broke away from the Royists because of their theory of accidental war and became more attracted to Nehru's analysis of the situation. Already the latter's biography had moved him greatly, but as the war situation deteriorated Nehru's approach to it appealed to him more and more. He read his writings and speeches and was particularly thrilled to hear him at several meetings when Nehru made his famous whirlwind election tour of Maharashtra in 1937. Later he came more strongly under the spell of the leader and re-adjusted his political thinking accordingly. As Chavan writes in the book: "A Study of Nehru", "Here, we told ourselves, was a leader and liberator *par excellence*, the symbol of our aspirations, showing our people young and old the path of emancipation."

"Quit India"

Then came the Quit India Movement of 1942. This is how Chavan explains his part in it: "After Gandhiji's arrest on August 8, 1942, I and some 300 workers from Satara who had gone to Bombay to attend the A.I.C.C. meeting, met together in a place in Bombay and decided that we should not go back the same way we had come. We, therefore, stayed there and saw with our own eyes the angry look of the first days of that political storm. It inspired us to action. Then there was Gandhiji's command of 'Do or Die'. Being mostly young we decided to defy the police and remain underground. We met in one of the rooms in Badrikashram in Girgaum and chalked out a plan of action which included organizing big *morchas* to every Taluka Kacheri the following month on the 9th. But it was to be a somewhat different movement, and all of us decided to participate in it. Thereafter we went back and arranged the *morchas*. The police hit back and resorted to severe firing especially at Vaduj where nine persons died. I remember the incident vividly, because one of the men who died had been with me the previous night. He died very bravely with the national flag in his hands. Then there was another firing—equally brutal. After that we decided this was wasting our man-power. We,

therefore, resolved to resort to other methods; one of such methods was working underground. Being underground, however, did not mean hiding. We used to move about. The police could not trace us because people would not co-operate with them. Sometimes even police knew where we were but they would report that we were not traceable. Later we decided upon some effective sabotage work. For organizing it we divided ourselves in different groups."

Police Repression

Yeshwantrao himself did not do any actual sabotage work, but he was aware of its nature. As he recalls: "I remember one incident. One day I came to know that a derailment of goods-train was to be carried out. I wanted to see how it was done; hence I went with some people to the spot but nothing happened that night." Apart from that incident Yeshwantrao showed no interest in such work. In fact, he was arrested before the Patri Sarkar Movement took hold of his district—Satara. He, however, braved many dangers and took many risks. Finally, while he was on a secret visit at Phaltan to see his sick wife, Venutai, —a shy, gentle and self-effacing lady whom he had married only a couple of months before—he was discovered by the police and arrested. But before his own arrest his brother Ganpatrao and his newly wedded wife were put in prison to bring pressure on him. A prize of Rs. 1,000 was also announced for his capture, "dead or alive", by the police. His eldest brother Dnyanoba who was a government servant died of the shock. Similarly, to use Yeshwantrao's own words: "My wife received a very severe shock. She did not know any politics. Her father was in Gaikwar's service. Hence, as soon as she was put in prison she became seriously ill. She had, therefore, to be released. I learnt of her condition and when I was near about the place where she was, I decided to see her. I felt a little guilty about the whole thing. One early morning, therefore, I went to see her. But instead of leaving immediately I stayed a little longer with her because doctors had come and she looked bad. But despite all the care that I had taken my presence was betrayed by someone to the police who came and arrested me. That was the end of my underground life. It happened in 1943. Then I was prosecuted and convicted. For two years I remained in jail as a convict. Then by mistake

I was released in 1944; but after a week I was re-arrested."

Congress M.L.A.

On his release in 1945, Yeshwantrao was selected as a Congress candidate from Karad for the then Bombay Legislative Assembly and he won that seat by a big margin. On the formation of the Kher Ministry in 1946, he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the then Minister for Home and Revenue, Mr. Morarji Desai. The two had never met before, but the new relationship soon deepened into friendship. However, it was more on the party political field than on the parliamentary that Chavan concentrated. In 1948, he became the General Secretary of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and in the same year he started a Marathi Daily, "Prakash", from Satara. Earlier also he had run and edited a Marathi Weekly, "Lok Kranti" and had even composed poems for the Chhatrapati Mela in order to arouse political consciousness among the people. After independence he devoted himself more and more to the upliftment of the people in Maharashtra and by his work among them endeared himself both to the peasants and the workers. Being genial, calm and good tempered he soon became popular among all sections and by the time Mr. Morarji Desai formed his Government in 1952 Chavan was inevitably marked out for ministerial appointment. He was given the portfolio of Food in which capacity he came into close contact with the late Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai whom he liked and admired. Mr. Kidwai, too, had much regard for Chavan, specially for his straight dealing and honesty of purpose. He publicly praised him for the tact and ability with which he introduced progressive decontrol in the then Bombay State. Later, Chavan was also given the Departments of Local Self-Government and Forests; in addition, he looked after the Community Development Projects. By the time of the next General Elections in 1957, the linguistic agitation had inflamed the whole of Maharashtra and the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra had become incessant. Chavan was in the forefront of the agitation. Meanwhile, moves and counter-moves were being made by the Congress High Command to solve the problem. In the end, Parliament formed the bilingual State of Bombay comprising of the Marathi-speaking and Gujarati-speaking areas. This was in November 1956; and

when Mr. Morarji Desai left the State for the Centre, Chavan was elected as the new leader of the Bombay Legislature Congress Party. Being young and untried people wondered whether the choice was a proper one. Even the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, to start with was rather sceptical; it did not take Chavan much time to dispel his scepticism. On three public occasions, therefore, the Prime Minister paid tributes to Chavans' Chief Ministership.

New Role as Leader

For more than two years the new leader struggled with his job. He tackled it as best as he could. But feelings between Maharashtrians and Gujaratis had become strained and everywhere there was an undercurrent of resentment over the creation of the new State. Then there was the Opposition in the Legislature, more numerous and powerful than ever before, determined to break up the bilingual Bombay State and ready for that purpose to exploit every opportunity. The responsibility was an unenviable one and according to Chavan himself, "it took its toll of any vitality." He suffered both mentally and physically, but somehow with consummate tact he carried on the task. He disarmed the Opposition by being good and nice to them. He refused to be provoked and showed such mastery of human psychology that even his bitterest critics were silenced. However, as the months passed and the Congress lost one by-election after another Chavan's confidence in the new set-up became shaky. He lost faith in his viability. He was convinced that either the State must be broken up or the Congress would lose its hold in Maharashtra. In reply to a question as to when he came to the conclusion that the bilingual State should be broken up, Chavan said, "Personally in my own mind it became clear to me sometime at the end of 1958; successive defeats of the Congress in various by-elections and the reports received from various authentic and impartial sources led me to that conclusion."

True, Chavan did not discuss the matter with his colleagues—"Had I done so the administrative machinery would have collapsed;" but, nor did he volunteer to advise the leaders at the Centre to break up the bilingual State. However, as he put it, "When they asked me for my opinion, I was duty bound to tell them the truth. That my opinion weighed heavily with them I cannot

deny." His opinion apart, few could deny that Chavan ran the bilingual State as it should have been run—smoothly, without rancour and in a spirit of give and take. He, however, had no conviction about it. Always a believer in unilinguism he undertook the responsibility of running the bilingual State, because he was charged to do so by the national leadership. But his approach to the formation of a unilingual State of Maharashtra had never been parochial. To quote his words: "Our purpose in making the demand was to bring the administration closer to the people. That is one advantage. There are other advantages too. There is a large scope in such a State for the development of indigenous literature, cultural advancement of the people and rapid social progress. These are its positive sides." Of course there are some negative sides particularly the sectarian and communal spirit which it might generate in some people; no one is more conscious of them than Chavan. As he remarked: "Linguistic States have now come into existence. With proper leadership they can become the cementing bond. Being satisfied with their lot there is no reason why they should not look forward and help in the building up of a united India which must be no less dear to their hearts. . . . I have faith in the robust commonsense of our people. They know what is good for them. Now and then, they may falter, but eventually they always do the right thing. As to the most practical solution of this problem I say, let people be made conscious of their economic problems. That provides the strongest bond of unity."

Formation of Maharashtra

On the eve of the formation of the new State of Maharashtra, the late Pandit Pant, who was then the Union Home Minister, told Parliament: "Mr. Chavan by his suave and understanding attitude towards all problems and classes has not only maintained but further raised the standard of efficiency of the State of Bombay. The reputation that it had has been enhanced in every respect."

Soon thereafter Chavan faced a crucial test—the by-election to Parliament from the Baramati Constituency in the Poona District. Many eyes were turned in that direction. The sceptics asked: Did the Chief Minister have his hands on the pulse of the masses or did he fool the Congress High Command in his zeal for creating the

Marathi State? Chavan accepted the challenge. He toured the constituency from village to village and explained to the people what the Congress had done. The Opposition pooh-poohed his claim and accused him of having paid a very heavy price for splitting the State—the grant of the Dangs and Rs. 50 crores to Gujarat! The Samyukta-Maharashtra Samiti was confident of winning the seat, but the Congress candidate topped the poll by a margin of thirty-thousand votes. Moreover, in every village he secured a majority. Personally it was a great triumph for Chavan. Into the anaemic M.P.C.C. it infused a new life. Suddenly Chavan became a hero. In his praise *pawadas* (ballads) began to be sung. He was hailed as another Shivaji.

Firm and Assertive

As the years rolled on Chavan's leadership became more and more acceptable to the people; he also began to be firmer and more assertive in its execution. He was no longer the hesitant young man that he was when he took over the administration from Mr. Morarji Desai; the earlier indecisiveness gave place to stricter display of self-confidence. True, by his charm and sweet-reasonableness he has won over most critics, but he also showed that he could be ruthless when he wanted to be. All in all, Chavan has an alert mind with a quick grasp of the essential. Business-like, non-pompous, hard-working—he works on an average 16 hours a day—he listens to all but does what he thinks best. He does not encourage loose talk and never allows others to formulate his opinion for him either about men or affairs.

Social Life

In appearance Chavan is rustic but impressive. Rather fat—a tendency of which more than him his wife Venutai is worried—he is of medium height, with dark bushy eyebrows, thick features, round nose and penetrating eyes. In social life Chavan is cosmopolitan; has few inhibitions, still fewer prejudices and despite the fact that he has never been abroad is surprisingly broadminded. He enjoys good food—particularly rice despite his fattening tendency—and relishes the non-vegetarian variety. He is in the habit of sleeping late. A delightful conversationalist he is also a good listener, though like Nehru, his mind often wanders in the midst of a conversation. He may be ambitious but rarely gives the impression of being one. He meets people with an endearing

glance, talks to them affectionately, occasionally putting on even a deliberate smile. He makes both friends and strangers at ease and has a knack of winning friends and influencing people. He likes to meet intellectuals and is fond of reading the latest books. He has a vast circle of friends but there are only a few with whom he really relaxes. Chavan may have a temper, but there are few occasions when he has lost it and there are still fewer men who have been victims of it. By and large, he is considerate to people with whom he deals and has an amazing capacity to tolerate all sorts of people. In the Legislature despite the worst provocation he never gives up his equilibrium; he remains calm and unperturbed. He meets bitter arguments by sweet arguments. He tries to win over opponents instead of putting them in their places. In this he makes no distinction between one set of people and another. He is, for instance, as friendly with his old colleague in the freedom movement, Mr. S. M. Joshi, as he is with his new comrade in the Legislative field, Mr. Datta Deshmukh. The fact that the former is a Socialist and the latter is a Communist makes little difference to Chavan's attitude. They are a part of the political set-up and he treats them accordingly with that deep humanism with which he so richly endowed.

Attitude to Officials

Towards his officials his attitude is equally generous. He dislikes to give them the impression that he is their boss. He is happy if they look upon him as a friend. He interests himself in their personal problems by enquiring after their families and children. Likewise in tackling the grievances of the people Chavan has a sympathetic and humane approach. He listens to all kinds of talk and tries to oblige people as best as he can. However, where principles are concerned he would not give in. The manner in which he fought the Planning Commission on the question of exemption to the Sugar Factories in the Land Ceiling Bill is a classical example of his steadfastness.

Chavan is also incorruptible and cannot be influenced in administrative matters. I remember approaching the Chief Minister at the time of my by-election in the Nagpada Constituency. It was a crucial test and had become a prestige fight between the Congress and the Samiti. Some of the Congress workers were anxious that one of

the men who had been served with an externment order should be allowed to remain in that area because of the influence he commanded there. I, therefore, approached Chavan and impressed upon him the necessity to cancel the externment order. He listened to me sympathetically and directed me to see Mr. A. R. Dias, the then Home Secretary. After a fortnight I rang up the Chief Minister and reminded him about the case. He asked me to come over and see him at the Sachivalaya. I did so. He looked at me and said, "I am sorry, Rafiq, but I cannot help you. I realise that the man would be of great help to us in the by-election; but I have spent more than an hour on his file and my conscience does not permit me to cancel the order." There was little that I could say thereafter. It was a firm no but said so politely and conscientiously that I was speechless.

Humble as Ever

Again, power has not gone to Chavan's head. He remains as humble as ever. I remember speaking to him on the same day that Jayaprakash Narayan had described him as the ablest Chief Minister; his reaction was typical of the man. He told me, "Of course, I am pleased but such high praise frightens me." The desire to do better and to prove worthier of the responsibility is basic to the thinking of Chavan. He is happiest when he has fulfilled the people's expectations; that gives him the best tonic.

In politics he is more to the left than to the right. He has often emphasized that the three fundamentals which govern his outlook are: (1) Unity of India; (2) Democratic way of life; and (3) Socialistic reconstruction. True, like Nehru his basic approach is Marxist, but again like Nehru he does not believe that Marx was infallible. That was why Royism exerted such a deep influence on him; but—as he has himself explained—"more in a philosophical sense than political." He liked the manner in which Roy gave a concrete solution to India's patriotic urge, particularly his formulation of the idea of a Constituent Assembly.

Chavan does not like to be described as a Nehruite because he is not in favour of such nomenclatures, but his acceptance of what the Prime Minister stands for is unequivocal. He is in full agreement with Nehru's "basic and fundamental approach to our problems both national and international". Moreover, as he puts it,

"Nehru is after all my leader and I accept his leadership without any reservation."

Compromise but not in Fundamentals

Except on fundamentals Chavan is all for compromise and accommodation in public life. In fact, according to some observers, compromise is the essence of his leadership. To those who would like him to be more radical Chavan's answer is clear: "All that I can say is that my approach has become more realistic because socialism is not just an idea to be talked about; with the achievement of power it has become something to be actually fulfilled, something to be made accessible to the people. It is something to be lived and achieved by young people who really speaking do not understand what socialism means. In short, it has to be made a way of life. From that point of view it has certainly made me somewhat realistic. The romantic ideas of socialism of my youth have become more earthly ideas. . . . There is also another aspect of it. Social growth even for the fulfilment of socialist ideology has to take its shape according to the conditions prevailing in a particular country. That is why we use the term 'Socialistic Pattern of Society' to make it suit Indian conditions." On the execution of a socialistic programme he is equally clear: "Unfortunately, many people still link up the idea of introducing a socialistic programme with dictatorial methods and that is why adverse comparisons are made. They forget the basic differences in our methods. I say this because here in our land everything has to be achieved with the willing co-operation of the people."

Mahabaleshwar Shibir

The Shibir of the Congress leaders and workers of the State of Maharashtra that he had organized at Mahabaleshwar last year was a classical example of the type of leadership that Chavan gives—vital, rejuvenating and inspiring. Surrounded by thousands of representatives, who had come from far and near, he sat with them from early morning till late at night listening to the humblest of them and made him feel important. He also made his Ministerial colleagues and the leaders in the organization to squat in the same way and to give the same respectful attention to all the criticism that was levelled against them and the administration and the organisation at that Shibir. It was an inspiring sight and it

could not fail to move even the worst of the sceptics. Furthermore, the programme which Chavan formulated electrified the people of Maharashtra; it was "an earnest of our determination to shape the future of Maharashtra".

The missionary zeal that he displayed there was an indication of the seriousness with which he has taken up his new responsibility. One night while working on the draft programme he did not sleep the whole night and went to rest at about

6 in the morning; but by 8 a.m. he was again up and ready to join the congregation and to listen to the speeches that were being made there. A man with a mission; a man with a vision; a man with a determination: that in brief is Yeshwantrao Chavan. Maharashtra is fortunate in having him at its helm of affairs as is India in having Nehru. There are many things in common between the two but their mass appeal, sincerity of purposes, and honesty of outlook are unmistakable.



"Co-operation is about the only way to make an investor of an agriculturist. It breaks down the barrier between rural and urban values and acts as a leveller. Further, the co-operative organisation ensures the distribution of increased income over the widest possible area, thus truly serving the purpose of the socialist pattern of society."

—Shri Y. B. Chavan