

Soviet Aid to Pakistan

M. R. Pai

COMMUNIST RUSSIA'S decision to give military aid to Pakistan has caused agony and anguish in many quarters in India. To promoters of Soviet line in India, this has been a moment of humiliation and embarrassment. Their demi-god has failed. But most distressed of all should be Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Never before have the Soviets treated her with greater contempt than she has deserved in their eyes. Their decision to supply arms to Pakistan has been to her, what Chinese aggression in 1962 was to her father Nehru, the end of a self-created "dreamworld".

The Soviet decision is not a matter of any great surprise. Despite all protestations to the contrary, Soviet Union has never been a friend of India. Nor can that country ever be so long as it is dominated by the monolith communist party. India's democratic system, the attitude of tolerance ingrained in Indians, their deep attachment to farm, family and religion, are the very anti-thesis of what communist Russia stands for. Moreover, India has the potential to become a world power and a powerful rival to Soviet Russia in world affairs. As the Malayalam proverb says: There is no cure for two things in this world—baldness and jealousy.

The attitude of hostility has been ill-concealed although our blind rulers and admirers of Soviet Union could not even sense its presence. During the time of Chinese aggression, a distinction between "friend" India and "brother" China was made by Soviet rulers. On Kashmir—the much vaunted trade-mark of Indo-Soviet friendship—Russian stand has shifted perceptibly over the years. Prior to that, the use of veto in Security Council on this question has only been a lever to manipulate "non-aligned" India in its own world power struggle against the western powers.

Thanks to our first Prime Minister's emotional attachment to Soviet Union, India gradually came into the Soviet grip since it became Independent. Prime Minister Shastri tried to steer the country away to a truly nationalist position, but had little room to manoeuvre because of the legacy he had inherited from Nehru. At any event, Shastri's death was a convenient break for the Kremlin rulers. The daughter of Nehru, though initially unable to stop the nationalist direction

given to India's foreign policy by Shastri, slowly took the country back to its present deplorable position of Soviet satellitism. Otherwise, it is inconceivable that Mrs. Gandhi as leader of a democratic country should specially fly to Moscow to attend the 50th anniversary celebrations of Communist Revolution. It is also inconceivable that when the Arab-Israeli war broke out in June 1967, her Government rushed blindly to champion the Arab cause, and lowered India's prestige in the eyes of the non-Communist world by behaving as a "chaprassi" of the United Arab Republic. It is inconceivable that she should, according to reports, virtually go on her knees to get Mr. Kosygin to attend the Republic Day celebrations in New Delhi last January. The craze of pleasing the Soviets has been displayed by the Indira Gandhi Government to such an extent that a discredited politician was appointed Chairman of the Russian-aided Heavy Engineering Corporation in Ranchi reportedly under Soviet pressure. Without consulting Parliament or taking the country into confidence, the Novosti deal—a one-sided affair which gives a propaganda foothold to the Russians in the Indian Press with Government of India's Press Information Bureau acting as a lackey—was quietly signed by the Government. Now, while countries like Czechoslovakia are trying to shake off the yoke of Soviet economic colonialism, the Deputy Chairman of the Indian Planning Commission is being sent to Moscow for "dovetailing" India's Plans into Soviet Plans. If that takes place, India will become an economic colony of Soviet Russia.

To say that India's foreign policy was successful till now but has failed only recently will not be correct. With this policy, in the last 21 years we have succeeded in progressively antagonising every friendly country. The major purpose of keeping the cold war away from the Indian sub-continent, if not South-East Asia, has not been achieved. In fact, this sub-continent will now become the cockpit of world power politics. The reason for this gross failure is that while every nation operates on the maxim of "no permanent friends", "no permanent enemies", but only "permanent interests", our foreign policy has been based on permanent illusions. Without a strong economy and a strong military force, mouthing of moral principles has no validity in international politics. But such moralising and sermonising to the rest of the world (except to the communists) has been the hallmark of India's foreign policy. In the bargain, India's permanent interests have been sacrificed by such acts as giving away Tibet to China on a platter, and making Kashmir a football of power politics in the United

Nations. While the Viet Nam war has been holding our enemy China at bay and bleeding her resources, our policymakers have been busy buying respite and relief to enemies of our national interests, just as in an earlier period Nehru and Krishna Menon went round the world making Communist China "respectable".

Even today, the government is afraid of antagonising Soviet Russia although that country has indulged in an act of unfriendliness towards our interests. This fails to take into account the psychology of Communist rulers. They are cowards, because as the proverb goes, a bully is always a coward. They always side with the stronger side, and respect only the argument of force, not the force of argument, which is the democratic attitude. During World War II, while Hitler was waxing strong militarily, Russia struck a deal with that mortal enemy of Communism. When Allied Powers grew stronger wings, a betrayal of their erstwhile ally Hitler was the logical sequence of Soviet foreign policy. In recent history, the plight of Egypt and other Arab countries is clear evidence. They were encouraged to go to the brink of war, but when disaster struck them, victorious Israel could cock a snook at mighty Russia and get away with it.

If India tells Russia what she thinks of the arms deal and charts an independent course of foreign policy giving up present satellitism, Russian rulers might howl, but will develop some healthy respect for this country.

It is high time that public opinion forced on our blind rulers a sense of realism. Friendship with all the world should indeed be our objective, but that can only be achieved by taking the right steps.

Till we develop sufficient economic and military strength, complete withdrawal from other people's affairs is called for. India's trump card militarily is

her ability to produce the atom bomb both in terms of economic and technological feasibility. She need not go in for the technologically more advanced and economically back-breaking hydrogen bomb. But India can develop a missile delivery system which will place every city from Moscow to Peking within her range. When this is done, in sheer national self-defence, the attitude of all powers towards India would change overnight.

In the economic sphere, the moribund socialistic ideology is to be replaced by a dynamic policy which will release the creative impulses of the people of India. End of PL 480 will end India's dependence on U.S.A. End of Soviet military aid (mostly obsolescent weapons which they discard anyway, in the arms race which is subject to rapid technological change) will end Soviet stranglehold on the country. With the right economic policy (such as priority to agriculture, abolition of food zones etc.) India can look after her food needs herself. So far as arms are concerned, there is still enough international competition among nations to sell arms to good customers like India. With proper steering of economic policy, enough foreign exchange can be found to purchase them.

India is a big country and her manifest destiny is greatness. Right down the centuries—from Kautilya to Swami Vivekananda — the message has been one of strength. If her present leaders refuse to remove their blinkers and put self-interest above national interests, and think of the country as an infirm puppy which can survive only by yapping meekly at the toes of great powers, then now is the time for a change of such leadership. India is like a lion, and only those who can see and treat her as such deserve to handle national affairs, and not intellectual and moral paupers.



Defections And Their Control

A. G. Mulgaokar

FOR some time past now the problem of defections by elected members of political parties in legislature has become a major headache; not merely to the political bosses, whose domain would thereby be in danger, but to many in this country and outside, who, on the advent of freedom felt a natural glow of pride that the price, in a historical sense, had been so little. With the birth of the Indian Constitution, few short years later, it was commonly felt the ship of Indian State was embarked on a smooth voyage in fair weather.

Alas, the many who nourished these fond hopes were soon to be disillusioned. That the disillusionment came at the hands of those who were charged with the duty of protecting and nurturing the Constitution was sadly ironical. Because let us not forget that it is the primary duty of every member of a legislature, every Speaker and every Minister to uphold the Constitution and never to do anything which will implant in the mind of the common citizen doubts about its sanctity. Applying this simple test, we cannot escape the irresistible conclusion that some of the biggest onslaughts on the Constitution and even to Democracy have come from these quarters. Onslaughts on the Constitution are not to be confused with efforts to eradicate defects or to improve its efficacy. One such onslaught indeed is when the ordinary citizen going about his daily avocation sees members of legislatures changing and rechanging their party allegiances, his common sense tells him clearly that personal gain is the motive in every case.

It is small wonder if he then begins to feel doubtful of the success of democracy in this country and his thoughts turn to less pleasant alternatives. If this situation multiplies on a large scale, it can be imagined without much effort where the country will go. Therefore the need to stop this rot and reverse the process is urgent.

Historically speaking, in a sense the incidence of defections is a common feature of the democratic evolution, i.e. before the emergence of political parties on a firm basis with their rigid disciplines. In the case of Britain's political progress we come across several such occasions. To take an instance, in the twenty-five years following Peel's fall there were several different ministries in rapid succession because no one leader could retain the loyalties of a sufficient number of Members of Parliament to ensure stability for his Government. But it needs to be pointed out in the same context that, while a robust tree firmly rooted in its soil can stand many shocks and weather many storms, a little sapling freshly planted in a new soil may die a

quick death under similar set of circumstances. That is the danger in India. In its urgency also the problem has its different aspects. It is not unknown for remedies to kill the patient even before the disease and it is possible to devise measures which may, of course, make defection difficult if not impossible but at the same time impose such penalties on conscientious differences of opinion that they may retard the growth of free opinion. If a wall therefore has to be built around legislative defection it must be so contrived that it is built around corrupt defections only; corrupt defections being those in which defections take place only to gain some personal end.

Before dealing, however, with the trends as they have disclosed themselves in the press reports in the matter of dealing with this problem, it is important to bear in mind two facts about the growth of parliamentary government in some other countries. The two-party system, mainly, has prospered in the Anglo-Saxon countries like Britain, U.S.A. and British Colonies, whereas in countries as advanced politically and culturally like France, Italy, Germany and some if not all Scandinavian countries a multi-party system prevails resulting in constant shifts in political alignments causing sometimes turn-outs of Governments a week or a month old. The alignments are not always on ideological grounds and groups may be formed on religious or linguistic basis. It all depends upon how you read history to decide which of the two systems is more successful but, to the foreigner visiting these countries, the people certainly look happy and prosperous. One definite result of this latter type, though, must be mentioned. As the Governments are unstable, they are almost always weak (although individual politicians may be strong men) and the Civil Service (i.e. the Secretariat) becomes relatively strong. Hence, administratively speaking the result is much the same excepting that in times of emergency one of these countries may find itself without a Government as France once did. We in this country, have a parallel to this state of things in that we find some States starting their financial year without passing the annual Budget.

The second fact, referred to above, is about the offices of profit. It must be remembered that there is a severe strictness about these offices of profit, i.e. ministries in these parliamentary democracies mentioned above. Indeed, in the U.S.A. no Secretary (as Ministers are called there) can be a member of either of the two legislatures. In Britain also there is a strong bias against these offices of profit, unlike India where new officers are created without limit as

new powerful contenders seeking ministerial accommodation arise. There is a definite legal limit in Britain on the number of offices and the salaries attached to those offices. Apart from this, every time a new office is created or an existing one upgraded parliamentary sanction has to be obtained. With the knowledge of the Stuart excesses behind them, a wholesale exclusion of office-holders from Parliament was proposed by the Act of Settlement of 1705. This was somewhat amended in 1707 by an Act which provides that no one can be elected who has accepted a new office created since 1705, that the holders of certain offices cannot be elected; but that while acceptance of other (i.e. old) offices vacates a seat, the holder can be re-elected. It may not be known widely in this country that under the terms of this legal enactment, till the early twenties of this century, many members of the Ministry had to submit themselves to re-election soon after a general election. It was not often but it happened sometimes that a member of the Ministry holding an office requiring to be re-elected on appointment failed to secure his return and had to vacate his office though usually temporarily till a safer seat could be found

RUSSIA-AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Russia appears to be poised to destroy by threats and use of force the liberal trends that have emerged in Czechoslovakia. This will be an act of worst tyranny, a much more reprehensible repetition of what she did in Hungary in 1956.

Democrats all over the world have strongly protested against the attitude adopted by Russia and her allies East Germany, Poland and Hungary. Some communist countries and parties have also raised their voice of protest.

It appears that some intrepid spirits in Russia have also registered their protest. According to a news item, a leading Soviet physicist, Prof. Andrei Sakharov has expressed the view that the Soviet Union should "support the bold initiative" of the Czechoslovak reformers rather than seek to suppress them. Sakharov, co-developer of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, said in an unpublished 10,000-word manuscript circulating privately in Moscow that the Czechoslovaks have understood the need for intellectual freedom, lack of which has caused "fresh and profound ideas" to dry up in the Soviet Union. Sakharov wrote, "such freedom of thought is the only guarantee against an infection of mankind by mass myths, which in the hands of treacherous hypocrites and demagogues can be transformed into bloody dictatorship."

It is to be hoped that even at this stage Russia will desist from the use of force against a sovereign independent country.

for him. In 1919, after the World War I this position was altered by the Re-election of Ministers Act, only to the extent that no re-election was necessary if the acceptance of office was within nine months after the General Election. By an amending Act in 1926 the necessity for re-election was altogether terminated. Text-books on Constitutional Law point out that the requirement of re-election was disliked because of the restrictions on formation of a ministry or its reconstruction and because on several occasions useful members lost their seats and had to remain out of Parliament. On the other hand the rule served a useful purpose in enabling the electors to express their opinions on new policies or personnel in the Ministry. We thus see that every vigilance is exerted for the purpose of securing and maintaining purity of office-holding. That in India the position in this respect has deteriorated largely because of continuous one-party rule with the result that ministries have been hawked about until they have lost their one-time importance. And yet the office exerts a powerful lure to a class of Indians not only because of its salary but because of the many advantages it secures. They have seen how many a leading Congressman has not only done well for himself out of his ministership but that in some cases sons and nephews have benefitted immeasurably. Small wonder that, with such examples before them, a certain type of politician regards a ministership as the be-all and end-all of his political career and is prepared to go to any length to secure one.

The problem of defection therefore, once we clearly recognise its causes, becomes a simple one. The lawyer-members of the Committee on Defection have also, one is glad to see, pin-pointed the moral aspect in these words. "While the search for legal and constitutional curbs on political defections has undoubtedly its value, the more lasting solution to the problem can only come from adherence by political parties to a basic political morality and the observance by them of certain proprieties and decencies of public life. We, therefore, wish at the very outset to lay emphasis on the need for political parties to draw up a code of ethics and, by observing it in letter and spirit, render recourse to legal provisions unnecessary". The lawyer-members recommend, briefly stated, that the President or the Governor, as the case may be, should not be bound by the advice of the Prime Minister or Chief Minister calling for a dissolution of the legislature and that a member of a legislature who, having been elected on a party ticket, throws off his allegiance to his party should be declared to have forfeited his membership. They point out that the right to stand for election to legislature is a statutory right and therefore, unlike fundamental rights can be legislated upon by Parliament.

(Continued on page 11)

Communist Youth Festival

"Atreya"

EVEN for the Soviets, the world of 1968 is no longer the same gullible one of 1947 when on a massive international scale, under Stalin's personal orders, a series of front organizations were set up internationally to supplement the work of the various Communist Parties. The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), Women's Front, Lawyers' Front, Peace Front etc., were the numerous fronts set up to mobilise the "soft" and the "gullible" to the cause of World Communist expansion. There were many who joined in these front activities and gave them the respectability that the Communists so badly wanted to camouflage their real aims.

But the year 1968 finds all the countries of the world having gone through two decades of turbulent experience, experience that has seared and scarred the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc of countries. The world no longer presented a spectacle of constant and often generated unrest in the "decadent non-Socialist" parts. Some of the most violent convulsions were taking place in the Soviet bloc of countries. The "monolithic" unity of the Socialist bloc lay shattered with much more vicious slanging matches and polemics between two sections of the same "monolithic" bloc. It is also interesting to recall that many of the "progressive" regimes that the Communist bloc propped up and supported, that seemed firmly established, were toppled in ignominy.

This has been the contemporary context under which a frantic attempt is now being made by the Soviet Union to hold a "massive" youth jamboree. This jamboree was originally scheduled to be held in Algiers in 1965, after the Helsinki Festival held in 1962 under very turbulent conditions. Unfortunately, however, for the sponsors, Ben Bella was deposed and it was difficult to find a convenient non-Communist place to camouflage the totally communist character of this international front organization. After various attempts for well over three years, it has now been decided to hold the festival at Sofia, in Bulgaria. All pretences about the Youth Festival have been given up in the fear that holding the festival in a non-Communist city can be embarrassing after the experience in Helsinki in 1962 where the non-Communist youth refused to be intimidated or wooed into conformity with the Soviet line on all questions. At one stage there was violence and physical assault by the Communist youth upon squad on the non-Communists who insisted on being independent and non-conformist.

Since 1962, much water has flown in the Volga. Today the problem for the sponsors of this Youth Festival is to find a "safe city" even within the Com-

munist bloc of countries. Such cities as Prague, Budapest, Bucharest and Warsaw also do not any longer guarantee a "safe" international Youth Festival that will rubber-stamp what the Soviet bosses have lined up for the youth of the world. So after a considerable amount of uncertainty about the venue, Sofia has been decided upon.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, which are both sponsoring this Communist Youth Festival in Sofia, have sent out invitations to all the youth organizations in India. Apparently on the basis of experience in the past and information obtained, the expectations amongst the youth organizations in India were that the trip would be "on the house" of the Soviet Union and the "delegates" could have a good time all for free, so long as they raised their hands to the appropriate resolutions concerning promotion of Soviet interests.

There was a frantic tussle in India between the Indian Communist-controlled All India Students Federation, and All India Youth Federation on the one hand, and the All India Youth Congress that has been equally a pocket organization of some of the Congress Party leaders, and the Bharat Yuvak Samaj which was the pocket organization Mr. Nanda created some years ago and to which enormous funds of the Government had been pumped under one pretext or another. All the three organizations started quarrelling amongst themselves for the dominant position of deciding who shall predominantly represent Indian youth at Sofia. Both the Youth Congress and Bharat Yuvak Samaj are considerably infiltrated by Communists, but here is an instance of the fellow-travellers demanding better privileges than the party members invoking the ear they had of the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister played the role of a tolerant mother smiling at the understandably quarrelling children over a prize and sent her trouble-shooter, Mr. Dinesh Singh to "patch up the quarrel." Unfortunately this could not be done. The Communists had set up one of their "preparatory Committees" in which to give a semblance of non-partisanship, they had nominated two willing Congress Members of Parliament. The Prime Minister ignoring the more pliant youth organizations like her own Youth Congress and the Bharat Yuvak Samaj, preferred to attend a meeting of the Communist-controlled "Preparatory Committee" where the youth present indulged in quite a lot of aggressive indiscipline right in her presence. The performance of the Prime Minister in this regard was more like that of a debutante on her coming-out

party than a Prime Minister. As the leader of the Youth Congress a few years ago, she was instrumental in the decision that the Youth Congress shall have no truck with the Communist-type of youth "tamashas" that have been going on for many years. Yet for the proposed Communist youth jamboree at Sofia, she was willing to provide the respectability of her office to the Communist-controlled Youth Preparatory Committee, notwithstanding their contemptuous behaviour towards her, and abandon her own youth organization.

It was becoming more or less clear that the Communists, who demanded sole representative status on behalf of Indian youth through their All India Students & Youth Federation, were going to get isolated and notwithstanding the Prime Minister's respectability-transfusion to their organization, they did get isolated. The Youth Congress and Bharat Yuvak Samaj, making a virtue out of necessity, decided to boycott the Youth Festival at Sofia. The Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister subsequently endorsed this decision of the Youth Congress and again owned up the organization more enthusiastically. The Deputy Prime Minister, was not in favour of permitting any delegation to Sofia. The Prime Minister, however, seemed reconciled to permit a small Communist youth delegation to Sofia. As a result of all this, Mr. Morarji Desai who is reported to have agreed to permit a delegation of 100 youth to proceed to Sofia, cut down the figure to only 16 to 20.

In spite of the fact that the current "festival" will be held in Sofia, in the context of the extremely turbulent situation concerning the developments in Czechoslovakia, the line-up within the European Communist Bloc Countries consisting of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania on the one hand supported by the Communist Parties of Italy and France, and the Soviet loyal supporters consisting of East Germany, Poland and Bulgaria, it is doubtful if the festival can be a "controlled" festival. It is still full of disturbing possibilities, possibilities not created by "imperialists and CIA Agents", but the youth as represented by those who have tasted new freedom in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia etc.

In India itself, the Communist youth and students front is facing a split in its none-too-strong position. The Marxist Communists have decided to set up their own youth and students front against the revisionist front sponsored by the CPI (Right).

The international youth festival thus seems to be plagued by a series of disasters. The scheduled 9th Festival in 1965 in Algiers had to be cancelled on account of Ben Bella being deposed and arrested. It was postponed to 1966 to be held in Accra in Ghana. By that time Kwame Nkrumah became a reality and

was deposed and the programme had to be abandoned. 1967 was a turbulent year, with Viet Nam, Arab-Israeli War and a general turbulence in Eastern Europe with Rumania breaking out of Soviet control. Since the past few months the Czechoslovak developments of liberalisation are leading to a situation where the Soviet Union might indulge in a ruthless suppression of Czechoslovakian liberalism by an outright invasion as it did in Hungary in 1956. All these are not conducive to a festival that can be the usual "rubber stamping" jamboree that the Soviets have usually managed in the early years of the founding of such international fronts.

It is a pity that after two decades of real politics the Indian political leaders, especially in the ruling party, have not learnt any lessons concerning the dynamics of international Communist strategy. Attendance figures for the youth festivals over the years have been giving a real story of their effectiveness. About 34,000 youth attended the 1957 Moscow Youth Festival. The Vienna Festival attracted only 18,000 and the Helsinki Festival of 1962, just 10,800. The Ninth World Festival of the Communists at Sofia is likely to find a much thinner attendance than ever before in that independent youth seems to be as much in revolt against the Soviet type "establishment" as others. It does not look as if the Soviet Union has learnt a lesson from these interesting new developments.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA A SHORT HISTORY

BY

M. R. MASANI

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Indian Muslims

Adam Adil

ARE Indian Muslims backwardlooking? Since the time Prof. A. B. Shah wrote a foreward to S. E. Hassnain's book *Indian Muslims** or rather since the *Times of India* carried that foreward as an article, in one of its issues, Muslim intellectuals, at least in this city, have been seriously debating the question. While some agree with Prof. Shah especially in relation to general Muslim hostility towards any change in Muslim personal law, others have taken an orthodox view that Shariat law is immutable not only because it is God-ordained but also because it is in keeping with the social needs of man. They refuse to believe that the Shariat law can ever be out of tune with the spirit of times.

Prof. Shah makes a number of significant points. Firstly, he says, with regard to educated Indian Muslims that they suffer from a feeling of despair and loneliness and alienation from their own community. Secondly, he points out, "thanks to a variety of factors they are not yet able to identify themselves with the mainstream of India's national life". Thirdly, — and this is more important — he suggests that Muslim society and Muslim thinking have become stagnant. Therefore, he calls upon Muslims, particularly the educated Muslims to "subject to scientific scrutiny, the beliefs, attitudes and institutions that have been responsible for the debacle of Islam during the preceding hundred and fifty years". He wants, among Muslims, a renaissance movement, comparable to that which was generated among Hindus in the nineteenth century. He says: "The pioneers of this renaissance can only come from the small class of educated Muslims."

Considered dispassionately, it is true that Indian Muslims have not been necessarily forwardlooking as some of their enlightened Hindu compatriots are; but it cannot be said that Muslims are backwardlooking. The hold of orthodoxy among Muslims is great, but generally the educated Muslims, influenced as they are, by modern scientific ideas, want a rational readjustment between the religion and the spirit of modern times.

Politically speaking, Muslims are accused of communalism, whenever they air their grievances. Muslims argue that what they want is not "special consideration" but treatment of equality with others. The implication of their contention may or may not be correct. Actually, Muslims in this country are given equal rights and they are not treated as "second class" citizens. This does not mean, however, that Muslims receive hundred per cent justice. But whatever in-

justices they suffer from are not peculiar to them. A sizeable section of Hindus also suffer from those injustices in respect of employment, trade, commerce, and political and cultural opportunities. Therefore, there is no deliberate discrimination against them.

But it is true — and it is an unfortunate fact — that a large number of Muslims suffer from a sense of injustice, although on closer scrutiny one will find that their grievances about deliberate discrimination are mostly imaginary. Both Muslims and Hindus are to be blamed for the sense of injustice prevailing among Muslims. The Hindus, constituting the majority community, have never made a serious attempt to understand Muslims either individually or collectively, to come closer to them or to "own" them as an integral part of Indian Society. An influential section of Hindus have on the contrary looked upon Muslims with an amount of suspicion and have not even hesitated to regard them as Pakistani spies or fifth columnists. Although governmental attitude towards Muslims has been fairly reasonable, (except when Muslims were indiscriminately arrested during Indo-Pak hostilities in 1965) to the generality of Hindus, Muslims constitute a separate distant community. This is the attitude of even those Hindus, who are educated and enlightened and look to Muslims with a measure of sympathy.

This Hindu attitude towards Muslims is not entirely unexpected. Even several castes among Hindus, particularly in the country side, constitute separate entities in themselves having little or no intellectual or social intercourse with one another. Gandhiji sought to fight caste-separatism apart from mutual alienation among communities. But Gandhiji's ideas have yet to take practical shape.

The general Hindu attitude has further driven the Muslims into their separate shell; and even eminent Muslim Nationalists, who were once in the forefront of freedom struggle, are now thinking in terms of safeguards for Muslims.

The extremist Hindu reaction has been swift and even those Muslim nationalists, whose bonafides were always above-board, are now denounced as rank communalists.

There is no doubt that the Hindu-Muslim relationship must be salvaged from the morass of mutual suspicion.

The most effective way of doing this is for educated Hindus to endeavour to understand the problems of Muslims. Muslims in India now number over fifty million and naturally such a large community will have its own problems, political, economical and cultural. Further, every minority in the world rightly or wrongly suffers from a sense of grievance, and it

* *Indian Muslims: Challenge and Opportunity*, S. E. Hassnain. Published by East and West Publishing House, Bombay, 1965, p. 50.

is left to the majority community to impart the minority what the French political philosopher, Renan, called the "grace of living."

Hindus in India, therefore, must develop closer relationship with Muslims. At least educated and enlightened Hindus must seek to cultivate social contacts with equally educated and enlightened Muslims. This is not to suggest that at present there are no such contacts. But they are very few and do not create an appreciable impact on the general relationship between Hindus and Muslims. Therefore, such contacts must be made on a much wider scale.

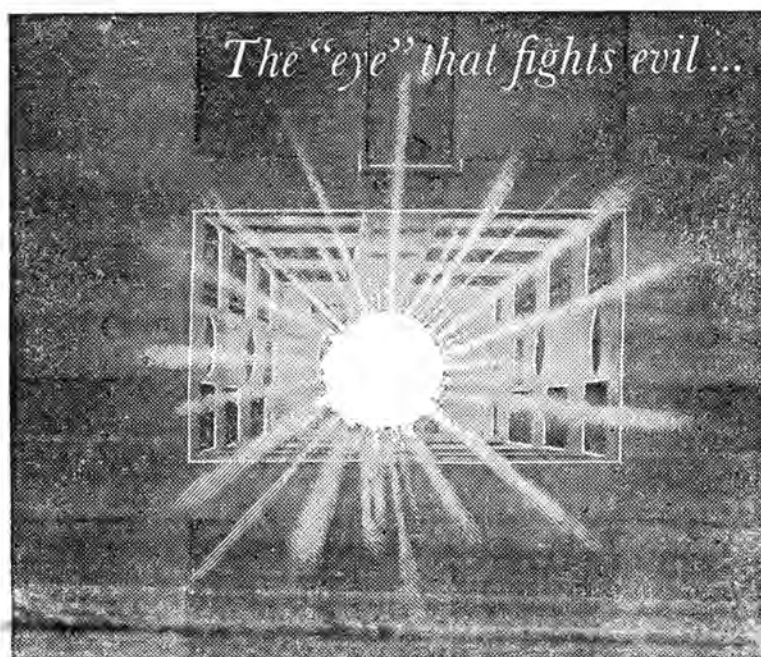
Especially, political parties can greatly help to bring about a closer relationship between Hindus, Muslims and other minorities. If only certain political parties will refrain from behaving in such a fashion as to create a fear complex in the minds of minorities, it will not be difficult to generate a sense of belonging among Muslims and other minorities.

It is true that the strength of certain political parties lies in their communal approach, and it would be futile to expect better behaviour on their part. But there are other political parties, which are democratic and progressive, which can give a dynamic lead in the direction of constructive dialogue between various communities. This will enable Muslims as well as other minorities "to identify themselves with the mainstream of India's national life".

As regards the subjection of Muslim beliefs, attitudes and institutions to scientific scrutiny by educated

Muslims themselves, which Prof. Shah so ardently wants, the idea is not new. In fact, Muslims have a long legacy in this respect. Even during the regime of Abbasid Caliphs, there were Muslim intellectuals who subjected Muslim beliefs and principles to the telescope of then prevailing scientific ideas and logic. Certain Muslim philosophers even sought to question the "divine" origin of Koran. But this spirit of scientific enquiry or the sense of skepticism with regard to the spiritual and moral principles, among Muslims, suffered a setback when Islam ceased to be a dominant political force in the world. But since Islamic countries are re-emerging in political prominence, the old scientific spirit and sense of skepticism are slowly taking roots among Muslims. This is evident in U.A.R., Turkey, Pakistan, Iran and other Muslim countries. Many intellectuals in these countries have come out boldly in favour of reappraisal of Islamic ideas and beliefs and social institutions and practices in the light of the requirements of modern times.

It is only a matter of time when young and educated Indian Muslims will feel the impact of Muslim intellectual thinking in other parts of the world regarding Islam and its institutions. The response which Prof. Shah's article has evoked among Muslim intelligentsia in India makes it obvious that it will not take long for Indian Muslims to give up old, outdated ideas and customs, be forwardlooking and keep pace with the advancing, scientific age.



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Education in the Fourth Plan: Review and Perspective

J. P. Naik, Nachiketa Publications, 148 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1. Rs. 7.50

THIS is a compilation in book form of three lectures delivered by Mr. J. P. Naik under the auspices of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. A paper submitted by the author at a Round Table Conference held in Lebanon is added as an Appendix. The author who was the Member-Secretary of the Education Commission has given a depth analysis of the planning in the field of education during the last 18 years and has suggested certain qualitative improvements in all stages of education and has made out a case for involving educationists at district level in planning programmes to make them more meaningful. Similarly in the case of deployment of funds, his suggestion to pay incentive grants over and above normal grants-in-aid on the basis of performance is also worth consideration.

However, his plea that our educational system should aim at developing deeper national consciousness and promote national integration so as to give a proper understanding and appreciation of our culture and promotion of moral values does not seem to be workable. Students come to educational institutions to gain knowledge and their frustration in this area is the cause of the prevalent indiscipline. Their complaint is that the curricula in all disciplines are out-dated and there is scope for improvement in the teaching methods. Therefore, even for national development as far as education is concerned, these are the two areas which are to be improved.

The plea for a Swadeshi system is not a novel one. Experiments have already been made in Gujarat Vidyapeeth and Shanti Niketan but they have not made any headway in spite of extending over three decades. On the other hand, the British pattern of education adopted by us not only produced a few outstanding personalities in all disciplines but also produced the nationalists who fought against the British. However, the book contains a lot of constructive suggestions which are worth implementing.

R.M.

LESLIE SAWHNY PROGRAMME'S CLASS FOR TRADE UNION WORKERS

A Participant

READERS of *Freedom First* are already aware of the Leslie Sawhny Programme of Training for Democracy which has been set up to train political workers, trade union workers, women social workers, youth leaders, etc., in the principles and practices of democracy and citizenship. The Programme has already organised two training camps, one for political workers in Orissa and another for students in Maharashtra. The third training camp was organised for independent trade unions in Bombay. Twenty-five trade union workers, including some who are office bearers and members of Managing Committees of their unions, attended the training course for twelve days.

The trainees were drawn from different unions such as the Municipal Workers' Union, the Municipal Executive Staff Union, Banking Employees' Union, Engineering Workers' Union, The Bombay Mazdoor Sabha and a few social workers who are trying to educate the working class.

In the first few days there were lectures on problems of democracy, secularism, the language issue and the Constitution and public administration. The majority of lectures were, however, on subjects which were of primary interest to trade union workers such as the history of labour movement, the concept of trade unionism, industrial laws and relations, place of trade unions in a democracy and the role of the Government in preserving industrial peace. The lectures were given by veteran trade union leaders and persons connected with administration of labour laws.

As in the other camps, the trainees were asked to

vote on a few propositions. This was done largely to ascertain the broad trend of their thinking. The political parties most favoured were the Congress and the Swatantra, followed by the Jan Sangh and the P.S.P. Nobody was in favour of voting for the S.S.P., or C.P.I.(M) though one or two expressed themselves in favour of independent candidates sponsored by the C.P.I. As most of the trainees had voted for the Swatantra, the Congress and the Jan Sangh, they were asked to choose a Prime Minister for a national coalition at the Centre from among Mrs. Gandhi, Messrs. Morarji Desai, Y. B. Chavan, N. G. Ranga, M. R. Masani, A. B. Bajpai and Jayaprakash Narayan. Messrs. Jayaprakash Narayan, Y. B. Chavan and A. B. Bajpai did not get any support whereas Mrs. Gandhi had 1, Mr. Morarji Desai — 10, Mr. Masani, — 4, and Mr. N. G. Ranga — 3, supporters. As many as 22 were in favour of having English as the link language. On other issues the voting showed that 15 trainees were for making the atom bomb, none for total American withdrawal from Asia, 8 for banning communist parties and none for negotiations with China. Only 9 out of 25 trainees thought that the Kashmir problem had not been settled; 17 were in favour of recognising Israel.

There was a significant similarity in the voting pattern at the students' camp and at the trade union workers' camp. At the students' camp, the political parties most favoured were the Congress and the Swatantra with no vote for the S.S.P. or the Communists. The trend of thinking on the link language, the Kashmir problem and other political issues was the same.

The Programme proposes to organise training camps in the coming months in other States and hopes that all democratic political parties will take the maximum advantage of the facilities offered by it.

Letters to the Editor

RALLY THE COMMON CITIZEN

Sir,

Let us look at things from the well meaning citizen's point of view. Shortage of food, foreign exchange and industrial raw materials have posed a serious threat to our progress. It is said to be the slowest in Asia. Prices are soaring, taxes have reached the upper limit and the meagre expenditure results ratio of the three plans are all quite disquieting. Above all the common man is very much disturbed to find that no attempts worth the name are being made to remedy the situation. He has lost all interest in socialist slogans and he is completely disillusioned about the Plans. He is pained to see that the size of the fourth Plan, which ought to have created enthusiasm in business circles is actually causing anxiety among them. They are well-informed realists and fear, quite rightly, that a Plan not warranted by the resources of the country, is sure to run into difficulties which may well develop into a disaster.

Before I proceed to discuss the ways in which the wellmeaning citizen can be best impressed let me state clearly as to what he stands for. Demonstrations, strikes, lock-outs or direct action of any other kind are distasteful to him and he feels, ought to be resorted to only in exceptional circumstances especially in a democracy with adult franchise, coups, revolutions and above all military dictatorship, he simply hates. What he stands for is orderly and peaceful progress. He believes in liberal democracy, individual freedom and constitutional guarantee of basic human rights. The only limitations he would subscribe to are in the nature of the rule of the road. Planning is another such limitation to which he willingly subscribes. He believes it to be indispensable in the present situation. Both the communist and the Nazi ways of regimentation are completely repugnant to him.

Now let us see what he would like to be done about defence, food shortage, paucity of foreign exchange etc. The main thing about defence is the threat of Chinese aggression and the certainty of Pakistan joining hands in such an event. Today we have an army of 7,50,000 and our military equipment is far from upto-date. Even then it takes up one-third of our annual revenue. The Jan Sangh at its annual session passed a resolution calling upon the government to maintain an army of 20 lakhs with modern equipment. If this were to be accepted, the required expenditure would eat up all our revenues and not leave enough money to pay even the chaprasis. The Sangh has recited the strength of the armed forces of the various countries of the world but if only they had found out the amount of money that England and America are spending on their armies, the Sangh would have thought twice before passing the resolution. The proper remedy is to enter

a firm alliance with America both offensive and defensive. Let us take a leaf from English History. The English had to meet three formidable aggressors, for example, Napoleon, Kaiser and Hitler. Alliances alone, with Germany and Austria in the first instance and with France, Russia and America in the last two wars, saved them from disaster. Let us follow their example. Rather than sending S.O.S. to London and Washington, with the enemy attack in full swing, let us make arrangements beforehand. America has the same objectives in Asia as we have, namely, containing China. Let us realise quite clearly that American withdrawal from Viet Nam will be more disastrous to us than to America. It will make the yellow peril much more perilous.

On the food and agricultural front, he feels that efforts ought to be made to establish co-operation between the mofussil intelligentsia and the progressive farmers and also at building storage tanks for rain water. The one will be helpful in modernising agriculture and the other will be an antidote to the vagary of the monsoon. These sources have so far been untapped and might give good results like crops in a virgin soil.

Cotton and Jute textiles and tea cover half of our exports and if we want to make any progress we must take to modernisation, mechanisation and rationalisation in all seriousness. If only a small fraction of the Rs. 20,000 crores that have been spent so far had been reserved for these, our foreign exchange position would have been much easier. All-out efforts ought to be made today in defending our position in the foreign markets. It is difficult to justify our hesitating and halting attitude in this respect.

On the industrial front he feels strongly. There can be no two opinions that there are two sets of people in the business community. One kind believes in tax-evasion and black-marketing and the other believes that public confidence is the most valuable asset in business and he has a hunch that the former are being favoured by the ruling party. Now he knows that a hunch is not proof but he has not the means of following it up. He would be only too glad if somebody does it. This in brief is the case for the well-meaning citizen and he asks himself which political party is the one best qualified to take it up. The ruling party is bad enough but the leftists and the Jan Sangh are definitely worse. They are obsessed with their own dogmas and they have yet to learn that dogmas are worse than dictatorship. No well-meaning citizen will ever subscribe to any dogmas. He therefore wishes for a party representing best in the business community or rather the better sort among them and also the common man. The interests of such a party would lie more in the betterment of the country than in the capture of power. If only this party takes the greatest good of the greatest number as its ideal and wholeheartedly works for it,

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it will be serving not only the country better but even the interests of the business community better.

The first step is to put facts before the well-meaning citizens in their proper perspective and leave them to judge for themselves. The perspective is as important as the facts. What is wanted is not a Goebbels but a Gokhale. If only the party starts weekly papers, atleast one in each regional language and one English daily, meant principally for the well-meaning citizens, much good-will will be gained. The ruling party is a house divided against itself and even if it is returned to power it will have none of the assurance of the early fifties. This will put them on the defensive and make it difficult for them to ignore public criticism if it is well-informed and constructive. Lord Kichener, a former British Commander-in-Chief of India, once said that he was never afraid of bullets but he was always afraid of Gokhale. After the necessary deductions are made from such a statement, the fact remains that it is not easy to ignore well-informed criticism. This is the safest and the most effective way of improving things. I have only to add that the good-will of well-meaning citizens will be more helpful than electoral alliances. We know that something is wrong somewhere but we have little idea as to the exact nature of the disease or the remedy or the men who can supply the remedy. It is for a citizens' Party to provide the answer.

Poona

S. G. PADALKAR

15th June, 1968

Sir,

When I was recently in Bonn, I met the leader of the Liberal Party in Colombia who was there with a delegation of Colombian Liberals as a guest of the German Liberals. He told me that he used to receive an Indian journal which he greatly appreciated getting and reading but that, in the last year or two, it had stopped coming to him. He could not remember the name and asked me if I could help him.

I mentioned to him the names of two or three journals. When I mentioned *Freedom First*, his face immediately brightened. That, he said, was the journal he had been missing so badly. I promised to get his name restored to the mailing list.

I thought this incident might be of some encouragement to you in the excellent work you are doing in editing, *Freedom First*.

Bombay

26th June, 1968

M. B. Masani

DEFECTIONS AND THEIR CONTROL—Cont'd from page 4

These recommendations, it would seem are open to well-meaning doubts. In any case, the actual process of drafting the legislation will prove to be exceedingly difficult. While 'party-ticket' or 'membership of a political party' can be easily defined, it may prove far from easy to define 'allegiance' or 'renunciation' and what constitutes 'renunciation of membership' or 'repudiation of membership'. Obviously mere voting against his own party or refusing to accept his party-whip cannot and indeed must not be allowed to incur the penalty indicated. We must bear in mind the famous admonition of Edmund Burke to the Sheriffs of Bristol: once you elect a Member for a specific term his actions must be guided by his conscience, in other words, he is his own master. In India, when parties in their anxiety to contest as large a number of seats as possible, the Congress party the most guilty in this respect, select candidates indiscriminately, it is small wonder that some of them should prove unreliable. So we come back to the question of party responsibility. Should not the penalty for defection of members, say, on a certain percentage basis, attach also to the party of which they were members? Perhaps, party-leaders would not like to face this question. Just as a proper system of jurisprudence insists on a crime being fully proved before punishment is awarded and in the process allows nine guilty men to escape rather than one innocent man be punished, in a democracy it is better to permit a party member to choose his line of behaviour rather than restrict his freedom of action and very likely his freedom of conscience. Surely, if party leaders recognised their responsibility and exercised due care in the selection of candidates the incidence of defection would be extremely small. That this self-evident fact should have escaped the attention of the Committee and also of the lawyer-members is a great pity. Undoubtedly a defector's ineligibility to a ministership should be made statutory.

Two other suggestions, one, to limit the size of the Ministry to roughly ten per cent of the membership of the legislature and two, to arm the President and the Governor with the power to refuse a dissolution and a mid-term poll are salutary. It passes one's comprehension why it has been necessary to have such large-sized ministries in all States. Obviously they are a luxury which a poor country like India cannot afford. The other suggestion of enlarging the power of the President and the Governor means also extending the sphere of their burden. Here again it should be pointed out that this will involve a much greater exercise of discretion in the selection of Governors than has been the practice heretofore.

With Many Voices

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

The Praja Socialist Party remains a pathetically weak party with more leaders than followers.

—*Indian Express*, July 4.

Chinese attempts to regard Bhutan and Sikkim, Assam and the Andaman Island as Chinese territory amount to falsifying history grossly and displaying expansionist appetites.

—*New Times*, Moscow, July 5.

The Government in India is nearly as illiterate in the effective sense, as the electorate is in the ordinary sense. It is Government of the illiterate by the illiterate but unfortunately not for the illiterate.

—C. Rajagopalachari, *Swarajya*, July 6.

It was up to the people to see that the Government behaved or it disappeared.

—Morarji Desai, *Times of India*, July 6.

Vietnam's Reds are angry because Peking's leaders seem to think they can run the war that the Vietnamese, not the Chinese, are fighting.

—*U.S. News & World Report*, July 8.

True Communist believed cent per cent in the Chinese line and the Naxalbari way of revolution.

—K. P. Kosalarama Das, leader of Kerala extremist Communists, *Indian Express*, July 9.

In essentials the Soviet Union remains what it has always been, an authoritarian, and totalitarian dictatorship to which all the freedoms usual in a democratic state, are anathema.

—*Opinion*, July 9.

Communist orthodoxy or prudery, if you will, dreads nothing more than a seven-letter word. The word is freedom.

—*Hindustan Times*, July 9.

If Mr. Subba Rao were the President and Mr. Minoo Masani the Prime Minister, Mr. Palkhivala would have been the fittest choice as the Attorney-General of India. But with you (Mrs. Gandhi) as the Prime Minister, it looks rather incongruous.

—Three Communist lawyers of Delhi in a letter to the Prime Minister, *National Herald*, July 11.

Politicians who run the affairs of this country from the Centre are practically divided over every issue of national policy.

—Tarakeshwari Sinha, *Current*, July 13.

I never considered myself a true subject of a government comprising liars, tyrants, criminals and stranglers of freedom.

—Arkadiy V. Belinkov, Soviet writer, *Times of India*, July 14.

If by shouting one can bring about revolution we in Durgapur have out-Mao-ed Mao.

—Wife of a big officer of Durgapur Steel Works, *Hindusthan Standard*, July 18.

Democratization must become democracy.

—Czechoslovak banner quoted in *Time*, July 19.

We do not correct white racism by erecting black racism.

—Roy Wilkins, *U.S. News & World Report*, July 22.

We must dissolve the two blocs and organize a system of European cooperation, economically, scientifically, culturally and even politically.

—Yuri Zhukov, the foreign editor of *Pravda*, *Time*, June 28.

To the Editor,
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