

Drift Or Design?

V. B. Karnik

THERE can be no doubt that the events which took place in the political field in the last few days were sensational as well as significant. But the question that is still baffling the public mind is: were they the result of a drift or a design?

The series of events began with a note on economic policy—later described as containing her “stray thoughts”—which the Prime Minister thrust upon the Congress leaders in an unceremonious manner on the occasion of the A.I.C.C. meeting in Bangalore. It could have easily led to a crisis. But the worldlywise Congress leaders avoided it by just adopting the note. They must have thought, in their usual way, that there was no harm in adopting a high-sounding resolution as nobody would ask for its implementation. They acted, true to their colour, belief and tradition. But was the Prime Minister equally innocent or did she have a deep purpose in confronting the Congress leaders with her note?

The crisis that was avoided on an issue of policy took place on a different issue, the issue of the selection of the Congress candidate for the post of the President. The Prime Minister failed in securing the selection of her nominee. In defeating the Prime Minister in this manner did the veteran leaders of the Congress act in a deliberate manner, mindful of all the consequences, or did they act in their usual slipshod way relying on their strength in the organisation to overcome any crisis that may arise?

The scene then shifted to Delhi and the next blow was struck by the Prime Minister, the blow taking the form of the virtual dismissal of the Finance Minister followed by the nationalisation of fourteen private commercial banks through an Ordinance. Did the Prime Minister strike this blow just to avenge her defeat in Bangalore or in pursuance of a well-thought-out policy of extending State control over national economy in order that it may subserve the purpose of economic progress and social welfare?

Nationalisation of banks has been on the anvil for a number of years. It found a prominent place in a number of resolutions and declarations adopted by the Congress. Those who accepted them have little right to complain if steps are now taken to implement the

pledge to nationalise the banks. They can complain about the manner and the method of bringing it about but not about the actual object. The method adopted of issuing an Ordinance on the eve of a meeting of Parliament is open to very serious objection. In spite of it Congress ranks have generally welcomed it. In addition it received overwhelming support in the country and the Prime Minister who initiated it has gained considerably in popularity and prestige.

In the enthusiasm over the nationalisation of banks the people have forgotten the unsavoury treatment that was meted out to the erstwhile Finance Minister. He was virtually dismissed without even the courtesy of prior intimation or consultation even when, in addition to being a loyal Finance Minister, he was also the Deputy Prime Minister of the country. Was it done on purpose to bring home to the Congress leaders the power and the authority of the Prime Minister? And does it set the pattern of her behaviour with her colleagues in the Cabinet?

The Congress High Command has, after a few motions of annoyance and displeasure, acquiesced in this high-handed action of the Prime Minister. Is the acquiescence temporary and diplomatic, or is it permanent and real? Has the relation of forces in the Congress undergone a radical change and has the power in the organisation passed from the hands of the strong, solid men, with deep roots in the power structure in cities and villages, to the hands of a medley of smooth talkers, crafty demagogues and impatient idealists? Looking at the Congress, it is unrealistic to imagine that any such change-over has taken place. Then why did the older, more sophisticated leaders allow themselves to be checkmated in this fashion? Are they just drifting along with the current, or do

MAN ON THE MOON

Freedom First takes pride in greeting the three brave Americans — Neil Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin and Michael Collins — and in congratulating the people of the United States, nay, the whole human race on this thrilling feat and fantastic and glorious achievement.

Our dreams of reaching out to the stars have been fulfilled. Let us all hope that this widening of the horizons of space will also help us rise above all pettiness on our good earth.

they have any deep plan for converting their present defeat into tomorrow's victory? It is difficult to see what the plan could be, as along with the passage of time their strength and influence are going down instead of going up.

Nationalisation of banks by itself will not solve any problem. If the professed objective of helping economic progress by making cheap credit available to agriculturists, to small-scale producers and to petty businessmen is to be achieved, a lot of hard and patient work will be needed to locate such credit-deserving persons, to study their projects and to provide them, apart from credit, all other assistance that they may need. This may require the initiation of many new economic policies and activities. It will also require the injection of a new spirit of public service and an accent on efficiency, on shouldering of responsibilities and on taking of quick decisions. Has the Prime Minister evolved any plan for bringing about these much-needed changes in governmental activities and procedures? Or was nationalisation of banks adopted as a mere political stunt to outwit her opponents in the Congress? Was it a mere drift, or is there any design behind it?

The people as a whole and the democratic forces in the country will not be unduly interested in the internal quarrels in the Congress organisation. They could have ignored them altogether if the Congress were not the ruling party and a big stabilising force in the country. In any case they cannot be happy at the emergence of one single person as a domineering authority in any democratic organisation, nor can they relish the rude and insulting treatment that was accorded to a senior and respected leader, whatever one's views about his economics and politics. Such trends are destructive of the spirit and climate of democracy and must be opposed whatever the organisation where they manifest themselves.

It is likely that, having acted in a huff and without any well-thought-out design, the Prime Minister may be now pushed in the name of socialism in the direction of wholesale and outright nationalisation of all means of production, distribution and exchange. That would be the road to anarchy and chaos. It is to be fervently hoped that the Prime Minister will refuse to follow that slippery road. If it is rapid social change that she has in view, there will be many and many in the Congress and outside who will sympathise with her and give her all possible help in bringing it about in a peaceful manner. In that case she need not drift from one adventure to another. Adventures will land her in the company of careerists and adventurers, many of whom do not have any concern for democracy and any loyalty to the country and its Constitution. On the contrary, if she prepares a design of the progress that she has in view and chalks out the steps required to be taken to attain it in a quick but lawful manner, she will not lack support. It may be remembered, however, that the country values liberty and decency in public life as much as economic pro-

Mr. TOM MBOYA

The assassination of Mr. Tom Mboya has removed from the political scene in Kenya and on the continent of Africa a young and vigorous personality deeply devoted to the modernisation of his country and the continent. Mr. Mboya was the Minister for Economic Planning and Labour in the Kenyatta government. He was known for his wide and cosmopolitan outlook and had many friends in India. By his sudden and violent death the world democratic movement has lost a firm and fearless champion. *Freedom First* pays its respects to his memory.

gress. The design must have an important place for them. The country has drifted too long. Socialism has been more a mirage and a deceptive slogan than a realistic socio-economic programme to be attained from stage to stage in an orderly and vigorous manner. Let us now at last have some design in our social and economic policies and activities.

Special Language

The following are extracts from a letter written by Mr. Yuri Daniel, the celebrated Russian writer, from his prison cell:

It seems that the words and expressions which we are accustomed to use in a well-established sense once and for ever are here translated into a special language, the language of the camps which is no longer Russian. In this special translation naturally, a starvation ration can sound like 'education' and handcuffs like 're-education.'

For example: You are making a mistake in thinking I am in prison; I am 'held in educational isolation.' I have not been thrown into the punishment cell; but 'installed in punitive isolation.' And all this has not been done by guards, but by 'controllers,' and this letter is not sent to you from a concentration camp, but from an 'establishment' (this, at any rate, is our postal address and this is, presumably, in order not to offend the delicate ears of the postal officials). Likewise the 'refusal to take food' is much more tolerable than the hunger-strike.

Speaking of hunger strikes: I do not know if you know that my comrades and I have enjoyed this entertainment. It happened a year ago and was, to 'speak euphemistically,' not the most pleasant episode in my life. And now again I shall have to face this business.

You will say: self-destruction. Yes, I agree. You'll say it is cruel for the family. This too, is true; but my dear friend, what else remains if all the thinkable and unthinkable means have been tried to obtain justice, and everything has failed?

Marxist Communists Mean Business

"Atreya"

THE Communist Party of India (Marxists) sent a delegation led by Mr. B. T. Ranadive to Rumania as the nearest listening and monitoring post of the Moscow meeting of the world communist parties. After visiting Rumania, Mr. Ranadive stopped over in London and there made a forthright and honest statement. He stated that the objectives of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in assuming power through the ballot in the State Governments of Kerala and West Bengal were not to provide relief to the people but to sharpen the class struggle, intensify the contradictions that exist in the present "bourgeois Constitution of India" and provide the "objective conditions" for the subversion of the present Constitution through popular revolutionary action.

Mr. Ranadive's statement made in London was treated in an academic spirit. What Mr. Ranadive stated in London has however been categorically and clearly underlined in statements now issued jointly by the Marxist Communist Chief Minister of Kerala, Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad and the party leader, Mr. A. K. Gopalan. Tracing Mr. B. T. Ranadive's statement made in London as their context, both of them made it clear that they fully stood by what their colleague had stated in London. They confirmed that Mr. Ranadive was correctly outlining the party position. They reiterated that the aims of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in Kerala and West Bengal were not to provide relief to the people, but to intensify the present contradictions and difficulties so that the people could rise in revolt against the "bourgeoisie".

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) and their leaders emphasised what *Janata* editorialised as the "ABC of Leninism-Stalinism", that they did not accept the line of the "revisionists" of being able to work "within the bourgeois Indian Constitution".

The late Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru always nostalgically believed that once the Communists were involved in the parliamentary processes and made to share power by constitutional means, they would develop some attachment to democratic means. This was simultaneously deluding himself as well as insulting the sophistication of the Communists. It did not happen at all. The hard-core Leninists have been well trained in Leninism. As far as they were concerned, they supported the concept of parliamentary democracy as the noose supported the neck of a hung man. Lenin has often used this sadistically colourful expression concerning "bourgeois democracy." This has just been reiterated by the spokesmen and policy-makers of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Great credit must be given, however grudgingly, to

the consistency and frankness of the CPI (M) leaders. They have been honest enough to make their intentions very clear. They have bluntly stated that they propose to kick the ladder through which they climbed, viz. the constitutional procedures and ballot box through which they have won power in a united front coalition in the States of Kerala and West Bengal. They have thrown the challenge to not only the "bourgeois" parties, but more important, have challenged their own united front partners in both the States by this categorical statement. They have dared and double-dared the Communist Party of India (Right)—the "revisionists"—to try and break the United Front.

The seriousness in this situation is not the threat or the objectives outlined by the Marxist Communists. These have always been there and always known. The seriousness of the situation lies in the total blindness, the absolute naivety, and the complacency with which democratic and nationalist parties react to the Marxist Communist threat. Mr. Dange has reacted with the shock of respectable conformism in Marxist eyes, in denouncing the stance of the Marxist Communists. He expressed his surprise at the Marxist Communists' cynicism in swearing allegiance to the Indian Constitution when they took the oath of office and denouncing this oath of allegiance without any qualms of conscience. Mr. Dange should not protest too much, for he too ought to know his Lenin. He too believes in the same cynicism concerning anything that is bourgeois, but contemporarily the Soviet line compels him to behave as a respectable politician relatively. This "degeneration" into revisionist respectability has been strongly denounced by the Marxist Communists who now accuse Dange and CPI (Right) of bailing out Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the "corrupt Congress" on behalf of the "equally corrupt Soviet revisionists".

The hatred of the Marxist Communists for Soviet and Indian Communist "revisionists" has been demonstrated in a much more virulent form than against the "reactionary" parties. The Marxist Communists have not only been frank concerning their objectives and intentions, but they have aggressively challenged their partners in the United Front, whether in Kerala or in West Bengal to disagree with them if they dared. They have hounded the Right Communists in Kerala toughly and consistently, humiliating them whenever and wherever they can. In a latest culmination of their challenging postures, the Marxist Communists have withdrawn all prosecutions against the Naxalite accused who were proceeded against for the Tellicherry and Pulapilly attacks on Police Stations that resulted in the death of a wireless operator and a police per-

sonnel. Similarly in West Bengal, the Marxist Communists have decided to withdraw all prosecutions against the Naxalites.

The behaviour of the Marxist Communists reveals clearly that toughness and militancy are respected, while pussillanimity is relentlessly punished and attacked. The Naxalites put on a much tougher show of revolutionary militancy than the Marxist Communists and actually conducted a violent action. The Marxist Communists squirmed before them and withdrew all proceedings against them. This will create severe problems for them in the coming months.

The real significance of all these stances lies not in the pronouncements of B. T. Ranadive, E.M.S. or A. K. Gopalan, but in the bovinely sloppy reactions of the so-called democratic parties. The Congress Party, and its Prime Minister have been engaged in their own little contributions to the mutilation of democracy and democratic practices in the manner in which Mr. Morarji Desai was unceremoniously edged out of the Cabinet and the hurry with which the Banks were bureaucratised in the name of nationalisation.

The S. S. P. with its obsession against the Congress Party is willing to align itself with any party including the Left Communists and in such a stance cannot take umbrage to the Left Communist objectives in subverting the present democratic Constitution. The Marxist Communists are on strong ground in their subversive attempts because the Congress Party has done over the two decades in the past an impressive job of subversion and erosion of the Constitution by amending it on an average of once every year, and every amendment intended to contract freedom and not expand it. The Left Communists in effect say that they hope to perform more efficiently where the Congress Party performed sloppily.

The Marxist Communists have demonstrated that they mean business. Their statements are no longer in the realms of abstractions. Every day, every minute, in West Bengal and in Kerala, they have worked out the operational strategies and tactics to implement their objectives.

The Prime Minister now looks to Moscow and the Moscow-lining CPI (Right) and its fellow-travellers to be bailed out of the CPI (Marxist) threats. The Prime Minister has come to a stage where the confrontation will not be between a pluralistic and democratic ideology and Leninism, but between Soviet Revisionism and Leninism—a Hobson's choice for the lovers of freedom. The late Mr. Nehru and his daughter seem to have evolved a strange method to deal with their opponents. The conservative-liberal opponents were fought with the help of Social Democrats. Then Social Democrats were fought with the help of Communists and Fellow-travellers. But the fraternity with the Communists and fellow-travellers seems to have stabilised. Today Dange is sought to be made use of to fight Marxist Communists nationally, and Soviet assistance is sought to "contain" Red China internationally. This type of horsing around has

brought the Prime Minister into an absurd situation. Now the Prime Minister and her type of leaders in the Congress hopefully yearn for the Naxalites to "contain" the Marxist Communists and hope that this process will bring disarray. In other words, the Congress Party no longer hopes to confront the Marxist Communists by its own positive strength of commitment to democracy. It is in this that the danger lies.

The Marxist Communists deserve the thanks of all democrats for demonstrating without room for any doubts about their intentions for the future and their ruthless determination to pursue their objectives. It is time the democrats realised that they have to rely on their own organizational prowess to confront these threats to the existence of a free and pluralistic society.

Nationalisation of Banks

OPPOSING the introduction of the Banking Companies Nationalisation Bill in the Lok Sabha, Mr. M. R. Masani appealed to the Prime Minister to retrace her steps and not follow the path which was pursued by Nkrumah of Ghana and Seokarno of Indonesia who had also tried, in collusion with the Communists, to take their countries in the direction of an authoritarian regime. "Where are these tinpot dictators these days?" asked Mr. Masani.

Opposing the measure on both economic and political grounds, Mr. Masani said that the economic effects of nationalisation would be disastrous. Confidence in India abroad was bound to be shaken and may adversely affect the availability of foreign capital the country needed. At home, the depositors would be scared. Nationalisation had so far meant bureaucratic inefficiency, political influence and corruption and financial losses. Just as permits and licences had so far been sold, so depositors would fear that loans and overdrafts from now on would become a channel of political graft.

The motivation behind the bill, according to Mr. Masani, was clearly political. It was a move designed to permit the further concentration of political and economic power in the hands of those in authority in Delhi. Already there were reports that the Reserve Bank of India was to be deprived of its autonomy, and Intelligence was to be taken away from the Home Ministry. Thus, step by step, power would be concentrated in one pair of hands.

It was improper for the House to discuss this Bill when the matter of nationalisation of banks was still *sub judice*, since one of the petitions before the Supreme Court challenged the entire scheme of nationalisation itself as being *ultra vires* of the Constitution.

"Democracy consists", observed Mr. Masani, "not in rule by a brute majority but in dispassionate, free and fair discussion which is being denied to this House". The Bill was a stepping stone to absolute power for the Prime Minister to be achieved by totalitarian and demagogic techniques.

U. F. Police And Courts

Analyst

EVER since Durgapur Engineering College incidents there has been going on a kind of cold war between the Home Minister and the Police in West Bengal. In terms of weakening and subverting the State, this is the most significant development from mid-June to mid-July. Sri Subodh Datta, the Secretary of the recognised Police Association, was suspended and removed from his post on a technical ground. His suspension order, however, was stayed by the High Court. The Association seemed to back the Secretary. The order for judicial enquiry into the Durgapur firing has been questioned in court. The Police and the Home Department are represented by two separate counsels. The enquiry is going on.

Meanwhile, a parallel association of the police was attempted to be formed. The CPM leader Das Gupta tried to win over the lower ranks by hinting that concessions would be given to them. The Association submitted its 42-point demands to the Ministry for consideration, urging also steps against corruption. It decided to observe a protest day by fasting and wearing black badges on July 15. This enraged the CPM bosses. Das-Gupta again stated that the police association activities seemed to be a part of a big conspiracy. Meanwhile, the Minister asked the policemen not to observe the protest. His men are also busy splitting the police ranks. The U.F. partners are meanwhile attacking the police publicly, declaring that the police is playing an anti-U.F. role, trying to damage the U.F. image. The criticism against the police was stepped up on the eve of the protest day and great pressure was put on them to undermine their solidarity. The Association thought it therefore better to withdraw the decision to protest, after a meeting with the Home Minister. A potentially explosive situation was thus averted.

The degree of spinelessness that has developed in the civil service can be appreciated fully from the recent High Court judgement. While accepting the unconditional apology of Mr. Sunil Baran Ray, Secretary, Mr. Chandi Charan Bose, Deputy Secretary, Home (Political) Department, Mr. Tapendra Kumar Pal, Secretary, and Mr. Pijuskanti Acharya Choudhury, Deputy Secretary, Judicial Department, for the steps taken by them for releasing Jangal Santhal and five others during the pendency of their appeal and dropping the contempt proceedings, Mr. Justice A. P. Das and Mr. Justice K. K. Mitra observed: "It is time the Executive Government realized that the Judiciary worked in its own sphere laid down by the Constitution and that it is the solemn duty of the Executive Government also to see that it can function within its sphere and that the orders of the Court are carried out both in letter and spirit." Their Lordships added

that they were accepting the apology "in the belief that it is honest and sincere and born out of repentance, but, at the same time, we caution them against a repetition of similar attempts at interference. In view of what we have said earlier, we do not propose to take any action or inflict any sentence".

Meanwhile during this period (mid-June to mid-July) there have been innumerable cases of gheraos and wrongful restraints of industrial managerial officers and police officers, BDO's, land officers, and others. There have also been several High Court notices to the I.G. of Police, District Magistrates and lower officers to show cause why they should not be asked to perform their normal statutory duty. There was a case where a police officer was fined for not doing his duty. Even then the inactivity of the police persists and even fanatic SUC leaders are angry why the police did not take any action when an armed CPM-led mob of thousands surrounded an SUC village in 24-Parganas and burnt the hutments in the presence of the police.

The attack by 'students' on the offices of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and the *Statesman* was not an unplanned affair. These 'students' are in fact detachments of the Militarised party — a sort of storm troopers of the Nazis. The idea was to strike terror in the liberal groups. For that *Ananda Bazar Patrika* was suitably chosen. But the paper, which was delicately rope-dancing politically all these months, had to decide for once which road to take. After the incident the paper wrote a challenging editorial. It was later supported fully by leading writers and intellectuals like Tarashankar, Buddhadeva, Romesh Mazumdar and hundreds of others. Thus it turned out to be a good development. If the paper remains fearless and yet exists, it can do a lot. But it should expect another attack sooner than later.

Another development is the attempt on the part of the CPM to capture schools and colleges, throwing out the Managing Committees and appointing its own nominees either as new Managing Committees or as Administrators. Even junior teachers who are CPM members are being appointed. The tactic has been of hitting below the belt and the CPI, the SUC, the FB and others are upset. In utter disgust the President of the Board of Secondary Education resigned, alleging that the Minister was interfering in the autonomy of the Board.

The condition of law and order is as bad as before. The murder of a school headmaster in the presence of a DSP and two others at Ethora village in Burdwan by an organised pro-CPM group has sent a shiver in all school teachers and headmasters. Group clashes and murders and intimidation have become common.

The inter-party clashes have more or less subsided. It is after all an issue of who will hold what, and after a spill-over of clashes a sort of compromise was arrived at, except in some strongly contested areas such as in the colliery area between CPI and CPM, in some 24-Parganas villages between SUC and CPM, in some fishery areas between CPI & CPM, in some tea gardens in Darjeeling between RSP and Gorkha League. Therefore it would be completely unrealistic to expect a break up due to these clashes and differences. It is like a quarrel between dacoits over their spoils of loot.

The Big-Five parties have adopted a document on inter-party clashes. It is now being discussed by other UF partners. Some of the ideas expressed by the CPM leadership are, indeed, revealing. They state that any criticism or action trying to weaken or undermine the major partner CPM should be condemned, that the CPM being the major partner should have the final word in major matters of policy and action, that district level committees may be established of only those groups who have influence in the masses of the area. In other words, all minority parties must accept the position of a satellite with the CPM as the queen bee. The SUC has strongly challenged the document which, it says, would only help the CPM to emerge as the "only Party". But will others dare say so? A CPM leader has hinted that some of the UF parties are harbouring anti-social elements and CIA agents and that is why these clashes are taking place.

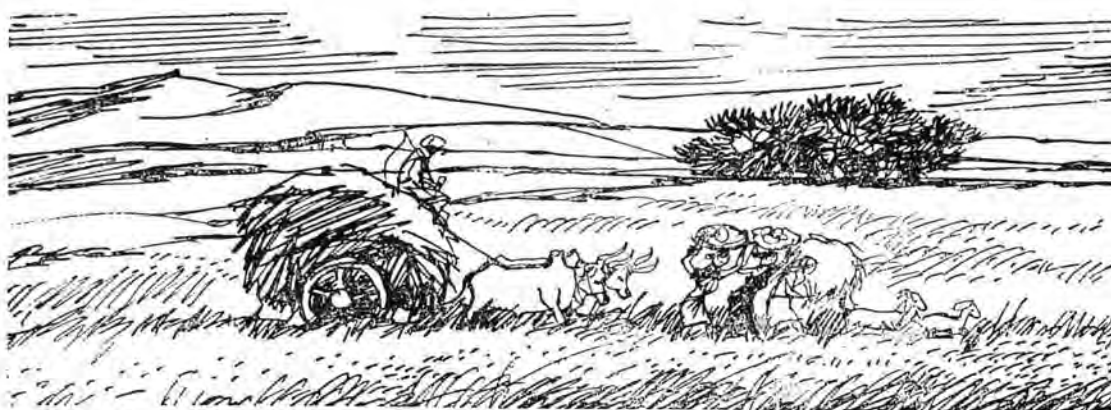
The position of the Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee has already come to a sorry state of impotence. He

is now complaining against telephone tapping, and he privately frankly admits that he is helpless. He, it is understood, is experiencing extreme anguish. He is constantly shadowed. Even if he wanted to resign it may not be easy. He raised the issue of gherao in June but he is not confident of being able to make it a major issue. Perhaps his own Bangla Congress MLAs may betray him.

The industrial situation is no good. The industrial management officers are afraid of their own security after the Jaykanagar affair. The tempo of strikes and gheraos is on the increase. Jute and engineering units have been threatened with prolonged strikes. Tea gardens are already facing trouble regarding land, and labour trouble may extend there too. Flight of capital is a distinct possibility.

The talk "conspiracies" of all kinds against the U.F. Government is on the increase. The Centre is again being attempted to be drawn in. Probably the Industrial Security Force may give them a major opportunity. The big rallies and demonstrations all over the State were sponsored with two aims. One was to push back the inter-party rivalries into the background, and the other was to create a sense of fear in the minds of those who are likely to be critical of the U.F. It was also a warning to those in the U.F. who are tending to drag their feet. A show of aggressive unity is expected to help these aims and it would also promote a sense of solidarity among the activists who have helped the U.F. to come to power.

July 15, 1969



The Seed Corn: There is one quick way of bringing a farm to an end, and that is to rob the farmer of his seed corn. Out of each harvest, a farmer must put by a percentage of his corn to plant again in the next season. And if he has to expand and to plant new fields, then he must retain more and more of his crop to have more and more seed corn.

Profit is the seed corn of industry. As the corn grows and the seed increases, so profits flow out of industry. They are not a weed, to be scythed by the scythe of taxation or to be eradicated by the hoe of nationalization. They are the measure of an industry's efficiency. They are the new power generated by that industry for the creation of further industries,

TATA ENTERPRISES

India - An Asian Czechoslovakia?

M. R. Pai

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: it is a tragic name today in world history. It symbolises the existence of a new form of colonialism and imperialism practised by masters of deceit, treachery and ruthlessness. It is a victim of international communism.

Evidence indicates that India may become another Czechoslovakia. This process has been going on for several years, but under Mrs. Indira Gandhi's prime ministership, it has accelerated.

A brief notice of how Czechoslovakia was converted into a Soviet colony shows how that process is being repeated in India today.

Jan Kozak, a communist M.P. of Czechoslovakia, has written a thesis on how his party, though in a minority in Parliament, succeeded in subverting democracy. The technique is known as "Pressure from Below" and "Pressure from Above".

Mass petitions, rallies on every conceivable score, promotion of industrial discontent and social strife, Czech-Soviet cultural society and a number of other devices were used as "Pressure from Below" to "soften" the country, and weaken the will of democratic elements to defend the constitution.

Infiltration into key government posts, nationalisation of banking and other industries, destruction of autonomy of university, courts of law, free Press and other bulwarks of freedom were means employed for "Pressure from Above".

The Czech communists, with the active help of the Soviets, succeeded in capturing power, destroying all liberal democratic elements, and establishing a "Peoples' Democracy". It took 20 years for the people at large to realise the weight of Soviet yoke and their attempts at liberalisation were crushed by the military might of USSR.

Attempts to overthrow Indian democracy through violence—the Ranadive thesis was implemented in the early years of Indian Independence—failed miserably. The Czech model was tried thereafter. The evidence of success is frightening.

Soviet Review, published by USSR Embassy, noted with satisfaction: "During the year (1968) India was host to about sixty delegations from the USSR representing leading workers from various walks of Soviet life. From India about twenty-five delegations visited the Soviet Union. What is significant, however, in this exchange of delegations more than its number is the high level of most of these delegations and their purposiveness."

Mass Communications: "Softening the country" through the Press and other media of mass communications has been going on at a rapid pace. The Indian

Home Minister took 10 months to reply a parliamentary question on publications issued by diplomatic missions of U.K., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. The answer was given on September 9, 1968. As against 3 periodicals by U.K. and 6 by U.S.A. (one in 6 languages), U.S.S.R. put out in India 41 publications, including three dailies. Practically every Indian language was covered. The printing was done through presses owned by the communist party. Obviously inflated bills are paid, as a subsidy to the Indian communists. In the case of the New Age Printing Press in Delhi, even the Home Ministry said that the income the press got from U.S.S.R. Embassy was "not known".

Party members and unwary youth are mobilised to go from door to door to canvass subscriptions. News agents are given extra liberal terms to promote sales. Gift items are used as a bait for new subscriptions!

The Indian Press is bombarded with articles, with translations for the vernacular Press. Articles on scientific and cultural subjects are cleverly interspersed with political articles. Since proprietors of most Indian publications suffer from ideological myopia, they never bother to find out how their papers are used as a vehicle for transformation of Indian society into a communist one. In a number of cases, either dedicated communists or fellow-travellers in the staff or journalists bribed with translation work are free to do what they like. In a recent issue of a daily, which gives every day a box item "Thus Spake Gandhiji" there was also a box, "Thus Spake Lenin".

The Nehru Awards are another means to influence prominent journalists and authors, and to reward the "good work" done by party hacks and fellow-travellers.

The masterstroke, however, is the Novosti deal which became a major scandal. Behind the back of Parliament, an agreement was signed between Indian and U.S.S.R. governments for exchange of Press Information Bureau and Novosti copy, and their syndication to the Press through the counterpart agency. What a loaded deal for a country with a free Press to have with a country having a totalitarian system of government and a State controlled Press! The Government of India has become virtually a free agent for communist propaganda in India.

Recently, it has been announced that the Children's Film Society will produce a film in collaboration with the Moscow Popular Science Studio. Science will be the thin end of the wedge for capturing the youth and movie world of India (where many millionaire actors, actresses and script-writers overcome their guilt complex of evading taxes and living a life of conspicuous

consumption by mouthing radical, communist slogans) and influencing the masses. This is the first time that the Film Society has entered into an agreement with a foreign party for co-production of a film.

Some time ago, a movie festival of communist films was officially sponsored by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The Ministry went to the extent of display of wall posters to popularise this Film Week!

Culture: In the cultural field, which is subject to least suspicion but capable of affording great opportunities for propaganda, the Soviets score high in India. Indo-Soviet Cultural Societies, run by communists and fellow-travellers trap many an unwary citizen. "Eminent intellectuals" like Dr. P. B. Gajendragadkar, high court judges, ministers and publicity hunters from the professions are used by these societies to acquire respectability in public eye. "If such eminent non-communists participate in cultural activities can the home of such culture be a bad place?" the citizens are led to believe. The chocolate of culture is spread over the poison cake of communist ideology for the consumption of the gullible.

Another phase of cultural penetration is the recent agreement to celebrate Mahatma Gandhi and Lenin centenaries on a reciprocal basis in U.S.S.R. and India. Till the other day, the Soviet communists used to denounce the Mahatma in vituperative terms as a reactionary. One can well imagine how much of Gandhism—particularly his creed of truth and non-violence, technique of satyagraha, love of religion and abhorrence of state power—will be popularised in communist Russia. At the same time, the Soviets will see to it that their agents and fellow-travellers will derive the maximum advantage of the agreement to popularise Leninism, i.e., communism, in India. The advantage of this arrangement is the blessings from a "ma baap" sircar which overawes the general run of people in our country.

Education: Another strategic field where Russians have pawed in is education. Soviet advisers influence the Education Ministry. Nationalised text-books are to be produced under their advise.

While the Indian Government insists that all foreign scholarships should be channelised through its Ministry, the Soviets have been advertising for direct applications. Members of Indo-Soviet Friendship Societies are given preference, according to the advertisement. The hint is clear. Dedicated communists and opportunist elements will get an opportunity for being brainwashed in Russia.

Economic Stranglehold: The most damaging Soviet infiltration is in the economic sphere. Some time ago, there was talk of "dovetailing" Indian Plans into "Soviet Plans". What would have amounted to virtual mortgage of Indian economy to U.S.S.R. was osten-

sibly given up in the face of strong public criticism. But, in effect, the "dovetailing" has been put through.

A few weeks ago, Soviet and Indian teams "located" three areas of cooperation. This includes the strategic textile industry. There is precious little India can learn from U.S.S.R. in consumer goods industries. But there is opportunity for communist Russia to damage Indian economy in an industry which is over 100 years old, earns considerable foreign exchange and employs a vast labour force.

The Indian five-year Plans since 1956 are based on communist model of planning. First, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis sold this pup to a communist-minded Nehru, and now Pitamber Pant nurtures it in the Planning Commission with a confused Dy. Chairman, Dr. D. R. Gadgil, and pro-Communist Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to assist. This Soviet model of planning has led to inflation, food crisis and a general breakdown of economic life in the country. Yet it continues. Under it, the Soviets have been able to force on our country many uneconomic and irrelevant projects. Bokaro Steel, for instance, is a millstone round the neck of Indian economy at the moment. Moreover, with sale of obsolescent plants and processes, and high priced spares and components, the Soviets have taken our gullible planners and government for a ride.

"The experience of last 20 years has provided enough warning that we have become the dumping ground for out-dated, over-priced (Russian and the communist countries) projects." This certificate comes from Mr. Romesh Thapar whose communist background is well-known. He further exposes their *modus operandi* when he writes that the Russians operate at the institutional level, i.e., they have captured the "Central Engineering and Design Bureau".

The biggest racket is that of Rupee Payments. Under this, the Soviets get the cream of our hard-currency earning products, sell them to those areas and deprive us of badly needed hard currency. We pay rupees for Soviet goods (which are high priced, and in many fields inferior to products of other countries) and lose the advantage of competitive international prices. The rupees accumulated by U.S.S.R. are used to bleed this country of goods of their choice, and for political subversion through local agents. The communist party of India was perplexed when recently it was questioned on the huge sum of some Rs. 80 lakhs it had mentioned as its resources.

How wide the Rupee Payment net has been cast is reflected in figures of trade between India and U.S.S.R. During the First Plan (1951-56) the annual average Indian exports were Rs. 2.9 crores, imports 1.1 crores; in 1967-68, the figures were Rs. 126.8 crores and Rs. 95.8 crores respectively.

The economic stranglehold Russian bosses have got on India can be made out from some of their dealings.

The Indian Airlines Corporation wants planes to meet increasing passenger traffic. On purely economic and technical considerations, DC-9 has been recommended by I.A.C. and a Technical Committee. But the Indira Gandhi Cabinet dare not take a decision for fear of offending Russians who want to sell their TU-154. This plane is not only highly uneconomical, but also requires servicing back in USSR!

The wagon deal is another curious affair. After a spectacular offer to buy 54,000 wagons from India, and cashing in on publicity and propaganda, now they are proposing an highly uneconomical deal. Against a price of Rs. 1,05,000 to Rs. 1,08,000 per wagon, the Soviet offer is said to be Rs. 62,000 to Rs. 70,000! This would require the Indian Government to dip into the pockets of the poor Indian public to the extent of Rs. 100 crores to subsidise the losses!

When the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, N. P. Firyubin and Chairman of State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, S. A. Skachkov, visited India for talks on Indo-Soviet affairs, according to reports they behaved with the Indians as if the Soviets were the overlords and India a vassal country. Even the placid and Soviet-line toeing Indian politicians were reported to have been offended by their rude behaviour.

The reason for this sad state of affairs, which impelled Mr. Frank Moraes to warn the country recently that the centre of decision-making seems to have shifted from Delhi to Moscow, is not far to seek.

In the first place, there is the self-imposed constraint of a Moscow-oriented foreign policy. India has become the dumping ground for obsolescent arms from U.S.S.R. The dumping is now done in Pakistan also, with all assurances that this would strengthen Indo-Soviet friendship! That a country like India does not have to depend on one source for arms in an highly competitive international market is ignored by our pro-communist policy-makers.

The second factor is that although Congress Party is in power, the power apparatus of the state is today in the hands of pro-communist people. The communist strategy of "Pressure from Above", of infiltration, has eminently succeeded.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as her recent note to AICC revealed, and her passionate defence by communist parties has underlined, is No. 1 pro-communist in the Congress. Her dedication to communist causes is matched only by the zeal of her colleague and India's Foreign Minister, Dinesh Singh, for championing pro-Soviet policies. In fact, wherever they go, both are virtually considered champions of pro-Soviet policies. Dinesh Singh visited Nepal recently. His pro-Soviet leanings are so well known that Nepal which wants to be friendly with anti-Soviet Red China reacted sharply. He was reportedly ticked off by King Mahendra, who merely offered him tea and told him bluntly to discuss foreign policy with the Nepali Fore-

ign Minister. No sooner had Dinesh Singh returned to India, than Prime Minister Kirti Nidhi Bista gave a special interview to Government owned *Rising Nepal* picking up areas which are points of tension between traditionally friendly India and Nepal.

Mrs. Gandhi, who was said to have canvassed for a second round of conflict with Pakistan in 1965, promptly undertook canvassing for the Soviet collective security plan invoking Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. But the shrewd Japanese dismissed her enthusiasm as no more than the ebullience of a pro-Soviet emissary. Her reluctance to condemn Russian aggression of Czechoslovakia, and visit to U.S.S.R. for communist party 50th anniversary celebrations, had already exposed her subservience to Soviet Russia.

While other nations have recognised Mrs. Gandhi and her teammate Dinesh Singh as pro-Soviet, communist minded leaders of India, there is not sufficient awareness in our country how the chariot of state is controlled at strategic points by wellknown communists or pro-communists. The February reshuffle of portfolios is revealing.

Deputy Minister to Prime Minister—Mrs. Nandini Satpathy (a former Communist); Bhagwat Jha Azad, in Labour Ministry; I. K. Gujral (Information and Broadcasting); Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed (Industries, Internal Trade and Company Affairs); Raghunath Reddy (Deputy Minister in the same strategic industry); V. K. R. V. Rao, well-known fellow-traveller, (Education and Youth Services).

T. N. Kaul, whose championing of pro-Soviet policies is well-known, lords it over foreign affairs ministry as secretary-general; Haksar assists Indira Gandhi in her secretariat.

D. R. Gadgil and Pitamber Pant manage the Planning Commission on pro-communist tracks. Arjun Arora, Mohan Dharia, "Young Turk" Chandrasekhar and the rest lend their support to Mrs. Gandhi in Parliament.

Moscow's reliable Indian mouthpiece, CPI Chief S. A. Dange has become her honorary Public Relations Officer, if one is to judge by his passionate defence of her policies, as if the supporters within the party and the Government are not sufficient.

Her radical economic policy outlined in a note to AICC at Bangalore, and presented in typical communist tactics of a surprise move, is nothing but a blueprint for introduction of communism in India. If Russia had paid agents in India, it could not have expected a better job than from these self-appointed and dedicated champions of communist thinking in India.

If believers in freedom and liberal democracy do not perceive and act in concert against this Sirimao Bandaranaikeism in India, we and our children will have to live in a Soviet economic colony as drawers of water and hewers of wood.



Democracy is a Government of the people, by the people, for the people. True. But it can find fulfilment only if citizens have a right to own property, to produce and consume goods and services desired by them within reasonable regulations by the State. Democracy can find fulfilment only

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Democracy And Free Press

(Lawrence Gander, Editor-in-Chief of the Rand Daily Mail Johannesburg, was convicted and fined in the Rand Supreme Court recently for publishing "false information" about brutality, bad hygiene and sexual laxity in South African prisons without taking "reasonable steps" to check its accuracy.

Gander became the Editor of Rand Daily Mail in 1957. He continued the liberal tradition of the newspaper which had Edgar Wallace, the famous writer of thrillers, as its first Editor. Gander saw the situation in South Africa as between black and white as a human situation and presented it to the public as such. Both in the editorial and news columns he turned his spotlight on the plight of black Africans. This naturally invited the wrath of the Government on the newspaper and the Editor.

In 1966 the "offending" articles were published about conditions in the prisons and the trial began. In the minds of the staff there was never any question that the articles on the prisons correctly reflected the conditions there. Gander probably knew they might bring his clash with the Government to a climax, but he considered the human principle involved worth fighting for.

We are reproducing below the Editorial written after the judgment — Editor.)

THE decade now drawing to a close has been a time of great stress and turmoil for South Africa. It has also been a time of conflict and controversy about our policies, procedures and attitudes. In such a period a newspaper's task of presenting news and views is greatly complicated and frequently misunderstood.

Many of the realities confronting us are unpleasant or disconcerting or even frightening and are thus unpalatable in the form of either information or opinion. There is a great temptation for people to say to newspapers: "Why bring that up?" or "Don't rock the boat," or simply "For Goodness sake, shut up."

But presenting news or views that may be unwelcome is an honourable part of the long tradition of the Free Press right from the time that newspapers began in the form of handwritten sheets in the reign of Charles I. These sheets were regularly seized by the authorities and their authors clapped into irons.

Since then all the great newspapers of the world have come into conflict with the authorities or with popular opinion at one time or another, but almost always the value of their stand at the time has been justified by subsequent events.

A notable example concerned the *Times* of London during the Crimean War. A famous war correspondent of this newspaper sent back a highly critical report of the British military performance, much to the indignation of the British Government of the day and a considerable section of the population. The information was promptly relayed to the Russians and they planned their tactics accordingly. No doubt this cost numbers of British lives at the time but it saved a great many more over the next generation because those controversial reports contributed directly to the reform of the British Army that was so badly needed.

This shows the danger of requiring newspapers to conform with prevailing outlooks and especially with a particular government's interpretation of "the

national interest". Mature democracies understand this danger. In recent years the United States has been involved in a costly, difficult and destructive war in Vietnam. Yet the newspapers have remained free to report adversely on and criticise harshly every aspect of the conduct of this war, without any newspaper's loyalty being called into question.

There are those who point to the many faults of the Press as justification for restricting its freedom. Of course the Press is not perfect. It is a human institution that exhibits the normal strengths and weaknesses of human beings, just as the democratic process itself does.

But the obvious disadvantages of Press freedom — sensationalism, bias, invasion of privacy, and so on — are far outweighed by the incalculable advantages to society of the fullest possible disclosure of information, access to a variety of opinions, exposure of malpractices and the promotion of public discussion on matters of importance.

Without this democracy would die. As Thomas Jefferson once said: "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate for a moment to prefer the latter."

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Dr. Zakir Husain's Funeral

R. Srinivasan

AN underdeveloped country is backward not only economically. In other respects too it falls far below standards by any international comparison. This was brought home immediately following the demise of Dr. Husain. It must be said that the public-owned communications failed to rise up to their responsibilities. The Films Division and the All India Radio certainly could have done much better had more thought been bestowed and more planning undertaken.

In the first place, the declaration of a holiday on the Monday immediately following Dr. Husain's demise is a matter on which there could be an honest debate. It would have been more dignified if most of the commercial and other establishments had closed for about an hour or so and more importantly had observed five minutes of silence and people given an opportunity to reflect on the passing away of this great son of India. On such occasions we have to dedicate ourselves once again for national improvement. Since the people were let off a day following a Sunday and since all the places of entertainment were closed, the public did find it difficult to while away the time hanging on them. The people just did not know what to do with their time. The nation was supposed to be mourning. Yet in many places Radio Ceylon was tuned in.

That we have to learn to bear our public calamities with dignity is yet to be impressed upon us. The All India Radio put up music which it must be confessed was one long wail. But for the speeches, the music provided was one of laboured pathos and there was little of dignity. It is significant to contrast this with the public funerals of Kennedy or Churchill. We have to realize that all men, including leaders of the political destinies in India are after all mortal, and that one should not be surprised if they died in office. And we will have to think of the appropriate music that will have to be broadcast and transmitted on such occasions. Surely our musical heritage too has several moods appropriate to such national occasions. It is said that our music is built up on moods and a mood of public tragedy is as important as any. Orchestration should be tried and experimented. The Home Ministry would do well to explore the desirability of the type of national elegaic dirges and compositions that ought to be put up on such occasion. To this should be invited the eminent musiologists and some tradition *consciously* built up.

It was told by "Kalki" that if Bharati had not written songs to be sung on attaining independence, one would not have known what to sing on the days following

August 15, 1947. Bankim Chandra, Dwijendranath Roy and Tagore could compose songs which have become in fact national songs. Since no individual perhaps could envisage such situations and compose on the supposed death of leaders, it becomes necessary for the government or some public body to prepare and plan for this.

While some of the broadcasts like those written by Frank Moraes were good, the press as a whole was able to present to the nation far far better news and information about the President than the Films Division. This is because the press keeps ready detailed bio-data about all important political personalities. The Films Division could not present any good feature on our late President. The visits to Canada and to Nepal might have had a topical value then, but now they were totally irrelevant. What was needed was a good full length documentary on the early life and political activities of the President. The one that was presented was absolutely bare and badly done. These, if anything, should be prepared over a period of months as a matter of routine work. They should be kept ready for exhibition and not necessarily only at the passing away of the subjects; a good documentary could be presented on our President on the last week of January, even if the President were alive for what is being attempted is educating the public in civic things. Such documentaries could be exhibited at schools and other educational institutions and often they can do much to build up a sense of national identity.

It must be said that the movie coverage of the funeral procession of the President too was poor compared to what was presented of Nehru's. For one thing the photography was far from clear and there were no shots of the audience at all. The dignitaries both native and foreign were snapped, but how did the common man of India react to the tragedy? There was no knowing if one saw the documentary.

Surely we can do better and we should.

Trade Unions & Politics

BY V. B. KARNIK

Price: Rs 3.50

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Review

Strategies of Revolutionary Warfare

by Jerry M. Tinker, Published by S. Chand & Co., New Delhi 55. Price Rs. 30.

IT is an old saying since Greek civilisation that, "if you wish for peace, understand war." This applies truly to this book *Strategies of Revolutionary Warfare* edited by Jerry M. Tinker, with the help of Andrew R. Moluer and John D. Lenoir.

The book is a collection of articles on revolutionary warfare since World War II. It is a book on how revolutions are made and un-made. Revolutions just do not happen but are the result of a carefully planned use of political and military techniques of guerrilla warfare. This is the first comprehensive book of its kind published in India on the review of strategies and tactics of revolutionary warfare since 1945. It is based on studies and statistical analysis of 24 different insurgencies that took place all over the world after World War II.

The concept of civilians taking up arms and fighting as guerrillas or against them is as old as war itself. The concept is in existence since Biblical times. The Hebrews encountered "irregular civilian armies" or "guerrillas". So did Caesar in Gaul. It was the Spanish resistance to Napoleon's invasion which first put the word "guerrilla" into dictionary and laid the foundation for this century's evolution of "revolutionary warfare".

The book is arranged in three sections. The first section deals with the growth of revolutionary warfare, outlining it as a concept and the factors related to its development. In this, the author also discusses the phases of development of revolutionary warfare. The second section deals with the technique from the point of view of insurgents, outlining its organisational structure, administrative and psychological operations, agitations, propaganda, psychological problems, tactics of terrorism, non-violent resistance and their para-military aspect of operations. The final section, which is very important from the point of view of India, deals with the technique of Government counter-measures and its struggle to resist a revolutionary warfare. This section also deals with counter-measure techniques, the Government and the people should adopt in dealing with insurgents or the guerrillas and how civil population can play a large part in curbing and resisting them.

"The modern revolutionary warfare" as the author puts it, "is the new marriage of military force with political ideology" and is highly conditioned by local circumstances. To prove this, he brought out a number of different studies and compared diverse insurgencies

and listed similarities and differences to reduce general patterns and to generalise and codify its strategies and technique of action. He says, "from Plato to Marx to Gandhi, nearly every political thinker has come to grips with revolution which is a classic theme of any political thinking." In fact, very few have tried to analyse political violence or written on it so dispassionately in an analytical way as the author has done.

The author describes the origins of revolutionary war, outlining the theories of Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, General Giap, General Alberto Bayo, Ernesto, "Che" Guevara and General Nasution whose writings have been used as training manuals for both pro and anti-Communist forces in their countries. Both Lenin and Mao Tse-tung stress the close relationship between political and military and guerrilla action. Their works have been reprinted in millions of copies and are used as basic training manuals in many countries. Following Mao's lead, General Giap stresses the coordination of political propaganda and military strategies during insurgencies. He calls this "armed propaganda" advising that "political activities are more important than military activities and fighting less important than propaganda." This, in fact, is being practised at present in South Vietnam. Gen. Giap's list of principles and advice for "preparing forces for an insurrection" make it an important hand-book for insurgents. His book, *People's War, People's Army* was published in Washington by the Government Printing Office in 1962.

It is a fact that Asia, and particularly India, is directly faced with revolutionary or guerrilla warfare. Here, however, insurgency is least understood, and political and military systems are least prepared to cope with it. The author points out that there are more small arms concentrated on the Asian mainland than in any other region of the world. India, as a great Democracy in the world, has high stakes in the stability of South East Asia and in maintaining a stable democracy in the region. There is obvious need, therefore, to understand the process of revolutionary

(Continued on page 15)



MAN IN THE MOON

Courtesy: Hindustan Standard

Hindu-Muslim Problem

Sir,

Mr. V. B. Karnik's article 'The Hindu-Muslim Problem' (*Freedom First*, March 1969) misses certain important aspects of the problem and, unwittingly no doubt, gives a biased presentation of Mr Hamid Dalwai's views. Hence the following comments.

Mr Karnik says that 'Muslims cannot be blamed if, when power was being transferred, they insisted on having a share in it in order that they may not be at the mercy, as they were afraid they would be, of the majority community'. Among the causes of the Muslim fear of Hindu domination, he mentions 'the monopolistic attitude that the Congress developed, the arrogance and intemperance of many a Congress leader and the essentially Hindu outlook of most of them'. Obviously, Mr Karnik considers the Muslims' fears and hence the demand for Pakistan justified on the basis of their experience, especially since 1937.

Coming to Mr Dalwai's book, Mr Karnik makes him out guilty of libelling the entire Muslim community. He attributes to Mr Dalwai views for which there is no basis in Mr Dalwai's book—that 'Muslims will never co-operate' in any endeavour to build up 'cosmopolitan and democratic Indian society'. For this alleged belief, Mr Karnik quotes Mr Dalwai's view that 'their religion is expansionist and their sympathies are essentially with Pakistan' (The formulation is Mr Karnik's). Mr Karnik does this by three highly selective quotations from Mr Dalwai's *Muslim Politics in India*. His own observation is that Mr Dalwai's 'Effusions... contain many half-truths and wide generalizations'.

Mr Karnik suggests that the Hindu and Muslim societies in India are, for all practical purposes, *equally* the victim of religious obscurantism and that both Mr Dalwai and I overestimate the accomplishments of the 19th century renaissance in Hindu society.

On these observations of Mr Karnik, I would comment as follows:

Mr Karnik's justification of the demand for Pakistan would lead one to believe that Muslim separatism arose as a reaction to Hindu obscurantism and communalism. I am afraid Mr Karnik here is guilty of ignoring the earlier history of Muslim politics in India. As early as the sixties of the last century Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had expressed the opinion that Hindus and Muslims cannot constitute a single nation. By the eighties, both Syed Ameer Ali and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had already started separate organizations for pressing the distinct claims of the Muslims. In 1888 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan said in so many words that the Muslims constituted a separate nation.

Mr Karnik's charge that Mr Dalwai has libelled the entire Muslim community is based on certain general

observations that the latter makes in a certain context on pp. 60, 61 and 93 of his book. However, Mr Karnik forgets that this is merely a standard method of economising on words. Otherwise, Mr Karnik would have noticed that on pp. 29, 89 and 97 of the same book Mr Dalwai distinguishes two broad categories of Muslims and says clearly that there are signs of a modern secular leadership emerging among them, particularly from the younger generation. Secondly, Mr Dalwai's general statements are in line with what Mr Justice M. Munir says about the Muslim mind in his Report on the Punjab Disturbances (the anti-Kadiani riots in Pakistan) of 1953.

I would agree with Mr Karnik that the Hindu society has to go a long way before it can be considered sufficiently secular and modern. However, and this is where Mr Dalwai and I differ from him, it would be wrong to imagine that it is as obscurantist and intolerant as the Muslim society. I shall not go into a historical analysis. Instead, I would rest content with citing only a few contrasting examples of their attitudes.

First, even though there is a lunatic fringe represented by the Shankaracharya of Puri that stands for taking Hindu society back to the age of Manu, there are Hindus—and not just few enough to be counted on one's finger-tips—who can and do denounce the Shankaracharya's attitude without fear of being beaten up by his followers. I need not give details as the issue is contemporary and known to everyone. Secondly, even at the time of the Indo-Pakistani war the editor of a mass circulation Marathi newspaper could publish an editorial whose tone was totally at variance with the general sentiment in the country. Those who did not like the editorial did not attack the office of the newspaper nor did they insist on an unconditional apology from him.

In contrast with this was the demonstration before the office of *The Statesman* in Calcutta in January last against the publication of Toynbee's article. More than the demonstration, which could be explained away as an election gimmick by politicians, what is significant is the complete silence of eminent Muslims on the incident and their refusal to condemn even by a single word the demonstrators' violence.

Bombay

Yours Sincerely,

A. B. SHAH

President, Indian Secular Society

Mr. KARNIK writes:

I am happy to be informed that Mr. Hamid Dalwai does not condemn the entire Muslim community as a reading of his book had led me to believe. I am glad to accept this assurance of Prof. Shah. I am not anxious to prove myself right, as the only point that I desired to make was that a whole community should not be misjudged and condemned as I thought had been done.

In dealing with facts of history like the Partition or the attitude of the Muslim community at various periods of time a student does not set out to justify or condemn one thing or the other but to understand it. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's as well as Sayed Ameer Ali's utterances and actions are facts of history. But the history of Hindu-Muslim relations did not begin with them. They were themselves the products of a historical situation in which the two communities were ranged against each other as separate identities.

It is a tragedy of the national movement that, in spite of many efforts, it did not succeed in persuading the two communities in merging their separate identities into one common national entity. Prof. Shah would hold the Muslim community mainly, if not entirely, responsible for the tragedy. I do not agree with that assessment of the situation. His comments are based on that assessment. My view of the situation being different, I find little relevance in them.

(Continued from page 13)

warfare thoroughly and to counteract it accordingly. After all, one must understand revolution if you wish for peace.

It is a well-known fact that the Nagas are being trained by China in various centres located in China's South-West Province of Yunnan around Lake Ta-li in guerrilla tactics for the last several years. Chinese have also started training camps in East Pakistan not only for Nagas but also for Pakistanese as well, in guerrilla tactics. The trained Nagas are being infiltrated back into India on completion of their training, over a 300 mile track through the jungles of Northern Burma. According to reports, over one thousand Nagas received training in guerrilla warfare in China in 1967. Since then the number is increasing rapidly.

The danger from guerrillas should be, therefore, made known to all civilians in the country. It is not only the responsibility of the Government of India but it is equally necessary for the people to realise the seriousness of guerrilla activities. Our people should be made aware of this new face of war, what Mao calls "a war of masses" or "the involvement of masses".

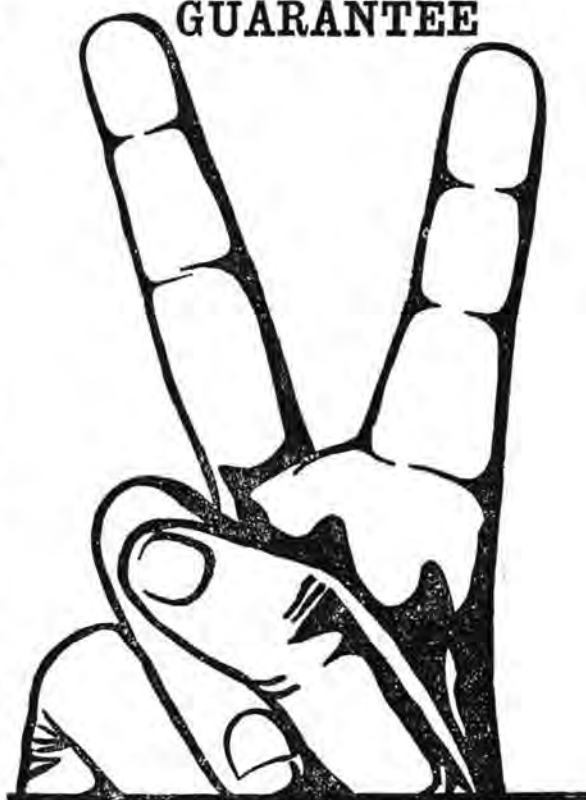
In view of all that is stated in the book one may suggest, training camps all over the country, and civilians should be trained in guerrilla warfare and the technique of meeting or resisting it. Such instructions should be included in the syllabi of all Army Schools and Police Training Schools. The police, in turn should undertake to train instructors for schools for civilians.

This book could well serve as a text-book for the training.

(Lt-Col.) M. R. CHANDVADKAR



**THE SUPERIOR
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2-YEAR
GUARANTEE**



With Many Voices

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

For all isms have become wasms.

—G. L. Mehta, *The Indian Express*, July 9.

Having tied itself economically to the chariot wheels of Moscow, New Delhi is for all practical purposes now being dragged politically in the wake of the Soviet juggernaut.

—*The Indian Express*, July 10.

Even venerable Congressmen, grown old in the game of politics, doff their caps to Mrs. Gandhi for her acumen in pulling the carpet from under their feet.

—S. Nihal Singh, *The Statesman*, July 11.

Kremlin does not want Pakistan and India to go bankrupt and be swallowed up by China.

—*Swarajya*, July 12.

Naxalites are part politicians and part anti-socials.

—Jyoti Basu, Deputy Chief Minister, Bengal,
Economic Times, July 15.

The moon is only the first milestone on the road to the stars.

—Arthur C. Clarke, *Times*, July 18.

Few are in doubt that Soviet Russia is the only vigorous imperialism left in the world.

—*Thought*, July 12.

Those who detest violent revolution must be ready voluntarily to undergo a peaceful one.

—*Janata*, July 13.

The popularity of nationalisation is a measure of the unpopularity of big business among the more vocal sections.

—Girilal Jain, *Times of India*, July 23.

Chavan is emerging as the Do-murti of New Delhi.

—D. F. Karaka, *Current*, July 26.

Nationalisation of banks will not solve the economic ills of the country, it would only enhance the power of the present rulers and bureaucrats.

—Jayaprakash Narayan, *Economic Times*,
July 28.

In throwing wide the horizons of space, we have discovered new horizons on earth.

—President Nixon, *Span*, July 1969.

The events of the past couple of years have led me to conclude that a valid political choice in the country can only be between the Extreme Left and a Left which is almost as extreme.

—C. D. Deshmukh, *Times of India*, July 27.

Mao is the greatest traitor to his people, and the greatest traitor to the world Communist movement.

—Russian commentator on Television,
The Statesman, July 29.

To the Editor,
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