

Mid-Term Elections

Adam Adil

AS a result of large-scale defections and instability of United Front Ministries mid-term elections are forced upon Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. Nearly 7,000 candidates of all kinds of political persuasions and also independents are contesting 1,167 seats. The outcome of the elections will affect the destiny, either for good or for bad, of approximately 170 million people. Apart from the propaganda of various political parties who are appealing to 101 million voters, who constitute approximately 40 per cent of the country's total electorate, it is obvious that the political stability and economic progress of these States depend upon the emergence of stable governments in the wake of mid-term elections. Let us hope, therefore, that the electorate will demonstrate enough political maturity and foresight so as to ensure that there would be no repetition of the sordid state of affairs which necessitated the mid-term elections.

It is interesting that these four States were under non-Congress governments, as Congress had lost its majority in the last General Election. When non-Congress governments took over in some of the States, there was a general feeling of satisfaction in the country that the monopoly of power which Congress had held since freedom had been broken. Even many a liberal-minded Congressman welcomed the new power set-up. It was considered a good augury for the establishment of healthy democratic traditions in the country.

But the satisfaction which was felt at the emergence of non-Congress governments was short-lived. The hopes which were aroused by the United Front or coalition of various anti-Congress political parties to form non-Congress governments more particularly in the Punjab, Haryana, U.P. Bihar and West Bengal were soon dashed to the ground.

Instead of forging real unity for the common purpose of maintaining political stability and economic progress of the States under their rule and demonstrating a measure of responsibility and maturity, the political parties within the non-Congress United Front began to fight amongst themselves over minor partisan issues. Each political party tried to extend its political influence at the expense of other political parties.

Ministers representing particular political parties in the coalition functioned independently from others with the result that there was no coordination between them. It was also suspected that each Minister tried to fill his department with the activists of his own party.

Worst of all, the law and order situation in almost all the States under United Front Governments deteriorated sharply. In West Bengal there was almost a total breakdown of civil authority. Gheraos and terrorisms became the order of the day. The semi-Communist labour Minister, openly encouraged Gheraos by declaring that they constituted a legitimate form of trade union activity. Because of these terrorist tactics of Communists who constituted the leading party in the United Front, the economic progress of West Bengal suffered a sudden set-back. All industrial activity came to a halt and nearly half a million people became victims of unemployment. The United Front Chief Minister, Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee, who had joined the Bharatiya Kranti Dal, became a helpless spectator of the decline of political and social life. He was unhappy and resentful of Communists, even decided to resign as a protest, but ultimately backed out. He proved too weak to resist Communist manoeuvres within the United Front. Further in West Bengal, Naxalbari became a signal for starting a country-wide movement, led by extremist left Communists, for the violent overthrow of the democratic regime and creation of chaos and anarchy in the country. Worst of all, Naxalbari was Chinese-inspired and swore by Mao's thoughts especially with Mao's dictum that power grew out of the barrel of the gun.

Some of the United Front governments blamed the Congress organisation and the Union Government for their own failure to deliver the goods. They contended that the Union Government did not cooperate with non-Congress State Governments and discriminated against them in the matter of allocation of funds and other resources. This charge was rebutted by the spokesmen of the Union Finance Minister, challenged the critics to prove the charge. The charge was not substantiated.

This criticism of the United Front government does not necessarily imply that the emergence of Congress governments after the mid-term elections would improve matters and that the electorate in these States should vote Congress. As a Congressman, I would expect the electorate to vote Congress; but as a dispassionate observer of political events in the country,

I would urge upon the electorate to exercise their mature judgment and vote such a political party or parties as would ensure political stability and economic progress of their respective States. In Haryana where mid-term elections were held after the failure of the United Front government, there was a swing towards Congress. Even though in this State, Congress won a clear majority, dissensions broke out, much sooner than expected, among Congressmen themselves, and with certain defections from Congress side (the picture is not yet clear) the Bansilal Ministry almost faced a precarious situation. Although, Bansilal has held his ground with the support of independents and one Swatantra Party member, as well as of those who defected back into the Congress fold, it is not certain that the Ministry will survive long. This indicates that even while there is a definite swing towards Congress in North Indian States as the result of the failure of the United Front governments Congressmen still refuse to learn from history. It would be no wonder if the defections of Congressmen in Haryana legislature tarnished the image of the Congress in the States where the mid-term elections are being held. The only event which might boost the morale of Congressmen there, is the magnificent victory which Congress President, Mr. K. Kamaraj won in Nagarcoil.

In Uttar Pradesh, and to some extent in Bihar, the major contestants are the Congress, the Jan Sangh, the Bharatiya Kranti Dal, which consists mostly of ex-Congressmen, who more or less share the ideology of Congress, the Lok Tantrik Dal, the Samyukta Socialist Party and the Praja Socialist Party. In West Bengal, it is the United Front of several leftist political parties, which is confronting Congress, while in the Punjab the Akalis and the Jan Sangh have joined hands.

While the aim of all non-Congress parties is to keep Congress from power, they do not seem serious to come together with a view to so organise their election strategy as to avoid contest amongst themselves. Some non-Congress political parties criticise one another more virulently than they criticise the Congress. For instance, the opposition between the Jan Sangh and Bharatiya Kranti Dal in U.P. is more fierce than between each of them and Congress. Again both of these parties dislike the Samyukta Socialist Party much more than they dislike Congress. Obviously, in U.P. and also in Bihar there are few constituencies with straight contests between Congress and non-Congress candidates. The outcome of such a situation would be that non-Congress votes would be sharply divided, and this would facilitate the victory of Congress candidates.

The non-Congress parties have also failed to assure the electorate how they plan to avoid the repetition of the debacle which caused the mid-term elections. Naturally Congress would take advantage of this failure on their part. The record of the previous Congress governments in these States was by no means

bright, but public memory is proverbially short. What would probably strike the imagination of the electorate more sharply at this moment is the dismal record of the United Front governments which is recent and hence fresh in public memory.

It is not the purpose of this article to canvass votes for any particular political party or group of parties contesting the mid-term elections. But it is certainly its purpose to appeal to the electorate to exercise their mature judgment and their practical common sense so that political stability returns to the States. Further, it is also its purpose to warn the electorate of the danger of voting for anti-democratic parties like the Communist — the Right or the Left — who are out to overthrow civil authority and create chaos and disorder. Anti-Congress sentiment should not lead to the destruction of the democratic way of life the country has adopted.

Russian Attack on Mao

Pravda, the official journal of the Russian Communist Party, published on January 11 an article accusing Mao Tse-tung, of changing his party so much that it was now Communist in name only.

The attack was mainly directed against a draft charter for the Chinese Communist Party, to be submitted at the party's ninth congress later this year.

The new charter, *Pravda* said, raised Mao to the level of supreme authority in matters of Communism. Maoists have, in fact, inserted into their draft charter the monarchical principle of hereditary power! In the preamble, Lin Biao is officially called "The heir of comrade Mao Tse-tung."

Pravda accused Mao of having virtually destroyed the Chinese Communist Party organisation, replacing functionaries with 'fanatics' devoted only to him personally. The "ordered and reorganised" party has been assigned, stated *Pravda*, the role of a tool of the military-bureaucratic dictatorship of Mao Tse-tung.

It repeated charges that Mao's policies were responsible for economic failure and unrest among the Chinese people. It reiterated its confidence that true Chinese Communists would one day rise to power and restore China to the correct path. 'A prolonged reactionary campaign is being conducted in China, camouflaged by "left-revolutionary" phrase, but in fact directed at establishing a military bureaucratic regime that has nothing in common with the dictatorship of the proletariat, the true ideas of socialism and democracy, and the vital interests of the working people of China,' the article said.

'The foundations of socialism are being progressively eroded in China... while breaking with Marxism and scientific socialism, Mao Tse-tung fans up nationalism.'

Dialogue With China And Pakistan

V. B. Karnik

THERE is always the need of a dialogue between countries, more particularly between those which are the neighbours of each other. In spite of the wide differences that separate communist China and the United States of America and in spite of the wild denunciations that the former regularly pours on the latter, a dialogue has been going on between the two in Warsaw for over four years. The dialogue has not produced any results so far, unless the recent desire expressed by China of having talks with the new Nixon administration can be regarded as its direct or indirect outcome. But the fact to be noted is that, in spite of this distressing and frustrating experience, neither side is anxious to put an end to it. The dialogue is still continuing.

Why should a different rule apply to a dialogue that India may have with China or Pakistan? As long as one is sure of one's position and is firm about it, one can go on talking to others explaining one's position and trying to understand other's position hoping that one day or the other there might be a breakthrough which might enable one to achieve a mutually beneficial compromise. The effort will no doubt require infinite patience and perseverance, but those are the virtues which every successful diplomat is expected to possess.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi's desire to open a dialogue with China expressed in her New Year press conference has created a flutter in some quarters. They are alarmed that this may open a way for a surrender to China. In view of our past performance, when in the early Hindi-Chini-Bhai-Bhai era we just fawned on China instead of carrying on any meaningful dialogue with her, the fear cannot be regarded as entirely baseless. But can we not hope that, learning from the bitter experience of the past, our rulers will now be more circumspect and more determined in their relations and talks with the representatives of China?

The Prime Minister has given an emphatic assurance that the solution to be found will be in keeping with "national honour and interest". Apart from the assurance, public opinion is now much more vigilant and critical than what it was in the earlier period. One can hopefully expect that it will not tolerate any surrender of real national interest.

And in any case what is the present position? As the Prime Minister has put it, "we are stuck in a particular position and that has not helped to solve our problem". We are still insisting on the acceptance of the Colombo Proposals as the precondition for the opening of talks. The fact, however, is that by lapse of time the Colombo Proposals have lost much of their significance. Insistence on their acceptance is tantamount to refusal to open talks. That position has

not helped us in any way. Why then persist in adopting that sterile attitude? That attitude has not helped us get back the territories illegally occupied by the Chinese, nor has it helped us lessen their enmity or their attempts to create difficulties for us by supplying arms and other assistance to hostile elements amongst the Nagas and the Mizos. In view of this experience, is it not desirable and necessary to explore other methods? A dialogue may not prove fruitful immediately or even in the long run. But why should we prejudge the result and refuse to begin it?

There will be some who will regard the whole endeavour as waste of time and effort on the ground that China is incorrigible and would never give up her hostility to India. No doubt, there is a basic contradiction between our and the Chinese point of view, our and their systems of government and our and their values, aims and ideals. The Prime Minister referred to it when she stated: "Our (India's and China's) attitudes towards the world and our own development are entirely different." But those differences are to be combated and fought out on the political plane. A dialogue or even a settlement of issues in dispute should not come in the way of the battle of ideals and values. That is a battle which must be carried on relentlessly irrespective of the relations, friendly or hostile, between the two countries.

There is a much clearer case and a far more urgent need for a dialogue and understanding with our other neighbour, Pakistan. One is happy to note the encouraging progress made in that direction during the last few weeks. Pakistan does not now reject the suggestion of a "no war" pact. She suggests the setting up simultaneously of a machinery for the settlement of issues in dispute. India has responded by suggesting machinery at various levels where appropriate representatives of the two countries could sit together to discuss matters in dispute and explore possibilities of finding mutually acceptable solutions. Pakistan is yet to make its response to this suggestion.

It is difficult to forecast the response. It may not come immediately and may not be initially very helpful. It is to be hoped, however, that it will not close the door for talks. What is important is that the talks should continue; if they continue there is always the hope that they may, sooner or later, succeed in finding a way out. Between India and Pakistan there are a number of matters in dispute. If they are taken up for consideration from time to time and if even one or two of them are completely or partially solved that will create a favourable atmosphere for tackling others.

It is needless to say that India and Pakistan have to live together and must learn to live together in

friendship and cooperation. Lack of friendship between the two has given many a twist to the foreign policy pursued by each country. Nobody can object to Pakistan's friendship with China, but it need not be directed against India. It will cease to have that direction if the present tension between India and Pakistan is removed and is substituted by a growing friendship. Pakistan cannot afford not to take serious note of the widespread popular discontent within her borders. If that discontent is to be allayed, the huge amounts that are being spent on military preparedness will have to be reduced and used for economic development and popular welfare. A change in relationship with India will alone make it possible. There is, of course, the alternative course of turning the people's anger against India. But that will only lead to a disastrous war and greater misery and hunger. It is to be hoped that the rulers of Pakistan will not decide to take recourse to that suicidal course.

Our country is also shouldering a much too heavy burden of military expenditure. As long as a thousand crores of Rupees will be spent from year to year over military expenditure, our economic progress is bound to be slow and stunted. It is essential to find ways and means for lightening that burden to the extent that may be possible. A dialogue with China and more particularly with Pakistan, even if partially successful, will enable us to take some steps in that direction.

It is always necessary to keep the powder dry. But sole reliance on powder has never helped any country. The Prime Minister's New Year statement deserves all welcome because it opens out the prospect of using other means for advancing the cause of security and defence.

United States and Vietnam

Replying to a question "What went wrong in Vietnam?" the retiring U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk stated as reported in *U.S. News and World Report*:

What went wrong in Vietnam was a persistent and determined attempt by the authorities in Hanoi to take over South Vietnam by force. (This) had to be met by ourselves and by the increase in South Vietnamese forces and by additional Allied forces. The thing which is wrong from the very beginning about the situation in Southeast Asia is that these authorities in Hanoi have employed their military forces in Laos, in South Vietnam—and with trained guerillas and other activity in Thailand—to do things to their neighbours that they are not permitted to do under general standards of international conduct. That has been our problem.

And to overcome that problem has been the agony of the situation. We are there not because we enjoy being there....

Letters to the Editor

Sir,

I was delighted to see your note in the 200th issue of *Freedom First*. I was moved by your spirit, devotion and dedication to the values of freedom and democracy.

I have been reading *Freedom First* fairly regularly. Indeed I look forward to each issue. I cannot say that I always agreed with the various contributors and sometimes I could not even appreciate certain points or angularities of this or that contributor.

But I have always found *Freedom First* very stimulating and thoughtprovoking reading. Disagreement and dissent is at the heart of the democratic idea and it is moreover immaterial whether I, like other readers, agree or do not agree. You have kept the torch bright and shining and that is the important thing. Please accept my warm felicitations and sincere good wishes for the ceaseless onward march of *Freedom First*.

Director

—P. G. MAVALANKAR

Harold Laski Institute of Political Science
Ahmedabad 1. January 4.

Sir,

Let me congratulate you and the Democratic Research Service for having continued to publish the *Freedom First* for all these 200 issues. You are entirely justified in claiming "for over 16 years the *Freedom First* has held aloft the banner of freedom and democracy". I think it was in 1951 that the Democratic Research Service published in a book-form the speeches made by me in Parliament and by Mr. Masani, Dr. Kunzru, Shyamaprasad Mukherjee and P. Y. Deshpande, criticising the policies of Nehru over Tibet. From that time, it has gone on warning our people against the wrong policies of Nehru and Congress Government in international affairs.

You have served not only the cause of democracy but also independent trade unionism for these decades and we are grateful to you. I wish all success to *Freedom First* and also to Liberalism. We are all beholden to that tradition. It may interest you to learn that whenever I have to explain to foreigners when I am abroad, what our party's name means, I tell them that it means Freedom First.

N. G. RANGA, M.P.

Nidubrolu, January 15.

We are there because what we are doing there is directly related to the national interests of the United States, to determinations by our Government through our most-formal constitutional processes that the security of Southeast Asia is vital to the United States, and because what happens in Southeast Asia is vital to the general peace of the world.

Communist Insurgency In Malaysia And Thailand

Ian Tickle

THE main pre-condition for American withdrawal from Southeast Asia is the existence of some kind of military alliance between the free nations of the area. Two of the countries most threatened are Thailand and Malaysia. And these are also two countries which have appeared to enjoy fairly good diplomatic relations with each other.

Yet in the jungles of the Malayan peninsula where the narrow land frontier between Thailand and Malaysia is situated, these good neighbourly relations seem to lead to very little. The fact is that this is an area where Communist insurgency has been endemic for years — and it is here that the last remaining Malayan Communist guerrillas retreated when their attempt at rebellion was put down after years of struggle in the 1950s. By hopping from one side of the frontier to the other whenever there was an alert, they have been able to avoid arrest indefinitely, and there have been reports that all this time they have been able to keep in being a skeleton administration on both Thai and Malaysian territory in this sparsely populated area.

A few months ago an agreement was reached between Malaysia and Thailand for a form of military and police cooperation in the area — and there arose hopes that at long last this festering wound in the sovereignty of both could be closed. But these hopes have faded; very little in the shape of cooperation has in fact taken place. And the Communist danger is spreading outwards instead of diminishing.

Malaysian Communists are being trained on Thai

soil, and there is evidence that the old leader of the attempted Communist revolution in Malaya a decade ago, Chin Peng, is now leading insurgent activities in the area. In spite of Malaysian military vigilance on the southern side of the frontier, it is reported that these Communist elements have been experiencing little or no difficulty in crossing over the frontier as and when they wish.

The main hope of the Communists in Malaysia is a racial one — they work exclusively in the ranks of the large Chinese racial group in the country, parts of which have along the years conceived a vicarious pride in the achievements of their ancient homeland under Mao Tse-tung. There is an endemic state of resentment between the Chinese and Malay communities and this can easily be whipped up for the Communists' political ends. This — rather than outright military revolt — is Chin Peng's current task in training cadres in the border area.

Chinese schools, trade unions and opposition parties have been penetrated in this way — and it is evident that lessons have been learned from previous failures. The flag of revolt is not going to be hoisted in Malaysia in any general way until the Communists are ready with their infiltration. And they are hurrying now; for they are quite aware that in the last resort the order for revolt is not for them to give, but will reach them from Peking. They do not want to be caught un-awares.

Another manifestation of this has been the creation of quasi-secret "people's communes" in several parts of Malaysia — as also across the Malay Straits in Indonesian Sumatra. These "communes" are enclaves of Communists living together in close and self-supporting communities in the jungle — ready to come out into the open when told to do so and form military and civilian cadres for the struggle in the villages, where Communist revolution in any part of Southeast Asia has to be won or lost. A number of these "communes" have been discovered and broken up by the Malaysian authorities, but there are indications that others are in existence and that the number of them is growing. Recruits from the towns are being sent to them for temporary courses in various techniques which the Communists think will be useful when their time comes.

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Courtesy: The Hindu

Students And National Integration

B. A. Deshpande

IT was a privilege to participate in the "Inter-University Students Leadership Camp for National Integration" organised by the Gandhi Centenary Committee as a part of the programme undertaken by it for the Centenary. The Camp was held from 22nd to 31st December at the University Centre, Trivandrum. The organisers could not have chosen a better place. It was for the first time that a Camp of this nature was being held in Kerala. It provided an opportunity for students coming from other parts of the country to get a feel of the situation and the problems of the State.

The Camp had a dual purpose. One was the assessment of the feeling of national integration prevalent in the country; the other was to provide a better understanding of the ideas and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi particularly some of his suggestions for the improvement of the common man's lot. The present-day youth has not been able to fully understand the role Gandhiji played in our freedom struggle. There is a tendency to dismiss his ideas as out-dated and irrelevant at the present juncture. It was for this, clearing of misgivings about Gandhism and Gandhiji, that the Camp was held.

Representatives from about twenty-five Universities participated in the Camp, which was inaugurated by Shri M. Koya, Minister for Education.

The first talk we had was from Prof. George who spoke on the "Role of Students in National Development and Integration". He started on the right note by saying that the old concept of looking at students in a vague manner, expecting unflinching loyalty, should change. He should be looked at as an independent adult wanting to participate in the social upheaval. The old attitude is a legacy of the British which had an administrative hierarchy wherein the student was placed on the last rung.

The student unrest partly springs out of this neglect. However, there are other causes like utter lack of communication between fellow beings, increasing trend towards materialism and lack of ideas. Specialisation has robbed the present-day student of the versatility. There seems to be an unwarranted isolation among the present and past generation. The students should take greater interest in social problems and should help solve them. It has become a fashion to condemn students for their behaviour and lay the blame for all the chaos squarely on their shoulders. An interesting statistic shows that 35% to 40% of the student strikes are for un-academic matters while 20% to 25% are very remotely connected to academic matters. This

shows how various political parties are making use of students to bring their own ideology to the forefront.

What is then the path that will lead us out of this shambles? Religion? Yes; this was the view of Prof. A. G. Warriar who gave us a talk on "Comparative Study of Religion". He first dealt with the "Spirit" and said that it was experienced directly by thinkers alone. It was beyond space. There was no plurality as regards to it. It can now be said that Religion means truth. They are inseparable. Truth can be called as the reality; to find the final reality, a mystic approach may help. Here it is necessary to understand clearly the difference between "Institutional Religion" and "Religion" in the true sense of the term. Science and Religion have a common path, that of "devotion"; it is only through devotion and utter surrender that the final realities of both can be felt and seen. This "Religion" or "Truth", as we have understood, can lead us to greater understanding and bring about harmony in this chaotic world.

Prof. Balkrishna Pillai gave a general talk on "Satyagraha" and "Ahimsa". He dealt with Gandhiji's ideas on social and economic changes envisaged by him. He emphasised that social change for betterment could be brought about only after an economic change. A wrong notion prevails about Gandhiji's idea of industrialisation. Gandhiji never opposed it, but he wanted it to be according to resources available in the country itself. Prof. Pillai startled us by saying that Gandhiji had never advocated linguistic States. Gandhiji had only emphasised the need for developing regional languages.

The discussion that followed this talk was interesting. It was felt that "National Integration" could never be brought about by intensifying linguistic States. The general cry against English as a foreign language was thought to be carrying things too far. The study of English was something like a woman coming into the life of a man, but does it mean that he forgets his mother? They have their own roles to play which are complementary rather than contrary. It was therefore felt that national policy should not be based only on sentiment. Hatred and creativity cannot go together.

The Constitution has played a significant role in holding India together in the midst of diversity. It has many unique features which are not to be found elsewhere. This aspect was dealt with by Principal Sankar Dasan Thampi. He stressed the unique feature of the preamble upholding the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. This twin ideal was to be achieved at the same time, without any conflict. The

(Continued on page 10)

Student Unrest — A Point of View

(We are giving below some reactions to the article under the above title which appeared in the last issue — Editor).

Principal J. W. Airan writes:

It is true that "Viet Nam" for the students from the United States, and "academic freedom" for students in Czechoslovakia, and "Israel" for the students in Arab countries have provided motivation for student unrest in the respective countries. It does not therefore mean that there would have been no student unrest in those countries if these issues had not existed. So long as education was restricted to traditionally "Academic" sections of society, the dialogue between the teacher and the taught went on also in the traditional manner strictly following the rules of the game. But the student community even then was a restless community. Today education, especially higher education, is widespread and is no longer restricted to any one section of the community. Therefore, the rules of the debate between the teacher and the taught no longer follow the traditional pattern. Like the colours in the modern painting, the debate bursts out, which has the semblance of violence. It is, however, still the old time debate but in the modern style.

Formerly the community was influenced by education and its processes. Today the aspirations and the expectations of the community influence education and the processes of education. Today the structure of the community has become complex, vulnerable and difficult to define, so have its methods of inter-communication. Most of the points of dispute are settled by threats, strikes, and especially in our country by floor-crossing. *The Times of India* of 13-1-1969 reported the existence in Bombay of an organisation to safeguard the interests of ticketless travellers! The climate which these newer modes of inter-communication in the community have created has now pervaded college campuses. Thus, for example, in a country the vital points of debate centre round racial politics. The students in the college campuses, for the time being, would derive a motivation for their restlessness from it. I think what we need to bear in mind, and possibly even hope for, is that the students remain restless, that is, there should prevail an unrest in the college campuses. But those of us who are in charge of higher education should vest that unrest with meaningfulness related to contemporary situations. Thus, for instance, restlessness in Indian college campuses should be motivated by the urgency to introduce rele-

vance in education in our developing culture and for establishing an effective correspondence between thought and action. There is another situation which can offer a source of motivation for unrest, namely, the manner in which our own Government is resurrecting the approach of the colonial powers to education where they shaped educational policy and even curbed academic freedom in return for grants to educational institutions to meet the rising costs.

It seems that Mr. Jai Chinai in his splendid article on Student Unrest, in your paper, has asked for removal of irrelevance in education and for providing worthy goals for student unrest. One may not quite agree that the student community is in a "cantankerous" mood. It certainly is in a restless mood, and that is not bad.

S. C. Khattri, Kanpur, writes:

I have read the article "Student Unrest". It is original in its approach and style. Besides, the last paragraph is of much importance and is a befitting reply to all the problems and hurdles in the improvement of the lot of unrest prevailing off and on in the community in India.

D. Shiva Kumar, Mysore, writes:

Inter alia, lack of proper attention to student welfare is also a cause contributing to the student unrest. The authorities including the Government and the University are concerned more with regulation and activities like conducting examinations etc. They are generally little worried about the problem of creating a proper atmosphere for the students so that they may concentrate more on their studies. For this, I feel there should be a student leader on the board of administration to voice the grievances, and they will feel that there is a representative to represent them. So resorting often to strikes — which would become disastrous later — will be lesser. Creating a Dean for student welfare as the University of Mysore has done, is also welcome.

N. B. Desai, Bombay, writes:

At the outset, it must be observed that in the manner and method of ventilating their grievances

students have deviated from the proper path. But the actual percentage of the total student population indulging in this is quite low. Others join it rather reluctantly or sometimes out of coercion. The majority are passive supporters. Not that they are not dissatisfied with the particular problem but nonetheless by and large they are law-abiding. And even those who resort to destructive activities would not perhaps dare to go the extent they usually go, if they are not encouraged and instigated by others for their petty purposes.

But these are only the manifestation of a malady which lies deeper, and needs to be correctly diagnosed. The causes are social, economic, cultural and political as well. Of course, these over-lap, but can be broadly viewed from these angles.

Under the Constitution, universal and compulsory primary education is envisaged. As a result, the number of schools, primary and secondary, has multiplied which in its turn has accelerated the growth of colleges and universities. This has resulted in greater demand for teachers at all levels. Now all of these teachers are not perfectly competent for their respective duties. It would be difficult to find out the exact percentage of teachers who really love teaching and discharge their duties and obligations to the society as they should. Consequently, the products of these literacy factories are half-baked.

The social and economic atmosphere in which our society exists is not congenial to allow parents to take sufficient interest in the education of their children. In urban areas, the father is busy earning and everyone is hard-pressed for time. Not much individual attention is paid either by parents or by teachers.

And the student who after about a dozen years of schooling enters the college gradually learns that unemployment is in store for many after graduation. In this crucial period, he is emotionally very irritable and also has an ideal image of the world, in which he will do something great. At the end of teenage he is sufficiently disillusioned and finds life, to quote Hobbes' phrase, "poor, short, nasty and brutish."

It has been found that political parties have many unemployed educated young persons as their recruits, who create spheres of influence in their alma mater and keep in constant touch with the student union office-bearers (and not student leaders). They utilize the highly inflammable material for political purpose at the behest of their bosses. And when, this results in explosion, big headlines are given and the mole-hill is turned into a mountain.

Our educational policy is suicidal. It doesn't bring out the best in the individual. Whatever name you give it, education must be geared to the needs of the life

of the individual in the society in which he lives and the circumstances in which the nation and the world at large finds itself. After all, as Dr. John. G. Hibben has put it, education is the ability to meet life's situations. It is foolish to waste the valuable time, energy and resources of all concerned, if this primary object of education is not achieved.

The conflict between the traditional values and modern values has its consequences on the youngster's mind too. Some have given up traditional values and have not been able to accept modern values. Some find it difficult to maintain the age-old values. Very few have been able to see the eternity of real values. The young mind and heart is confounded and frustrated and feels insecure. The inability to adjust in the changed global circumstances as a result of scientific and technological changes, which the historians describe as the cultural lag can be succinctly referred to as the cause of this problem not only in India but all the world over.

Thus, if we see the issue in its proper perspective and with all its ramifications, it should enable us to realize that unless we replace the constituent circumstances which are responsible for this malady, with the desired ones, the problem cannot be solved. And hence a team consisting of educationists, sociologists, psychiatrists and even historians should recast our educational policy. And the government must implement the same in letter as well as in spirit. The political parties should agree to keep their hands off the student world. Given proper facilities and incentives for study, students will be able to channelize their energies in proper directions, and the so-called problem of student unrest will die its natural death.

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New Industrial Society

S. S. M. Desai

THE capitalist system has undergone fundamental structural changes during the present century. Traditionally, the profit motive provided the main incentive and the automatic, impersonal price mechanism achieved both the rational distribution of scarce resources and maximum consumer satisfaction. The market mechanism harmonised various sectional interests and made active intervention by the state unnecessary. This was the classical model of capitalism. All this has now changed! Prof. J. K. Galbraith has succinctly analysed all these fundamental changes in his latest book.*

Modern industry makes use of highly specialized technology which means that a vast amount of capital is committed to production. Use of highly developed technology also implies a more inflexible commitment of time and money to the performance of a given task. It also requires highly specialized manpower and careful organization which alone can bring the work of specialists to coherent results. All this inevitably requires detailed planning. Since an increasing span of time separates the beginning from the completion of the task undertaken, steps are required to be taken to see that what is foreseen ultimately eventuates in fact. It should also be noted that modern technology has put the problem of planning beyond the reach of individual firms. It is the technological compulsion and not political ideology that has necessitated planning, control over market prices and state protection.

The imperative of technology with the accompanying commitment of time and money has necessitated extensive planning in capitalist system. Vertical integration, control of prices and consumer demand and absorption of market uncertainty by mutual contacts among firms all favour replacement of market forces by detailed planning.

The modern business corporations supply themselves with massive capital out of undistributed profits. This means in their direction, unlike former entrepreneurs, they are not responsible to their owners but to themselves. Also decisions in a modern business enterprise are the product not of an individual but of a group consisting of technical, planning and other specialized staff. The author calls this group "Technostructure". The members of the technostructure are the paid servants and do not get the profit which they help

to maximize. "The simple pursuit of personal profit does not explain the behaviour of the modern organization man". The members of the technostructure are motivated by pecuniary compensation (which is not the same thing as profit), compulsion, identification and adaptation which together constitute the new Motivating System. "Goal of technostructure is technological virtuosity." Motive to effort has changed and this is a fundamental change which capitalism has undergone.

These fundamental structural changes have also brought about equally fundamental changes in the relation between the state and industry which is no longer dominated by private entrepreneurs motivated by personal profit. The state is interested in stabilising the economy and for defence purposes in the spread of education and scientific advancement which are precisely the needs of modern business corporations.

All these structural changes have important political implications. Internally business corporations which have come to depend heavily on the state will hereafter be passive in politics. The capitalist and socialist systems are subject to the imperatives of the same technology. For both systems this means detailed economic planning, though techniques of planning and execution may differ. Since there is so much common in both the systems, there is now no reason for the implacable conflict which resulted in the past due to contrasts between them.

But the industrial system is only a part of our social system. Besides industrial goal, there are other goals such as aesthetic which are more important if man is to live a happy life. In the last few pages, the author tells us in his usual eloquent manner how we should act if we are to be the master of the industrial state and not its slaves and victims. The future of the new industrial society which is full of promise as also perils depends on how willingly and effectively the intellectual community provides the leadership in striking a proper balance between industrial and aesthetic goals.

The traditional analysis of capitalism has thus become outdated. Prof. Galbraith has given a new insight into the working of the present day capitalistic system. It is always a pleasure to read Prof. Galbraith. His sense of humour and knack of coining new words and phrases (such as Technostructure, the Educational and Scientific Estate, the Revised Sequence, etc., etc.) are all a delight to enjoy. Reading this new book is like enjoying a fresh wind blowing.

* *The New Industrial State* by J. K. Galbraith. Oxford & IBH Publishing Company; Pp. 427; Price Rs. 28.

COMMUNIST INSURGENCY—Cont'd from page 5

Thailand is already heavily engaged in fighting a Communist insurgency. In this case, the frontier is even more dangerously strategic. It is the frontier with Laos — and Laos at this particular point is a narrow country, and nothing but a few hundred miles of jungle separates this Thai frontier from North Vietnam. These jungle acres have never been completely controlled by the Royal Laotian Government, with the result that there is very little to stop regular North Vietnamese troops from pouring over the border whenever they may wish to do so — and here again we can safely assume that they will be ready whenever they receive an order from on high, or whenever they may find that events in the area should free them from other important tasks which they are at present accomplishing.

The ending of the Vietnam war may well release forces which will be only too ready to help endemic Communist rebellions in other countries — and if we are not careful we shall see countries like Thailand and Malaysia fall sick of the same disease as South Vietnam. The only remedy — at the same time a prophylactic and a cure — is defensive alliances by these countries, not necessarily with the United States, but with each other.

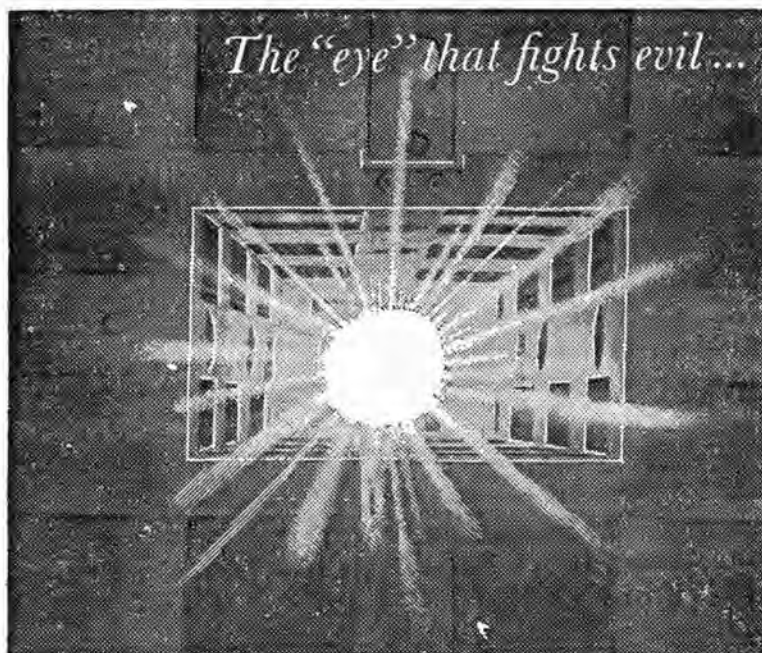
—Swiss Press Review and News Report

NATIONAL INTEGRATION—Cont'd from page 6

chapter on Fundamental Rights specially the "right to movement, and to settle in any part of the country" was a great one.

Lastly, the "Challenges and Opportunities of University Education" was discussed beautifully by Prof. Samuel Mathai, the Vice-Chancellor of the Kerala University. He stressed the point that youth was a temporary phase. It was a wrong notion to think it to be permanent. No progress was possible if the propulsive and directive elements were combined together. Man should take life as a constantly open door, which provided immense opportunities.

The discussions that followed the lectures were sometimes uninteresting because of the lack of sincerity of purpose in the participants. It seemed to me that proper and careful thought was not given while sending representatives. The purpose the Camp served still remains to me a bit unclear. It was, however, interesting to meet fellow-students from other parts, and get a first-hand impression of the conditions there. My friends from Assam revealed to me the potential danger of Nagaland, and the very adamant attitude of the people there. We in Bombay seem to be better off in many respects. However, what struck me most was the number of challenges that students of the present day will have to face now and in future. Shall we rise to the occasion? I leave the answer to my colleagues in the student world.



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Without Comment

An Indian in Russian Prisons

Mr. Madan Mohan Hardat, at present of New Delhi, has told the following story of his life in communist Russia in the course of a letter published in the *Hindustan Times*:

I set out to be a revolutionary but ended up in the labour camps of Siberia. I had fiery visions of "communism" and "mass upheaval". Now I am a changed man, believing in free enterprise. I, no more, believe in any kind of socialism, not even in democratic socialism.

Things could have been quite different for me if I had not been imbued with ideas of revolution in the '30s and had not taken that fateful decision to go to the Soviet Union from Lahore (Punjab) in 1940-1941 with Abdulla Safdar, an active member of M. N. Roy's League of Radical Congressmen, one of the many revolutionary factions in India in British days.

We made our journey to Kushka (Turkmania) on the Soviet border, after many gruelling days in the tribal region of the NWFP and Afghanistan. But as soon as we set foot on Russian soil we were arrested by Soviet police. We were separated and I could know nothing about the fate of Safdar.

I was taken to Lubianka prison in Moscow, sentenced without trial to three years' imprisonment and sent to a labour camp of Nizhniy Tagil. In September 1943, I was written off from the labour camp, transported to a town in Kazakhstan and kept under surveillance upto the end of 1947.

Then came a call to go to Tashkent University, ostensibly to teach Hindi and Urdu. I spent three months there and was then sent back to Kazakhstan to set up a summer camp for the students of the Uighur language.

On the train I was arrested by the dreaded secret police and sent without trial again to Siberia. This time the sentence was for 25 years. The charges: spying for the British and anti-Soviet agitation.

While shuttling from one labour camp to another, in 1955 a change came in prison conditions and the rules were relaxed under the new Khrushchev regime. Prisoners were now free to send petitions. So I sent a direct petition to Khrushchev in which I said: "If I am a criminal, take me before a court and try me. If I have committed no crime why have I been kept in prison?"

I had also taken advantage of another relaxation in the rules. I was now corresponding with a student of

a commercial institute in Moscow to get dictionaries to further my knowledge on translations.

The letters with the girl had gradually blossomed into friendship. Meanwhile, my case, I was told in reply to my petition, had been referred to a military tribunal for review.

In March 1956, I was taken to Lubianka prison from Inta labour camp, near Vorkuta, kept there for a few months and released on May 29, 1956. Almost the first thing I did was to meet the girl who had been corresponding with me; we were married soon afterward.

Now began the struggle to get Indian citizenship. The Indian Embassy asked me for proof of my antecedents but having been behind the Iron Curtain for so many years I did not know where and in what part of India my parents were.

Until matters were sorted out I decided to take up a teaching assignment at Tashkent University and also a radio job as a translator and announcer of Urdu.

After much running about and because mostly to Mr. Nehru's intervention, I finally got Indian citizenship and came to India to settle down in 1962. My Russian wife and our daughter joined me a few months later.

My temporary assignment as an interpreter in the case of the Soviet sailor—Tarasov, who defected to the West some years ago, got me the title of "American spy." Initially, of course, the Soviets had considered me a "British spy." A Delhi weekly paper called me a "Russian spy."

What exactly am I?

Review

Indo-Soviet Relations

Popular Prakashan, Bombay, Re. 1/-

The contributors to this small pamphlet are Dr. Harish Kapur, Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. A. D. Gorwala and others. It examines Indo-Soviet relations in the political and also in the economic field. Dr. Kapur draws attention to the shift in Soviet policy towards India, while Mr. Masani deals with the crime that Russia and her allies perpetrated and are perpetrating in Czechoslovakia. The last essay by Mr. Pai warns against the danger of the attempts that are being made to "dovetail" Indian economy into Russian economy. The pamphlet is a timely publication which should be read widely and attentively.

N. S.

With Many Voices

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

The only solution in the Middle East will be one "imposed" by an agreement between the Americans and the Russians.

—*The Guardian Weekly*, January 2.

There is a clear division between the countries of Asia which have expanding economies and rising standards of life, and those which have not, and all in the first group allow freedom of enterprise while all in the second group practise socialism.

—Lee Kwan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore,
Swarajya, January 4.

All genuine writers are 'involved', some at first hand and some at a remove.

—Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Times of India*,
January 5.

Poor Marx, he would turn in his grave if he were to know what his 'chelas' are doing now.

—Congress President Nijalingappa,
Indian Express, January 6.

The worse the man you are intrinsically, the better the Communist you will make.

—*Opinion*, January 7.

The fact is, we now see that a revolution cannot change a nation, its tendencies and qualities and traits. Revolution only changes the form of power and property, but not the nation itself.

—Milovan Djilas, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, January 8.

To the Editor,
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Well-meaning Plans can go awry, if they are not correlated with the national character.

—H. C. Ganguly, *Indian Express*,
January 9.

I am still filled with wonder when I think of an occasion 21 years ago when it took less than a month to get Government approval to the creation of Air-India International.

—J. R. D. Tata, *The Indian Monitor*,
January 11.

To start with the axiom that Pakistan is incorrigibly hostile to India is to make it an axiom that our economy must continue to be a bankrupt economy.

—C. Rajagopalachari, *Swarajya*, January 11.

The grim joke about the entire election campaign is that every party is busy ducking the crucial issues.

—Sham Lal, *Times of India*, January 14.

In Malaysia it takes two years to start a factory—in India it takes two years to get permission to start a factory.

—A leading Japanese delegate to a conference
in Delhi, *March of the Nation*, January 18.

The politicians would do well to realise that their credibility rating with the common man has recently slumped to an exceedingly low level.

—*The Indian Monitor*, January 18.

It's too dangerous for great nations to get too mad.

—Dean Rusk, *U. S. News & World Report*,
January 20.

Indo-Soviet negotiations on the much-publicised wagon deal have come to a dead end because Moscow has refused to accept the price suggested by India and the price offered by Russia is not acceptable to the Commerce Ministry.

—*The Economic Times*, January 21.

In the ultimate analysis all social problems are moral problems and ethics plays as large a part in economic problems as anywhere else.

—D. R. Gadgil, *Opinion*, January 21.