

Heads I Win, Tails You Lose

A. G. Mulgaokar

WHAT indeed is the political game that Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, is engaged in playing? Is it the age-old game of "heads I win, tails you lose," which when translated in present-day terms means that whatever happens to the country she is on top. If that is the purpose for which she has been taking the several steps in recent months then it is easy enough to understand the events that have recently taken place in this country. The last one of these is that which has taken place in U.P. It seems that Mr. Charan Singh, the Chief Minister, on the withdrawal of the support of his Congress (R) colleagues requested the Governor of U.P. to remove from office those of the Ministers in his government who belonged to that party. It further appears that Mr. Gopala Reddy, the Governor, was unwilling to do so for some time. Eventually, however, he took the step of withdrawing their portfolios but without accepting their resignations in spite of Mr. Charan Singh, Chief Minister, persisting in his request to do so. Undoubtedly, this poses a rather serious constitutional question. But, thereafter, events moved rapidly and Mr. Gopala Reddy made a report to the President that the administration of the State could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Soon enough, consequent on the report, came the President's proclamation under Article 356 taking over the administration.

We have here a very straight and simple constitutional question. Was the proclamation under Article 356 called for and was the Governor's report stating that the administration of the State could not be carried on in accordance with the Constitution correct?

Article 356 lays down that if the President, on receipt of a report from the Governor of a State or otherwise, is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the President may by proclamation

assume to himself all or any of the functions of the government of the State, etc. In considering this Article we must also keep before our mind Article 163 of the Constitution which says with regard to States, that there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advice the Governor; and Article 164 which says that the Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister and the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor. Article 164, therefore, makes it clear that the Chief Minister has the sole right of deciding who his colleagues are to be. It is further clear that Mr. Gopala Reddy's first step in this sorry business in refusing to dismiss the Ministers as requested by Mr. Charan Singh was altogether wrong. Here it should be made clear that it was open to Mr. Reddy at this stage to deprive Mr. Charan Singh of the office of Chief Minister and call upon the leader of the largest group in the Legislature to form his government if Mr. Charan Singh did not possess that qualification. Mr. Gopala Reddy instead of doing this seems to have taken the unusual step, while withdrawing the various departments from the particular Ministers whose resignation was being demanded by Mr. Charan Singh of allowing them to continue as Ministers. With what object, one must ask, was he flouting Article 164 of the Constitution? When we have considered further the various events which have taken place in this sordid drama we will realise what Mr. Gopala Reddy's object was.

While all this was taking place press reports of the advice tendered by Mr. De, Attorney General, to the Governor of U.P. appeared in various forms from time to time. From these it is clear that his advice was that the Governor should call upon the Chief Minister (along with his colleagues) to resign forthwith and failing this that they should be dismissed without delay. If Mr. De, the learned Attorney-General had added to this advice a further advice that after dismissing Mr. Charan Singh the Governor should call upon the leader of the Opposition or whoever was the leader of the largest party in the Legislature one could have understood his advice. Because the first constitutional principle in this connection which has to be borne in mind (although it may not find a place in any written Constitution) is that "the King's Government must go on". It is obvious that in tendering his advice, couched as it is in extravagant language, Mr. Niren De was exhibiting somewhat slight acquaint-

tance with constitutional practice. Article 164 of the Constitution makes it incumbent upon the Governor to appoint a Chief Minister bearing in mind the proviso that a person so chosen must enjoy the Legislature's confidence. Merely dismissing the Chief Minister and stopping there is creating a constitutional vacuum which obviously no Constitution can permit. Mr. Niren De in his note of advice has mentioned that political morality and constitutional propriety has frequently been at a low ebb in the country. He seems to have forgotten when he makes this statement that the Government of which he is at present the principal law officer has itself frequently been guilty of this, and that he is condemning his own august clients indirectly.

On the other hand, the opinion on the subject given by Mr. K. L. Misra, the Advocate-General of U.P. must commend itself to lawyers acquainted with constitution law. He has pointed out that he was not aware of a single instance in the constitutional history of the last hundred years of any parliamentary democracy where the advice of a Chief Minister about the removal of a Minister has not been accepted. He rightly says that there are really no qualifications or conditions to this universally accepted dictum. It is clear that Mr. Misra's is no partisan opinion. He points out on the question of the Governor asking the Chief Minister to resign "I have myself conceded, in my opinion, that in the particular conditions in India, the Governor has the power in certain circumstances to ask for the resignation of the Chief Minister. I have, in my opinion, attempted to give the circumstances in which this could be done." Then he points out that "the opinion of the Attorney-General is not based upon any provision of the Constitution or any authority: in any case, none has been referred to by the Attorney-General". Mr. Misra might well have pointed out that Mr. Niren De as an experienced lawyer should know that any court before it acts upon any wide, sweeping or vague propositions of law, constitutional or of other kind, requires to be satisfied of valid constitutional precedents or the authority of recognised constitutional experts in support. Mr. Niren De forgets as Attorney-General of the Government of India, he is not only the principal law officer of the Government but also enjoys a position of authority under the Constitution and therefore owes responsibility to the Constitution.

It is worth considering whether the terms of Article 356 have been observed in the issue of this proclamation by any one of the three parties most concerned, namely, the President, the Governor and the Prime Minister. First of all the terms of Article 356 make it obligatory upon the President to satisfy himself that a situation or situations have arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the Provisions of the Constitution. This is supposed to be based on the report in

this case by the Governor in these terms. We have seen that all that happened was that the largest group in Mr. Charan Singh's following withdrew its support. True, this group was in fact larger than the number of Mr. Charan Singh's own followers. Now it is well-known that originally this group was not represented in the Ministry. Constitutional propriety requires that when this group withdrew its support to Mr. Charan Singh it should have called upon its representatives in the Ministry to resign for the simple reason that it was Mr. Charan Singh's Ministry and not theirs. So to start with the ruling Congress itself was guilty of a constitutional impropriety. The Governor instead of acceding to Mr. Charan Singh's request that they should be called upon to resign from the Ministry himself is guilty not only of illogical conduct but yet again of constitutional impropriety. Anyway, at this stage can it be claimed by any stretch of imagination that a situation had arisen in which the government of the State could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution? Why then was this report made by the Governor? If he had adhered to a true statement of facts then the question should have been asked him both by the President and the Prime Minister in what manner according to him had the administration broken down so that it could not be carried on in accordance with the provision of the Constitution. It is not known whether either of these two asked such a question of Mr. Gopala Reddy because if it had been, obviously no proclamation would have resulted. It is clear the Prime Minister did not ask any such question because Mr. Gopala Reddy was acting, if not under her direct instructions, then at least in a manner best suited to her book. It is pretty clear to anyone who understands Indian politics that whoever is in political control of U.P. will have a major voice in the selection of the Prime Minister of India. Take away U.P.'s support from the Prime Minister and his chances of survival are meagre. Mrs. Indira Gandhi certainly knows this and therefore Mr. Gopala Reddy's action suited her. But the biggest question is whether under the terms of Article 356 the President satisfied himself that the situation which is described in the words, "government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution" had arisen. The Article specifically requires the President to satisfy himself. Did he in fact do so? Because if he did not he is clearly breaking the terms of his oath to "uphold the Constitution".

Four days later, after the proclamation establishing President's rule was issued, it had to be withdrawn, clearly showing thereby that the original proclamation was altogether uncalled for. Could political chicanery go any further and can the Constitution and India's democratic institutions be considered safe in the hands of those who, to serve their own despicable ends, can act with such callous disregard of political morality?

Democratic Socialism - Need For Rethinking

C. L. Gheevala

SOcialists today are faced with a dilemma as to the means to be adopted for the achievement of the general objectives which commonly characterise all socialist aspirations. They believe in creating condition of equality of opportunity for the large mass of people, so that they may have the maximum scope for their self-expression and development. The doctrinaires among the socialists are deifying the means into ends in themselves. They seek to identify socialism with increasing public enterprises, nationalisation, central planning and bureaucratisation irrespective of the consequences.

At no stage, confusion has been more profound regarding the choice of means than at present. As propounded by Karl Marx and upheld by his doctrinaire followers, socialism has been equated with nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange. It is significant to note that Karl Marx's prophecy of the collapse of capitalism has proved untrue. He wrote at a time when most of the Governments in Europe were despotic. He could hardly foresee the coming of the welfare state in the wake of the spread of democratic ideals and representative institutions in various parts of the world. It is no longer true to maintain that the pattern of ownership of the means of production determines the character of the whole society and that collective ownership through nationalisation is the only necessary condition of realising the socialist objectives.

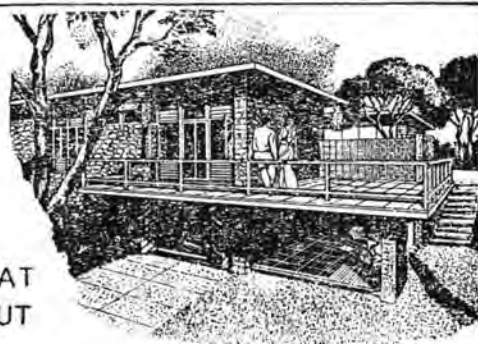
Laissez faire is an outmoded and discredited doctrine. Today the state already wields considerable power in the social and economic spheres and has subjected a large segment of the economic field to what may be described as strategically decisive political control. With the vast complex of physical, legislative, monetary and fiscal powers, the state seeks consciously to regulate the level of employment, the distribution of income, the rate of accumulation and the balance of payments. Its policies effectively influence the size of industries, the pattern of output and the direction of investment decisions. The spate of labour legislation regulates the relations between the employers and the employees and safeguards the rights of the workers. Besides, with the growth of the managerial joint-stock corporation, the function of decision-making has already shifted to non-owning classes of executives from the hereditary capitalist class of entrepreneurs. In this context, the Marxian thesis has become irrelevant as the means of achieving the socialist objective.

It is becoming increasingly realised that a mere change of ownership is no guarantee for ensuring that the economy would be run on socialist lines. On the

contrary, the socialists in some of the leading democracies believe that nationalisation has created fresh problems arising from undue concentration of economic power in political hands, on the one hand, and the growth of vast bureaucratic corporations, on the other. Even democratic trade unions have started re-examining their stand since the public sector has failed to usher in a new era in the field of industrial relations.

No responsible exponent of the system of private enterprise has asked for the revival of exploitative capitalism. It must accept its social obligations in a scheme of planned economic development. Under a system of democratic planning regulated private enterprise has a positive role to play. It is not something in the shape of a relic of a dying system to be just tolerated for a short while or to be suffered on grounds of political expediency. It is a living and dynamic system which is both fundamental and indispensable for ensuring democratic processes. It must be accepted as an integral part of the system of true democratic socialism which is based on the recognition of the intrinsic moral worth and dignity of the individual.

As aptly stated by the Socialist Union in the *Twentieth Century Socialism*, "A socialist economy is



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a mixed economy, part private part public, and mixed in all its aspects. It comprises 'private spending as well as public spending, private ownership as well as public ownership, private enterprise as well as public enterprise.' From this basic concept the Socialist Union has derived two basic conclusions: firstly as to the place of the private sector, and secondly, the place of the public sector in a scheme of democratic socialism: "The private sector of a socialist economy is not there merely on sufferance, to be tolerated only on grounds of political expediency, with the Sword of Damocles hanging over it in perpetual threat. On the contrary, it has a legitimate and indeed a necessary function to perform." They further add: "If this is to be the important function of the private sector, then it cannot be hamstrung by a whole network of legislative and administrative restrictions. That would only defeat its purpose".

Even if the public sector has to occupy important strategic points in the economy, the authors make the following significant observation on the relative roles of the public and private sectors:

"As long as an independent sector remains, it can act as a perpetual and very effective check on the state's activities. If there continue to be private employers and independent trade unions, and bargaining between them produces good results, there will be no escaping the insistence of the unions on similar conditions from public employers. If public enterprise is less efficient than private, if it gives less satisfactory service to the consumer, the comparison will be there for all to see and public opinion will not acquiesce for long. If private investment meets the nation's needs, there will be no call for public investment. At every point the nature and efficacy of state activity can be directly challenged."

It is often forgotten that monopoly, even where it is public, suffers from serious drawbacks. It not only results in seriously curtailing the freedom of the individual citizen inasmuch as it denies him his right and privilege to start industries and produce goods of his choice, but by removing the conditions of competition it smothers all initiative, enterprise and venturesomeness, which are the basic requirements for efficient working of the economic system. The nationalised sector, in the absence of competitive conditions, equally fails in safeguarding the interests of the consumer. It only results in the creation of vast bureaucratic organisations which suffer from all the dangers of over-centralisation. It has become abundantly clear that the mere act of nationalisation does not automatically change industrial and social relations in the desired direction. It is the recognition of these new problems which has been aptly expressed in the new slogan, "Nationalisation is not Socialisation."

What is essential is to emphasise that there is no

a priori case in favour of nationalisation as a panacea for all our economic evils. Every act of nationalisation must be justified on sound economic grounds. Any proposal in favour of nationalisation will have convincingly to demonstrate that it will result in economic improvement where the existing industry has manifestly failed and that other physical or fiscal controls have proved incapable of improving the situation. The approach will have to be selective, cautious and empirical. A mere snap political judgement in disregard of economic implications may lead to disastrous consequences. The public sector cannot claim a right divine to go wrong, to work inefficiently or to fritter away national resources. In short, the public and the private sectors, in the last analysis, must be judged by the contribution they make to the realisation of the objectives of planning, expanding economy, fair shares and economic security.

Democratic Socialism must address itself to the wider and more fundamental question of the dangers of centralisation and bureaucratisation to individual freedom and initiative. It can ignore these vital issues at its own peril. As pointed out in *Twentieth Century Socialism*, in such a system "There is no freedom to experiment with ideas which have not won state approval. The man who wishes to risk or dare is a misfit—or worse." Instead of realising the objective of a socialist order, it will create problems arising out of undue concentration of economic power in the political hands and the bureaucracy.

With the ever-tightening grip of the State over the economic life of the people and the bureaucratic octopus spreading its tentacles far and wide there would hardly be people left in an independent position to be bold enough to criticise fearlessly in a constructive manner Government policy without risking their livelihood and the security of their families. The bureaucracy itself develops a new vested interest in a centrally planned economy and they can hardly venture to criticise their employer without risking their chances of promotion. With the progressive elimination of countervailing forces in the economy, every individual, whether he is a peasant working in a cooperative farm or a worker belonging to a trade union of a nationalised industry or an employee of a State-run service, must forfeit, in reality if not in theory, his freedom of expression or else imperil his very economic existence. There is also a possibility of a progressive atrophy of voluntary organisations and associations, the very lifeblood of a free society, as they too should become instruments of planning and toe the line of the central planners. Eternal vigilance must, therefore, be exercised to see that the basic values of democracy and the way of life it stands for are at no stage placed in jeopardy.

C.P.M. Activities in West Bengal

(A recent issue of the CPI journal NEW AGE carried a long article on the criminal and terroristic activities of the CPM in Bengal. The article is by one Prabhat Das Gupta. The following are extracts from the article.)

WHO then is responsible for the pall of fear and uncertainty that now hangs over the life of West Bengal?

Of course, the CPM. They are responsible for the largest number of murders and crimes which has now created an atmosphere of terror in the state.

During the UF regime the CPM was fighting the other parties of the UF to extend their area of influence. But what it is doing now is something much more sinister—it is sheer physical extermination of political opponents and terrorisation of the people so that none dare oppose the CPM.

According to Hare Krishna Konar's own admission, during the three months ending December 31, 1969, the worst period of inter-party clashes, 109 clashes took place in which 23 were killed (the figure includes CPM casualties also).

During the three months ending September 15, 1970 about a hundred political murders were committed of which 73 were committed by CPM alone. Of these 73 victims of the CPM, 56 were naxalite supporters and 9 belonged to the CPI. The others belonged to parties like Forward Bloc, RSP, RCPI and others. Even the Forward Bloc (Marxist), a party belonging to CPM's six-party alliance was not spared. The CPM has now become a party addicted to crime and murder and this addiction is being paraded as militancy.

How is the CPM working out its twin policy of murder and terrorisation?

As the above figures will show the naxalites are at present the main target of CPM's murder campaign. CPM's adventurist and sectarian policy has given birth to naxalism and after the fall of the UF the CPM rank-and-file has become more susceptible to naxalite contamination. In fact, there has been sizeable defection from the CPM to the naxalite camp since the UF fell.

Unable to prevent the naxalite inroads into their ranks by political arguments the CPM took to bombs and guns to fight them. And in this campaign it has been helped by the overriding obsession of the Centre and state governments with naxalism.

About two months ago CPM state secretary Promode Das Gupta sharply rebuked the police for its inability to fight the naxalites and offered to liquidate them in a week if the police would not interfere with his sainiks. This was an open call to mass murder of naxalites. But significantly enough not a

word of disapproval of this atrocious public statement came from the government.

This was followed by another CPM leader Haraprasad Chatterjee's letter of July 27 to Governor Dhavan in which he quoted Indira Gandhi and the Calcutta Police Commissioner's appeal to organise 'popular resistance' against the naxalites to seek police support for his men.

And finally came Jyoti Basu's "life for life" call at Howrah on August 21.

The result of all these exhortations has been the cold-blooded murder of 56 naxalites and the further endearment of the CPM to the police and administration in the bargain.

It is true that 27 CPM members and followers have also been killed in this period by the naxalites. But in point of fact, the naxalites started killing them in retaliation. The first murder was almost always committed by the CPM. For example, in Jadavpur the murder of a CPM worker took place only after three naxalite boys were killed. Same happened in Dum Dum.

It is not possible in this report to give a detailed description of the murders committed. But a few examples will show how the CPM has perfected its technique of gangsterism in their war of annihilation.

★ On August 7 Mritunjoy Manna a naxalite supporter, was kidnapped from a train near Bally, Howrah, at gunpoint and murdered.

★ On August 15 a naxalite school teacher of Dum Dum Kanak Adhikary was kidnapped and later his severed head and body were found at a lonely place near the airport.

★ Six murders have been committed in this period in a two-square mile area of Jadavpur. The body of the first victim, Parimal Dey (20) a naxalite, was so badly bashed that it could hardly be recognised by his relatives.

★ A naxalite student of the Jadavpur University, Mahanty, was dragged out from the dining hall of the hostel where he was taking his lunch and murdered in the full view of a large number of people.

★ On September 3 Tapas Chakraborty (20), a naxalite supporter, was kidnapped at gun point in broad daylight and taken near the railway line in Jadavpur. The assassins first broke his arm and leg joints. Then drove nails into his body. Finally, an iron

rod was put on his throat and he was strangled. Incidentally, Tapas's father, Bejoy is an old Communist and now a top CPM leader in the Calcutta Tramways.

★ Shankar Mandal (17) a RCPI supporter, was dragged out of his party office at Haltu and stabbed to death in broad daylight. A police patrol was standing a few yards away from the place of the incident.

★ Behala Arup Banerjee, a naxalite student, was dragged out from the local college and stabbed to death. Ujjal Guha Roy (15), another naxalite student was likewise killed.

★ At Belghoria, 24-Parganas, following a clash with the naxalites in the TEXMACO factory the CPM started raiding the houses of all suspected naxalites. Deben and Monoranjan, two young men who had changed their allegiance from the CPM to the naxalites were chased. They jumped into a pond for safety. The assassins lured them to the bank with assurance of safety and when they came up they were shot and knifed to death.

★ At Durgapur, Nikhil Das, a CPI worker of AVB factory, was dragged out of the hospital in broad daylight and killed. His body was so mutilated that even his wife found it difficult to identify it.

These are only a few of the many gruesome and sadistic cases of murder.

As a supplementary of these murders the CPM has launched a campaign of mass terrorisation.

The usual technique is as follows:

All of a sudden a group of red scarfed volunteers (sometimes they would wear steel helmets painted red) with bombs, lathis, guns and other lethal weapons would appear in a locality, parade up and down the streets and shout blood-thirsty slogans against their political opponents. Sometimes they would enliven their march with a few bomb bursts before they would disappear.

The meaning of such armed marches is simple. They tell the people of the locality: Better support us; or you have heard our bombs burst and seen our guns!

But sometimes this method of 'mass persuasion' becomes less 'non-violent'. If the people of any particular area still refuses to see the wisdom of supporting the CPM they would organise a mass raid on that locality. This has become a common feature in the Barrackpore belt of 24-Parganas and Jadavpur.

Women refugee colony no. 2 and adjoining refugee colonies in Titagarh, 24-Parganas had long been a headache for the CPM. Following a clash between CPM and naxalites in this area in July, CPM mobilised its forces from the nearby areas and carried out a midnight raid on these camps.

Armed CPM hoodlums lead by one of their top local leaders broke open into every house. Many fled in panic. Those who could not were forced to give an undertaking that henceforth they would support the CPM. Having thus forced obeisance from the people of an 'enemy territory' the conquering heroes of the CPM retired for the night.

A similar raid was carried out on May 3 under the leadership of a CPM MLA on some localities near the TEXMACO factory in Belghoria. This was preceded by another raid on Nawpara in Baranagore.

During the series of strikes called by the CPM in August this technique of terrorisation was further refined.

An enquiry into the economics of bombs will be an interesting digression.

Earlier bombs were cheap in West Bengal. But after the fall of the UF, following the law of demand and supply, the prices have gone up. To-day it costs Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 to make a bomb of average quality. To buy it would cost Rs. 8 to Rs. 10.

How many bombs the CPM bursts every day now in greater Calcutta?

Nobody has done the counting yet. But anybody who knows anything about Calcutta and its suburbs would put 100 as a reasonable daily average (on August 31 CPM, according to police figures, burst 150 bombs within one and half hour near Girish Avenue, North Calcutta, alone.)

100 bombs daily means a daily bomb budget of Rs. 400 to Rs. 500, if they are home-made and Rs. 800 to Rs. 1000, if they are bought from the market. Even if we take the lowest figure of Rs. 400 the monthly bomb-budget comes to Rs. 12,000.

Where from does this money come?

Who are the people who lead CPM's assault squads?

I have with me a list of 21 known criminals who generally spearhead all CPM attacks in Baranagore—Panihalti—Belghoria area in 24 Parganas. Most of them were on the payroll of the Congress before, but switched allegiance after Jyoti Basu adorned the Home Minister's chair. Some of them are now card-holding members of the CPM. One of them is a secretary of local unit of CPM's youth federation. Many of them are on the police list of old offenders. But they are not touched.

This crowding of hardened criminals in the ranks of the CPM will explain why the murders of its political opponents are generally accompanied with unspeakable brutality and sadism.

This is how the CPM policy is working out in West Bengal—annihilate your political opponents, create mass terror to silence all opposition, play in the blind prejudice of the police and the administration against the naxalites and win their support against your political rivals to establish your hegemony over the state.

Defence Without Drift

M. R. Chandvadar

DEFENCE WITHOUT DRIFT,* of Mr. P. V. R. Rao, ICS (Retd.), Ex-Defence Secretary, is one of the fine books on defence published since Independence. The book covers various aspects of defence and security and the problems affecting them. It is a MUST to all those patriotic and democratic-minded people who have the country's security and independence at heart.

The country's attitude towards security and defence has been, since British-days, one of apathy and indifference. The Chinese invasion in October 1962 did give us a jolt but it proved temporary. As a nation, we have shown little or no interest in the defence of the country.

Even after Independence and until 1962, a very low priority was given to defence requirements. It was only a short term policy and its planning was done on a day-to-day basis. There was no higher direction of policy. It was considered that Pakistan, if at all, was our only enemy, for which our defence preparations were considered adequate. The politicians considered economic development of the country more important and money spent on defence was considered unproductive and wasteful.

We also committed "Himalayan Blunders" till 1962, in that we considered Himalaya as "impregnable," our foreign policy as "infallible" and our Army as "invincible." This myth was completely shattered due to Chinese invasion.

India has a long land frontier of 8200 miles, a coastline of 3500 miles and our India-China border alone is 2500 miles. But we completely ignored this factor in the context of modern advancement in military science. As the famous Clausevitz saying goes, "War is only a continuation of the State policy by other means." This seems to have been conveniently forgotten by us. We have also forgotten the fact, that, in the words of Richard Rose, "the Armed Force of a country is an extension of society." If the society is good, the Armed Forces are good, the neglect of Armed Forces is the neglect of our own society, the society in which we live.

Dealing with man-power, the author points out that there is no dearth of man-power in the country for defence purposes—a great asset for the defence of a country. India had put in twenty-one lakhs of men in uniform during the Second World War. India can pick up and choose her men for defence and, given the incentive, the best men of the country would join

Defence Services. Secondly, our soldier is second to none in the world. He has proved his worth during the two world wars and in our war with Pakistan. The very fact that India knocked out superior and sophisticated Patton tanks which USA had given to Pakistan reflects courage and fighting qualities of our soldier. His fighting ability is acclaimed all over the world.

Our training is also first class, very intensive and rigorous indeed. "Battle inoculation" is invariably given to all during training and our soldier is as fit as anything. But the author ponders over and reflects that such training given on out-dated and age-old arms and equipment is just a waste. He boldly emphasises the need for acquiring modern arms and equipment for training purposes, until India produces her own conventional arms for use. The author has advocated "self sufficiency in conventional arms and equipment." Defence production should be cent per cent indigenous and should be suitable to Indian conditions. It should also match the weapons of our potential enemy. He advocates the stream-lining of arms and equipment as well and emphasises the need for bold and positive approach in defence matter "without a drift" any more.

The author further discusses the development of science and technology since Independence and compares it with the advances made by other countries in the world. He points out that, at the time of Independence, India was not far behind the world in defence and development. But since then we have hardly made any progress. The gap between India and the world has widened. Our conventional arms and equipment have mostly become obsolescent. India is still using the age-old, .303 rifle when NATO countries are having very powerful automatic rifles. We did make an effort in producing a semi-automatic rifle after a lot of criticism in Parliament. But what is the functional efficiency of the semi-automatic rifle that we produced? We are still far behind the world.

The author very wisely brings out that in modern wars, it is essential to cut down the ratio between the "teeth and tail," that is the gap between the fighting forces in the front line and administrative tail behind. If our national policy is non-aggression, that is to fight the aggressor on our soil, then cutting down our tail is all the more important to make our fighting soldier more mobile.

India's per capita expenditure on defence is only 3.3 per cent of the Gross National Product (GNP), the second lowest in the world; while Pakistan's defence spending is double that of ours, and China's three times more. In view of this, the author poses

* *Defence Without Drift*, P. V. R. Rao, Popular Prakashan, Bombay. Price: Rs. 30.

a question: where are we, when the two super powers in the world are talking in terms of pressing a button and destroying each other in a minute, in spite of the "hot-line"? Russia is boasting of her inter-continental missiles, namely, SAM-3 and SS-9,—the most powerful missile in the world at present. She has also the largest fleet of sub-marines in the world. While America is talking of retaliating the Russian attack equally vehemently with her missiles, namely the THOR, the Minuteman, the Multi-purpose re-entry Vehicle (MVR) and with her fleet of polaris sub-marine based missiles. Soviet Union is ahead of USA in the deployment of land-based inter-continental nuclear missiles, while USA is ahead of Russia in the deployment of sub-marine-based ballistic nuclear missiles. They wait and watch each other as to who attacks first and keep the "hot-line" going. Even China, who was far behind us, has now become a world nuclear power and has to be reckoned with as such. India cannot be blind to these realities.

The same is the case with our Navy. How can anyone expect India to be the Master of Indian Ocean when we have still out-dated and wornout Navy hardly worth the name? How can the Indian Navy even defend our own long coast-line with only three sub-marines received from Russia and those also defective, when Russia herself is having a fleet of 350 sub-marines, the largest in the world.

The question comes to our mind; on what grounds our Defence Ministers boast of our defence preparedness? The author, therefore, urges India not to miss the Third Industrial Revolution which is taking place in the world that is the development of nuclear energy,

not for the sake of defence alone, but for the development of Indian industry and for our very survival as a nation.

In this connection, Mr. P. V. R. Rao brings out the importance of foreign policy and its effects on the defence of the country. We too would have been powerful and prosperous like Germany and Japan, probably more powerful than them, if we had a correct appraisal of our foreign policy vis-a-vis defence. In fact, the foreign policy of a nation and its defence are inseparable. The foreign policy dictates the defence policy. But we in India treated defence as an "un-touchable" and sadly neglected it. It is, therefore, surprising how in India, a "military coupe" has not taken place. Psychologically, and it is the world experience that more the Armed Forces are kept aloof or neglected, the more they become powerful. It is to the credit of Indian military leaders, being more patriotic and democratic-minded than many politicians, that they have not revolted against the Government. But this situation cannot go on indefinitely in a fast changing world.

The modern concept of war is a "total war" as distinct from the involvement of the "armed forces alone." Civilians are as much involved in the present-day wars as the armed forces. In fact, civilians are much more involved in the guerrilla type of war-fare which at present looms on our Eastern horizon. Moreover, it is the civilian effort which prepares the country for war and keeps the armed forces ready for war. The country's defence policy should, therefore, be of paramount importance.

There is also a "brain drain," in our country. Our

(Continued on page 11)

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Liberal International Congress

(Contributed)

THE Liberal International (World Liberal Union), to which the Indian Liberal Group is affiliated, held its Congress in Rome from 25th to 28th September, 1970. The theme of the Congress was "Mass Media". There were representatives of liberal parties or groups from twenty-three countries present. The Indian Liberal group was represented by Mr. M. R. Masani M.P., Mr. T. Tripathi and Mr. A. A. Deshpande. Mr. Gaston Thorn, Foreign Minister of Luxemburg presided.

On September 24, on the eve of the Congress, Mr. Masani was invited to give a talk on "The Political Situation in India". Hon'ble G. Malagodi, leader of the Italian Liberal Party, was in the Chair.

Apart from the main theme, the Congress discussed the international situation and adopted resolutions on various topics.

The Congress discussing disarmament and European security supported the talks at Geneva and expressed the hope that the SALT negotiations between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union would succeed.

While welcoming the initiative taken by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to come to better terms with the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe, the Congress however, warned against the doctrine which by recognising spheres of influence of certain powers led to the deprivation of a number of European nations of their inalienable democratic freedoms.

The Congress also discussed the Western European integration and welcomed and supported the efforts of the Liberal Foreign Ministers in Western Europe namely Paul Hartling, Walter Scheel, Gaston Thorn and Hans de Koster towards Western European integration as also towards East-West co-operation.

The Resolution on the Middle East situation came in for a long and interesting discussion. There was general agreement on most of the points such as — an immediate withdrawal of all military forces from the Middle East, legal recognition of the State of Israel by the Arab states, necessity for an effective international guarantee of a peace settlement and a joint effort by Israel and the Arab states along with international economic assistance to obtain a solution of economic and human aspects of the refugee problem. The Congress stressed the need to promote economic growth and social progress in the Middle East through common efforts of all countries in the area and to this end to create an economic organisation which would deal in the name of its members with other like organisations in Europe and other places.

It was indeed gratifying to find a general agreement among the Liberals on the subject of regional security in Asia and also on the aid given to the different

countries. The Congress was keenly aware that the withdrawal of American and British forces from South East Asia tended to create a power vacuum which could easily be filled by China and the Soviet Union. The Congress, therefore, urged the countries of the region including India, Japan, Australia and New Zealand to develop a regional security system directed against any aggression.

The Liberals who participated in the Congress, considered it the duty of the industrialised world to increase its contribution towards development of developing countries. At the same time they expressed concern at the increasing debt burden of the developing countries. They were also aware of the fact that there could be no simplistic solutions to the problems of the so-called third world characterised, as it was, by its great diversity and complexity. The Congress, therefore, urged member organisations to persuade their governments to increase their efforts in the field of development aid at least in accordance with the recommendations put forward by the Pearson Commission. It also urged its members to take appropriate measures with a view to encouraging an increased flow of private capital into the developing countries and to make every possible effort to implement the UNCTAD II resolutions adopted already two years ago.

The Congress supported the plea of the Greek democratic exile groups to condemn the Greek dictatorial regime. The Congress also identified itself with the courageous struggle of progressive and liberal elements under all oppressive regimes.

The question of use of violence as an instrument of national and international policy such as aircraft hijacking, the kidnapping of hostages and bombing attempts came up for discussion and the Congress urged all national and international bodies to take legal and administrative measures to prevent such acts. It also recommended the convening of a world conference to fix rules for security and freedom of sea and air traffic.

There was also discussion on the problem of pollution and generally on the international cooperation for preservation of a healthy and habitable environment. The Congress urged nations and international bodies to deal with these problems of pollution and also forms of modern applied technology which threatened the healthy development of human society.

In regard to the main theme of mass media, the Congress recognised the vital importance of the mass media as a part of the social system in the formation of social behaviour, influencing of values and the provoking of change, and expressed concern about the tendency towards concentration of the media whether caused by deliberate government action, economic need or technological change.

Review

Strikes and Morale in Industry

Mrs. P. Chakraborty, Eastern Law House, Calcutta, Rs. 20.

THE author of the book is a highly placed officer in the labour administration machinery in Bengal and is by reason of her official duties in constant touch with strikes and other happenings in the labour field. In addition, she collected information on various points through questionnaires as well as interviews. Mrs. Chakraborty has studied the problem of strikes and of morale in industry both as an experienced labour administrator and also as a psychologist.

The book has set out to answer the following questions mentioned at the outset:

“1. Why do workers form trade unions? Is trade unionism in a developing country like India more aggressive or more conciliatory? In other words, is the strike activity growing more severe or showing decline?”

2. What is the pattern of industrial conflict in India, a developing country, since her independence?

3. What are the main influences which determine this pattern of strike activity in India?

4. Is there any distinctive pattern of strike behaviour among the States? Is the strike problem more severe in any particular State than elsewhere and if so, why?

5. What are the causes—immediate and latent—for industrial conflict? What are the primary circumstances conducive to unrest?

6. Is the strike method, i.e., going without work and pay for indefinite period sufficiently rewarding?

7. Is it possible to propound a theory explaining strike behaviour, its pattern and underlying causes in a developing country?

8. What are the factors conducive to developing healthy and harmonious industrial relations and productivity?”

Another question that is examined is the “job morale in West Bengal industries.”

The author has sought to answer the questions on the basis of the vast amount of statistical and other materials that she has collected. The time and labour that she has spent over the collection of materials and the skill with which she has presented them are highly commendable. In spite of the large number of statistical tables that she has presented, it is refreshing to note that she is not unaware of the fact that statistics do not always tell the full story.

Some of the conclusions reached by Mrs. Chakraborty are worth noting. To the question why workers join unions, her answer is: “workers consider unionism as essential for securing economic gains, job security and protection against unfairness and coercion of the management.” Contrary to the common belief, her con-

clusion on the issue of strike-proneness of unions is: “Trade unionism in India, a developing country, has not been growing more militant. Experience seems to have a sobering influence on trade union leaders. They tend to be more conciliatory.” According to her “impoderables” such as “the political orientation of trade unionism, inter-union rivalry, quality of leadership, employers’ antagonism and opposition to collective bargaining play a predominant role in precipitating strikes.” On the impact of strikes on economy she writes: “The impact of strikes on the economy seems markedly insignificant, particularly more so when we ponder over other major sources of loss—vast unemployment, industrial accidents, absenteeism and mechanical breakdown and so on.”

The book has a chapter on “morale and motivations in industry” and another on “production, nutrition and efficiency.” Both are based upon information collected through questionnaires and interviews. They throw interesting light on these aspects of workers’ life.

Finally, the author has insisted that a worker cannot be considered merely as a factory hand. He is, she has pointed out, “a social creature, product of particular socio-cultural pattern.” She stresses the same point when she says: “Man cannot divide his life into two watertight compartments, one for the factory and the other for home. The two are rather closely knit together so that frustrations, sorrows or joys arising in the factory affect deeply family relations. Similarly, unhappy home life is reflected in the worker’s unsatisfactory attitudes and reduced working effectiveness on the job.” Industrial peace cannot be, therefore, secured on a permanent basis merely by improving industrial relations in the factory; steps must be taken at the same time to improve the entire environment in which the worker has to live.

Mrs. Chakraborty has on the whole written a very interesting and instructive book which deserves to be read by students of labour problems as well as by social scientists.

V.B.K.

BOOKS RECEIVED

1. *Life in Russia Today*, Jack Miller, National Academy, 9, Ansari Market, Delhi 6. Price: Rs. 4/-.
2. *For the Good of the Cause*, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, National Academy, Delhi 6, Price: Rs. 4/-.
3. *Studies in Green Revolution*, G. S. Pohekar, United Asia Publications, 12, Rampart Row, Bombay 1. Price: Rs. 5/-.
4. *The D.M.K. in Power*, P. Spratt, Nachiketa Publications Ltd. 22, Naushir Bharucha Road, Bombay 7. Price: 25/-.
5. *The Prague Spring: 1968*, Victor M. Fic, Nachiketa Publications Ltd. 22, Naushir Bharucha Road, Bombay 7. Price Rs. 6/-.

DEFENCE WITHOUT DRIFT—Cont'd from page 8

Service officers are just "wasted out" as useless after their retirement. This is exactly the opposite of the progressive countries in the world. In India, the Service officer normally retires at the age of 48/50. Hardly a few go above 52. While his counterpart, a civil service officer, works upto 58/60 and some go upto 65 or more in different assignments. In Russia, a defence service officer is very much active at the age of 65, and retires when he crosses 75. But in India, he is made to retire at the age of 48. His knowledge and experience is thus unutilised in the country, while in other countries a service officer is sought after his retirement. If he is considered unsuitable for any job after his retirement with all the intensive training and discipline he undergoes whilst in service, there is something drastically wrong somewhere which needs looking into. Again why is a service officer made to retire early when his counterpart, a civil service officer works upto 60/65. The country has done immense damage to herself and an injustice to the Armed Forces.

It is, therefore, suggested that the service officers after retirement may be put in nation-building activities and retired soldiers rehabilitated in our sensitive border areas. The knowledge and experience of service officers could usefully be employed for another 15/20 years in the development of the country. They

are a fine body of men, well-trained and disciplined, well-educated and well-brought up and whose services could gainfully be employed in various ministries of the Government and on foreign and diplomatic assignments. The prejudice against service officers and the bureaucratic jealousy must be discarded immediately if the country is to make any head-way.

The book has highlighted these and many other problems. They deserve the earnest consideration of all those interested in an adequate and efficient defence of the country.

CRP GUARDS FOR CPM LEADERS

Under the President's rule armed guards have been provided for four political leaders of West Bengal. They are Jyoti Basu (CPM), Harekrishna Konar (CPM), Ajoy Mukherjee (Bangla Congress) and Pratap Chandra (Syndicate). Armed CRP men guard them round the clock.

The daily expense for guarding Jyoti Basu is Rs. 127 and for Harekrishna Konar Rs. 130.

The cost however goes up when they go out of Calcutta.

—New Age, September 27, 1970.



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

Naxalites are no freaks. They are legitimate offspring of the Communist movement in this country.

—Satindra Singh, *Illustrated Weekly of India*, October 4.

Yesterday's 'escape from freedom' has its equivalent in today's escape from reason.

—Brzezinski, *Survey*, Winter-Spring 1970.

The action of the Government of India will harm the so-called image of India about which it was so concerned, much more than a dozen Louis Malle films could.

—Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Opinion*, September 15.

None of you would agree to set his watch by a clock that was out of order.

—M. Giscard d'Estaing, *Economist*, September 26.

Every time the so-called non-aligned powers meet, there has always been a condemnation of the United States, Britain and even West Germany, but never of the Soviet Union or Communist China. Therefore, it is not true that there is such a thing as a non-aligned conference.

—President Banda of Malawi, *Swarajya*, September 19.

It is now clear that President Giri is too much in Mrs. Gandhi's pocket to serve as the constitutional check that he is meant to be.

—*The Economist*, September 12.

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The United States was and is dedicated to the principle that it will help defend countries which are the victims of aggression and which request our aid.

—David Lawrence, *U.S. News & World Report*, October 19.

What we have offered is a drop in the bucket compared to what Pakistan has been receiving from either the Soviet Union or Communist China.

—K. B. Keating, U.S. Ambassador in India, *Press Release USIS*, October 14.

If the British Government is for apartheid, let it say so straightforwardly and sell arms to South Africa. If it is not, let it give up its disingenuous proposal.

—*Opinion*, October 13.

The pessimism in America is not merely an American phenomenon but a matter of concern for the whole world.

—C. Rajagopalachari, *Swarajya*, October 17.

The trouble with our present rulers is that they overrate themselves and underrate the people.

—Frank Moraes, *Indian Express*, October 19.

Parties like the Muslim League or the Muslim Majlis, and others like the Jan Sangh, Akali Dal and Kerala Congress which, while throwing open their doors to all communities, are none the less communal because they tend primarily to represent the interests of a particular community.

—*The Hindustan Times*, October 18.

If extremism appeals on the one hand to youth and idealism, its appeal is also largely to the misfit and the reject.

—*Statesman*, October 18.

The choice before India is between Gandhi and Marx.

—M. R. Masani, *March of the Nation*, October 24

When there is an issue between two small powers, the issue disappears. When there is an issue between a small power and a big power, the small power disappears. When it's an issue between two superpowers, the U.N. disappears.

—Carlos Romulo, *Time*, October 26.