

THE COMMUNAL VIRUS

NISSIM EZEKIEL

The real causes of the communal problem are fanaticism, superstition, narrowmindedness, prejudice and hatred, rooted in feelings of insecurity. It is these that have to be exposed and fought, primarily by those within each community, which expresses them in its own forms. In even more explicit terms, Muslim fanaticism must be resisted by Muslims, Hindu by Hindus, and so on.

Reform movements in every community need to spell out the specific beliefs and practices which create inter-communal distrust and disharmony. Without such changes *within* the religions that dominate the Indian scene, their external manifestation in relation to other religions will always necessarily be hostile.

This hostility is an essential element of the historic ideology in religious orthodoxies. It needs only an "incident" to turn violent, but it exists and thrives *all the time*. It is considered respectable *inside* a group, and disreputable outside.

When there is a clash between groups, their spokesmen have no alternative but to blame the others, while the truth is that all are equally to blame in accepting and even encouraging those forces of all communities which are belligerent by their very nature. In a crisis, they only find an outlet for their belligerency. At that stage they cannot be controlled, since in their "normal" existence in earlier stages, they are granted all the rights in the world as institutionalised doctrines.

If communities in India assume it is their right to function as they please, with no interference from "outside", not even in the form of public debate, which may hurt their feelings, they must from time to time find themselves in conflict with other communities. If they claim proportionate reservations for their members, first in the legislatures and then in various public services, the only way to increase the proportion is to increase their numbers. Those who naturally feel threatened by such a development, apart from the incidental injustices, must either oppose the demand or increase their own numbers. The final solution, which is no solution, will be civil war, as in Lebanon.

The scheduled castes ought to be treated as a special case. Reservations for them are, for obvious reasons, what crutches are to the lame. But the other communities cannot insist that they are lame too. They

may be backward economically and educationally but they are in a position to help themselves. What they need is not only such assistance as is available but a change in attitudes and values. No power can keep them down if they only choose to rise. Their social, cultural and economic victories are also victories for Indians as a people, all segments of which have an equal stake in advancement.

There is no salvation for any group in isolation and separatism.

The setting up of a "composite" peace force, drawn largely from the minority communities, including scheduled castes and tribes, is a counsel of despair. How such a force is expected to be truly "secular" it is difficult to say. From the evidence, it is clear that being secular has nothing to do with belonging to one community or another.

An enlightened attitude towards one's own community is a prerequisite for an enlightened attitude towards other communities. How is it possible to ensure this in the recruitment of a peace force, or to believe that any form of training, however liberal, will create secular values in its functioning?

The same training may as well be given to the existing forces of law and order. Or are they assumed to be beyond redemption? If so, the new peace force, airlifted to places where communal rioting has broken out, will find itself in confrontation with the older forces that are supposed to maintain peace when it is threatened.

As for medical aid, the building of relief camps, fighting fires and distributing utensils and clothing to the affected people, surely these are tasks for local rather than air-lifted forces. Even reinforcements should be from the nearest areas where they are located, not from long distances. And what happens if rioting breaks out in widely separated places all over the country, an incident in one sparking off incidents in the other?

How effective will the peace force of three battalions be when it is fragmented and air-lifted to "fight fires" and "distribute utensils" in many different places?

There is no solution to the communal problem in such measures. I admit, there are no other solutions either, on a short-term basis. But we do have a choice of directions. If politicians want whole communities to vote for them, they cannot afford to criticise those communities. If individual citizens favour members of their own community whenever in a position to do so, they cannot complain if members of other communities do the same. ★

INDIA'S STERILE AFGHAN POLICY

P. M. KAMATH

The direct and massive military intervention by the Soviet Union in a small and powerless country like Afghanistan on 27th December of the last year has posed the biggest challenge to India's foreign policymakers. Earlier Soviet interventions, as in Hungary or Czechoslovakia, were in Europe—far from us. Our refusals to condemn military interventions by the Soviet Union in the past, though morally untenable, did not pose any immediate threat to India's national security.

Afghanistan has been a traditionally friendly country of ours. She has been also a member of the non-aligned movement. More important, Afghanistan is a next-door neighbour of India in the North-Western region. The Soviet Union has in one stroke removed Afghanistan as a buffer state. If Pakistan eventually becomes the Southern boundary of the Soviet Union, the time may not be far off when India and the Soviet Union will have common borders!

What has been India's policy towards the Afghan crisis? How effective has it been so far? What can still be done to secure a complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan?

The Afghan crisis erupted at a time when we had a caretaker Government headed by Charan Singh. Yet, on December 28, the Government of India's official spokesman said: "Any situation which qualitatively changed the political structure of a society was significant." And India was concerned about it. Three days later, Mr. Charan Singh called the Soviet Ambassador to his office and expressed India's concern at the Soviet military intervention. He asked for the early withdrawal of Soviet troops. He also said that India would like Afghanistan's independence and non-alignment to be strengthened. Obviously, at that moment, India considered that the Soviet action had reduced the independence and non-alignment of Afghanistan to a farce. But this view was not taken seriously as, in the meanwhile, the new government under Mrs. Gandhi was due to assume office on January 14.

Taking its cue from Mrs. Gandhi, the foreign affairs bureaucracy presented India's spineless stand on the Afghan crisis in the UN General Assembly on January 12, 1980. India's permanent representative, Brajesh Mishra, after opposing the presence of foreign troops and bases in any country, said that the Soviet Union had assured India it would withdraw its troops when asked to do so by the Kabul government. "We have no reason to doubt the assurances, particularly from a friendly country like the Soviet Union with whom we have close ties."

So, we uphold the general, abstract principle that the presence of foreign troops in a country is dangerous; but we condone its violation in this particular case. Mr. Nehru would not have accepted such a statement if made by Britain in the 1956 Suez crisis, nor would Mrs. Gandhi have accepted this kind of assurance from the US in the case of Vietnam.

The UN resolution calling for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was approved by 104 to 18, and 18 abstaining. *India abstained.* Our Afghan policy has neither been appreciated by the Afghan people, nor by the present Afghan government. While the Afghan people wished for forthright support of their liberation struggle, the Afghan government expected more vigorous support of the Soviet action.

J. D. Singh of the *Times of India* filed this report from Kabul: The Afghan Government "would have liked India to take a positive stand in favour of Kabul's known position that the Soviet army came to Afghanistan on an invitation to repel internal and external threats. The ordinary man in Kabul, on the other hand, is critical of India for adopting a pro-Moscow stand and not exercising pressure for the vacation of the Soviet occupation of his country."

Since then, our government has been only telling us that they are trying to "defuse" the crisis. In that effort, officials have toured neighbouring and distant countries. Visiting foreign dignitaries are also said to be appreciative of India's efforts to solve the problem. Has the Government of India really got hold of the fuse so that it can defuse it? The people of India have not been told how it is going to be done. Until then the term "defuse" will only mean an agonizing situation of helplessness. This was evident in a belated realization of the truth on the part of the Government of India, when the External Affairs Minister told the Lok Sabha on June 18, that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan would not be "limited in time" as it was originally imagined by the government.

With the re-establishment of a tilt towards the Soviet Union by Mrs. Gandhi, the Russians have so far taken India for granted. The Peace and Friendship treaty of 1971 provides for mutual consultations between the two countries whenever either of them face a security threat. There is no indication whatsoever that the Soviet Union had consulted India at any stage about its plans to invade Afghanistan.

When the Soviet Union recently announced its intentions to withdraw some troops from Kabul, more as a policy of divide (the West) and rule (Afghanistan) than a genuine reduction of troops in Kabul, it chose to inform, in advance, President Giscard of France and not Mrs. Gandhi of India. The Indian External Affairs Minister was in Moscow in early June. India's feelings of "being left out" were very clear when the Government spokesman described the Soviet announcement of troop-withdrawal as a "pleasant surprise."

What is necessary even at this stage is a call from India for unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. This will create a unity of purpose among our neighbours in particular and the non-aligned nations in general to work in cohesion. With such a positive step, India ought to move the

influential powers in the UN to create a UN Peace-keeping force to be deployed on the Afghan-Pakistan and Afghan-Iran borders.

The Soviet Union has made the Afghan rebel threat from Pakistani territories an *alibi* for sending their troops into Afghanistan, forgetting the fact that it is the Soviet presence there since April 1978 and massive intervention since December 1979 that created the problem of Afghan rebellion in the first instance.

The creation of a UN force will provide a face-saving device to the Soviets. It will enable them to withdraw their troops. It will also enable Afghan refugees to return to their homeland from Pakistan. If U. S. and Soviet pressure supported by world opinion was enough for the U. K. and France to withdraw their troops from Egypt, after the creation of the UN peace-keeping force in 1956, there is no reason why the combined pressure of the four permanent members of the UN (US, UK, France and China) backed by world opinion should be ineffective in securing withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

American Public Moods And Mr. Carter's Re-Election

K. M. PATHAK

The mood of the American people has a tendency to swing between two extremes—isolation and intervention; international cooperation and confrontation; weak President and strong President. Since the U.S. stands out as a country where public opinion plays the maximum role in policy making, American governments have also swung to extremes, virtually ignoring a moderate course.

In the past, changes in the public mood became apparent gradually over a course of time. But in the post-World War II period, thanks to the powerful media, especially TV, the pendulum has begun to swing so rapidly that it is difficult to discern changes of mood and keep pace with them. The American attitude towards President Carter is one such example today.

Mr. Carter won the presidential elections in 1976 largely because he was first, among several presidential aspirants, to understand the mood of the people. He projected himself as the "best" candidate who could translate amorphous American aspirations into facts of life.

The American people in 1976 longed for a people's President in contrast to an imperial one. They were looking for a man of morals in the White House, in contrast to a President who encouraged, abetted and actively participated in immoral activities, as Nixon did in the Watergate scandal. They wanted an open presidency which would fulfill the urge for participatory democracy, not a closed presidency which bullied the people and Congress to follow its leadership unquestioningly, with the slogan that the President knows best what is good for the nation.

In brief, the people wanted a man in the White

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House who, like James Polk, could say that he was simply a citizen elected by the people to manage the government for a limited time.

However, within a year after Mr. Carter had been elected to the Presidency, the American people found him wanting in many fields. He was too weak to tackle the problem of inflation. He was uncertain of his political goals. He was not tough in dealing with the Russians. The people who had hailed Mr. Carter for his walk on Pennsylvania Street like any other man on Inauguration Day, were now asking him to wear Imperial Robes. The fall in Carter's popularity was so great that American journalists confidently predicted Mr Carter would be another one-term President.

Having chosen Mr. Carter to be the People's President in 1976, the people now expected him to be an Imperial President. A Strong President cannot be a People's President. You cannot expect silver to glitter like gold.

Public opinion against President Carter began to rise so steeply that by the time he had completed his third year in office, his critics were convinced that he had failed to provide effective leadership. They said that American foreign policy was without any sense of direction, and domestic policy in chaos. William Safire, former speech-writer of Nixon, identified Mr. Carter's "incompetence in dealing with a runaway inflation" as the "primary cause" for his low popularity.

Inflation is undoubtedly a major problem faced by President Carter. But it is a fruit grown on the economic tree planted by Nixon in the early 70's. Noted economist Paul Samuelson, who would have liked Edward Kennedy to be the next President, says: "Mr. Carter is not to be blamed for the economic slowdown under way."

For the energy problem, there is no easy solution. Ultimately, the Americans have to learn to live with costly energy. But President Carter's efforts in the area were frustrated largely by sectional interests represented in Congress.

When President Carter assumed office in 1977 there were different bodies and agencies looking after the energy problems of the U.S. The President was determined to establish a Department of Energy and to put the entire problem under the control of one administrator. He succeeded in doing so early in his Administration. The President's record in foreign affairs has been impressive. The Panama canal treaties, which had eluded three past Presidents, were successfully created by him. He performed a virtual miracle in bringing together two arch enemies—Egypt and Israel—and in the Camp David agreement paved the way for eventual peace in West Asia. This remains true in spite of the fact that there have been serious delays and hitches in fully enforcing the Camp David agreement.

The basic achievement in foreign affairs is the realisation that the US can no longer make and impose a policy decision on other nations, however small or weak. This, *inter alia*, has made the Carter Administration recognise legitimate rules and aspirations of other peoples. An example of this is the acceptance

of India as a predominant power in the Indian sub-continent, and as a democracy deserving close relations.

Stemming from this recognition, has been a policy of moderation in foreign affairs, as demonstrated by the manner in which President Carter has handled the question of American hostages held by the Iranian militants in Teheran since November 4, 1979. The aborted rescue operation can be dismissed as an aberration in an otherwise moderate policy. This is commendable in an election year, because there is a mounting desire among his opponents to cite the Iranian crisis as an example of Mr. Carter's weak Presidential leadership in foreign affairs.

The national mood is further complicated by another trend in American policy. When there was no constitutional ban on the number of terms for which a person could hold the office of the President, there was a fairly well established convention of two terms. But with the constitutional limitations of two terms the public now wishes to see their Presidents end up as one-term Presidents. In fact, since the constitutional ban imposed by the 22nd amendment came into force, only one President, General Eisenhower, has held the office for the full two terms of eight years.

Such a public mood divides the party of the President during election year. Taking advantage of President Carter's falling public popularity, Senator Kennedy entered the poll fray, increasing the prospect of denying Mr. Carter a second term. Normally, a political party has to think in terms of retaining power rather than handing it over to the opposition. But a rapidly fluctuating public mood partly created by the media, and partly by a craving for the cynical pleasure of making one-term Presidents, has made some individuals care for personal rather than party interest.

When the Democratic Convention was to begin in New York, President Carter had more than the required votes (1966) to win renomination. Yet, there was unusual uncertainty about his winning it. *Newsweek* of August 11, 1980 had on the cover a portrait of the President with "Dump President Carter" inscribed on it.

All that is over now. President Carter has won the renomination! Senator Edward Kennedy has grudgingly conceded his defeat in the race for party nomination. This happened when the *Newsweek* Poll of July 30-31 showed that President Carter lagged behind Mr. Ronald Reagan by 18 points (46 to 28). President Carter's popularity further slumped to 22 per cent in a Harris poll.

There are many issues between now and November 4, which will cause ups and downs in President Carter's chances. There will be many polls reflecting, often inaccurately, the mood of the people. The unpredictably fluctuating mood I have described will influence the final choice between President Carter and Mr. Reagan. Will the people vote for an extreme rightist of the conservative Republican party or for a moderate of the liberal Democratic Party?

FREEDOM FIRST

The Lecturer's Plight

As a College Lecturer, I remember Tagore's words about the mind without fear where knowledge is free with the same sentiment as that of the child who rolls his tongue in an empty mouth after the mint has been sucked dry. Words I read as a student in a classroom, itself sanctified by a teacher who inspired awe. Those were "golden days" for the teacher and the student. This is not a case of distant fields remembered greener than they were.

Today rules have become more important than relationships and abilities. To be a lecturer (before 1976) a person had to have a "second class" at the Bachelor's and Master's Degree. Now, a person is said to need: (a) an M. Phil degree (within 5 years from the date of appointment); (b) 55 per cent marks or more at the Master's level; (c) more than 50 per cent marks at the Bachelor's as well as 50 per cent marks at the Intermediate Examinations, failing which the person must have scored 55 per cent marks in the aggregate of both the Examinations (i.e. he must get a combination of 44% & 66% or 40% & 70%).

The idea was to ensure that only candidates with a "consistently good academic record" entered the field of College/University teaching. The intention may have been good, but the realities make nonsense of it. One reason was that quite often the candidate with "a consistently good academic record" was one who had better grades from a University with lower standards—there is no dearth of them in India. In quite a few cases of this kind, the candidate was found to be "qualified but not competent". Or again the candidate may have fared well in the Bachelor's and Master's Examinations, but miserably at the Intermediate Examination, because not all the subjects he had to study were relevant to his interests. What the University now demands is that a candidate should perform well even in those subjects for which, perhaps, he had no aptitude!

And that was not all. The salary that a Lecturer would get would depend *only* upon the number of years he had worked as a Lecturer—and that too within the same State! Experience of teaching in any College/University outside that State was valued, but not for the purpose of granting increments in the salary scale! Publish papers, do research by all means and your name shall be respected, but not for the purpose of granting an incentive increment. I suppose the idea is to dissociate academic intentions from the presumed vulgarity of wanting to live better.

The incentives that a teacher could have are being whittled down. Additional salary benefits are ruled out (unless the Management of a College is generous and enlightened enough, to bear the difference), book-purchase allowances are declared "inadmissible expenditure", so much so that one College has the brazenness to allot only Rs. 250/-, yes, two hundred and fifty only, as the library budget of the Department of English for an entire academic year—and the College is a new one at that.

So, what are we waiting for? Flatten out the pulp, roll out the sheet of paper, and grant degrees. But don't worry—the University provides divine, unintended insurance. If the Lecturers won't teach, coaching classes will: where teachers are better paid, classrooms smaller and conditions better, even without the so-called rules.

The Government and the University do not recognize the mushrooming of these coaching classes as symptomatic of a deeper malaise, of an intention that has turned sour, of a teaching vocation that is likely to run away *because* the official rules have become Procrustean.

A CORRESPONDENT

VOICES 2

Solzhenitsyn's Warning

Nobel Prize-winner Alexander Solzhenitsyn's latest warning not to identify the Russians and the people on the Chinese mainland with their Communist oppressors is very much to the point and should be remembered by all policy makers. He has also said policy-makers fail to realise that Communism is irredeemable, a cancer threatening all mankind.

Solzhenitsyn's views were expressed in an article in *Foreign Affairs*. He wrote: "After 35 years of failure, American diplomacy has gambled on another short-sighted, unwise—indeed mad—policy to use Red China as a shield, which means in effect abandoning the national forces of Red China as well and driving them completely under the Communist yoke." He added significantly that "In the interest of this policy, it was even deemed acceptable to contribute Taiwan as a down payment." He warned that "A fateful reconciliation of the two Communist regimes could occur overnight, at which point they could unite in turning against the West."

The Nobel Prize-winner's warning should be carefully noted and taken to heart. The United States, it must be recalled, has indeed suffered the disastrous consequences of its policy of playing the "China card." It has resulted in the loss of the Indochinese peninsula and the great expansion of Soviet influence in the Pacific and Indian Ocean, culminating in Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. At the same time, the United States, in betraying a faithful ally of long standing, the Republic of China (Taiwan), has lost the confidence and support of many of its Asian friends and allies.

Solzhenitsyn's reference to scholars' distortion of Soviet history to show a false continuity between the Russian and the Soviet state can also be applied to Chinese Communist distortion of historical facts purporting to show that the Peking regime had contributed to Allied victory in the Second World War. This has been refuted by General Albert C. Wedemeyer who states in his book *Wedemeyer Reports* that only the government forces had relentless-

ly resisted the Japanese aggression and that "no Communist Chinese forces fought in any of the major engagements of the Sino-Japanese War."

Deception and distortion are favourite Communist tactics whether they be Soviet or the Chinese Communist. The United States has been once again taken in, believing that the 900 million people on the Chinese Mainland could be a great asset on its side. It does not realize that those millions resent the United States for its collaboration with the Chinese Communists, because by doing so it prolongs their agony and suffering under Communist oppressive rule. The fact that the people on the Chinese Mainland are demanding freedom, democracy, and human rights, as well as to live under the Three Principles of the People as practised in Taiwan, shows the actual preference of the people there.

Solzhenitsyn's warning that a fateful reconciliation of the two Communist regimes could occur overnight fits in with some of our experts' apprehensions. The United States should wake up to its folly as well as to imminent peril in the present policy of colluding with the Peking regime to restrain the Soviets. It should remember the bitter lesson of befriending the Chinese Communists on the Chinese Mainland which forced the Republic of China (Taiwan) to yield to the Chinese Communists many times until the latter's occupation of it with Soviet assistance.

It was fortunate that as a result of the late President Chiang Kaishek's stubborn refusal to compromise with the Peking regime, Taiwan was saved from capitulation. It recovered rapidly to become a model of freedom, democracy and prosperity. If the United

States were farsighted and wise, it should have supported such a government with all its strength and material assistance. Unfortunately, it decided to abandon the Republic of China without any assurances of Peking's good behavior. Its act of betrayal has merely encouraged the Communists to be more ambitious in expanding their influence.

The present plight of the United States, confronting one crisis after another, is not surprising at all. It is caused by its own inability to distinguish between friend and foe, treating its foe as a friend. It is paving the way for Communism to dominate the free world and to bury the democracy of the Western nations.

RAMA SWARUP

VOICES 3

A Very Short Story

Once upon a time, there lived a middle-class woman in a not so big but not so small town in India. Radhika, as she was called, was 33 years old, and in forms she filled for her two school-going children, she called herself housewife.

Radhika, like a lot of "educated" housewives, became addicted to magazines—particularly the breed popularly known as "women's magazines."

It was a Monday. Radhika opened the latest issue of one of her favourite women's magazines, her mind a clean slate (12 years out of college is a long time to keep alive old impressions) eager to learn.

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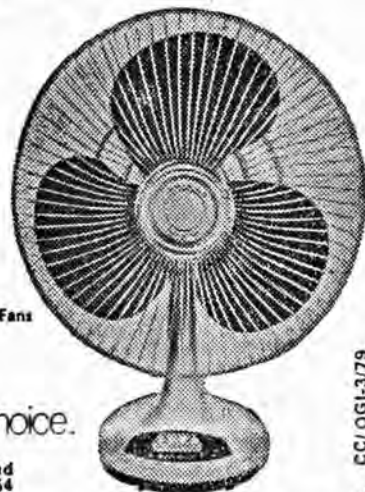
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Page one. A serious article on obesity in women. Radhika read heart-rending case histories of fat women whose lives were falling apart, interspersed with grave warnings from a doctor (who looked out of a photograph).

A faint wave of anxiety stirred at the back of Radhika's mind. What was her weight last month? Was her husband fantasising about thin women the way the magazine interviewees' husbands did? Page Two. An ad! what a relief! And there was a lovely picture of a little girl, just like her daughter Meena used to look. She read: "Start saving for your daughter's marriage. Insure her for happiness."

May be her mother-in-law was right to think her mad at being happy she had not one, but two daughters.

Page Three. Yet another "in-depth" article on bust development. Does your life change if you grow bigger? Radhika quickly turned over the page. (She is one of those plump women who is flat-chested).

Save the lead story for last, she thought, skipping to Page 20 where she saw delicious photographs. "Your family will love you more if you give them these summer delights." She read one recipe after another avidly. After all, if one's family's love is at stake! Out of 8 recipes she couldn't get ingredients for five, one of them she had tried last year and it was a disaster. She cut out the other two. The next page had a pretty rhyme appropriately entitled "Never Say Die."

She settled down to read the lead story—The *piece de resistance*. It began alongside two photos of exquisite women with a legend beneath—we two salute 10 ideal housewives!

"The clothes they wash are dazzling white. Their carpets are perfectly shampooed. Their house plants never die. Their cooking keeps the family together. All this is done, and not a beautiful hair out of place, not a chip off the manicured nail. Is it surprising that one can tell apart their husbands and children by the glow of contentment that radiates from their faces?"

Before we think that these women reign supreme only in their homes let us take a closer look. Six out of 10 went back to work after their children grew up. Their husbands encouraged them, and they proved equal to this challenge: now they work as glamorous receptionists, efficient secretaries, part-time copywriters, and still keep perfect homes!

It was all very beautiful, certainly, very inspiring. Radhika read all the popular women's magazines every week. She went to bed every day, her mind a jumble of battered wives, exercises for double chins, romances where the heroine's loneliness-dragon is slain by Prince Charming, perfect pineapple upside-down cakes, and, of course, ennobling profiles of social workers who make and sell pillow cases to feed poor beggar children every Friday.

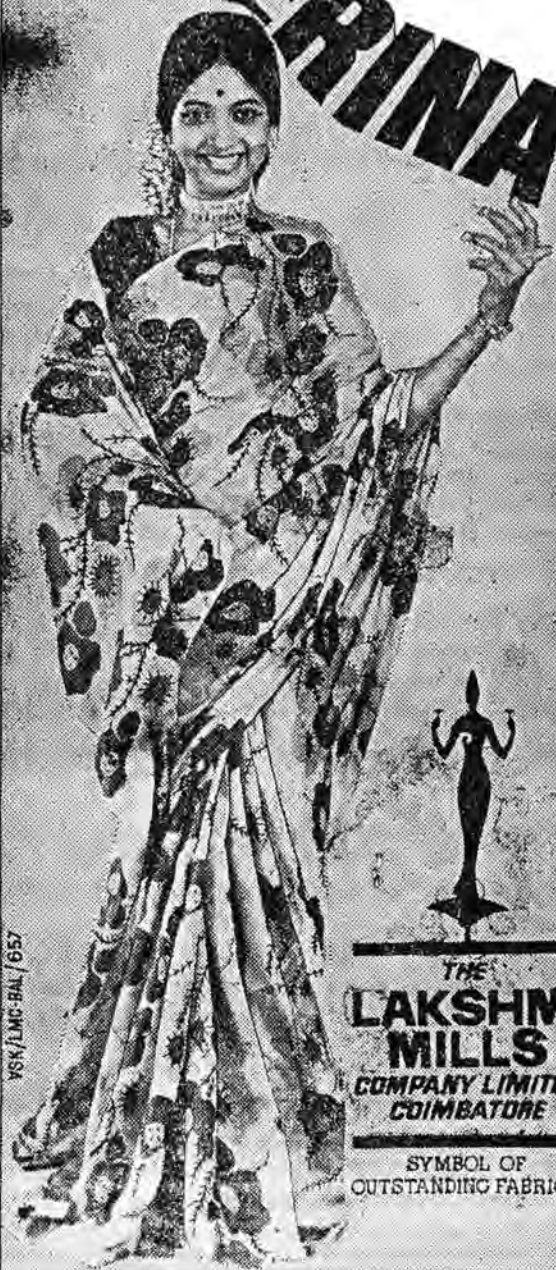
After 132 weeks and 6 days of this diet, Radhika, in one of those flashes that come once in a lifetime, realized she was suffering from indigestion. She collected all her copies of the women's magazines, and made a bonfire in her backyard.

Neighbours whispered that she was seen dancing.

GITHA HARIHARAN

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

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VIGIL INDIA MOVEMENT

WHAT IT STANDS FOR

To strive for the establishment of a truly people's democracy;

To resist the attempts of powers-that-be in tampering with democratic norms and institutions;

To support the ongoing struggle of the oppressed, to end exploitation and create an egalitarian society;

To strengthen the secular traits of the State and its institutions;

To promote human values that embrace every sphere of life;

To work for a cultural revolution to expedite the achievement of the foregoing objectives.

A movement to strive for the furtherance of a truly secular, egalitarian and democratic society in India and to promote human values.

A Crying And Shouting Movement

Vigil India Movement encourages formation of "Vigil Groups", both in rural as well as urban areas, committed to these objectives. With an action-study emphasis, these groups will function as watch-dogs exposing and denouncing maladies in national life.

Central and crucial to Vigil India Movement is the common man at the lowest rung of society. Vigil Group should establish rapport with such persons in a humble spirit of learning. This collaboration is a must, without which the Vigil Group has no meaningful existence.

In the cohesive common programme of Vigil India Movement, the educated and the masses belong together. Their relationship has to be on an even keel. The members of the Vigil Group, thus identifying themselves with their companions, together will help Vigil India Movement to discover the right strategy for action.

Vigil India Movement is a crying and shouting movement. The movement promotes actions ranging from lobbying to public demonstrations. Vigil India Movement undertakes research and study. It probes into abridgement of people's rights, operations of the government, emergence of new political forces, and to make reports available.

Vigil India Movement will try not to conform to the traditional structural pattern of an organisation. It will retain only those hallmarks that are compatible with a movement.

TIPS TO ORGANISE AND RUN VIGIL GROUPS

1. Try to enroll members from different communities, castes and creeds;
2. Ten will be the ideal minimum for a Vigil Group;
3. Each Vigil Group will have a Convenor;

4. Send the name and full postal address of the Convenor of the Vigil Group to the National Office and to the State Unit (if there is one);

5. Vigil Groups may be formed in rural as well as urban areas;

6. Every Vigil Group will meet for study and assessment of local, regional and national problems and follow-up action. Vigil Groups should be basically action oriented;

7. Vigil Groups are expected to quickly respond to any CALL for ACTION from the National Office;

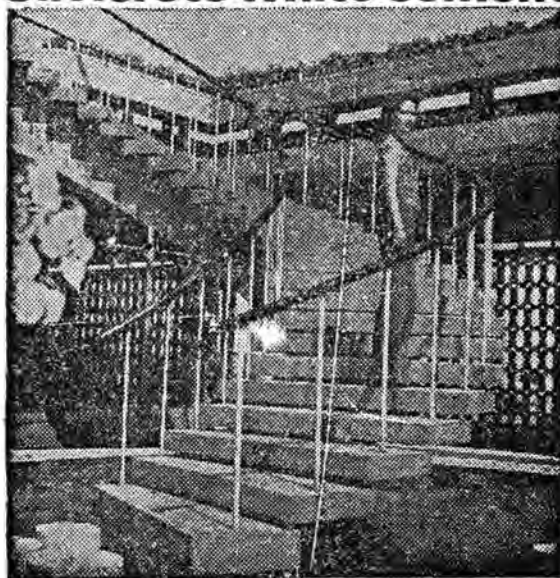
8. For relevant study material contact the National Office;

9. *Vigil India*, an occasional journal of the Movement, may be used as study material by Vigil Groups. *Vigil India*

Vigil India Movement's occasional journal, *Vigil India* focusses its attention on national and allied problems. It is hoped that constructive ideas and suggestions expressed in its columns will generate lively discussions on important issues leading to appropriate action. *Vigil India* will draw attention to any action that runs counter to the cherished ideals enshrined in the objectives of Vigil India Movement.

Those who contribute annually a minimum of Rs 10/- (Rupees Ten) for the work of the Vigil India Movement, will be enrolled as Friends of the Movement. They will receive a free copy of *Vigil India*. Such donations should be sent by M. O. to the National Office, 13, Charles Campbell Road, BANGALORE 560 005.

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FREEDOM FIRST

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

STRATEGY OF SURVIVAL by Brian Crozier, Temple Smith, London, 1978. Pp. 224. £5.50.

An imaginary conversation:

"The CPI (M)? Who worries about them? They are nationalists even if they happen to be communists. You should remember that they are not beholden to either Moscow or Peking. The CPI (M-L)? Why, they are the lunatic fringe, as it were, of the communist movement. The CPI (the Dange one, I mean) is tied to Moscow's apron strings. But where are they, anyway. Look at their performance at the polls. Miserable. And in any case, they don't count, ever since Mrs. Gandhi and, before her, her father, stole their thunder and established direct links with the Soviets much as Nasser did in Egypt.

"Now remains Moscow itself. They have lost out as the High Priests of International Communism ever since Mao decided to do a Luther on them. Yugoslavia, even after Tito, seems safe enough from the Bear's hug, and Nicolae Ceausescu continues to adopt a defiant stand against the Red Army stationed in Rumania. Then there is this latest about strikes in Poland. What is more important, the workers seem to be getting what they demand. And finally look at the encouraging development called Eurocommunism.

"European Communists have accepted a pluralist system, and are consequently able to attract large numbers of votes in Italy and France. In fact, Berlinguer would do any bourgeois proud by his dress and behaviour. So, my friends, there ain't no such thing as an international communist threat, much less a conspiracy any more. If there is any such thing, it is only in the minds of the people who are either victims of hallucination or have yet to grow up to the realities of the situation.

"Yes, I say all this in spite of Afghanistan. That is a development arising from geopolitics. Don't forget, Russia and Britain were always at loggerheads over Afghanistan. So, for God's sake stop flogging a dead horse."

It may be an imaginary conversation. But many of us are familiar with this kind of reasoning from otherwise intelligent democrats. The question arises: is the horse really dead?

One would indeed like to share the comfortable feeling that the steam has run out of the international communist movement. One could welcome the fervent desire of the Soviet Union for *detente* even if it arises from internal compulsions. Whatever the reasons, the Soviet Union has indicated a desire to live at peace with the world. This ought to be welcomed instead of doubts being cast on the bona fides of Soviet inten-

tions. So runs the reasoning.

The answer is provided rather powerfully by Brian Crozier in *Strategy of Survival*. It is an emphatic "don't be silly" kind of riposte. The thesis is simple. The Soviet Union has not abandoned its ambition to annex the world, and goes about it with the same enthusiasm as when Lenin first made known his plans. "The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace the world capitalist economy by a world system of Communism." (*Programme of the Communist International*, 1924).

On August 22, 1973 *Pravda* declared that the struggle between the two world systems would continue "until the complete and final victory of Communism on a world scale." These quotes are from Mr. Crozier's book, among the many he cites to prove his point. While the objectives continue undiluted, the Soviets have refined and streamlined their strategy and tactics.

Much of the information contained in *Strategy of Survival* will be familiar to serious students of communism. But what makes the book a significant contribution is the manner in which Mr. Crozier has marshalled his facts. He has provided a new set of labels, discarding the old ones so as to more accurately pinpoint the dangers, and he has outlined the strategy he recommends if the world is to survive the Soviet Union's aggressive intentions. To be fair, it has never hidden them.

Crozier draws a distinction between a totalitarian regime and an authoritarian one. A similar distinction was made earlier by James Burnham, who has been proved right time and again *vis-a-vis* the communist conspiracy. An authoritarian regime is reversible, a totalitarian one is not. Spain, Portugal, Brazil are examples. There is not a single instance of a totalitarian regime reverting to a democratic one or even an authoritarian one. The failure of the attempts by East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia underlines this.

While making it clear that he holds no brief for authoritarian rule, Crozier points out that certain freedoms are possible: the freedom to marry a foreigner, to go abroad, to move within the country or to carry on one's business so long as the citizen keeps out of politics or accepts the one favoured by the ruling party.

On the other hand, under totalism (Crozier prefers it to the longer totalitarianism) every citizen is in politics whether he likes it or not. The State covers about every aspect of the life of the citizen. The motivation of an authoritarian regime is power. By its very nature it has no expansionist aims in the

evangelical sense. The motivation of a totalitarian State on the other hand is the expansion of its ideology.

Hitler's Germany was fascist totalitarian tyranny which sought to bring the world to heel. It was defeated at great cost. The Soviet Union is a communist totalitarian regime with the avowed object of making all nations accept Moscow's hegemony through ideological conformity. It is not necessary to commit Soviet land armies to bring a State to heel. This is achieved through the agency of the local communist parties and even groups to the far left. These groups ostensibly do not approve of Moscow, but they are Marxist nevertheless.

And this is where the relevance of the imaginary conversation at the head of this review comes in. The CPI (M) or CPI (M-L) may or may not toe Moscow's line. But they are useful for the Soviet Union's subversive intentions.

Strategy of Survival was written in 1978. That was before the events in Afghanistan. In a manner of speaking, the Soviet decision to send in troops and tanks represents a failure of their strategy to subvert that country internally. They are now afraid they are caught in a kind of Vietnam war. But here the parallel should end.

As Crozier very rightly points out, the Americans lost the Vietnam war on the TV screens and the press back home. For the Russians, there is no such danger. No "Mai Lai" will create a backlash in Moscow for the simple reason that the Muscovite will not know of one, even if it happens. And even if he does know, there is precious little he can do about it—certainly not organise demonstrations and marches as was done in the United States.

Perhaps one outcome of the Afghan invasion is the merciful setback to *detente*. "*Detente*" says an article in *International Affairs* published in Moscow (December 1976) "serves as the basis for peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism on a world-wide scale and is a specific form of the class struggle between them...The final victory of socialism over capitalism in this competition is objectively inevitable."

In other words, a continuation of the process of Soviet aggrandizement in a different form. But *detente* is also useful in another respect. It enables the Soviet Union to shop for wheat and technology which over-anxious businessmen in the West, the U. S. or Japan, are only too ready to supply. Little realising (or despite realising) that they are contributing to strengthening the enemy who will one day turn and destroy them and their business altogether!

This "tract of our times", as the author describes his work, offers solutions to not merely meeting the Soviet challenge but to carrying the war into enemy territory. They are hard options that Crozier recommends, the vigorous pursuit of which alone will reverse the trend, halt Soviet advance on its tracks and in the long run help out not only the people of Eastern Europe but the people of Russia itself to throw the CPSU out of business.

ONE WORLD TO SHARE: by Shridath Ramphal; Oxford University Press, New Delhi. Rs 80

Every age has its special controversies or pet problems to tackle. The Industrial Revolution gave rise to a spate of issues which baffled solution for more than a generation. The First World War brought a different set of problems, mainly arising from the dismemberment of the Hapsburg Empire in Europe. World War II hastened the disintegration of another vast political entity, the British Empire (along with other colonial systems), coinciding with the emergence of many new sovereign states, with India in the lead.

Soon, most of these states realized that political independence without economic viability was a pipe-dream, and that there was an urgent need for a more stable world economic order. The stage was set for the struggle for survival by the newly created but less developed nations (or the South) from the economic domination of the developed industrial nations (or the North). The confrontation is euphemistically referred to as the North-South dialogue. The principal thrust of the many utterances by Shridath Ramphal which are included in the book under review is to find an amicable solution to this controversy.

There is a lucid and very sympathetic expose of the issues involved in the North-South dialogue in the Introduction, written by the well-known author and critic, Barbara Ward (Baroness Jackson). She admits that even after three decades of de-colonisation, the industrialized North, with less than one-third of the world's population, still enjoys more than three-quarters of the wealth, investment and commerce, over 90% of the industry and a virtual monopoly of advanced research.

Despite various ameliorative measures at the international level, the situation has not improved in any appreciable measure. The gap between the rich and the poor nations is not narrowing. Those sympathetic about the aspirations of the developing countries usually put forward a three-point programme to strengthen their economic status: (a) a steady and reasonable access for the Third World to the capital and vast markets of the developed world; (b) reasonable price stability for the primary products; and (c) an underlying acceptance of elements of even-handed management, social justice and social welfare in the running of the world economy.

To policy-makers in India, these arguments should be very familiar, as our country has been in the forefront of the struggle for a just and a more equitable economic system. What distinguishes Shridath Ramphal's speeches and interviews is his total dedication and personal commitment to what he calls "our inseparable humanity." His approach is global rather than partisan.

The speeches reproduced in the book cover a variety of subjects. The audiences are also varied and far-flung. This is but natural, since Ramphal is an international civil servant of rare calibre: he is called a "man for all continents"—Asian by descent, Caribbean by birth and culture, and European by education.

S. V. RAJU

K. V. PADMANABHAN

THE ACADEMY OF DEVELOPMENT SCIENCE

AN UNACADEMIC INTRODUCTION

In principle, it seems but proper that an "educated" citizen be respected in any society because of his learning. This has been the value given to learning in all societies for hundreds and thousands of years, and it is a very deep-rooted universal tradition in all civilizations. This tradition is obviously based on a belief about the liberating effects of learning—the assumption that knowledge is like light and will therefore spread light where there is darkness.

It is not known when the exploitation of this innocent belief started, but we do now know from the days of our great, great, great grandfathers that the educated and the elite have deliberately kept their fellowmen in darkness, to a point of cruel barbarism.

Today the traditional faith in the educated still exists, even if it is to an extent marred with suspicions associated with "social exploitation". The educated youth—the university graduate—still earns respect from a simple villager or an ordinary worker in the city. But what is the real state of education in contemporary Indian society?

In our country three million students every year in the university system and several more millions through the school system are going through what may be described as a "counterfeit education". If it is asked why counterfeit one broad sweeping answer would be, because the education given is divorced from the realities of Indian society.

It will not be attempted to substantiate these views here because there is enough substantiation that can be found in both official as well as unofficial documents, books and reports on Indian Education. Reasons have also been given why the education system functions in such an alienated manner—reasons related to the over-all politics of the social system.

Nevertheless, the social tradition of respect to the educated by the common man continues.

Let us view the broader social scene in India. What do we see: economic poverty, unemployment, and acute social discrimination, these three are the most glaring realities that stare in one's face.

It is in this background that the Academy of Development Science may be seen as a very small educational effort and heard as a voice which is trying to say: the Educated must serve the Society; the application of Knowledge must be for the collective progress of the Society; the Culture of learning must generate a respect for MAN, be he poet or labourer; the inhibitive barriers between intellectual work and manual work must be broken down, every work has dignity. In the Academy Of Development Science these simple unoriginal thoughts are being translated into an educational pedagogy and practice.

The Academy of Development Science is the outgrowth of an experiential learning programme initiated and developed at the University of Bombay during

the last five years. This programme was organised under the auspices of the Graduate Volunteer and the Inter-Disciplinary Centre of the University of Bombay. In 1976, the Graduate Volunteer Scheme won international recognition and the Commonwealth Youth Service Award for its initiative in linking educational to community needs.

The Academy of Development Science had been established as an autonomous institution in order to create the best possible conditions to allow innovative ideas associated with the programme, developed at the University of Bombay, to evolve and spread. One of the intentions in establishing an autonomous Academy is that it might serve as a national centre for experiment in the fields of experiential learning, study-service, action, research and other related pedagogies which attempt to link the educational process to development.

The Academy of Development Science is, as its name suggests, intended as an institution for learning about the processes of social development through experiment and experience. The term "development" suggests the scope and content of such learning, it implies the problem areas of social life as the subjects of study and experiment.

The area of social problems, i.e., problems that face men both collectively and as individuals in putting to the best use the environment in which they find themselves, or in modifying it for their advancement, is vast. They range from the international level down to the problems that face a small village community.

The word "science" is suggestive only for the approach (scientific) to the understanding of these problems. It is in no way meant to suggest a doctrine of development.

The Academy will limit its attention to the study of developmental problems of India's rural areas through methods of social experimentation and direct participations as well as conventional learning techniques. Such study will involve a consideration of the "macro", structure (the systemic and institutional framework) as it influences, constrains, modifies and otherwise determines "micro" realities (the operation of social life in a village environment); this latter will be of immediate concern.

The students of the Academy will be University graduates and post graduates from varied backgrounds: the social sciences and technology, the humanities and the performing arts—all those interested in the abstract understanding of developmental processes in general—and in applying the specific knowledge and skills acquired in their respective disciplines to rural development problems. The Academy will also have as its students villagers, artisans, farmers and landless labour students, who have had no previous experience of formal educational training.

The Academy believes it necessary to have both kinds of students working alongside each other, since this is one of the ways in which rural problems and modern knowledge may be realistically appraised and combined.

The Academy seeks to break away from the purely intellectual academic culture of the traditional academy. It wants to generate a culture of learning

which combines theory and practice, intellectual work with manual work, and academic study with community service in a manner and of a type that academic institutions have so far been ill-prepared or unprepared to pursue.

The two key educational concepts which the Academy considers appropriate for understanding development problems and on which the Academy's study programmes will be based are those of experiential learning and action-research. Both are learning processes which, while they retain a healthy respect for abstractions, allow for direct interaction with the natural and social environment.

Since these are fairly new concepts in terms of their pedagogy, the Academy will work on their refinement and translation into operational learning instruments.

The complexity of broad sets of "real-life" problems cannot be examined within the framework of any single discipline. In fact, the boundary lines of our University disciplines do not coincide with or correspond to any facet of development. There are, for instance, no purely "economic" or "chemical" or "mathematical" problems of development. We have problems of poverty, unemployment, class-conflict, water scarcity, food-grains shortage, and so on, that are cause and effect of many factors.

These problems call for the combined skills of the natural, the human and the social sciences. The Academy of Development Science will therefore attempt to develop inter-disciplinary frameworks for the study of such issues. More and more, the importance of developing inter-disciplinary frames with regard to societal problems is being understood, and concepts such as "integrated development", "appropriate technology", "area planning", "quality of life", and so on are becoming more commonly used by social scientists and planners.

Behind these concepts lies a realisation of the need to respond to problems of human activity in a holistic manner. Actions planned by narrow specialists alone often generate harmful side-effects or impinge upon other spheres of activity in a discordant manner.

The action-research projects of the Academy will be linked to problems faced by various rural institutions, so that the Academy's work may be of direct benefit to agencies engaged in rural development. In this connection, the Academy might associate itself with the activities of voluntary agencies, village co-operatives, farmers' societies, village industries, folk-art groups and other units in the unorganised sector.

The Academy of Development Science is located at Kikwi, 95 km from Bombay in Karjat Taluka, Kolaba District. Kikwi lies in a forest track in a tribal area at the foothills of the Sahyadri Range. Governing Council.

Dr. Atma Ram, Dr. Raja Ramanna, Dr. M. S. Swaminathan, Dr. B. M. Udgaonkar, Prof. Rajni Kotha, Prof. Ravi J. Mathai, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Mr. Gulam Ghouse, Mr. Keshub Mahindra, Mr. V. Padmanabhan, Mr. N. S. Rao, Dr. A. Ranade.

Inquiries:

Professor A. W. Date,
4 Saras Baug, Deonar,
Bombay 400 088.

From Know Your Rights

A handbook for political activists, social workers, trade unionists and others. Published by the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights, Super Book House, Sind Chambers, Colaba, Bombay-400 005. Pp. 34. Rs. 2/-.

The Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights (CPDR) came into existence in April 1977 as part of the outburst against emergency rule. It is a Bombay-based civil liberties organisation not affiliated to any political party. Its chief aims have been to create in citizens an awareness of their rights, investigate cases of infringement of rights, and support the ongoing struggles of the people for justice and better life.

CPDR has taken up cases of people whether it is an ordinary man killed in police lockup, students and teachers fighting corruption and the undemocratic functioning within Bombay University, the workers of Taloja who lost their lives in their struggle against management oppression and police high-handedness or the peasants of Telengana who have dared to raise their heads once again and fight the tyranny of landlords, backed by the State Government and police force.

CPDR has also tried to enhance the democratic consciousness of the citizens of Bombay through talks, slide shows, plays, public meetings and demonstrations, and its bulletin—*Raksha*.

Throughout, the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights has tried to protest against the arbitrary and undemocratic actions of those in power, and to safeguard the rights of our people. But faced with the enormity of the task, its efforts have been only a small contribution to the movement. It is with the support and help of more that such efforts can become more meaningful.★

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THE NATION IN CRISIS

What Shall I Do ?

VASANT K. BAWA

Clemenceau once said that war is too important to be left to the generals. Similarly, politics today seems too important to be left to the politicians. But the most depressing feature of the present situation in this country is the reluctance of competent professionals, intellectuals and other concerned citizens to play a role in public life. Whether we like it or not, ideas are important in national life. Keynes' remark that the world is ruled by little else than the ideas, both the right and the wrong ones, of economists and political philosophers, is applicable *even* to India.

We are unfortunately ruled by the obsolete ideas of thinkers who were making prescriptions for Western societies. It is time we evolved coherent patterns of thought for our own conditions. A developing country can ill afford the frequent changes in economic policies which are characteristic of Western countries. Even since 1975 we have seen changes in the political and economic systems favoured by the party in power at the Centre.

The note circulated by the sponsors of the *Agenda for India* Conference held in New Delhi in early April, put forth a number of suggestions for structural changes, including decentralisation of power from the Centre to the states and the states to the local levels, a rethinking of the role of the Finance as well as the Planning Commission, a national consensus on economic and social restructuring and policy changes, and toning up public life through state support for elections, anti-defection laws, the upward revision of legislators' allowances, constitutional changes to reduce the discretionary powers of Governors, and the protection of civil liberties by freeing the media from all state controls. They end with a note of optimism, arguing that basic changes are taking place in society and it is essential for political and economic structures to respond to these changes, utilising the manifold skills in the country, and rejecting the idea of leaving all changes to political leaders and agents of the state.

It was decided at the conference to set up a national forum in the form of a decentralised "umbrella" organisation of the intelligentsia and concerned citizens. Working papers will be prepared by regional conventions and by groups on specific themes like decentralisation and states reorganisation, the legal-constitutional order, the structure of the economy, and the problems of the North-East.

It was also decided to translate the note into regional languages and to prepare "An Agenda for

the Eighties", providing a blueprint for action and a rallying point for a new national consensus. This is to be published as a book, and distributed through commercial channels.

The discussion at the closing session centred on the question of the need for action versus the need for study and formulation of proposals. The organisers made it very clear that the scope of the forum was to clarify longterm issues, and that it was one of the few groups systematically working in this direction.

There are three possible ways in which the concerned citizen can play a role on the national scene. The first is by organising a nation-wide debate on policy issues, working through the academic community, the press and the media. The second is by working for civil liberties, for the establishment of Lok Pals and other institutional controls, and for changes in the Constitution. This second role may involve the establishment and operation of institutions like Law Reform Societies, Civil Liberties Unions, and Political Tribunals. The third possible role which the concerned citizens may play is to directly involve themselves in politics through one of the existing parties or through a new organisation with political goals, to be set up for the purpose.

The second and third roles would appear to be mutually exclusive, i.e., those active in the second field should not be in the third, and vice versa. It is proposed to discuss only the first and second of these alternatives.

In any event, the concerned citizen must not set himself up as having superior wisdom. On the other hand, as one who has gained from the educational and social system, he owes it to society to assist others who wish to benefit from his expertise and understanding of developments in various fields.

It should be remembered that several organisations already exist at the regional and national levels, concerned with social service and the formulation of national policies. In the late nineteenth century there was a ferment in many parts of the country as a result of the need to incorporate Western ideas into the traditional Indian society. Social reform movements originated in cities as far apart as Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Pune, and Rajahmundry in Andhra. The social revolution remained incomplete because the energies of many of the reformers were diverted into political activities.

Some of the organisations founded in the early twentieth century like the Servants of India Society of Gopal Krishna Gokhale and the Servants of the People Society of Lala Lajpat Rai, are still active in the country. Many other organisations have been set up during the past few years by Jayaprakash Narayan and others, such as Citizens for Democracy. There are numerous magazines and weeklies in English and modern Indian languages published from all parts of the country which can communicate the ideas of those who have made a special study of national problems.

What is needed now is for citizens to make a concerted effort to formulate a national consensus on a minimum programme acceptable to all political parties. It will help the common man to emerge from darkness and experience a new national revival. A common approach to national goals and an agreed socio-economic programme are essential parts of any move to revitalise the national economy. The bitterness of political infighting should be forgotten in the attempt to achieve a new social and economic order.

What are the areas in which the citizen can contribute to the evolution of national consensus? In the first place, there is the need for evolving a minimum economic programme. This involves the provision of minimum food and drinking water for every human being in the country. In order to fulfil such a goal, we may have to provide for the public distribution of foodgrains and other essential commodities, a massive public works programme, and some limits on the production of luxury goods. The intelligentsia would have to support any positive steps which the state and central governments take in order to tackle the national economic crisis and the breakdown of law and order.

Secondly, a debate will have to be initiated on electoral reforms and constitutional changes necessary to ensure the responsiveness of the political system to people's needs. Minimum electoral reforms, in order to exclude the use of money-power in elections, anti-defection laws, and proportional representation are some of the legislative or constitutional changes that can be implemented. The internal organisation of political parties is another area where reform is urgently required; without an insistence on their proper functioning the voter has a choice only between "Tweedledum and Tweedledee". The judicial process has to be reformed, and legal aid provided for the poor to make it more effective.

Thirdly, the incomplete social revolution which was started by reformers in the late nineteenth century can be taken up by voluntary agencies working at the grass-roots level all over the country. The scientific method must be accepted as an essential part of this movement. Lastly, it must be recognised that the crisis in the country is not merely an economic, political or social crisis. It is basically a crisis of character.

The professional classes, who constitute the bulk of the intelligentsia, must turn the searchlight inwards

and formulate for themselves a Code of Conduct which will bring them the respect of society as a whole. This code will be voluntary and will be similar for all those citizens who wish to adhere to it.

The spirit and not the letter of the code needs to be followed. We must get out of the rut of charges and counter charges which characterise our public life today.

J. D. Sethi, one of the delegates at the closing session of the Agenda for India Conference, put forth the view of Mahatma Gandhi that the enlightened citizen must cooperate with the government when the law is right (eg., when it seeks to enforce land reform, or a public distribution system); to resist a wrong law, and to oppose an anti-people law. All this has to be done, however, within a political framework. You cannot resist a wrong law unless you co-operate with the right one.

The situation in Assam today shows clearly how the neglect of national problems in the past has led to a crisis. The problem of foreign nationals may be unique to Assam, but the problem of work for "sons of the soil", which is connected with it, is common to many Indian states. We cannot afford to neglect the long-term problems of today. If we do so, they may become the short-term problems of tomorrow and engulf us before long. ★

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BOMBAY DYEING



OUR SCIENTISTS ABROAD

ATTAR CHAND

A few years ago the Committee on Science and Technology had mentioned in its draft plan presented to the Indian Parliament that "scientific and technical information is beginning to be regarded as a vital national resource" for development. Like the civil and military, scientific intelligence too has to be collected, pooled, sifted and analysed. It is now recognised that a large number of the nearly 200,000 Indian technical men abroad have something, however small, to contribute to this pool.

While no precise figures are available, it is believed that over 20,000 Indian doctors and about the same number of scientists and engineers are employed abroad. Though the number may appear small in the context of our total strength of skilled manpower, the loss in terms of the public money spent on their education is considerable. Most Indian scientists who go abroad specialise in sophisticated fields in which job opportunities in the country are necessarily limited. Our research and industrial activities in such areas as advanced electronics, computer systems, space applications, genetic engineering and polymer technology are only now being gradually expanded.

It may be mentioned that during his tenure as Indian Ambassador in the U.S., Mr. N. A. Palkhiwala had stated that he had come to three basic conclusions:

First, the innate intelligence and skills of Indians are so great that India can reach the top, if only Indians have education, organisation and discipline;

Secondly, Indians must get away from the fallacy of "the political solubility of all problems."

Thirdly, western man has become rich in means and poor in ends. On the other hand the ancient wisdom of India has steadfastly maintained that man's happiness is to move higher, to develop his highest qualities.

Unfortunately, a considerable amount of Indian knowledge and expertise in science is not available for India's development. Many scientists prefer to work abroad. But now Indians are being discriminated against in several countries. In certain Arab Gulf states, Pakistani nationals are paid more than Indian for the same jobs.

The need for improving science education to provide better human material is self-evident. Some 30 to 40 universities could be selected, where science teaching could be upgraded, modernised and linked with our national laboratories and industries.

The new science and technology plan (1980-85)

should "reflect the basic transformation in scientific thinking" that is taking place. Solar energy and ocean technology on which only marginal investment was made in the earlier plans could have a significant part in the new one. An investment of Rs. 100 crores is projected for this purpose.

Most of the earlier science strategies were based on western models of high-energy content. The new strategy would reflect the need to economise on energy and explore new sources for it. Further, modern biological advances could provide important components of technological plans for the future. This would cover the frontier areas of immunology, genetic engineering, hybridisation, molecular biology and bio-mass out of which a whole new system of industrial, pharmaceutical and chemical needs of the economy could be met.

Hence the need for expatriate Indian scientists to associate themselves with national development. It is significant that Japan and China, where the salary levels are not too different from those in India, have never had the problem of brain drain.

Our men of science need to develop a new outlook, a new vision, and turn the "search-light inward". All around us are problems that cry for solutions; it is for research institutions to find appropriate solutions for them.

There is no denying the need for a dialogue between the scientist and the people in the rural areas, so that their problems are taken to the research laboratories and the solutions are brought back to the field. Science could then have a real practical value for the Indian masses. ★

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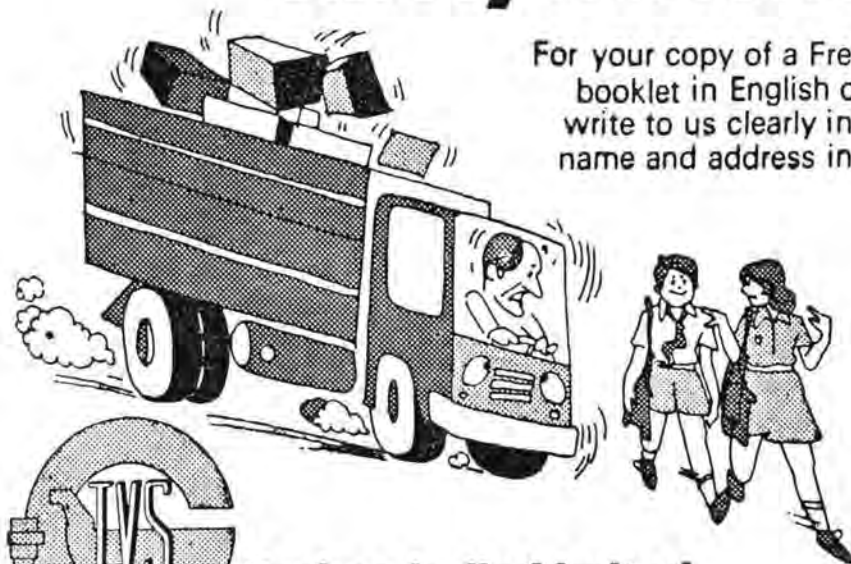
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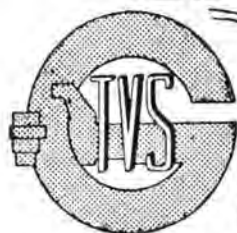
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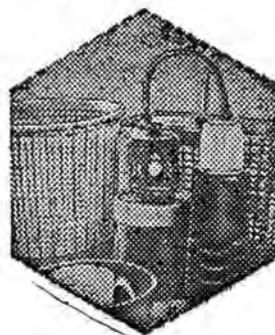
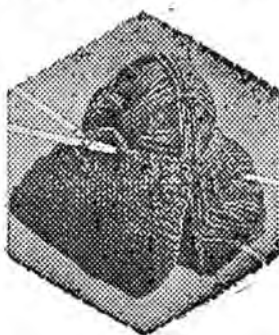
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