

THE LADY AND THE ELEPHANT

M. R. Masani

THERE was once a princess who rode an elephant.

The huge pachyderm was patient and docile and did as the *mahut* dictated. She would make the elephant go forward and back, move to the right or the left, move fast or slow, and attend to her every wish. Soon the princess thought she could do with the elephant whatever she willed. She prodded the elephant cruelly with the *ankush*, the sharp instrument in her hand. The elephant often groaned in pain but he still obeyed. "Even the worm turns", runs an old saying. So does the elephant. One day, when the elephant was asked to raise his trunk and trumpet a tribute of glory to the rider, the elephant raised his trunk but suddenly he swung it round and its end turned into a knotted fist. WHAM! The lady toppled to the ground and the elephant in triumph at his liberation ran in freedom into the woods.

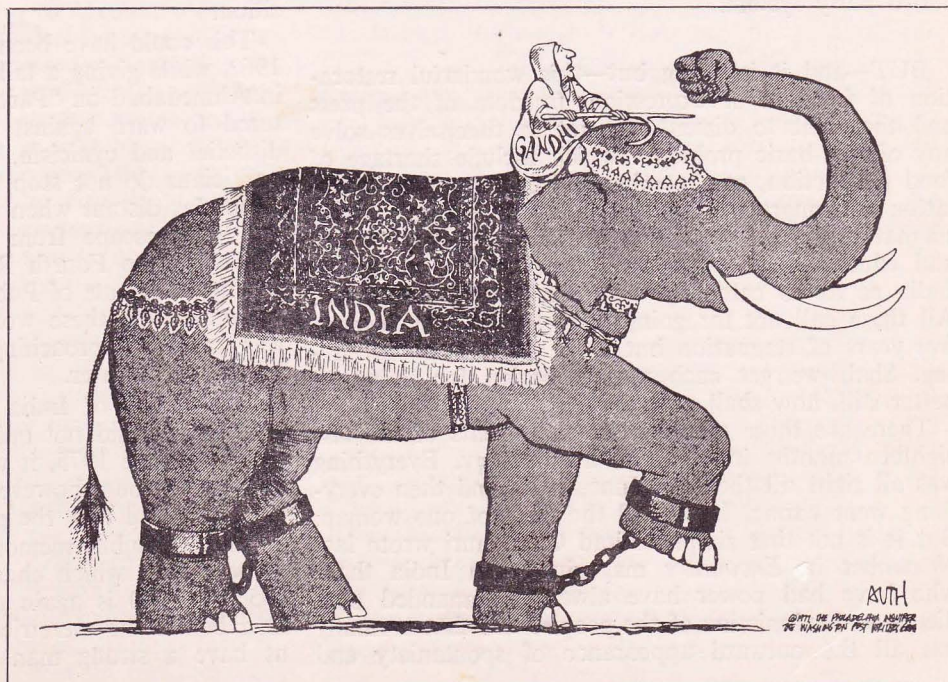
The Indian people have been like the patient elephant. For a year and a half they suffered in relative silence but the anguish and the anger were building up under the skin. Those who rode the elephant did not however know of this or feel it or see it. Then came the day the people spoke with dignified, quiet strength. It was a happy day. India has achieved a second liberation not only for those behind bars but even for those in relative freedom.

It all started with the desire to take short cuts to power. In July 1969 an Ordinance to nationalize banks on a Saturday afternoon when Parliament was due to meet on a Monday morning. The double crossing of the Congress Party's candidate for the Presidency and the fostering of a

split in the Party. The refusal in June 1975 to resign as Prime Minister when found by the Allahabad High Court guilty not only of corrupt practice but of what Professor Harold Laski had described as "economy in the use of truth" while in the witness box, and the resort instead to a constitutional *coup d'etat*. The present plight of the Congress Party and Mrs. Indira Gandhi stem directly from that disastrous choice.

In the *Statesman* of June 21, 1975, I had already warned :

"By not resigning as Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi has missed a golden opportunity to do the decent thing and win some measure of public sympathy and esteem. If the report is correct that immediately after the verdict of the Allahabad High Court was known she was in two minds on the



— Courtesy: International Herald Tribune

subject and was later persuaded not to resign as Prime Minister, those who advised her have done not only the country but Mrs. Gandhi a signal disservice.... If Mrs. Gandhi had resigned as Prime Minister and then appealed to the Supreme Court as an ordinary member of Parliament fighting to keep her seat, she could perhaps have become the Prime Minister again with some credibility and dignity if the Supreme Court had decided in her favour. As it is, she has forfeited both".

One thing led to another. "Who says A", had observed Lenin, "says B". The authoritarian regime of the last eighteen months not only said B but also said C and D, ending with the brutal obscenity of forcible vasectomy, thus giving a bad name to the good cause of Population Control so vital to the national interest.

Let us Rejoice

We have a lot to rejoice about, particularly the good sense and love of freedom shown by the Indian people. This is not a victory for the Janata Party. It is a rejection of dictatorship. In the North, where its impact was worst, the people almost unanimously voted the Congress out of office. In the South, where the impact of the dictatorship was faint, there has been no such reaction. The result of the General Election is a warning to potential dictators. Nobody is likely to try it again in a hurry.

The Rule of Law has been re-established and the Independence of the Judiciary vindicated. All honour to the Judges who stood firm and the lawyers who backed them up. Let us also rejoice that a better balance has been created in our political structure and that perhaps we shall now see the beginnings of a two party system.

BUT—and it is a big but—this wonderful restoration of freedom of expression, freedom of the press and the right to dissent, do not in themselves solve any of our basic problems, which include shortage of food production, our teeming and ever growing population of hungry mouths and idle hands, the relative stagnation in our economic life, the need for literacy and education, and above all the need to modernize India so as to catch up with the rest of the world. All these call not for going back to the past twenty-five years of stagnation but for a new design for living. Shall we get such a new design for living or better still, how shall we get it?

There are those who explain the events of the last eighteen months in terms of demonology. Everything was all right till the 26th June, 1975, and then everything went wrong. It was all the fault of one woman. But it is not that simple. Nirad Chaudhuri wrote last November in *Encounter* magazine: "In India those who have had power have always commanded obedience and submission of the people, and that normally has all the outward appearance of spontaneity and

enthusiasm. But these also disappear quickly as soon as power is lost. Then the autocrat who had become the idol of the people is not regretted or venerated even in retrospect. Those who make much of popular support in the East should remember the case of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman".

The politicians who took over from the British led by Pandit Nehru failed signally to solve the country's basic problems. They played at politics.

Many years ago Walter Lipmann, in his little book *The Public Philosophy* had written:

"If the people find that they must choose whether they will be represented in an assembly which is incompetent to govern or whether they will be governed without being represented there is no doubt at all as to how the issue will be decided. They will choose authority which promises to be paternal in preference to freedom which threatens to be fratricidal. For large communities cannot do without being governed. No ideal of freedom or democracy will long be allowed to stand in the way of their being governed.... A continuing practical failure to govern will lead—no one can say in what form and under what banners—to counter-revolutionary measures for the establishment of strong government. The alternative is to withstand and to reverse the descent towards counter-revolution".

That explains why, when respected leaders of the nation like Jayaprakash Narayan and Morarji Desai, along with perhaps over a hundred thousand others, were locked up without trial on June 27, 1975, there was a shocking absence of visible resentment or opposition.

This could have been foreseen. As far back as July 1962, while giving a talk at the Harold Laski Institute in Ahmedabad on "Party Politics in India," I had ventured to warn against what was coming—a state of disbelief and cynicism, and I had then said: "If we politicians do not stop misbehaving like this, the day is not far distant when people will turn away from us and seek escape from us". In January 1969, while delivering the Fourth Rajaji Birthday Lecture at the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs in Bangalore, I had again recalled these words and warned that that day was rapidly approaching. Actually, the blow was to fall six years later.

The people of India had taken their freedom for granted and did not quite realise what had happened when, in June 1975, it was snatched away from them. It was not long, however, before that awareness began to dawn. And now the people have spoken.

And yet, public memory is short. If the same pattern of behaviour which characterised our politicians from 1950 to 1970 is again displayed, it may not be very long before the meretricious cry is heard again: "Let us have a strong man at the helm". As *The Wall*

Street Journal wrote recently: "A democracy suspended once can be suspended again".

Imperative Needs

In such a situation there are certain categorical imperatives which need immediate attention. Some of these may be briefly listed:

First, Electoral Reform. From 1950 to 1977, India was ruled by a minority party which never got a majority even of the votes polled. This we owed to the crude British electoral system, 'first past the post' which we had adopted. The Congress Party, which got a two-thirds majority in the Lok Sabha did not hesitate, as was the case with the 24th, 25th and 42nd Amendments, to subvert the Constitution and the Fundamental Rights of the Citizen. That must never be allowed to happen again, and one way of making sure is to incorporate in the electoral system one or other form of Proportional Representation so that, as in West Germany, the vote of every Indian citizen has equal weight and every vote counts in the end and is not wasted.

Secondly, the maintenance of the Rule of Law and the Independence of the Judiciary, which should be put outside the purview of the parliamentary majority of the day. Under our Constitution, Parliament is not sovereign. The people and the Constitution are sovereign. The Parliament that was dissolved in January 1977 had tried to usurp the sovereignty of the people. The Parliament that has just been constituted must disown any such pretensions.

Thirdly, the Federal principle must be maintained, not only because it is appropriate to a country of the size and diversity of India but also because it is a valuable check and balance against dictatorship operating from the capital. It is good that there are several Congress Governments in the States today. Any attempt to "topple" them should be eschewed. It is good the new Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, has specifically disowned any such wish. It is of the essence of Federalism that governments of different political colours should co-exist at the same time at the Centre and in at least a few of the States of the Union.

Fourthly, we should now learn to be able to recognize who are our friends abroad. Let us consider which Governments supported the dictatorship during the last eighteen months and which countries turned a cold shoulder to it and expressed solidarity with us through their press throughout those dark days.

Fifthly, Limited Government. "That government is best", Gandhi had taught us, "that governs the least." Now that we have sworn ourselves to accept Gandhiji's teachings and beliefs, the limited government which Gandhiji had preached should be put on the order of the day. Where the State aggrandises and enters the

fields of the economy, education, the arts and even sport, individual liberty shrivels and dies. Let us render unto Caesar *only* that which is Caesar's. It is now clear that what is euphemistically described as "scientific socialism" is the enemy of Democracy. We have tried to have both and almost lost our freedom in the effort. Statism is not the path to social justice.

Finally, we have been obsessed with party politics. My friend Jayaprakash Narayan, who believed for many years in a partyless democracy, has recently had to realise that parties are a necessary evil in a democratic system. But political parties, as he rightly stresses, do not make a democracy. In India they have floated on top with no infra-structure beneath to sustain them. The essence of a democracy lies in grassroots citizenship, vigilance and action. That is what has made democracy so meaningful in a small country like Switzerland and a big one like U.S.A. In India we have had too much politics and too little citizenship. We should try and depoliticise our national life and make it more pluralistic by a resort to what is known in Sarvodaya jargon as "voluntaryism". Such institutions as consumers associations, associations for purifying the environment, the Bombay Civic Trust or the Leslie Sawhny Programme for Training in Democracy provide examples of such efforts.

Who is to do all this? Naturally, the people. India will not be saved by its politicians or its governments. India can only be saved by thousands of ordinary hardworking men and women, by teachers who stay after school hours to help backward children, by young doctors and nurses who do not quit at the end of their shift in hospitals, by young men who risk their savings to launch a business, by parents who deny themselves their needs to give their children the education that they themselves were denied, by hard-working social workers and fund raisers, by young men in uniform prepared to lay down their lives for the country. Above all, the country can be saved by Youth! It is time they move in to take over from the older generation who have made such a mess of the country's affairs since Independence.

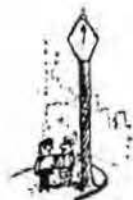
IN THIS ISSUE

Apart from the assessment of the results of the Parliamentary Elections by the Editor, there is a wide variety of material in this issue.

From Atheism in the Soviet Union and the decline of Mr. Michael Foot, we move on to a *tour d'horizon* of world events.

There is also a review of *Survey* magazine by Bernard Levin.

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



The President and the Dissident

STARTLING things are beginning to happen and all for the good.

It was not long ago that President Ford missed the opportunity of meeting Solzhenitsyn and, according to a talk he gave a Yale history class on February 7, 1977, he has already begun to regret this error.

In an effort to warn President Carter from repeating that mistake Mr. Andrei Amalrik sent a telegram to President Carter saying that he will provide the President with an opportunity to avoid the mistake made by his predecessor when he visits Washington.

Hardly was the ink dry on that telegram when President Carter wrote a letter on February 5 to Mr. Andrei Sakharov in reply to his letter conveying his greetings and expressing his solidarity. On March 1, the President received in the White House and met Bukovsky.

There are of course hard faced and chicken hearted diplomats who wring their hands at these so called indiscretions and warn that this will prejudice Brezhnev's stand in the SALT talks. Stuff and nonsense. It will do nothing of the kind. If it suits the Soviet dictator to continue the detente, he will swallow Carter's letter to Sakharov as a patient swallows a bitter pill. Communists do not get provoked by courage: what provokes them to aggression is cowardice. It is perhaps too early to arrive at any judgement on the quality of the U.S. President's leadership but certainly he has started well.

Referendum in Rhodesia

NOW that Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe have scuttled the Geneva Conference on the transfer of power in Rhodesia the ball is back in the court of the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith. As resourceful as ever, he has suggested that rather than deal with guerrillas operating from Mozambique, it would be better if the black people within Rhodesia were to be given a say in deciding their own future. On February 11, Prime Minister Smith revealed that his Government was considering an Opinion Poll among the country's six million blacks. "It might take the form of a referendum", he said.

Mr. Smith is undoubtedly on the right track both in regard to refusing to deal with murderers who are just as paranoiac as Idi Amin and in wishing to consult the black population within Rhodesia. He deserves encouragement and support in this effort.

'No Welcome for Murder'

PRESIDENT Amin, who was accurately described by President Nyerere "as that racist murderer", has set the cat among the pigeons by threatening to attend the next Commonwealth Conference in London this June. Dear, dear, says the British Foreign Office, whatever shall we do? Worse still, what will the dear

Queen do? Is she to shake hands with the man who has just murdered an Archbishop of the Anglican Church, not to mention many others?

All this pother is very amusing. What should be done is very clear. Britain has already quite rightly broken off diplomatic relations with Uganda. All that is necessary is to announce that Amin will not be allowed to land in Britain and if he does he will be put back on the next plane like any other undesirable visitor.

National sovereignty and the rights of a sovereign state do not apply to murderers. If South Africa can be kept out of the Commonwealth Conference so can Idi Amin.

Even as staid a paper as the *Times* has published an article entitled 'No Welcome For Murder' and has concluded by saying: "Amin has excluded himself from London in June 1977".

Double Standards

IT is good that the British Courts have struck down an attempt by the Union of Post-Office Workers in Britain to impose a boycott of postal and telegraphic services to South Africa. Who knows, one of these days, the Union might have called for a similar boycott of letters and telegrams to India on the ground that they did not approve of the Indian Government's repressive and anti-civil liberty measures. That would be a tragedy for those who in India wished to keep in touch with the rest of the world. So it is well that the boycott had to be called off in the face of legal sanctions.

It is not enough, however, to invite judicial sanctions against such activities. They should be defeated on the political plane. We are glad to see that "The Club of Ten" has published an advertisement in the British press on 8th February which runs as follows:

"When can we expect an announcement by the Union of Post Office Workers of a boycott of the postal and telegraphic services to:
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Eastern Germany
Angola

OR DO DOUBLE STANDARDS APPLY?"

Good Old L.S.E.

AS an old boy of the London School of Economics, it has naturally saddened your Editor to read about the disgraceful goings on at the good old college where he long ago passed three happy years. As Chairman of the Labour Party as also of the India Society, your Editor was a young rebel at L.S.E. But we were constitutionalists and accepted the Rule of Law. Today's rebels at L.S.E. took illegal possession of the college premises and barricaded themselves inside. They refused to allow the college to function unless the Education Minister first cancelled an increase in fees.

Prof. Ralph Dahrendorf, the Director of L.S.E., is himself a well known German liberal intellectual. He

HAS USSR ACHIEVED ATHEISM?

M. Murlidhar

It is the view of the Western ecclesiastical section that the communist government in Russia through a planned method of eradicating religion has resorted to most cruel and barbarous methods against the churches. These methods range from physical attacks on church personnel to manipulating divisions within the Church. The official view of the Soviet Union as expounded in recent official publications emphasizes the amount of 'cultural freedom' which the 'minorities' like Buddhists, Muslims and other religious sects enjoy. It is to be presumed then that the majority i.e. Christians also enjoy their cultural autonomy. However the fact remains that the established religious institutions like the Russian orthodox church, owing its allegiance to an authority outside Russia, and its inherent belief in Western liberal views comes in for trouble more than the minority nationals who have more or less incorporated themselves in the Russian way of life — under a threat of coercion of course.

The Russian official ideology of Marxism made no secret of its displeasure over a 'reactionary' ideology called religion, which is described by Marx in oft repeated statements as "an opium of the masses". Lenin 'the father of Russian' official ideology improved the definition and said "(religion is) a kind of spiritual moonshine by which the slaves of capitalism lose their human personality, their aspirations for something more dignified as human beings".

For the Bolsheviks, religion represented a tool in the

hands of exploiters and no socialism could be established without destroying its hold over social thinking. In the early years of the revolution clearly divided roles were assigned to party and state in their combat against religion. It was argued that while state will be separated from church, in keeping with the secular principle of the western democratic countries at the social level, party will take the responsibility of discouraging religion in the society. So there will not be an official anti-religious policy, it will be undertaken by the communist party. It requires little common sense to infer that in a single party dominated political system—a system which is not free-state and party would be clubbed together. So it may happen that under the garb of fighting the religion by the party, the state may openly come into the picture and follow a policy of anti-religion. This is in fact how it happened.

The official attitude towards religion changed according to changing circumstances, international situation, domestic conditions and the views of the leadership. The attitude changed from a direct combat against religion leading persecutions to a compromise policy of accommodating it within the system. The campaign against religion however always continued.

Bolsheviks made no secret of their intentions in dealing with "a thoroughly reactionary" idea called religion. The 1918 constitution separated the church from the state. The synod was abolished and replaced by a patriarchate. All church property was confiscated and

BETWEEN YOU & ME AND THE LAMP POST (contd.)

sympathised with the students' unhappiness about the increase in fees but he could not submit to violence and hooliganism of this nature. Prof. Dahrendorf went to court and got an order on all students to vacate the illegal occupation of the premises. They were later evicted.

About the same time, the students of Essex University were similarly distinguishing themselves by throwing eggs and flour (not flower) bombs at Sir Keith Joseph, member of the Conservative shadow cabinet, who was trying to address them. He was greeted with shouts of "fascist" by about 150 protestors while 500 students listened intently.

The provocation for these hooligans was that Sir Keith Joseph had arrived to give a speech on "the Moral and Material case for Capitalism". Evidently, according to these young Marxist hooligans, to support capitalism is "fascist". Obviously, they do not know the meaning of the word "fascism". Fascism is opposed to Capitalism and is as close to communism as two peas in a pod.

The fact, of course, is that the real fascists were the hooligans who abused Sir Keith Joseph and assaulted him.

It is true that both the students of Essex University and L.S.E. who are responsible for these activities are a small Marxist minority. But is it not high time the authorities of these institutions and the silent majority of students gave these hooligans a little of their own medicine?

Did Adolf Say It?

THE *Guardian* in London has been publicising an interesting controversy as to whether or not Adolf Hitler in a speech delivered in Munich on February 24, 1941, said: "Basically National Socialism and Marxism are the same". This interesting discovery was made by Mr. Michael Ivens, the Director of Aims for Freedom and Enterprise. It was immediately challenged by left wing sceptics.

Our comment on this is that if Hitler had not said it, he should have. It is true, and Hitler knew it. The solidarity between Marxism and Nazism was documented when Hitler and Stalin joined hands in the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 to destroy Poland and let World War II loose on the world.

individual congregations were only permitted. Many of the buildings were turned into anti-God museums. In 1921 public religious instruction for children under eighteen was banned and the seminars were closed. Churchmen lost their civic rights and were discriminated against as non-useful workers and they often found it difficult to obtain food rations, accommodations or fuel.

A schism was sponsored within the church, destroying whatever unity the church possessed. In 1925 the "Friends of the Godless" was established with a view to spread anti-religious feelings.

The earlier subtle distinction of the party and government in dealing with religion, viz party would take the responsibility of carrying the anti-religious war, while the state true to its secular nature would not intervene in religious matters — gave way to a new situation wherein government actively carried the war against religion. To Bolsheviks freedom of conscience came to mean freeing of conscience from the fetters of religion. So the ideal is no more separation of state from church, but elimination of religion altogether. This as Lenin saw, would be a slow and a protracted process. The immediate problem was to destroy the power of the clergy, to eliminate the orthodox church as a hostile political force capable of rallying the temporarily dispersed foes of the regime for a holy war against Bolshevism. Lenin's policy was one which aimed at depriving the church of its means of subsistence, and communication, disrupt its centralized organizations and establish an effective policing of ecclesiastical activities. At the same time he wanted to avoid open confrontation with the orthodox masses.

Before Lenin died, the basic frame work of Soviet legislation on religion had been completed. Under his legislation, religious organizations ceased to exist as corporate, hierarchically ordered national bodies, the Moscow patriarchate, its diocesan administrations and deaneries, were now reduced to an extra-legal if not illegal existence. The law now recognized only local "religious associations", — groups of at least twenty believers — which after their registration by the local Soviets could lease from them houses of worship and liturgical objects. Such associations could hire "servants of the cult" who were later also made subject to registration by the authorities. It was forbidden to offer any organized instruction in religion to minors. Any conference of religion was to be sanctioned by the authorities.

Disfranchised

All clergymen, monks and nuns were disfranchised by the 1918 constitution which in practice, deprived them of civil and economic rights and reduced them to the position of 'non-toiling elements'.

By 1929 certain new developments took place in the Soviet regime. Stalin isolated and defeated his opponents and he was firmly in the saddle. A new type of relationship emerged between the state and the church. For sometime the anti-religious trend continued. The League of Militant Godless was formed in 1929. Anti-

Christmas and anti-Easter campaigns were carried out accompanied by the ceremonial burning of ikons. The League campaigned for closing down of the churches. Sometimes its activity was based on crude materialism; it campaigned for the removal of church bells because ferrous metals were needed by Soviet heavy industry. With a slogan 'the fight for godlessness is a fight for socialism'; the League organized seminars and meetings to drive atheism home.

With the advent of the German attack on Russia, the Soviet authorities under the leadership of Stalin followed a milder policy towards religious institutions. The need of the hour was to create a great patriotic feeling among the people and to close all dissensions. So the ideological schism between the church and the state witnessed a temporary halt. The church actively supported the government against Hitler. In return for this, the church was given a high status; it was recognized as the principal religious body of the U.S.S.R. It was allowed to own some property. Church buildings were repaired. The church contributed financially to the war efforts, and condemned collaborators with the Germans and offered prayers for "our divinely protected land, for its authorities headed by its God — given leader".

The Honeymoon

This honeymoon, lasted only for a few years. In the de-Stalinization period that followed, while other sectors of the society received moderate doses of liberalism, the religious institutions came under strict supervision. The hard core Marxists of the party detested the increasing influence of religion over youth. In May 1953, (few months immediately after the death of Stalin) Shchepin the first secretary of the Komsomol, expressed grave concern over the situation. Following with his warning, the Komsomol periodically reminded its readers that the "war against religious prejudice is an integral part of the fight for the communist education of the working class, for the education of active and conscientious builders of communism (who must be) free of any and all links to the past".

An article appearing in an educational publication highlighted the challenges of 'revisionism penetrating into the minds of youth under the grab of religion' and presented a scheme of teaching history in secondary schools as a part of overall strategy of defeating religious influence. The youngsters, must be taught that

"(a) Religion always depends on material circumstances and does not respond to a deep and lasting need in man.

(b) religion and the church are always reactionary and that religious morality and communist morality are always fundamentally antagonistic to each other,

(c) religion and science are irreconcilable".

It was clearly laid down by many official pronouncements so far as the attitude towards religion is concerned the Soviet schools should not be 'neutral'. The Western conception of secularism which involves a sort of indifference towards religion does not hold

good. What is required is a pronounced anti-religious attitude by the schools.

Sovetskaya Pedagogika noted that the so called non-religious education, which meant that the teacher merely presents scientific doctrines, without direct attacks on religion, has always brought uncomfortable results for atheism. In the schools where such a 'non-religious' philosophy of education was put into practice in recent years it was shown that "manifestations of various religious superstitions were observed even in the upper grades". The paper therefore warned that the Soviet schools must have a clear anti-religious purpose.

Teachers were often instructed to bring home the point of supremacy of scientific thought over religious thought, in each and every lesson. For instance, after explaining the law of motion, students should be specially told, how earlier people, influenced by religion were attributing God's will to these natural phenomenon, and how the modern scientific attitude is superior to the earlier ideological conviction. In their enthusiasm of enhancing science against religion the Soviet authorities painted many scientists as atheists—which is far from true. Even the Russian scientists who have been often portrayed by the Soviet press as leading atheists were infact God fearing men.

A Moot Question

But it is a moot question whether the Soviet authorities have been able to erase the influence of religion altogether from the minds of Russian people. Recent statistical surveys show that it is hardly the case. Religious ceremonies continue to govern birth, marriages, and deaths. For example in 60's, sixty per cent of all children were baptised in church, and 15 per cent of all marriages and thirty per cent of all funerals were performed in orthodox rite. Soviet authorities have recognized the existence of religious influence and among many reasons they attribute it, to lack of enthusiasm on the part of workers, and the influence of older generations. Because according to a recent survey more than 70% of the believers were above forty years of age. Among women who constitute about 60% of the total population, more than 70% believe in God. Thus at family level the parents inculcate religious feeling to their youngsters. Despite many efforts communists could not break the hold of family. Moreover as a part of literary tradition, religious feelings under the garb of humanism, love, beauty and such other values continue to dominate the Russian literary scene and it will be next to impossible for any government to do away with it. Again most of the believers are the sincere citizens, hardworking labourers, proven patriots—whose integrity could not be doubted. It would be most unwise for any government more so for a government operating with a close system of single party dictatorship to rake up the sentiments of a passive public and make an enemy out of them. Thus an indifferent attitude persists. Therefore although religion as an institution is crippled as a feeling it sways its influence over the vast majority of the Russians.

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

Lakshmi's
BALLERINA
voile sarees
Enchanting. Wear for work
Wear for fun. Around the town.
Around the picnic spots.
Any where and **BELLERINA**
will please you every wear
Made from 90s & 100s
pure imported cotton.



RISE AND FALL OF MICHAEL FOOT

(Perhaps no reputation — even if a somewhat dubious one — has so rapidly been deflated during the past year as that of Michael Foot by reason of his activities at home and abroad. We had occasion to refer to some of these in the editorial note entitled "Foot and Mouth Disease" in our December 1976 issue.

In an editorial article in the *Guardian* of January 8, 1977, we are glad to find an echo of our view. "One of the most plaintive lamants of 1976 (which bids fair to become the endless dirge in 1977) was for Mr. Foot, great libertarian".

Since Mr. Foot is constantly in the limelight, we publish here an abridged version of an article on this controversial character which appeared in the *Free Nation* in London under the amusing title "The High-Speed Virgin".)

"O H Michael's alright. Michael's different. Michael really does care for Parliament".

It must be a long time since any non-Tribuneer said that about the member for Ebbw Vale. A shallow ill-founded reputation for being the libertarian kind of left-winger, a good old Cromwellian radical with a proper respect for personal freedom has come to look, well, shallow and ill-founded, as Mr. Foot, the Grand Old Man of the Student manner, has dabbled for the first time, on the threshold of antiquity, with real authority.

When Mr. Foot had no power he was a noisy, eloquent bore, sounding and tinkling by turns. He denounced, in a notorious book, those "Guilty Men" who by September 1939 had only partially rearmed this country, in a period when Mr. Foot and his friends had been opposing all rearmament.

The gestures to which generations of Press Gallery men were to become inured, the denouncing index finger, the swooping arc of the right arm, the sudden fall of speech cadence and the professional accelerando of outrage which follows it, were already in the making. But if the affectations of a late Victorian actor manager were tedious, early Footism had its virtues. He was and is more literate than the generality of politicians. His book on Jonathan Swift may go on unnecessarily about the Persil-like qualities of searing indignation; but it is a perfectly readable study for all that.

Negative Virtues

Again Foot, although a fervent Tribuneite was at no time a member of its Cominformist hard core. Half of Foot's appeal lay in the fact that there were so many people on the Labour left than whom he was less awful...

Mr. Foot, long an articulary, short on detail or originality, and eternal on passion, represented in his public speeches a kind of verbal inflation — too many words chasing too few ideas, with no lexical monetarist to restrain him.... He was above such things as office and power. Aldermaston, Trafalgar Square, The House of Commons were all of them splendid arenas for public performance. By reason of the last of these, the image of the "good democrat devoted to the House of Commons" was created.

Yet Mr. Foot it is, who coming to power late, after a lifetime's profession of virtue, has proved to be one

of those high-speed virgins, who redress by their exertions what they have missed by their delay.

Laws have been passed (or are being passed) to protect superfluous jobs, to grant dynastic title on other people's employment to the immaculate and sinfree dockers, to enforce the Closed Shop, and to make a free press, in the process, potentially unfree.

For a "libertarian democrat", "devoted House of Commons man" and "opponent of totalitarianism",

LIE OF THE WEEK

Michael Foot, leader of the house of commons, denounced the *Times* columnist, Bernard Levin, for perpetrating a "monstrous lie" about the prime minister of India. This has encouraged The *Economist* to launch a contest for the Indian nonsense of the week Choose two out of three.

Mrs. Gandhi, January 5th:

I can say without hesitation that the opposition does not get such consideration from the government anywhere in the world as it does in India.

Bernard Levin, January 6th:

The truth is that Mrs Gandhi wants to be a dictator and is going to be.

Michael Foot, January 6th:

Of course one way was open to Mrs Gandhi which would have spared her the strictures of Mr Levin and everyone else. She could have had herself assassinated—as Allende was assassinated in Chile by the forces of reaction.

Entrants are also invited to submit evidence corroborating the truth-teller of their choice: for example, on the comfortable conditions in India's political prisons; or on how the Labour party's deputy leader out-sleuthed the Indian government and single-handedly discovered a murder plot against Mrs Gandhi. Prize: a one-way ticket to India.

—*The Economist*, January 15.

Mr. Foot has had quite a jolly time at the Department of Employment!

What shattered many people who had great good-will and affection for him was the intransigent relish with which dear old unambitious Michael applied himself

RAJAJI AND FREEDOM

N. K. Seetharaman

"Absolute political power exercised without the restraints of Law is the very definition of tyranny, even if it is done in the name of the people. O Liberty! O Liberty! What crimes are committed in thy name!"

—S. P. AIYAR

OF all the front rank chieftains of the freedom movement Shri C. Rajgopalchari, had, perhaps, the unique distinction of fighting for freedom till the very last moment of his life. Thus his life can be regarded as one struggle for freedom, i.e., freedom from unrestrained and autocratic power of the state in all walks of life, of all classes and sections of people in independent India. Therefore, the purpose of this small paper is to highlight some of those facets of Rajaji's life which were connected with the freedom of the individual from that of social bondage and restrictions of the state.

Rajaji's zeal for social freedom was evident through the various social reforms that he undertook in his young age. When he was the Chairman of the Salem Municipality, he did open the walls for the use of the Harijan and Scheduled caste communities contrary to the wishes and prejudice of the orthodox commu-

nity. He did not believe in the hierarchy of castes and was firmly against the domination of the lower castes by the higher castes. In other words, he was a great social reformer never afraid to act according to the dictates of his conscience. In fact, some of his social reforms did help the social mobility of castes including temple entry by the Harijans and lower castes. It will be in the fitness of things to point out here that Rajaji along with Gandhiji had set an example of inter-caste marriage by marrying his daughter to Gandhiji's son.

A general analysis of the relationship between the state and the individual and the evils of state-controlled economy with particular reference to what Rajaji thought on the subject will give us an idea how state-control on each and every matter affects individual liberty.

The State Vs. Individual

It has been a controversy even today among political scientists whether the State exists for the welfare of the individual or *vice versa*. The idealist political philosophers believed in the merger of individual

RISE AND FALL OF MICHAEL FOOT (contd.)

to the intolerant exercise of power.

One of the strengths of British politics has been a certain flexibility:— Party X wants such and such a bill enacted; various groups dislike it but cannot stop it. Yet in the interests of mutual tolerance and government by consent, some concessions are made in the Committee stage, and some genuine amendments accepted. Lord Goodman, in this tradition, attempted to persuade Mr. Foot to exempt Editors of Newspapers from the Closed Shop rule since they must be free to write or include anything. The former Editor, the heldentenor of a thousand operative editorials, the man cheerfully free to speak for socialism on Beaverbrook Newspapers at a handsome fee, ruled that the rights of the unions must take precedence over the rights of the individual.

So the time is not very far away, and those who want a syndico-corporate state realise it, when the keenest members of a Union Committee will tell Brother Editor that such and such an item of news, perhaps one discreditable to a Union, is "unacceptable to the lads". From there it is only a short step to their finding an Editor "unacceptable".

The Gentry

The trouble with Mr. Foot, and one of the reasons why laws of such overweening arrogance of spirit come easily from a man who had passed for one of the freer minds on the left, is that he brings to the apparatus of doctrinaire socialism the worst instincts of the upper class. It is no accident (as Pravda would say) that the

two most intolerant authoritarians in the Government, Mr. Foot and Mr. Benn, are both Gentlemen Socialists.

Mr. Foot, the heir of a long established family of West country gentry, has instinctively that ferrule-twirling disdain for other people, which made the older kind of upper class reactionary so objectionable. The Foots (like the Gandhis of Hampstead and New Delhi) use the word "socialism" to cloak a feudal instinct. They believe that people should be organised and governed disinterestedly for their own good, by those who know what is best for them...

It has become an identification not with the weak and vulnerable. Rather it is a less estimable itch to cuddle up to the strong. George Orwell had a name for this impulse. He called it power worship!...

Today, as he stands at the despatch box still theatrical, brought by time and long practice before a mirror into a fair model of a Spy cartoon — all elongation, thin torso, nicely drapable arms, spatular fingers, dressed and coiffed at 62 for the eternal student, Mr. Foot is the same man, but the voice is different. It is the voice of arrogant querulous authority.

Those who ever did think that Michael was different from other leftists, Michael really cared for Parliament, Michael was alright; are entitled to feel, as union authoritarianism written into the law by his enactments, bites deeper, and jobs turn upon submission, that, as they say at Blackpool every October come Conference time: "We have been betrayed".

E. P.

identity with the State. The pluralist, on the other hand, did not agree with the monistic nature of the State and recognised the increasing importance of associations within the State. For the pluralists, the State is federally constituted having not one centre of sovereign power but several centres of authority which the State shares with associations.

It was a feature of ancient Greek city-states to subject the individual to the needs of the states. In Sparta, a healthy male child was taken care of by the State soon after its birth. Throughout history there has been a steady erosion of individual freedom; only some countries have been an exception to this process. In France, Louis XIV, declared "I am the state." In England, the kings of the Stuart dynasty paid scant respect to Parliament and justified all their actions in the name of divine rights of kings; but this was a crucial phase in England's constitutional development.

Individual Liberty

According to Harold Laski, liberty is "The eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves." Rajaji was greatly concerned with this individual liberty and he was opposed to statism which stifles the freedom of the individual. At the inaugural convention of the Swatantra Party in 1959 in Bombay, he boldly asserted :

"I have come to the conclusion that a movement for freedom, as important and as serious as the movement for independence against British rule, has now to be inaugurated against this misconceived progress of the Congress towards what will finally end in the suppression of individual liberty and the development of the state into a true Leviathan. The state is becoming a giant entity by itself menacingly poised against the citizen, interfering with his life at all points; mistrusting the people, imposing restrictions, introducing a series of controls and regulations, stepping into the fields of agriculture, industry and trade, creating an army of officials, tremendously increasing the cost of administration and therefore the taxes paid by the nation, hypnotising the people in the slogans that are mistaken for thought and wisdom, a scheme of government in which it is taken for granted that the citizen is ignorant of what is his own interest."

A significant argument often advanced by the advocates of increasing State control and take-over of industries is that it is the primary duty of the State to regulate the economy apart from checking the growth of monopoly houses in industrial sectors. Regulation of economy is, undoubtedly, within the power of the State; but nationalisation of industries in the name of abolishing monopoly and, thereby, the evils associated with the system results in counter monopoly, i.e., State monopoly. Monopoly, whether it is by private enterprise or by the State, is harmful from the liberal point of view. The State should promote healthy competition and remove needless restriction

on trade and business. However, it must intervene to check monopoly and restricted trade practices and resort to fiscal policies for controlling inflation.

The weakness of State take-over have been better explained by the Socialist Union in their book on *Twentieth Century Socialism* (p. 142) in the following words :

The government may take possession of an industry, appoint its managers and give them directions. But no government can know what is going on within each of thousands of enterprises, supervise their internal running and take responsibility for all that is done. It cannot lay down by law how people are to treat each other or how they are to behave, and little will be gained by hamstringing management with paper regulations which cannot be enforced.

Nationalisation of private enterprises rests also on another assumption that the management after nationalisation will continue to have the same interest and drive which it had before it was taken over by the State. When profit and loss are nobody's concern under State-management, the attitude towards work and clients are bound to change. Moreover, the management under the State enterprises will not be able to experiment with new ideas which have not met with the approval of the State. Rajaji had expressed in clear terms how State-control affects individual liberty in an article. "Have We Lost the Will to be Free?" in *Swarajya* dated July 10, 1965 thus :

Controlled production, controlled prices and other similar controls mean in the ultimate analysis controlling of persons. Under a controlled economy, it is persons, not things, who are told by some persons who are collectively called government what they must or must not do. It is this that goes contrary to respect for human personality, gradually robs the victims of the will-to-be-free, and develops in the government a hunger for owning slaves. Happiness, even more physical happiness, required not only food, clothing and shelter; but also a sense of freedom.

Article 19 in Part III on Fundamental Rights in the Indian Constitution mentions the following rights of the citizen :

- (a) to freedom of speech and expression;
- (b) to assemble peacefully and without arms;
- (c) to form associations or unions;
- (d) to move freely throughout the territory of India;
- (e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India;
- (f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property; and
- (g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

Rajaji was deeply concerned with this article of the Constitution and some of the subsequent developments contrary to it in the country proved how right he was in asserting the importance of individual liberty. His fear that some of the actions of the ruling party would result in total deprivation of individual freedom was not unjustified. The abolition of privy purses granted to ex-rulers and guaranteed through the Con-

WORLD NEWS

CARTER WRITES TO SAKHAROV

HERE is the text of President Carter's letter to Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov, dated Feb. 5:
Dear Professor Sakharov:

I received your letter of January 21 and I want to express my appreciation to you for bringing your thoughts to my personal attention.

Human rights is a central concern of my administration. In my inaugural address I stated: "Because we are free, we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere." You may rest assured that the American people and our government will continue our firm commitment to promote respect for human rights not only in our own country but also abroad.

We shall use our good offices to seek the release of prisoners of conscience, and we will continue our efforts to shape a world responsive to human aspirations in which nations of differing cultures and histories can live side by side in peace and justice.

I am always glad to hear from you, and I wish you well.

Sincerely,

JIMMY CARTER.

—*International Herald Tribune*, February 12

RAJAJI AND FREEDOM (contd.)

stitution (Article 291), the absolute supremacy of Parliament irrespective of Constitutional limits, supersession of judges in the Supreme Court in appointing the Chief Justice of India etc. were some of the actions of government contrary to the norms of democracy and fundamental rights. Of late, even the creation of states on the basis of linguism, which Rajaji described as a "tribal idea" has begun to threaten the liberty of the individual.

Rajaji was clearly aware of the evils of capitalism and his opposition to nationalisation of industries was not based on his advocacy of capitalism. The essence of economic development is capital investment which requires incentives through profits. More than anything else, Rajaji recognised the importance of "incentives" to private enterprises for investment and expansion. An economy which is at the embryonic stage of its development cannot afford to waste capital investment through lack of incentives. That the total nationalisation of all industries will gradually lead to totalitarianism can hardly be doubted. Rajaji subscribed to this view rather than his support for private enterprise. According to him, "Statism is the policy of concentrating extensive economic, political and related controls in the state, at the cost of individual liberty."

Thus, to Rajaji freedom did not mean merely liberation from alien domination; he also wanted individuals to be free from all types of social restrictions and bondage and private industries, trade and commerce from excessive interference of the state.

DJILAS ASKS BACKING OF WEST COMMUNISTS

MILOVAN Djilas, a former leader of the Yugoslav Communist party, today appealed to West European Communist parties to use their good offices in persuading the Belgrade government to respect human rights in his country.

In an interview with foreign correspondents, Mr. Djilas said he was making the appeal in connection with the opening yesterday in Geneva of the 33d session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. The Yugoslav representative at the meetings, Alexander Borzovic, was chosen as chairman of the meeting.

"It would be as well if Mr. Borzovic were to be acquainted with some of the conditions in his own country," Mr. Djilas said.

Mr. Djilas asked the Communist parties of Italy, France, Spain and other West European nations to take note that, on a proportional basis, Yugoslavia is currently holding in prison as many political prisoners as the Soviet Union.

He said that Andrei Sakharov, the Soviet dissident leader, "has estimated that there are about 10,000 political prisoners in the U.S.S.R."

"To the best of my information and belief, there are at least 600 political prisoners currently held in this country. So we are not behind the Soviets in that respect."

Mr. Djilas recalled that during his career as a Communist revolutionary in the 1930s, he was frequently arrested by the Yugoslav monarchist police and was imprisoned by them for three years, 1933-36.

"But never during the peak of repression under the monarchy were there as many sentenced political prisoners in Yugoslavia as there are today," he said. "On the day Germany attacked Yugoslavia in 1941, there were only 36 Communists in jail..."

"In the late 1960s there were virtually no political prisoners in Yugoslavia, so many people still think of this country as all right, from the human rights standpoint. But since 1971, everything has changed," he said.

—*International Herald Tribune*, February 9.

CARRILLO RECORD BELIES HIS NEW IMAGE

THE democratic halo at present worn by Senor Santiago Carrillo, secretary-general of the Spanish Communist Party, is somewhat tarnished by his own statements and his civil war record.

Although Senor Carrillo denies personal responsibility, few serious historians have much doubt about his role in the mass executions at Paracuellos, on the outskirts of Madrid, four months after the civil war began in 1936.

Mr Hugh Thomas, the chronicler of that war best known to British readers, says Senor Carrillo was responsible for public order at the time of the killings, adding that the first prisoners were killed at Paracuellos

by their guards in a moment of panic.

Mr Thomas and other historians say that during the following days, mass executions of political prisoners were carried out in Madrid and Paracuellos, as well as in the other nearby towns of San Fernando and Torrejon.

Exactly how many people died in the massacres at Paracuellos and other towns in the Madrid area is hard to say, but thousands of prisoners were taken from their cells in November, 1936, in the Madrid area, and never heard of again. There are authenticated lists, complete with dates, in a number of cases, including the 105 prisoners taken from the San Anton jail on November 27 and shot.

The Paracuellos affair alone was certainly enough to justify Senor Carrillo's nickname in right-wing circles as "Assassin of Paracuellos", but it was not the only affair in which he was involved that might cast doubt on the sincerity of his espousal of democracy.

As Madrid's public order chief, Senor Carrillo, who was 21 at the time, is also reported to have given the order for the assault of the Finnish embassy in Madrid, violating, from a post in the government, the principle of diplomatic immunity in order to imprison those who had taken asylum in the embassy.

A decree signed by General Franco and promulgated on March 31, 1969, to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of his victory in the civil war, established a statute of limitations for such crimes, absolving Senor Carrillo from the threat of trial.

But if the dictator and most other Spaniards have forgiven, many of them find it hard to forget. Last January 3, the right-wing Madrid evening newspaper *Alcazar* dedicated its front page to a huge black cross and a brief text in memory of those executed at Paracuellos.

The edition was snapped up. The eager buyers in Valencia—and possibly in other parts of Spain as well—included Communists buying all available copies in order to keep it from circulating...

In contrast with his present air of political respectability, Senor Carrillo said as late as October 10, 1975, when General Franco was already mortally ill: "I do not condemn violence. I am not opposed to violence. I accept it when it is necessary, and if the revolution in Spain calls for violence, as it has in other countries, I will be ready to carry it out."

—*The Times*, January 8.

UGANDA'S UN MISSION

THE Ugandan government is constructing a 15-story headquarters for its UN delegation on 45th Street, three floors higher than the U.S. Mission which is next door.

One of the more elaborate suites will have a landscaped terrace and presumably could be used for visits by President Idi Amin...

The Ugandan government has a contract for the erection of the building with Wilmore, Inc., a Rochester-based firm, and has made an initial \$65,000 payment towards the cost of the foundation. The construc-

tion of the building is expected to cost \$3.5 million to \$4 million.

It was considered surprising that the mission staff, numbering less than a dozen persons, should need a building of 15 floors.

Only a few weeks ago, the Ugandan government appealed to the UN for \$15 million in assistance because of its financial difficulties. Uganda is listed by the UN as one of the countries most seriously affected by the economic burden created by the sudden increase in the cost of oil and other imports. As a consequence, Uganda asked for aid from a special fund created to help the most distressed countries.

—*International Herald Tribune*, January 8.

STOP KNOCKING BRITAIN

MR. ENOCH POWELL yesterday claimed that Britain not only had a higher standard of living than Europe, but held the whip hand within the E.E.C.

He told a meeting in South Molton, Devon: "We are the king of the castle, holding all the trump cards."

"In Germany the average worker in 1975 had to work 70 per cent longer to afford, before tax, the same quantity of beef as his British counterpart 66 per cent longer to buy his bread, 50 per cent longer to buy his butter, and just as long to buy his milk and eggs."

"In France the average worker had to work more than 50 per cent longer to buy beef, 50 per cent longer to buy fish, 60 per cent longer to buy bread, two and a half times as long to buy butter, a third longer to buy milk, and half as long again to buy eggs."

On the basic standard for measuring the well-being of the worker—diet in relation to wages—Mr. Powell said Britons were still a year or two ago well in advance of Europeans.

But if Britain remained in the Community, that position would change. Over the last year the price of all-important foodstuffs was well above the corresponding prices in the world outside.

He said: "It is we who have the whip hand, we who can decide whether to stay in it or not, we who can make our own terms inside or outside."

—*Sunday Express*, February 12.

CHEWING GUM IN THE U.S.S.R.

CHEWING gum, that symbol of Western decadence, has at last gone into production in the Soviet Union.

The first Soviet-made gum appeared in stores in Armenia and Estonia at the start of the year, and another gum factory will open in Moscow next year, the newspaper *Moskovsky Komsomolets* said yesterday.

The chewing of "zhevatelnaya ryezinka"—literally chewing rubber—has long been considered an uncultured U.S. vice. Customs inspectors have been known to confiscate it and newspapers have lectured about it.

But yesterday's newspaper story praised the new gum as "colourfully decorated and goodtasting and... good for the human organism." It referred to "medical workers" who have recommended gum for cleaning teeth, freshening the breath and helping people to stop smoking.

—*International Herald Tribune*, January 17.

Review

WHAT AN INNINGS!

THE quarterly magazine was for so long an integral and essential part of British intellectual life that I am surprised that nobody seems to have comprehensively charted its rise and fall; there have been studies of particular journals (the *Quarterly* itself, for instance, and I think the *Edinburgh Review*, and not long ago there was a commemorative selection from one of the few significant survivors, the *Political Quarterly*), but as far as I know there is no general picture of the tradition. Yet the phenomenon of a literary form in which writers could easily spend 10,000 words at their leisure on some topic of wide interest, without departing from the distinctive requirements of periodical publication, deserves attention; at the very least, somebody ought to explain how the quarterly became so influential, and why it ceased to be.

Or rather: why it almost ceased to be. For there are a few still left, outside the field or purely learned journals, for the reader who seeks something more scholarly than the general press can provide, but not so intensely specialist as to demand expert qualifications if it is to be understood. There is none, it is true, still publishing the wide range of literary and political topics that were once on offer; but there are some which till their particular field in suitably wide furrows.

And of these, one of the most consistently interesting and useful is this week celebrating its 100th issue; such longevity in an area strewn with so many financial and other mines is alone worth celebrating, but *Survey: A Journal of East and West Studies* deserves a raise and thanks for much more than merely continuing to exist, and today I want to roll a log for the magazine and for its indefatigably cheerful editor, Leopold Labedz.

Labedz, a Polish-born version of Mr Fezziwig (*la-bedz* means "swan" in Polish, and anything that looked less like a swan than Leo would be hard to envisage), has not only kept *Survey* alive for a quarter of a century; he has kept it respected, influential and indispensable. And he has done this by treading, with exceptionally sure footed instinct the invisible line between the purely academic and the diffusedly popular; I think it is true to say that almost everything in *Survey* is of genuine use to scholars of East-West studies, yet at the same time of no less value and interest to the general reader.

A glance through the contents of the 100th number, which has for a general sub-title "The Future of East-West Relations", will make clear what I mean; doubly clear, as a matter of fact, because of the nearly 50 writers all but two are previous contributors to the magazine, many of them frequent and regular ones. Indeed, the breadth of subjects and interests implied by the roll-call of names on the cover provides striking

and eloquent testimony to the outstanding quality of the journal before the reader even opens it. A publication which includes work by Andrei Amalrik, Raymond Aron, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Maurice Cranston, Milovan Djilas, Leszek Kolakowski, Arrigo Levi, Richard Pipes, Leonard Schapiro, Hugh Seton-Watson, Andrei Sinyavsky and Manes Sperber is not one that can be ignored, and a study of the editor's introduction, in which he looks back over some of the work he has printed, and some of the authors he has introduced to western readers, shows that the talents on show in this century number are fully representative of those which have filled *Survey* for the previous 99. Let me get out of Leo's way for a paragraph or so and let him do his own boasting:

We began to describe the attempts to "destalinize" the Soviet cultural scene well before the 20th congress. . . . We covered in detail the ferment of ideas which led to the Polish October and Hungarian

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revolution of 1956 ... We drew attention editorially to the Sino-Soviet differences four years before the dispute came to the surface in 1963 ... We were the first to publish in English Sinyavsky and Amalrik ... Among our various "firsts", we printed a number of texts by Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov Nadezhda Mandelstam ... We devoted a special issue to the intellectual ferment in Czechoslovakia two years before the Prague Spring ...

Nor is *Survey* content to rest even upon such laurels as these. This 100th issue contains an astonishing scoop, in the first authentic and detailed account of the fate of Ivan Maisky, Soviet Ambassador to Britain from 1932 to 1943; Maisky survived precariously as Stalin's blood-lust grew again towards the end of the war, only to be arrested a mere fortnight before the monster's death. (Owing to an unfortunate combination of circumstances, he was not released—unlike, for instance, the doctors arrested at the same time—he had served 2½ years in prison. But he survived, and lived for another twenty years, dying peacefully in his bed, at the age of 91, in 1975.)

The revelations about Maisky, by Alexander Nekrich (who knew the ambassador well), also confirm and extend our knowledge of something much more important: Stalin's intention of instituting a fresh purge, in which the whole of the old guard of survivors—including Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Molotov and Mikoyan—were to be destroyed. The "doctors' plot" was the herald of this move, which was to start with the mass deportation of Soviet Jews to Siberia; rarely in history can so many have had such heartfelt reason to murmur *Felix opportunitate mortis* when Stalin died just as the wheels were beginning to turn.

The Nekrich article is most sensational in the 100th *Survey*, but there is an enormous amount of fascinating material besides. Raymond Aron, for instance, contributes, under the title "*Alexander Solzhenitsyn and European leftism*", a savagely revealing study of Sartre: Solzhenitsyn, while still in Moscow, refused to meet this most odious of all the West's fellow-travellers, and Aron, who has for so long honoured Europe by his very existence, tells us, in searing words, exactly why:

Here is the Right and here the Left. Here are the concentration camps which one does not approve and here the ones which one does. There are good murderers and evil ones. Marxism remains the unsurpassable philosophy of our epoch, and those who base themselves upon it are always on the right side, while those who defend freedom against the advocates of that philosophy are in the wrong ... As a personality Sartre embodies everything which Solzhenitsyn loathes: the rejection of moral guidelines, the refusal to accept the age-old distinction between good and evil, the sacrifice of men's lives and the justification of crimes by an appeal to an indefinite future ... in short, the evil of ideology—a kind of evil which in Sartre's case takes on a pure form—indirect, delegated evil. He kills nobody; he would not hurt a fly and his only participation in

history is through his pen. Now he gives Stalin his half-hearted applause, now Castro has his unreserved, though shortlived, greeting, but never does he condemn the practice which Solzhenitsyn finds detestable; the practice of condemning crimes in the name of ideology.

Survey has, and has had throughout the 100 numbers of its existence, two purposes. One is to increase understanding of the subjects it covers...not to preach, to crusade or to polemicize, but to make us *understand*. The other aim—and neither is or would have been of any value without its companion—is implied in Aron's last sentence, above: to expose, in careful, reasoned and documented studies, the practice of committing crimes in the name of ideology. Leo Labedz and his colleagues and contributors have pursued those twin aims with unremitting fidelity, courage, consistency and truth, and have served the cause of freedom everywhere. May their second hundred be as fruitful as their first.

BERNARD LEVIN

—Courtesy: *The Times*

(*Survey* is published at 133 Oxford Street, London W1.)

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Bertram D. Wolfe

One of the founders of the Communist International, perhaps the last, passed away on February 21, 1977, as a result of burns sustained in an accident.

Bertram D. Wolfe was one of the fiercest polemicists and yet one of the gentlest of men. When Stalin emerged from the shambles of the October Revolution, Bertram Wolfe became a resolute foe of international Communism and the Soviet dictatorship, but he did not let his opposition to Marxist-Leninist doctrine distort his scholarship. His book "Three who made a Revolution" published in 1948 remains a classic study of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. It was translated into 28 languages.

Your Editor counted Bertram Wolfe among his close friends. He recalls a painting which decorated his home in New York, by

Diego Rivera, the Mexican artiste, who had painted the entire group who formed the Communist International. Bertram Wolfe figured more prominently than Stalin who stood in the third row peeping over other peoples' shoulders!

During the last few years Bertram Wolfe turned to teaching and at the time of his death he was a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace in Stanford to which he was appointed in 1966.

The last letter your Editor received from him was a postcard last August, bearing a sculpture of Mahatma Gandhi. Bertram Wolfe's endorsement was: "Show this around where it will do some good or serve as a reproach". He also mentioned how happy he was that *Freedom First* was "holding on, however precariously".

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

—Tennyson

When it comes to unintelligible manoeuvring the politicians of India are in a class of their own.
—Editorial in *Daily Telegraph*, February 4.

Democracy and free economy are as logically linked as are dictatorship and the state.
—Lionel Edwards in *Prosperity and Capitalism*

I admire the exaggerated way in which you tell the truth.
—Said to Winston Churchill and quoted in the *Collapse of Democracy* by Robert Moss.

When one says liberalism, one says the individual and when one says fascism, one says the state.
—Mussolini quoted in Robert Moss's book *Collapse of Democracy*.

When the A. P. reporter was expelled from Moscow, I had a first thought to retaliate by expelling the A.P. reporter from Washington.
—President Carter in *Time*, February 1977.

It is as unwarranted to lay the blame for the Soviet build up on those who warn against it as it would have been to blame Churchill for Hitler's military build up in the 1930s which led to the outbreak of war.
—Winston S. Churchill M. P. in *The Times*, February 15.

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A democracy suspended once can be suspended again.

—Wall Street Journal quoted in *Democratic World*, February 13.

As under Chairman Mao, the Chinese Government believes that the country is in great danger of attack from the Soviet Union and that this danger is a matter of months rather than years.
—*Swiss Press Review*, February 14.

Scientific socialism, that phrase pregnant with unscientific consequences which orthodox communists in Moscow and others east of Berlin use to describe their system of government.
—*The Economist*, February 12.

The previous Administration under Secretary Kissinger thought there ought to be linkage, and if you mentioned human rights or if you dared to invite Mr Solzhenitsyn to the White House that you might endanger the progress of the SALT talks. I don't feel that way.
—President Carter quoted in *The Guardian*, February 12.

The concept of non-totalitarian Communism now seems to many of us like the idea of fried snowballs.
—Professor Kolakowski quoted in the *Observer*, February 6.

For every CIA agent in India there were a dozen KGB agents.
—Mr. Sanjay Gandhi quoted in *The Guardian*, December 23, 1976.

A Powell speech, insists Powell himself, is worth reading and rereading.
—*Time*, February 7.

Britain's Enoch Powell is a Cantabrigian classicist who can speak eleven languages—and enrage listeners in any of them.
—*Time*, February 7.

I go for two kinds of men, the kind with muscles and the kind without.
—Mae West quoted in *Time*, February 7.

The Air Force List for spring, 1976, reveals that the commander of the Northern Maritime Air Region is Air Vice-Marshal Lock, and of the Southern Maritime Air Region Air Vice-Marshal Ness. Monstrous.
—*Times*, January 28.