

freedom first

305

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL IDEAS

APRIL 1978

EDITORS : S. V. RAJU
GEETA DOCTOR

FREEDOM—FIRST AND ALWAYS

M. R. Masani

WHEN I recently agreed to respond to the invitation to assume office as Chairman of the newly established three-man Minorities Commission, I agreed to do so on an honorary basis so as to ensure continued freedom of expression on my part. The least of the sacrifices involved was the financial one resulting from the diversion of some days in the month from professional work to the work of the Commission in Delhi. Much more painful was the thought of having to relinquish the Editorship of *Freedom First* in order to make time for my new public duties.

In January 1972, I had taken on the task of editing this little journal from Mr. V. B. Karnik. I had in my article in that issue observed:

"The freedom of the Press in India is in peril. Whether through legislation or by the mere threat of legislation, there is grave danger of the larger and better organised newspapers being made to conform more and more and the voice of dissent being stilled in so far as they are concerned. It may well be that in the next few years it will be only small 'rags' like *Freedom First* that will be able to keep the torch burning".

It was in June 1975 that the challenge actually materialised. I wrote in my Letter to Readers on July 23, 1975, explaining to them why we had to suspend publication until the Courts of Law gave us justice and protection:

"Since we are sure that you would not approve of *Freedom First*, in keeping with its liberal values and principles, submitting to pre-censorship of this nature, we have, with the approval of the Executive Board of the Democratic Research Service, decided to suspend publication and to bear the resultant inconvenience and hardship till the final decision of the Courts. We are sure we have your warm sympathy and support in the stand we have taken for the freedom of thought and expression for which our journal has always stood".

As is now well known, we in *Freedom First* have a record of resistance to arbitrary censorship of which

we may well be proud. When the bulk of the national dailies buckled under, with the exception only of the *Statesman* and the *Indian Express*, it was little 'rags' like ours and Mr. Gorwala's *Opinion* that kept the flag flying. Our faith in the Rule of Law and Judiciary was vindicated by the judgement in our favour of the Division Bench of the Bombay High Court which enabled us to publish without let or hindrance from January 1976 till the end of the Emergency. The story of that case has been told by Mr. Soli Sorabjee, now Additional Solicitor General to the Union Government, in his book *The Law of Censorship in India*. *Freedom First* has reason to be grateful to him and Mr. D. H. Nanavati, our attorney, both of whom saw us through the legal battle at great financial cost to themselves.

Compared to a year ago, the press in India is free today and I had the privilege, as your Editor,

(Continued on page 2)

IN THIS ISSUE

Outgoing editor Minoo Masani makes his bow with a reaffirmation of *Freedom First's* faith in liberal values.

For a better understanding of the elections recently held to several State Assemblies, we bring you expert comments: Louella Lobo Prabhu takes time off from her piano to give us an idea of what happened and why in Karnataka; Dr. Y. Sivaji, a member of the State Committee of the Janata Party in Andhra Pradesh, comments with refreshing candour on why Janata failed in his State, and Sidney Pinto, already known to readers of *Freedom First*, gives his estimate of the results in Maharashtra.

We carry a piece by Bernard Levin on the tragic goings-on in Viet-Nam today, and two book-reviews by K. V. Padmanabhan and Achyut Patwardhan.

FRANKLY SPEAKING.....

Ministry-Making in Maharashtra

The days of the SVD are back again. *Aya Rams* and *Gaya Rams* who had a field day in the Northern States after the 1967 general elections have entered Maharashtra. Ministry making in the State has just witnessed the *Aya Ram* phase. The *Gaya Rams* cannot be far behind. Eleven Independents were stashed away, according to Janata quarters, and produced before the Governor like rabbits out of white caps by the Congresses. One of them, says a news-report, was in a positively dazed condition.

This technique of secreting the people's representatives and producing them minutes before a crucial event was devised during elections to Zilla Parishads and perfected for application at the Assembly level in the post 1967 period. The practice of producing bodies before the Governor as evidence of support, as if one were counting heads of cattle, is a degrading development and a negation of individual dignity. It is a sad commentary on the level of our politics.

For the Janata Party it must be a bitter pill — to have been so tantalizingly near power and yet so far. If press reports are to be believed, Janata have themselves to blame. It took them three days to call a meeting (understandable for anyone who knows of the constant jockeying that goes on within that

party) and elect their leader. Meanwhile the two Congresses had not only elected their respective leaders but even the leader of their Front and had staked their claim.

And yet, there is some justification for the view held by many that as the single largest party, Janata should have been called to office and test its durability on the floor of the Assembly. This would have been the right thing to do. But then, unfortunately, what is right is not always what is realistic. Perhaps it is just as well for Janata's already bruised reputation. Would they have been able to govern at all as a minority government dependent on the CPI(M) and the PWP not to speak of assorted groups and Independents? Hardly likely. We therefore fully endorse the editorial comment in the *Indian Express* of March 8 which observed *inter alia*: "With luck, the Janata leadership will learn the right lessons from the Maharashtra experience and not permit hunger for office to overcome other considerations. If not, whatever distinction remains between it and either of the Congress parties will disappear."

Maharashtra's Governor Sadiq Ali deserves full marks for doing the right thing — in the circumstances — and not following precedents set by Governors in the days of the Congress Raj.

At the time of writing the Congress Front has got off to a rather inauspicious start with the leaders of the two Congress parties in the State airing their differences publicly. And predictably, the divergence of views centres on Mrs. Gandhi's role in the State's politics. Chief Minister Vasant Rao Patil's diplomatic disclaimers notwithstanding, it is clear that Mrs. Gandhi has been conceded a veto in the State's administration.

How long will the Congress Front government last? It is anybody's guess. But one thing is for sure. It will be in office only so long as Mrs. Gandhi wants it to. And how long will she want the Government to last? Only so long as it takes her to eliminate the Reddy (now Swaran Singh) Congress. For Vasant Rao Patil the price he has paid for continued tenancy at Varsha might ultimately prove too heavy a political price.

Incidentally, whatever has happened to Yeshwantrao Chavan?

The Budget Hurts

Even the most ardent supporter of the Janata Party will find it difficult to be enthusiastic about the current Union Budget. The most frightening aspect of the entire exercise is the estimated uncovered deficit — a whopping Rs. 1,050 crores. Estimates of deficit have in the past proved to be notoriously off the mark. For instance the last Budget estimated a deficit of 84 crores and ended up with Rs. 975 crores. One shudders to think what the actual deficit of the current Budget will turn out to be.

(Continued from page 1)

FREEDOM — FIRST AND ALWAYS

to present the Declaration on Press Freedom at the Conference organised by the International Press Institute and the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung in Delhi in November 1977.

That does not mean that the threat to the freedom of the Press is permanently removed. What we have secured is a reprieve. The inadequacies of the present regime in Delhi have already resulted in considerable disillusionment and disappointment and the wave of hope of March 1977 has receded considerably. The results of recent elections to certain State Assemblies show that a backlash is developing. A reversion to an authoritarian regime in course of time cannot therefore be ruled out. The challenge still looms ahead, and a journal like *Freedom First* is as necessary as ever.

I am grateful to my friends S. V. Raju and Geeta Doctor for relieving me of the burden of editing the journal in order to make some time for the public work that I have now undertaken. I am also grateful to Mr. V. B. Karnik, our former editor, for agreeing to lighten their burden. I am confident that they will keep the flag flying. I would like to share this confidence with our readers, many of whom are scattered in remote parts of the country and who look forward to its arrival every month not only to bring them information and comment, but also inspiration and courage to keep up their own effort in the cause of freedom.

If a householder or an enterprise were to plan for an expenditure beyond his or its income, he would be called irresponsible and go bankrupt. Governments don't, for people pay in terms of a higher cost of living.

The increase in excise duties to cover partially the deficit is a cure worse than the disease. We are likely to be caught in a fresh spiral of inflation. While the fixed income groups can be grateful that they have not been subjected to an additional dose of direct taxation, they certainly cannot understand the increase in the rates of CDS. Not only should the rates not have been increased but CDS itself, which was envisaged as a short term measure by the previous incumbent, should have been ended. Indeed, for the middle classes (singularly lacking lung power) there seems to be no escape, whatever be the colour of the Government.

Having said all this, it must be said to the credit of the Finance Minister that he has given agriculture the pride of place. The emphasis on the development of rural infrastructural facilities is a step in the right direction. But, as he rightly points out, much depends on its implementation which will be in the hands of State governments. The innovation in regard to the sale of gold by the Reserve Bank of India is a welcome decision. Quite apart from righting an injustice to goldsmiths, this metal will once again resume its role as the small man's or woman's savings bank, immune to fluctuations in the value of the rupee.

Let's hope for the sake of the country that the Finance Minister is justified, when he trusts the large foreign exchange reserves and the good agricultural situation to restrict the rise in prices. But much depends on Government's ability to resist the temptation to seek the aid of the currency press in Nasik.

Sikkim

A statement that should have been welcomed for its refreshing frankness was on the contrary greeted with uproarious scenes and a walkout in the Rajya Sabha. We are hardly surprised. Speaking the truth is not exactly fashionable in our country's politics. When Morarji Desai told a *New York Times* correspondent that the manner in which the little State of Sikkim was merged with India some years back was not "desirable", he was merely echoing what many in the country felt at that time to be both "undesirable" and politically unwise.

That CPI member Bhupesh Gupta led the howl is even less surprising considering the fact that for his mentors this is an accepted way of dealing with small States *a la* Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to name a few.

Whether Mr. Desai used the word "annexation" (he denies it) is not very relevant nor was it suggested that the *status quo ante* be restored. What is very pertinent is that Mr. Desai's statement will go a long way in reassuring the governments of Bhutan and Nepal that India has no imperialist

designs. The manner in which Sikkim was merged with India almost drove these two Himalayan kingdoms into the waiting arms of the Chinese.

Standing his ground on the floor of Parliament, Mr. Morarji Desai affirmed: "I think I am within my rights if I express my views on the manner in which the merger was effected ... I have always believed that even desirable objectives should not be accomplished in a manner which would arouse needless criticism and suspicion."

Though spoken like a Gandhian, the inhibitions of office led Mr. Desai to state that the people of Sikkim had favoured the merger.

A blatant lie said, K. C. Pradhan, a Janata MLA in a statement from Gangotak. He described as "pure farce" the "so called" special poll held on April 14, 1975 to ascertain the wishes of the people of Sikkim. Mr. Pradhan accused the then Government of India of reducing the majority of the Sikkimese "to abject submission by the naked use of force and political clearnery".

Campaign Sidelights

Voters who survived the blitzkrieg of campaigning in Bombay may take some consolation that by all modern electioneering standards they have arrived.

Rival candidates launched a paper war with posters, pennants and personalized appeals through the post that outdid the last with attempts at wooing the voter. One candidate sent little parcels of leaflets stickers and badges in neat cellophane wrappings, another had the information printed on expensive pale cream card paper like a wedding invitation. Only the lesser and perhaps more honest candidates did not go in for such gimmicks.

The verbal assaults were more difficult to ignore. One candidate in Colaba thought nothing of rigging a loudspeaker with the recording of a lion's growl (the lion being his symbol) and roaring down the streets at all odd hours with bilingual bursts of advice to the people to vote for him. They didn't. Perhaps they felt that he was advertising a circus act.

The standard procedure was for jeeps to go around with loudspeakers blaring the virtues of their respective candidates. Sometimes these persons stood in the jeeps blowing kisses or waving to the air at large. At night Hindi movies were shown to keep the constituency alert and awake.

In spite of this we haven't quite reached the stage when politicians doff their clothes and wade in the sea in the Kennedy tradition, or zig-zag through crowds "pressing the flesh" *a la* Lyndon Johnson. Our politicians are still too shy or too well fed to stand exposure in swimming trunks. As for mixing with the masses (perish the polluted thought) none of them would risk reaching out to them with anything but words, preferably from the safety of a public platform, or better still, a five star hotel. But for the fact that they cannot do without the support of the masses, most of them would stand

(Continued on page 4)

ELECTIONS TO STATE ASSEMBLIES

In February the five States of Assam, Meghalaya, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and the Union Territory of Arunachal Pradesh went to the polls to elect their representatives.

Freedom First carries the following articles by three experienced people from the States involved analysing the verdict of the electorate in their States. We hope to carry an analysis of the elections in the North-east in our next issue. Ed.

Karnataka—An Indira-Urs Victory

Louella Lobo Prabhu

The final scores of elections to the Karnataka Assembly assign 149 seats to the Indira Congress, 59 to Janata Party, 3 to the Reddy Congress, 3 to the C.P.I., 5 to the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti, 1 to the R.P.I., and 4 to Independants. (See table for detailed District-Wise figures). No less than 1,28,40,696 people or 71.8% of the electorate, cast their votes in one of the highest poll turn-outs ever witnessed in the State, (this, despite the absence of big policy issues). Of the votes cast, 3,30,260 or 2.5% were invalid. More surprising is the analysis of seats gained by the contesting parties, *vis-a-vis* their relative share of the popular vote. The Congress(I) polled just 43% of the popular vote but has 149 out of 224 seats, very nearly a two-thirds majority. The Janata Party, with 37.9% of the vote secured a disproportionately small haul of 59 seats only. It is possible the difference of 5.1% may be accounted for by the 9.7% siphoned off by the Reddy Congress, and the 9% taken by Independants, C.P.I., R.P.I.,

and other contestants, though it may also be argued that if the Reddy Congress were not in the field, its 9% share may have been added not to the Janata, but the Congress(I) total. However, the disparity between the vote-seat pattern suggests that the continuing proliferation of splinter groups is an unfortunate development which frustrates the electoral will of the people, and that the one-man-one-vote system accentuates such distortions, in a polity which is a multi-Party and not a two-Party system. If the Janata Party is generally contemplating electoral reform, it should very seriously consider Mr. Masani's repeated plea for proportional representation, which is better equipped, to reflect a legislative pattern more in consonance with the people's wishes.

Indira-Urs Charisma

While these are general, and essentially mechanical factors which shaped the result, (and would therefore be common to other States as well) there

FRANKLY SPEAKING..... (Continued from page 3)

like Coriolanus, before the Roman multitudes and say:

"You common cry of curs! whose breath I hate
As reek o' the rotten fens, whose loves I prize
As the dead carcasses of unburied men
That do corrupt the air — I banish you."

Our politicians are more clever, they wait till they are elected to show their contempt and banish all thought of their electorate from their minds.

To Charlie with Love

"To gauge the morals of our family by commonplace standards would be as erroneous as putting a thermometer in boiling water," wrote Charlie Chaplin in the far from ordinary story of his life. The tramp who walked into a million hearts, making several millions in the process was born in a slum in London. Before he was ten he had seen his mother, a dainty musical hall dancer, go mad, due to lack of food, and his father a vaudeville artist, die of drink. His first successful act probably began after his Father's funeral when he walked around the fashionable salons and tea houses with a black band on his arm and little bunches of flowers, saying in a suitably touching manner, "Flowers, Ma-

dame?" which according to him never failed to earn him several pennies.

With the report of his body being dug out from his grave it would seem that in death too he has escaped the fate of ordinary mortals. Though it would be hard to imagine any vandals roaming around the quiet village of Corsier-sur-Vevey, where he chose to spend the last decades of his life.

It was an enchanted spot overlooking Lake Lemman whose calm, snow fed waters have attracted a number of poets and writers, from Byron and Shelley to George Eliot and Nabokov, as well as diplomats and politicians to the internationally self-important city of Geneva. Close by to where Chaplin lived, there was a valley of narcissus that bloomed once a year. The whole hillside was covered with the delicate trumpets of pale yellow and gold hanging on their tender green stalks. On that day, almost as though in response to their call, people came in hundreds to pick the blossom. Small children in straw hats, teenagers on bicycles and old couples with baskets, came to collect the loot which they would carry away free. On their way, laden with blooms, somebody would inevitably stop and say, "That's Charlie Chaplin's house! That's where he lives!" The tramp had made him a legend in his lifetime.

were other factors at work, which also accounted for the final tally which emerged. In assessing the Indira Congress success, there is no doubt, that the Indira-Urs combination still exerts a powerful charisma, at least over the rural voter, who seems totally indifferent to the revelations of the Shah and Grover Commissions, if at all he is aware of them. In any case, there seems to be widespread and cynical acceptance of the fact that all power corrupts, and there is little to choose between the Indira-Sanjay, and Morarji-Kanti, axis. Indeed, even among people who are aware of her many crimes, there is almost a sneaking sympathy for her now, with the daily barrage of the propaganda war, and perhaps even admiration for her resilience in a situation which would have driven others into hiding. Apparently, though Indira and Urs lack everything else, they do not lack guts and defiance in unfavourable circumstances, which has — undeservedly no doubt — served to keep their charisma alive.

However, apart from that over-worked word, "charisma", the Devaraj Urs government had other things going for it. Though the cases against him suggest that he was not unfavourable to individual rich men and industrialists, Mr. Urs has assiduously cultivated the weaker sections who firmly believe he is their protector not realising that in the long term the whole population pays in falling production and general impoverishment for the favours done to certain sections only. He sponsored the Havanur Report which has classified large numbers of people as Backward on the basis of caste (which the Courts have ruled to be an inappropriate method of classification). Nevertheless, this can be challenged by private parties only in specific cases of reservation for education or employment and meanwhile, has enabled the Chief Minister to distribute patronage in the form of hostel accommodation and generous grants for free education upto college level, as his parting gift before his dismissal from office. His Land Reform legislation, more extreme than that of Kerala, and castigated even by a Chief Justice as unworkable, has also sparked off a class war in the villages, ranging firmly on his side tenants who do not have to pay rent now and are confident that no government desiring their votes in future, will proceed to collect the multiples of rent which have been fixed as an (illusory) sum of compensation. In districts like South Kanara, this proved to be a solid bank of votes for Mr. Urs.

Janata's mistakes

Coming to the Janata Party, there is no doubt that it does command a following, perhaps even a fanatical following among educated and urbanised people (it is significant that its principal areas of success were in metropolitan cities and towns). There are only a few among them who are alive to its

perpetuation of Indira's techniques, the toppling of the Urs Ministry two days before the Assembly was supposed to meet; the timing of the Grover Commission's appointment; the unabashed admission of defectors, even well after the election date was announced. By and large, however, it might have lost not so much because of its own lapses in political morality (though here too, it is significant that the electorate generally trounced nearly all Congress defectors standing on a Janata ticket) but on gut issues. Perhaps in this State, more than in any other, prohibition is a very touchy subject, as a very large class earns its living by toddy tapping, and was naturally resentful that the whims of one man should jeopardise their entire livelihood. Similarly, the fear of a ban on cow slaughter must have alienated many Muslims who were beginning to turn in the direction of the Janata Party during the Lok Sabha Poll, but have obviously swung back to the Indira Congress again. It is not for nothing, that some of the largest margins in favour of the Indira Congress were in predominantly Muslim constituencies like that of Ullal. Moreover, almost everyone of the many Central luminaries who came in hordes to address public meetings, managed to antagonise some sections of the electorate! Jagjivan Ram, by a diatribe against Brahmins, Charan Singh and Raj Narain, by reviving Southern fears of Hindi supremacy through a refusal to address audiences in any other language. All of them could offer nothing more than variations on the Indira theme, which unwittingly suggested that she was mighty yet, and that in their obsession with the past, they had no clear direction for the future.

The Reddy Congress was a predictable loser, but no one expected it would fare quite so disastrously as it did, with almost all candidates, including sitting members in the last Assembly, virtually losing their deposits. Of course the Party lacked money, cadres, and charisma. The five seats picked up by the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti were due to a local issue — the border dispute with Maharashtra. Except for the four Independants who won, all others were wiped out, suggesting that the Independent today is gradually being squeezed out of politics.

By and large it was a clean election, unlike the Lok Sabha poll of 1977, which was the most corrupt poll ever seen. None of the Parties seemed to have money to spend, and except in key constituencies like Hunsur, electioneering was very low keyed. It is rumoured that Indira Congress candidates spent heavily only in the last three days preceding the poll, but whether these are rumours or facts must be elucidated by the Courts in any election petitions which may arise. One notable gain was the absence, or at least the substantial reduction, of illegal transport for the conveyance of voters. This was largely due to a one-man campaign waged by

Mr. Lobo Prabhu who carried on a long correspondence with the Election Commissioner on this subject, resulting in the issue of instructions to seize offending vehicles on the spot.

Lessons for Janata

It is a pity that the Janata Party fared so badly in Karnataka, as it had staked its prestige on doing well in this traditionally pro-Congress State. It spared no effort in terms of attentions by visiting leaders (even though these proved to be counterproductive). The experience will not be wasted if it learns the clear lessons of defeat: that the electorate does not approve of an open-door welcome to defectors; that it does not relish livelihood or personal tastes in living sacrificed to the whims of one man however highly placed he may be; that it needs to give less priority to the jihad against Indira, and more to its own plans for the future; above all, it needs to introduce electoral reform, making voting mandatory (for the 29% who stayed away could materially have changed the result of the elections); giving legislative sanction to the newly introduced executive orders on the use of illegal transport, and above all, re-thinking the one-man-one vote system, which should be replaced by one, more correctly reflecting the electoral preferences of the people.

TABLE
Final party position

District	Total Seats	Seats Decl.	Cong-I	Janata	Cong.	CPI	MES	RPI	Ind.
Bidar	6	6	4	1	1	—	—	—	—
Shimoga	10	10	9	1	—	—	—	—	—
Mandya	9	9	1	8	—	—	—	—	—
Hassan	8	8	5	3	—	—	—	—	—
Chickmagalur	6	6	5	1	—	—	—	—	—
Bangalore Rural	13	13	6	7	—	—	—	—	—
Mysore	16	16	11	4	—	—	—	—	1
Belgaum	13	18	10	2	1	—	5	—	—
Bangalore City	12	12	3	9	—	—	—	—	—
Coorg	3	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Kanara	15	15	11	3	—	1	—	—	—
North Kanara	6	6	4	2	—	—	—	—	—
Dharwad	18	18	11	5	1	—	—	—	1
Tumkur	13	13	11	2	—	—	—	—	—
Kolar	12	12	11	—	—	—	—	1	—
Raichur	11	11	11	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bijapur	15	15	7	7	—	—	—	—	1
Bellary	9	9	9	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chitradurga	11	11	9	1	—	1	—	—	—
Gulbarga	13	13	8	3	—	1	—	—	1
	224	224	149	59	3	3	5	1	4

Andhra—Why Janata Failed

Y. Sivaji

Indira Gandhi's victory in the recent assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh represents the twilight of fascism in the land, the last flicker of a dying flame. But, yet it should not be forgotten that even a dying flame has the capacity to burn down a house.

In the elections last month, the Congress(I) contested 290 of the 294 seats and won in 175 securing 39% of the votes polled. The official Congress contested 267 seats and won 30 polling 17%. The Janata Party contested 269 seats and won 60 with a 29% share of the popular vote. The CPI(M) and the CPI had electoral alliances with the Janata Party and the official Congress respectively. They bagged 2.74% and 2.32% of the votes polled, contesting 22 and 32 seats each. Of the 669 independent candidates in the fray, only 15 were successful. The Independents between them accounted for less than 10% of the total votes polled.

If the Janata Party had behaved in a more responsible manner, the results could well have been different. The apathy of the literates, the lack of organisational network coupled with internal rivalry within the Janata Party; the split in the Congress and the illusions created by Mrs. Gandhi among the working class paved the way for an "ill-deserved

victory" for the Congress(I), though it was "a well deserved defeat" for the Janata Party.

During the Lok Sabha Poll of March, 1977, the Janata and CPI(M) combine secured 38% of the votes polled. This time, it has dropped to 31.5%. In the Lok Sabha poll, the educated, the traders, the professionals and other allied sections of society struggled hard for the Janata Party. They took the elections as a challenge to overthrow a dictatorial regime and for the restoration of democratic values. But after the Lok Sabha elections, when all and sundry were admitted into the Janata Party these sections of society became apathetic. They did not take pains even to cast their votes as they felt that this election was only an infight among the three Congresses viz., the Indira Congress, the Reddy Congress and the Chandrasekhar Congress. Induction of some of the most notorious characters of the emergency period into the Janata Party tarnished the image of the party to a large extent.

However, almost all of them were totally rejected by the electorate. Among 50 sitting M.L.A.'s who contested as Janata candidates, only 12 were successful. All had crossed the floor from Congress to Janata very recently. Among the defeated were

those who were considered political "heavyweights" like Messrs. R. Dasaratharama Reddy, Speaker of the Assembly J. Chokkarao, Ministers, Konda Lakshman, Smt. Sada Lakshmi and the like. Mr. A. Venkata Reddy who resigned from the Cabinet and joined Janata during the last week of January was defeated by a margin of 32,000 votes.

The Janata Party lacked even a skeletal organisational net-work. The State Committee could not be reorganised till September last. Later they took another couple of months to appoint district committees. The erstwhile Janasanghites resigned *toto* stating that they had been ignored. Even in respect of the cyclone and tidal wave relief work, the Janata Party failed to rise to the occasion. The election committee of the State Janata Party which was supposed to be made up of 9 members, was gradually extended like Hanuman's tail to 27. This committee failed to take any decisions and ultimately the central party arbitrarily selected the candidates without knowing the geography of the State. Thus a person from Guntur was fielded as a candidate 60 miles away in Vinukonda where he could get only 3000 votes. The Party failed to publicise its manifesto nor could it arrange the tour of central leaders systematically. For instance some leader or other from Delhi invited to campaign could be found idle due to lack of planning by the State office. Wall posters in English and Urdu were sent to the candidates in Telugu speaking and rural areas just one week prior to the date of poll!

The national leaders of the Janata concentrated in exposing the misdeeds of Mrs. Gandhi and her caucus instead of highlighting the positive aspects of the one-year rule of the Janata Government.

This was irrelevant, as the people of Andhra voted for the Congress even when the battle was fought in 1977 on the plank of dictatorship versus democracy. The Central Janata leaders' views on Hindi were exploited by the Congress(I) and Mrs. Gandhi succeeded in painting a picture of the Janata as a party that represented Hindi chauvinists. Their propaganda that Mrs. Gandhi was a woman boom-ranged against the Janata Party as it achieved the opposite result of producing sympathy of the working class and womenfolk. Even though Mr. Vengalarao as Chief Minister did a considerable job in allotting 5 lakhs of acres of agricultural land and 4500 acres of house sites to 7.14 lakhs scheduled castes families, all his achievements were claimed by Mrs. Gandhi to be hers by propagating that it was only done at her instance.

The official Congress could not divide the vote of the working class though they divided the middle class vote which was the mainstay of the Janata Party as was proved in the last Lok Sabha elections. This can be explained by the fact that in all the 39 constituencies where the Janata Party was defeated by a margin of less than 3000 votes, the official Congress secured more than 10,000 votes. There is a basic difference between the middle class in Northern India and those in Andhra. In the north, the middle class has generally identified itself with the lower classes in their living style, in dress, in food habits, in monetary transactions and the like. They do not differ from their poorer counterparts in any way except in the possession of a few hectares of land registered on their names. Hence the middle class

(Continued on page 14)

Maharashtra—A Non-Election

S. A. A. Pinto

Roused neither by the resentment against Indira Gandhi's Emergency which swept the northern half of India, nor by the fear of imposition of Hindi, as in the case of the south, Maharashtra has fallen betwixt and between.

The Janata party became the largest single party but was far short of a majority. Not even the two Congresses together could by themselves claim the majority of seats in the legislature. The voting pattern did not seem to prove anything in particular:

	Percentage of votes cast	Seats
Janata	27.22	98
Congress	24.51	69
Congress(I)	17.84	62
Others	30.43	59

Compared to the Lok Sabha poll, the combined vote declined by 4.55%. To suggest that if the Congress had not split it could have gained bigger support would be superficial: many may not have voted for the Congress if Mrs. Gandhi was in it, in which case their votes could well have gone to the Janata party.

It is impossible to underestimate the psychological effect of a symbol on any voter, especially the illiterate voters who form the vast majority. In that sense, Mrs. Gandhi must certainly have benefited from being dissociated from the cow and calf symbol which had been so discredited throughout northern India and even in Maharashtra during the Lok Sabha elections. One cannot be categorical about the decline in popularity of the Janata party either, without comparing the percentage of votes received

with the total number cast and the total seats contested by the party in this State and the Lok Sabha elections.

The Janata party vote also declined, by 5.4 per cent. Moreover, the Janata party had contested 75 per cent of the seats compared to 60 per cent at the Lok Sabha poll. The benefit of all this has gone mainly to the independents.

Support for the parties was region-wise: Vidarbha for the Congress (I); Western Maharashtra for the Congress; Bombay, Pune and the other urban areas being for the Janata. For example, if any one of the major parties had had the same number of votes spread in a uniform layer over the whole state the change in the configuration of seats would have been kaleidoscopic. Such is the capriciousness of the electoral system.

It is not simply that policies or issues did not weigh with voters alone; it is also that the distinction between party and party had become blurred by sheer opportunism. There never was any difference any way between the two Congresses except one of personalities, but even the Janata party was like the man who, in trying to accommodate the camel in his tent had finally to vacate the tent leaving the camel inside.

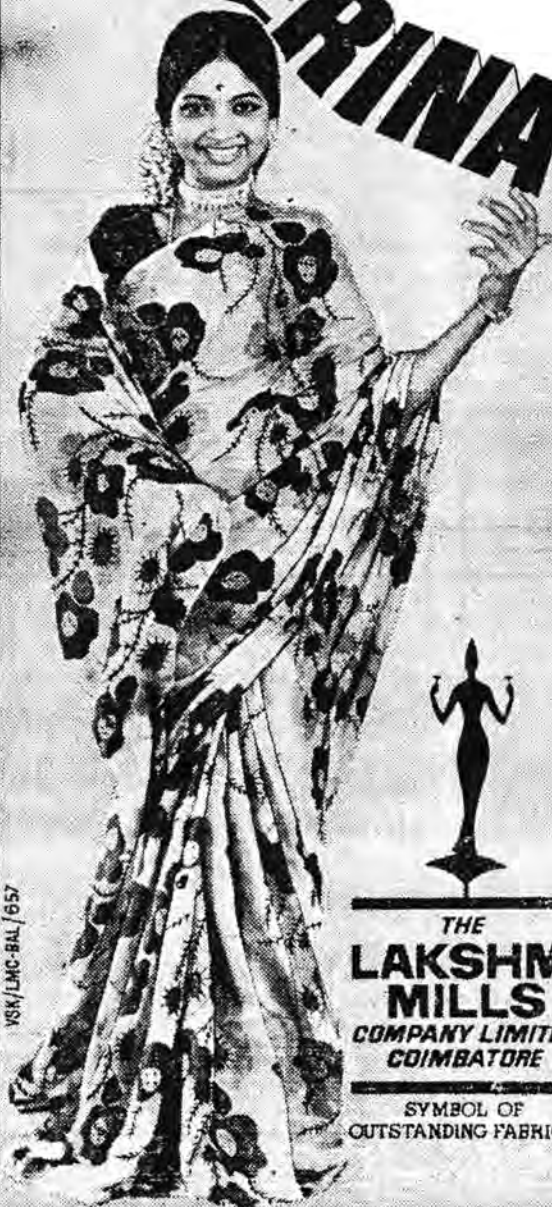
There were 74 defectors from the Congress contesting on the Janata party ticket. Some of them had defected only days before they received the ticket. A choice which attracted considerable attention was that of Mr. B. A. Desai for the Malabar Hill constituency in Bombay. Throughout the Emergency Mr. Desai had been a devout votary of its "Gains", a great admirer of Mrs. G & Son and had lashed out against JP.

Narayan Tawde, a member of the Executive Committee for Maharashtra and the General Secretary of the Bombay unit of the Janata party, who had been fighting a losing battle from inside against malpractices in the party, especially its enticement of defectors, chose Malabar Hill to contest as an independent. The leaders of the party who, for the reason that Desai was elected with a mammoth majority, might be inclined to ignore the sympathy Tawde drew from many well wishers of the Janata party including stalwarts like Mrs. Durga Bhagwat, will do so at their own peril. The fact is that most of the 74 defectors who fought on the Janata party ticket lost the election. Tawde had made his point

Although the least decisive of the State elections, the aftermath in Maharashtra will prove the most crucial for the future of the Ravan (Reddi plus Chavan) Congress. Gaining office with the Congress(I) could indeed destroy many of its central leadership. For the country, if the Janata party, whilst the largest single party in Maharashtra does not benefit from the catharsis of being out of office, we should start worrying again; if the HAND is here, could the handcuffs be far behind.

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.



INSIDE VIETNAM TODAY

Bernard Levin

"It is better for someone trying to preserve intact his admiration for a revolution not to know its victims." Thus spoke Jean Lacouture, perhaps the best of all those who reported the Vietnam War, a man whose honesty and objectivity throughout the conflict were trusted by both sides, whose dominant concern was for the sufferings of the Vietnamese people, not for any ideological preconceptions, yet whose instinctive sympathies were with those who opposed American intervention and wanted it to fail. And those words of his are bitterly relevant today, as more and more information filters through the net of silence in which the unified communist state of Vietnam is enwrapped. It comes as no surprise to me to learn that the rulers of the new Vietnam are engaged on the extinction of human rights throughout the country, that they have killed many of their opponents and imprisoned many more, that those Vietnamese who opposed American intervention and the Governments of Thieu and Ky in the South, but in the name of freedom and peace rather than communism, are among those who are now being most relentlessly persecuted by the victors, that the destruction of the Buddhist Church proceeds relentlessly. Nor am I surprised that the Vietnamese rulers and their actions are still being commended in the West and their totalitarian oppression denied or even condoned.

Fortunately, however, I am also not surprised that there are brave and honest men and women, particularly in the United States, who opposed America's part in the Vietnam War (some of them went to jail for their acts of defiance) and denounced the governments of the South, but who are now protesting at the violation of human rights on the part of Vietnam's present rulers. I have seen no word of such protest on the part of the Susan Sontags and Mary McCarthys, the David Dellingers and Paul Sweezys, the Joan McMichaels or Peggy Duffs, the Corliss Lamonts or Fathers Berrigan: indeed, when an appeal to Vietnam's communist rulers was published (after many months of private representations) urging them to respect human rights, to permit independent investigation of the charges against them, and to release or prosecute those detained without trial, the signatories were attacked in a counter-statement, which put the blame on the United States, spoke airily of "some Saigon collaborationists" who "have been detained in reeducation centres" (a wonderfully revealing phrase), and concluded that "The present government of Vietnam should be hailed for its moderation and for its extraordinary effort to achieve reconciliation among all of its people".

Before I go on to give examples of the brutalities and oppressions of these apostles of moderation and reconciliation I want to give the names of some

of those Americans who fought their own Government for its part in the Vietnam war but who believe that tyranny is to be denounced wherever it is practised. The appeal I mentioned was signed by among others, Joan Baez, Roger Baldwin, Daniel Ellsberg, Howard Fast, James Forest (Forest, who spent a year in prison for his actions — specifically, destroying draft records — in the campaign against American intervention, has now been smeared as a CIA agent and another revealing phrase — a "covert anti-communist"), Allen Ginsberg and Richard Neuhaus.

From the material assembled by those who prepared the appeal, from the efforts of such men as Theodore Jacqueney (a former State Department official in Vietnam who resigned his job in protest against American support for President Thieu) and from the reports of refugees, I have collected a depressingly large amount of evidence that, as some would put it, human rights are being violated on an enormous and systematic scale in Vietnam or that, as I would put it myself, the rules of a totalitarian state are behaving like the rulers of a totalitarian state. This, therefore, is the first of a consecutive series of columns on the subject, which I write not in the expectation of persuading leopards to change their spots, or even in the hope that those who stridently maintain that the leopards are utterly unspotted will fall silent, but in the cause of what

Good Roads do most to
develop the country and
**CONCRETE
ROADS*
ARE BEST**



*with **ACC CEMENT**

Camus called "the eternal refugee from the camp of the victor", to wit, justice.

I begin with the testimony of Nguyen Cong Hoan, a recent refugee from Vietnam. Hoan gave evidence before an American congressional committee, and later expanded on his remarks there in a long interview with Theodore Jacqueney, published in the official magazine of the American trade union organization, the AFLCIO. (Can you, incidentally, imagine our TUC today in its principal publication, devoting a quarter of its space, including the whole of the front page, to an account of oppression in a communist country?)

Hoan is 34 years old; his record is such that his testimony can certainly be trusted. For he was not a supporter of the fallen leaders in the South, who might be expected to paint a grim picture of the conquerors' activities; on the contrary, he was a leading opponent of the Thieu regime, and when the communists finally won he was appointed as a reward to the "Parliament" in Hanoi. But then disillusion set in, as he saw for himself the oppression which followed. As a member of the National Assembly under the new regime, Mr. Hoan had the

opportunity to visit some of the reeducation centres" set up by the victors in the South for their victims. This is what he had to say about the three he saw:

The prisoners looked like skeletons. When there were no camp officials around, they complained that they never had enough to eat. They did hard labour. The death rate in the camps was very high ... The worst treatment in the prison camps was reserved for members of political parties who opposed the communists, even if they also opposed Saigon dictatorships ... Many prisoners were also intellectuals and professionals who had criticized the former regime. The first detentions, in June 1975, were for former military and civilian government officials. Later in 1975 they began taking former journalists, writers and scholars. Those whom the authorities felt had anti-communist beliefs, were sent to the most remote, harshest re-education camps. These were people jailed for their opinions — not because they had done anything criminal.

— Courtesy: The Times (London)



**LINKED WITH
THE COUNTRY'S
PROGRESS FOREVER!**

Our close communication with colour for over two decades has created a fantastic range of high-quality Dyes and Pigments extensively used in every industry. Textiles, Paints, Coir and leather, Printing inks and plastics... all rely on our colour-fast, easy-to-use and economical Dyes. Amar Dye-Chem's colour know-how continues to enrich the nation, the world.

AMAR DYE-CHEM LTD.
RANG UDYAN MAHIM, BOMBAY-400 016

BRANCHES: AHMEDABAD • CALCUTTA • DELHI
• AMRITSAR • JAIPUR • MADRAS • MADURAI

MEMBER


MIRAT/ADC/203-A1

 to enrich india's
life with colour!

WORLD NEWS

NAPPIES ANYONE?

... Women — black or white — are *always* going to have this weird tendency to get pregnant and have babies and even to enjoy caring for their children. . . . All the structures are arranged for men to find it easy to work and be fathers, not for women to work and be mothers. Women need change in the timing of work (shift work, flexitime, art-time); in training (not just one lump at the beginning and then a clear run through to the grave), perhaps even a change in the assumption that because women must wash nappies for a few years, they must also wash everyone else's underpants for ever.

— *Observer Review*, January 22.

QUEUING AND WAITING

The queue, as much a part of British life as gardening and afternoon tea, is beginning to show the strain of modern life.

"There's no such thing as a queue at a bus stop anymore," says Devra Wiseman, a young London commuter in a bit of undoubtedly justified exaggeration. "It's now just a dirty dive to get on," he says.

According to a recent review of Prof. Schwartz's book, "Queuing and Waiting: Studies in the Social Organisation of Access and Delay," it seems likely that the strains on formal queuing around the world will increase.

Prof. Mann, who demonstrated in an exhaustive study of Australian sports fans that each queue is an embryonic social system, has tried to reconcile apparent contradictions in the British propensity to queue.

Lining up — the principle that service should depend only upon the order in which one stakes his claim — is related to "cultural values of egalitarianism and orderliness," he says, but adds that these do not completely explain the process.

"Consider the English," he said, "a people famous for their strictly democratic queuing behaviour. It is safe to say that the English have a more rigid social structure and are more class conscious than Americans, and yet their public behaviour is probably more orderly."

The reason, Prof. Mann concludes is that in almost all societies, including Soviet Union, where standing in line is also a way of life, queues are usually formed by less privileged groups and are shunned by people who consider themselves socially superior.

With scholarly interest in queuing on the rise, someone may finally figure out how to keep London's and New York's buses from bunching up and their passengers from getting out of line.

Prof. Mack, however, does not hold out much hope that this will happen soon. He says buses are a peculiarly "unstable" subject and that London Transport's analysts have already scratched their

heads "nearly bald" about it.

—Robert D. Hershey in the *International Herald Tribune*, December 2, 1977.

AND NOW — A COMPUTER FOR THE BLIND

Braille is technically obsolete. A computer can now read aloud to the blind from a book or a newspaper.

Telesensory Systems, in California, have a machine called Optacon which scans the printed page with a miniature camera, recognises the shapes of the letters to a phonetic rulebook in its memory, and speaks the words. It should be ready for field tests before the summer.

An earlier version of the Optacon — of which the Royal Institute for the Blind bought about 60 — transferred the camera's signal into vibrations on a plate so that a blind person could feel the letters with one finger. That version, which costs about £2,000, can deal with all languages, since it simply reproduces what is printed. But Mr. Cedric Garland, the RNIB's technical officer says it's a bit slow: the average reading speed is 45 to 50 words a minute, though some people have achieved 90.

—Peter Large in the *Guardian*, February 20.

DUBCEK'S MAIL INTERCEPTED

Vienna, Jan. 13.

Messages from all over the world have been sent to Alexander Dubcek on the 10th anniversary of his appointment as first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist party, a watershed in his country's postwar history, but few of them, if any, have so far been delivered to him, according to information from Bratislava.

Private reports from Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, indicate that police surveillance of Mr. Dubcek, who led Czechoslovakia through a short-lived period of liberalization, the so-called "Prague spring" has been tightened in recent weeks and that the authorities are seizing some letters.

— *International Herald Tribune*, January 14.

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR DISILLUSIONED

By Robin Smith in Paris

Hope for feminism and total disenchantment with socialism were reflected in Simone de Beauvoir's progress report on the two goals of her life as a writer, as she passed her 70th birthday last week.

The author of 'The Mandarins' and 'The Second Sex', who is revered by feminists throughout the world, now divides her energies between women's liberation, preparing film scripts of some of her books and reading to her 72 year-old companion, Jean-Paul Sartre, who is virtually blind.

When she wrote 'The Second Sex' after the war, Simone de Beauvoir believed that women's liberation would come through socialism. Feminists who drew

Reviews

THE MIND OF A MONARCH

by R. K. Karanjia, (Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi — pp. 264 — Price Rs. 95/-.)

THE transformation of Iran (or Persia as it was formerly called) from the strife-torn, foreign-dominated and weak country, which it was at the turn of the century, into a Power to be reckoned with in West Asia and elsewhere, is one of the miracles of the modern world. This miracle was brought about mainly because of the good fortune Iran had in having two enlightened monarchs in the persons of Reza Shah the Great (who established the present Pahlavi Dynasty) and his son Mohammed Reza Shah, the present Shahanshah. In the brief span of 16 years (1925—1941) Reza Shah worked feverishly for the unification and modernisation of his country. But when World War II erupted, the Allied Powers who suspected him of pro-German bias invaded Iran and forced Reza Shah to abdicate in favour of his son.

It took a long time for the young Mohammed Reza Shah (he was only 22) to consolidate his position. He had taken over at a time when Iran's prestige was low because of his father's abdication under external pressure and of the presence of foreign forces inside the country. He had also to contend against many persons and groups who had been victims of the reforming zeal of his father, e.g., the landed dignitaries, the *Ulemas*, and a fledgling communist party. The Army, which Reza Shah had reorganised as the principal prop of the regime, had been discredited because of its failure to prevent the Anglo-Russian invasion. With the Majlis fiercely guarding its independence and with no power even to choose his own cabinet, the Shah had virtually to fight not only for his own survival, but also

for the continuance of the Monarchical system. This struggle came to a head when a fire-eating and fanatical politician, Mossadeq, became the Prime Minister. The position of the Shah became so untenable that he had to leave the country for a short time. When the pro-Royalist elements rallied and brought down Mossadeq, the Shah returned.

This was the turning point in the career of the new monarch. He worked assiduously to win over influential elements of the old aristocracy, a section of the Shi'ite clergy and above all, to regain control over the Army. The Majlis was a tougher nut to crack. For years it has been riven by factions which were competing with each other for the loaves and fishes of office. This was the power-base from which strong Prime Ministers operated, sometimes in defiance of the monarch. By 1945, the Shah had secured the support of a sufficient number of factions in the Majlis to make the Assembly more pliable. By 1963, he could be said to have gained complete control of all the organs and branches of the governmental machinery.

From now on a new Personality emerges on the Iranian stage. The Shah assumes the role of an innovator, political scientist, economist, theologian, a friend of the oppressed — all rolled into one. It is in this role that he launched his multi-faced plan of reconstruction which is commonly called the White Revolution. Initially started as a Six-point programme (which was approved by the people in a referendum) it has now become a Fifteen-point programme of national development.

These and many other details are dealt with in the different chapters of the book under review. The author, who is obviously an ardent admirer of the Shah, has adopted the novel method of Question and

WORLD NEWS (Continued from page 11)

their inspiration from her were disconcerted to find her aligned with those who hold that the wives of workers are closer to their husbands than are middle-class women.

But though Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir picked up one revolutionary cause after another, from Moscow to Havana, socialism as they saw it — an end to exploitation and a levelling-out of inequalities — never dawned.

Last week, Simone de Beauvoir told *Le Monde's* political columnist, Pierre Vianson-Pon'e: 'Socialism is a dream. It exists nowhere. The countries we call socialist nowadays are nothing of the kind'.

She felt that there was little prospect of achieving 'real socialism' for a long time to come. The clinching disappointment was that women were no better off in 'so-called' socialist countries.

— *The Observer*, January 15.

On Safeguarding Freedom

Freedom is not a once over thing. It has to be won every day. And the battle for freedom is not one that can be postponed till the day when big issues — like recapturing our right to live in a democracy are at stake. The time to save a house is not when most of it has crumbled and its roof is tottering on one slender pillar; the time to save it is when someone first starts chipping away at any part of it.

I fear that today the people and especially the middle class — are slipping back into the habit of leaving things to the Governments, of sitting back and complaining that the Governments are not doing enough instead of doing more themselves. Unless we shed this apathy, unless the people take an active day-to-day part in matters that transcend their immediate concerns, freedom will not be safe.

— Javaprakash Narayan

—From a statement by him on the occasion of Martyrs' Day, January 30.

Answer to expose what is in fact a "King's Story". There is therefore not much scope for a critical analysis or assessment of many of the statements made in the book. But it must be said to Mr. Karanjia's credit that he did pose some questions to his August Majesty about some of the controversies relating to his domestic and foreign policies and attitudes.

The Shah maintains that the revolution he introduced was essentially an Iranian revolution and not any imported brand. He shows an amazing grasp of details when he explains the step-by-step manner in which he formulated and executed each facet of this comprehensive change-over, and gives the relevant facts and figures with such ease — as if he had them at his finger tips. He is a person who does not have aides at his side to consult; he is a monarch who knows what he is talking about.

He does not believe in '-isms' — neither capitalism nor communism. "We do what we feel is right for the country, its economy and its people." He admits that the Revolution cannot be really described as White, since some blood had to be spilled in curbing opposition from certain quarters. He evolved his policy of "positive nationalism" as opposed to Mossadeq's "negative neutralism". In his words, "Positive nationalism implies a policy of maximum political and economic independence, consistent with the interests of one's country."

Karanjia devotes two chapters to throw some light on the personal life and habits of the Shah. The Shah talks frankly about the influence his mother had on him and of his relations with his consorts, Queens Fawzia, Soraya and Farah. He gives the reasons that led to the necessary, though regrettable, course of divorcing Fawzia and Soraya. He also reveals the important part played by his daughter Shanaz and her former husband Zahedi in bringing about his marriage with the present Queen, Farah. The impression one gets of the Shah is that of a person happily married, very human, with the normal aspirations and habits, but intensely interested in the welfare of his people.

For us Indians, it is heart-warming to read the friendly references the Shah makes about India and his interest in fostering closer relations with this country. Gone are the days when Iran was suspected to be on the side of Pakistan during Indo-Pakistan conflicts. Now Pakistan may have reason to suspect whether Iran has a tilt in favour of India! The fact of the matter is that Iran has come a long way since the days of the Baghdad Pact and is taking on the role of friendly neighbour of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and other countries in the region. The Shah has already made four visits to this country, the last one having taken place only a month ago. The utterances he made during this visit on his ideas of regional co-operation are too recent and well-known to bear repetition. Each visit of the Shah results in one or other major Indo-Iranian project being ini-

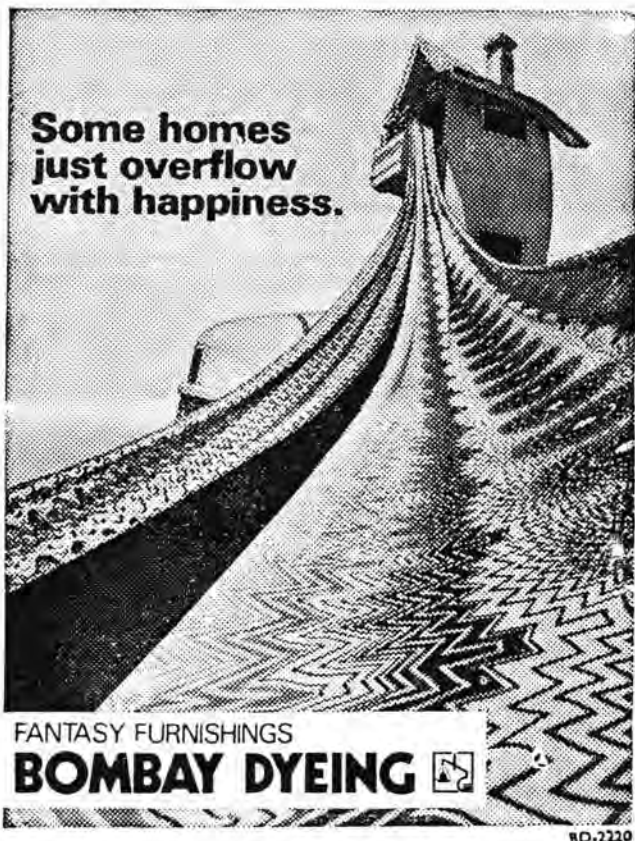
tiated, e.g., the Refinery at Manali near Madras, the Kudremukh project in Karnataka, and now the development of the Rajasthan Canal. The Shah is keen on the marriage of Indian expertise and resources with Iranian finance. It is for India to grasp the hand of friendship extended.

K. V. PADMANABHAN

MARX & GANDHI

By Sri Madhu Dandavate, (Popular Prakashan, Bom.)

Gandhi and Marx have been preponderant influences on the Indian mind during the past sixty years. Both of them have also influenced vast numbers of earnest minds the world over, and have in some measure left their mark on world history. Of these two Gandhiji has had a far more pervasive influence on the non-political mind of this land. Gandhiji gave a direction and pattern of social values which has acquired almost greater relevance and validity after his death, as during his life-time. Marx affected the younger generation of socially aware young men during twenty odd years before Indian independence. However thereafter he has become a



Some homes just overflow with happiness.

FANTASY FURNISHINGS
BOMBAY DYEING

80-2220

modern orthodoxy and one kind of tradition uses him as a mascot, while discouraging a critical study of his main thesis which has a receding validity particularly since World War II. Sri. Madhu Dandavate has therefore rendered a valuable service by his critical reassessment of the main features and the philosophy and perspectives of both these outstanding thinkers who strove above all to end injustice and man-made misery of modern society.

The nightmare of the Emergency Regime forced Sri. Madhu Dandavate to be isolated from his active career as a Member of Parliament and a leading Socialist. He spent this entire period in the Bangalore Prison, where he took up this fruitful critical and comparative analysis of Marx and Gandhi. It is a book which should initiate more detailed and systematic research at our Universities, on some of the points he has raised and also regarding the implications of these two thinkers in terms of concrete policy planning.

Dandavate has generously conceded to Marx due credit for subjecting the capitalist process to an objective analysis which had retained its validity for over half a century. It was Marx who X-rayed the material conditions created by the rise of capitalism and charted the course of its development from free enterprise to monopoly and from industrial to finance capitalism leading to imperialist domination of captive markets in the backward regions. Marx was an explosive revolutionary who blasted the citadel of feudalism and challenged the Divine Right of property ownership claimed by the news class which came to replace the kings — Bourgeoisie. His great contribution was to inspire a social awakening among the under-privileged which has radically changed the corelationship of world forces. It is all the more necessary to free the modern mind from the shakles of a thinker whose postulates have lost their social validity with every succeeding decade of this century. Marx has become a museum piece of mythology. Sri Dandavate however has failed to give due credit to the contemporaries of Marx who also rebelled against the lack of social obligation of the Capitalist class and who stressed humanist and ecological aspects of the capitalist process viz. pollution and alienation.

Gandhiji's social perspectives were influenced by this humanist stream of social philosophers. His theory of SARVODAYA is a refinement of the doctrine outlined in Ruskin's *UNTO THIS LAST*. Sri Dandavate has very effectively exposed to critical scrutiny the relative validity of classwar and of Trusteeship as relevant to our modern society. He has also thoroughly debunked Marx's assessment of the role of the owner-peasant in a preponderantly agrarian community. In laying bare the evils of gigantism and Statism Sri Dandavate has eloquent-

ly expounded how the Communist frame work is a product of Capitalist values, and still competes with capitalism in servile imitation of its socially disastrous features.

Where the book has omitted to make an extremely valid observation is the pragmatic importance that Non-Violence has acquired in an epoch of the Atomic Arms-Race between the Super-Powers. Trade in sophisticated weaponry has escalated age-old tribal feuds of Africa and among the Arabs, and also in other parts of the world into a threat to world peace. The threat to human survival arises from features which are common to both the systems.

The best part of the book is a systematic analysis of Gandhiji's views on the nature of the State, and the Town-Village contradiction of interests in a developing society. Gandhiji warned us against the evil of uncoordinated industrial growth and also against the lure for nationalisation as a step towards socialism, as both these together produce a servile society at the mercy of a leviathan State. The need for a new perspective in National Planning is implicit in this analysis. That small but thoughtful book "SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL" by Schumacher has done a great service to Gandhian perspectives in so far as it rescues Gandhi from his fanatical votaries like Kumarappa who represent Gandhian orthodoxy. The orthodox Gandhian tradition is sterile, and the Marxian tradition has become decadent. Therefore it is hoped that Sri. Dandavate's penetrating comparative study will stimulate a new avenue of critical research in our Universities on Gandhi and Marx in the modern context of society. Of such a trend this book may well become a pioneer study.

ACHYUT PATWARDHAN

(Continued from page 7)
ANDHRA — WHY JANATA FAILED

in north India could carry the lower classes with them. But the middle class here, even though they possess 3 or 4 hectares of land not only do not associate or identify themselves with the common man but they seek to pattern themselves with the upper class or the urban elite. The unity of the middle class during the Lok Sabha elections scared off the lower class who developed an aversion for the Janata Party. Their suspicions were aggravated by the repeated taunts of the rural middle class that the lower class no longer had their "Matha in power." This short-sighted attitude of Andhra's middle class helped Mrs. Gandhi consolidate her position among the working class.

Mrs. Gandhi is well aware of the kind of people she has helped to place at the helm in Andhra. But it suits her purpose which is to egg the State government on towards a confrontation with the Centre.

Letter

Mr. Vajpayee's *Volte Face*

Whenever Mr. Vajpayee is asked how he could reconcile his erstwhile foreign policy as a Jan Sangh leader with his present foreign policy, his stock reply is that he is not in the opposition now! So he criticised the Congress foreign policy not because it was wrong, but simply because he was in the opposition! Opposition for the sake of opposition even when you agree with the policy of the ruling party! If the Janata party is thrown out by the electorate and the Congress comes back to power, he will oppose his own foreign policy even when it is followed by the foreign minister of the Congress Government!

This reminds me of an incident which happened recently. A medical representative of X, who used to visit my Gadag Pharmacy every month and pester me to place an order for a particular product — "as it is the best in the market" (I used to buy the Y product), surprised me at last week when he, as a medical representative of Y (He resigned from the X recently), requested me to place an order for the Y product! When I recalled his earlier pleas to me to place an order for the

X product, he replied that he was no longer in X and quoted Shri Vajpayee's statement! It is all right in the case of a medical representative, but is Shri Vajpayee a salesman or a medical representative? Is one to understand that in India, there are no politicians at all, but just salesmen? Shri Vajpayee does not admit that his earlier views on Kashmir, Pakistan, Simla Pact, Tashkent agreement, Arab-Israeli dispute, Tibet (He now says that Tibet is a part of China!), China, Indo-Soviet Treaty (He now wants to strengthen it further!) and our nuclear policy were wrong. All that he says is that he is now the Foreign Minister of the Janata Government and not of the Jan Sangh Government and hence he has to propagate the foreign policy of the Janata Government like a lawyer defending his client? In other words, Shri Vajpayee has no views of his own. His views are the views of the party to which he belongs on the day he expresses his views!

I had held Shri Vajpayee in great esteem all these years as a statesman inspired by great ideals and morals, but now he has turned out to be just an ordinary salesman or medical representative or lawyer! I have developed total contempt for all politicians. I shall exercise my franchise in future only if any candidate of integrity represents my constituency.

SHEILA SUMANT

Milton's
JEANS
&
SHIRTS

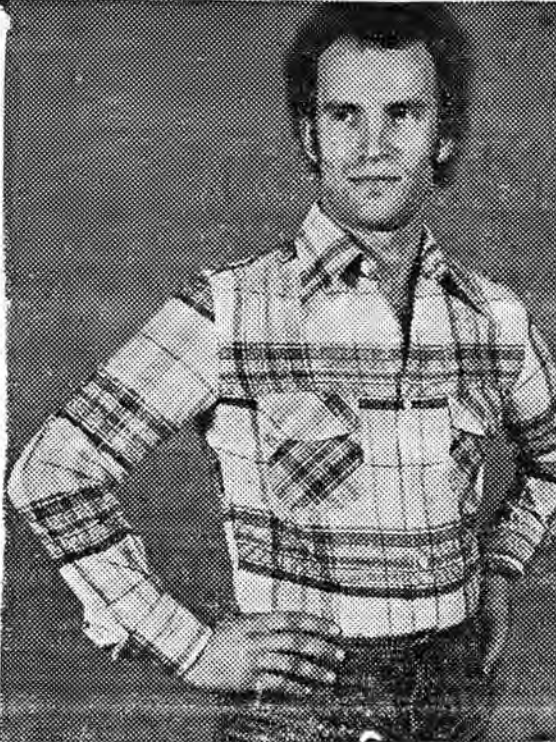
wear to fit!
fit to wear!



milton's limited
Mathuradas Mills Compound,
Lower Parel, Bombay 400 013

*India's largest manufacturers and
exporters of readymade garments.*

heros' ML-7



WITH MANY VOICES

"The deep

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

—Tennyson.

There is as much vision in British politics to-day as there is water in the Sahara desert.

—Mr. Peter Walker, MP quoted in the *Observer*, February 19.

In ingratitude we are second to none.

— *Indian Express* on Mr. J. R. D. Tata's removal from the Chairmanship of Air India.

It is a prescription for disaster. The answer is fair trade — do unto others as they do to us, barrier for barrier, closed door for closed door.

—Mr. Meany quoted in *International Herald Tribune*, December 10, 11.

Mr. Chavan is a Janata Minister "in-charge of Opposition" in Parliament.

—Mr. V. P. Sathe, MP in *Indian Express*, February 8.

Frenchmen will not live happily in this paradise of false ideas. The economy will take its revenge. It will avenge itself on you.

Mr. Giscard d'Estaing quoted in *The Economist*, February 4.

FREEDOM FIRST,

C/o Democratic Research Service
Maneckji Wadia Bldg., 4th floor
127 Mahatma Gandhi Road
Bombay 400 023 (Phone: 27 39 14)

Please enrol me as a subscriber to *Freedom First*. I remit the annual subscription of Rs. 5.00.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Signature _____

Politicians are not in business to ignore people's worries but to deal with them.

—Mrs Margaret Thatcher quoted in *The Economist*, February 4.

The Nehrus have been found out.

— Aubrey Menen in *India Today*, March 1-15

Democracy has at least one merit, namely, that a Member of Parliament cannot be stupider than his constituents, for the more stupid he is, the more stupid they were to elect him.

— Bertrand Russell quoted in *Indian Express*, March 8.

I am here because it is my job to be here. My work brings me here. So I am not doing anyone a favour.

— Mr. George Fernandes quoted in *Times of India*, March 8.

The day our brilliant External Affairs Minister, with great fanfare of publicity, spoke in Hindi at the UN and the subsequent mischievous publicity made by the opponents that our Government had to spend Rs. 12 crores for that one Hindi Speech at the UN widely publicised in local language papers of South India, I knew Janata is finished in the region.

—Shalil Ghosh in *Indian Express*, March 7.

Never believe a thing about Mrs. Gandhi unless she contradicts it.

— *Democratic World*, March 5.

We cannot support them (Janata). We are ready to ask support from them.

— Vasantrao Patil, Maharashtra's Chief Minister quoted in *the Statesman*, March 5.

We have come a long way from Kingsley Martin who edited the N. S. (*New Statesman*) for thirty years. The present editorial incumbents are simply half-baked, semi-literate whizz kids, who inherit the tradition and possess vacuity as their principal upholstery.

— Sasthi Brata's London Notebook in the *Statesman*, March 4.