

freedom first

APRIL 1982 Price : Re. 1.50

350

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL IDEAS

MEA CULPA

Dear Reader,

I think it is high time that I, as Chairman of the Democratic Research Service, apologise to you for the poor service rendered to you in recent times and also take you into confidence.

It was only recently that I became personally aware of the fact that the Management of *Freedom First* had left a great deal to be desired in many respects. This was partly due to neglect on the part of myself and my colleague, Mr. V. B. Karnik, our Honorary Secretary, for whom we all have the highest esteem but whose ill-health has prevented him from taking interest in *Freedom First* as he otherwise would have done.

To this must be added our problems with the printing presses. As you may have noticed, we were forced to get the journal printed at no less than five printing presses. Out of these, two presses have closed down owing to labour trouble and indiscipline. One or two presses defaulted so badly that we had to give them up.

In any event, with rare exceptions, the magnificent record of punctuality and regularity which was observed by us through the fifties and sixties was badly tarnished by our being let down repeatedly by various presses. For this I must apologise on behalf of all of us.

As you know, I believe in voluntary euthanasia. I do not believe in human beings or institutions being kept alive artificially and dying a prolonged and painful death. As a result, we in the Democratic Research Service had recently decided to suspend publication of *Freedom First* rather than carry on in this manner.

At it happens, this information having leaked out to a small circle of our friends, we have received pressing pleas from them appealing to us to desist from taking that step. It has resulted in our having to take a difficult decision. Fortunately, one or two friends, who desire to remain nameless, have assured additional subscribers and finance which would help to bridge the

deficit created by the steep rise in printing costs.

We have, therefore, decided to continue *Freedom First* under new management and with a new printing press. The Editor and I have reason to believe that we shall now be able to resume regular publication at the beginning of every month from May onwards and to revive and refurbish the spirit and purposes by which this journal is animated.

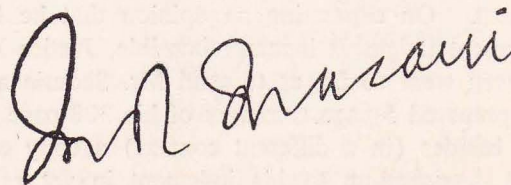
I believe that most of you will be glad to learn that the idea of suspending publication has been abandoned, and that we propose to re-invigorate the journal.

There are two ways in which you as a subscriber can help. One is by writing and drawing our attention to any lapses on our part. You may be assured that you will get a prompt reply from now on.

There are many levels at which freedom has to be defended, and a journal like ours is, by common consent, one way in which the values of freedom can be kept alive, as the very title asserts.

Is it not a tragedy and a reflection on popular taste that, at a time when glossy gossip papers thrive and proliferate, a journal like *Himmat* had to close down, and *Freedom First* was on the point of bowing out?

From now on, the subscription form will appear on the back page of the journal with an advertisement on the reverse. Do you think it will be asking too much of you to enlist just one subscriber every month for *Freedom First*? We shall be modest and not ask for more but, if you can do this, the number of subscribers will multiply twelve-fold in a year and we shall be able to place *Freedom First* on a stable and secure basis. Won't you help?



(M. R. Masani)
Chairman

Democratic Research Service

A VARIETY OF COMMENT

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

1. The Judges' Case

Mr. F. S. Nariman, the former Additional Solicitor-General of India, was far from exhibiting a piquant sense of humour when he characterised a symposium of legal luminaries convened in Delhi last month to discuss the Supreme Court's judgment in the *Judges' Case*, as "a condolence meeting for a half-buried concept".

Few, among those who have been able to assimilate the import of the seven lengthy opinions, will disagree with that assessment.

While the judgment itself is being hotly debated upon (as it rightly deserves to be), a new dimension has been added to the unsavoury controversy by the publication in the last week of January of a long serial article by Arun Shourie under the provocative title "By What Are Judges Bribed?" It is singularly unfortunate that readers of the *Indian Express* in Bombay have been denied the benefit of this highly illuminating serial which is remarkable for more than one reason.

In his usual incisive style and backed by painstaking research involving considerable legal minutiae, Mr. Shourie has analysed, with an insight that would be the envy of any able lawyer, the astounding flip-flop pattern which comes through the pronouncements of some of our Supreme Court judges in matters of a politically sensitive nature.

To demonstrate his thesis even while abiding by the pressing constraints of newspaper space, Mr. Shourie has singled out, as an example, the irrepressible Mr. Justice P. N. Bhagwati, whose actions as a member of the nation's highest legal tribunal have not exactly rejoiced the hearts of democrats and liberals, at any rate not in recent times.

Commendable as the exercise is, it nonetheless raises at least two disturbing questions of seminal importance. Firstly, Mr. Shourie tells us quite frankly that before he wrote his piece he had a fairly long conversation with this particular judge, in the course of which he discussed, albeit partially, the latter's judgment. On expressing an opinion that he found the present judgment incomprehensible, Justice Bhagwati even went so far as to send Mr. Shourie a specially-prepared 5-page summary of his 308-page judgment, besides (in a different context) a copy of the official corrigendum to his judgment in yet another case decided by the Supreme Court nearly a decade ago.

Now, in showing such touching solicitude to a respectable journalist, the learned judge may have been actuated solely by considerations of altruism and elementary courtesy. But the question might still be posed, quite legitimately, whether in discussing his work on the bench with a rank outsider (and it matters little if that outsider also happens to be an honourable member of the press), is a judge not departing from the strictest standards of propriety? These postulate a certain aloofness and detachment on his part so that, to use the hackneyed phrase, justice is not only done but also seen to be done.

The other disquieting question that emerges from the episode is a more arguable one. It would be churlish to attribute any ulterior motives to the efforts of Arun Shourie, given his solid track record as a crusader *par excellence* for rectitude in public life. Even so, one wonders if, as a matter of principle, it is desirable that journalists should record for public consumption details of any personal conversation they may have had with members of the judiciary. In a given case such disclosures may be all to the good; but will they be so always?

2. Irish Prisons

Among the many issues which Sean MacBride, the venerable Chairman of the controversial U.N. Commission for the Study of Communications Problems, was asked to comment upon while in India recently, one which was conspicuously left out by enthusiastic interviewers, was the Irish question. Which is rather unfortunate because, despite his marked passion for holding forth on issues as varied as pacifism and the alleged imbalance in world news flow, few subjects have been closer to Mr. MacBride's heart than the happenings in his motherland.

Only a few months back the former Irish foreign minister addressed a meeting in New York where he denounced the British handling of the Irish problem, with a vehemence that would have done many an IRA sympathiser proud. Expressing his unshakeable conviction that "when it comes to dealing with Ireland, the British Government and establishment lose all common sense and all sense of justice," Mr. MacBride said he "understood fully the reasons which have prompted the H-block prisoners to undertake this ultimate form of protest", namely, hunger strike which has led to the death of over half a dozen IRA detainees.

FREEDOM FIRST

Whatever the merits of the arguments for and against British actions in Northern Ireland, it is reasonably clear that a good deal of ignorance exists, especially in countries such as our own, about the treatment of detainees lodged in Irish prisons. Recognising the need to "fill some of the gaps in knowledge, with particular emphasis on the Maze and Armagh prisons" (which have attracted a disproportionate share of attention in recent months), the British Government has come out with an informative booklet entitled *Day to Day Life in Northern Ireland Prisons*. This repays study in the context of the highly emotive responses that are evoked in any discussion of the Irish situation.

It may be recalled that one of the demands made by the protesting prisoners (who engaged themselves in what came to be described as "dirty protest" by, *inter alia*, destroying all cell contents and smearing of excrement around the cells) was the scrapping of the requirement to wear prison clothing. It is instructive to know that actually, only a quarter of the week has to be spent wearing prison clothing.

What is more, from October 1980, the original prison clothing comprising a two-piece denim suit and a blue and white striped shirt, has been replaced by a whole "range of patterns and colours of civilian type clothing comprising trousers, pullovers and shirts", apart from underclothing and socks which continue to be issued as before. Indeed, if the photographs of the new uniforms are anything to go by, there is little that

prisoners should cavil about.

The booklet also enumerates the wide variety of industrial employment and vocational training offered to willing prisoners. "Courses are conducted in spacious workshops of modern design, under the supervision of full-time instructors who have the appropriate craft or professional qualifications. They provide a sound basis for a prisoner to return to society better qualified than on entering the prison; a number of former trainees have gone on to successful employment on release."

There is the heartening example of one young prisoner who gained three distinctions in the City and Guilds of London Institution Craft examinations. He was awarded the first prize by the Worshipful Company of Painters-Stainers of London.

As for recreation, the prisoners are allowed three hours of "association" each evening, when they may occupy themselves as they wish, subject only to the maintenance of prison security. There are, besides, church services every Sunday morning, weekly film shows, television, video recordings of late-night TV programmes, access to books and periodicals, games like table tennis, snooker, darts, cards, etc.

All this, coming to think of it, for persons who have been engaged in acts of cold-blooded violence and terrorism.

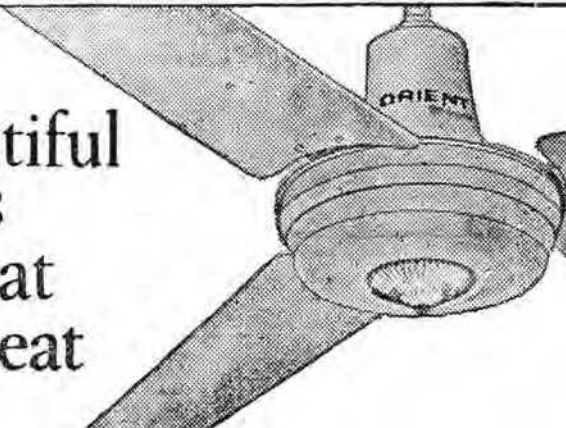
How do the conditions in our prisons compare with those described in the British government booklet, mentioned above?

Beautiful ways to beat the heat

Whatever your need, whatever your taste or your budget, Orient can offer more of what you want. More of quality, more of beauty, more of value, and more of choice—the widest selection ever!

Why sweat this summer? Beat the heat, with Orient breeze at your fingertips!

Guaranteed for two years



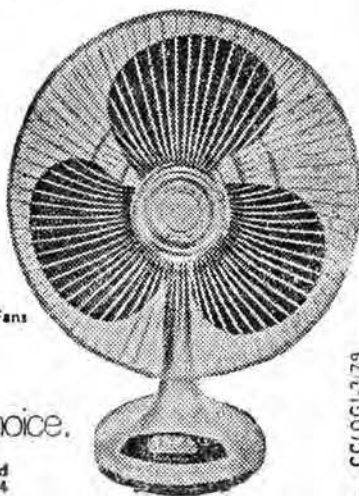
ORIENT FANS

4 Ceiling Fans • 6 Table Fans • 2 Pedestal Fans



More of beauty. More of choice.

Orient General Industries Limited
6, Ghore Bili Lane, Calcutta 700 054



CC/OGI-3/79

EASY AND DANGEROUS DEPENDENCE

RAMA SWARUP

The Soviet Union has now emerged as India's largest trading partner, with a total turnover of about Rs. 2,500 crores in 1981. In the coming years, the Soviet Union's role in our foreign trade is likely to assume even greater importance.

What will be the impact of this trend on our trade with other countries? Will it affect our exports to the hard currency areas? Is Moscow paying fair prices for Indian products? Moreover, is the USSR buying our goods on a long-term basis so as to enable our industries to plan their exports with a feeling of confidence?

Moscow's anxiety: India's success in the Russian market has not been due to any export promotion drive by the commerce ministry or by the Indian business community. On the contrary, it has been mainly the result of Moscow's desire to maximise its purchases of capital equipment, consumer goods and raw materials from this country.

Certainly Soviet Russia's purchase of several Indian goods has been erratic. For example, our tea exports to the USSR in 1976 were 51,421 tonnes. In 1977 there was a sharp fall to 47,723 tonnes, and to 33,653 tonnes in 1978. In 1979 there was an increase to 40,388 tonnes which rose sharply in 1980 to 63,838 tonnes and further to an estimated 70,000 tonnes in 1981.

Is the Indian tea exported to Soviet Russia wholly consumed there, or partly re-exported to other countries? What is the nature and extent of the competition that Indian tea has to face in the Russian market from other countries and other beverages? In the absence of reliable data on these aspects, how far is it possible for the Indian tea industry to look to the USSR as a reliable market?

Another example: the USSR did not import any groundnut extractions from India from 1976-77 to 1979-80. But between June 1980 and June 1981 it imported groundnuts valued at Rs. 58 crores from this country. It was believed that Soviet Russia re-exported this item to some countries of western Europe.

The commerce ministry did not take up this matter with Moscow, probably for two reasons. First, India did not want to do anything which could conceivably harm Indo-Soviet trade relations. Secondly, Japan and the US had banned, or proposed to ban, the import of Indian groundnut extractions because of its

aflatoxin content. In this situation, New Delhi probably thought that it would not be prudent to broach the subject of the re-export of groundnut extractions.

The disadvantage of boosting Indo-Soviet trade is that Russian purchases of Indian goods have not always fully conformed to the provisions of this country's trade plans. For instance, under the plan for 1981, the Soviet Union had agreed to purchase 170 million pieces of sacking and 144 million metres of hessian cloth. But till the middle of December 1981, the Russians had taken only 141.76 million metres of hessian cloth. The commerce ministry expressed concern at this shortfall and was obliged to press Moscow to complete its purchases of hessian and sacking, as envisaged in the trade plan for 1981, before the close of the year.

The trade protocol of 1982 envisages exports from India to the USSR to rise by 22% or Rs. 320 crores over the 1981 target to Rs. 1,760 crores. The Soviet Union will be exporting to India goods valued at Rs. 15,000 crores, which is practically at the same level as in 1981. India's exports will consist of both traditional and non-traditional goods including industrial machinery, raw materials, and consumer goods of various kinds. Imports from Soviet Russia will consist largely of crude oil, petroleum products and machinery.

Initiative and enterprise: New Delhi and Moscow should implement the trade plan in such a way as to be of mutual benefit to both nations. India in particular should see to it that its efforts to diversify its exports are not slackened.

The need to strengthen our hold in the existing markets and find new markets has never assumed greater importance than at present, especially in the context of the IMF loan to this country. No doubt, this will call for more initiative and enterprise on the part of the commerce ministry and Indian exporters, but the challenge has to be met by producing more quality goods at competitive prices.

The fact that Russia provides a comparatively easy outlet for our exports should not create complacency in Udyog Bhavan. At the India International Trade Fair held in New Delhi in December 1981, India secured export orders valued at Rs. 295 crores of which the USSR share was Rs. 249 crores.

Does this not indicate our excessive dependence on a single market?

The Non-Alignment Movement — Myth or Reality?

S. S. BANKESHWAR

The non-alignment movement was formed when the cold war between the two super powers was at its peak. After the détente between them, it lost its original significance. The two super powers no longer fight against each other except through their proxies—the non-aligned countries—on their soil.

Not a single non-aligned country is non-aligned in fact. All of them are totally dependent upon the two super powers for their defence and economic development. The non-aligned countries find themselves today divided into two camps, one dependent upon the U.S.S.R. and the other upon the U.S.A. Like our political parties which are identified by their suffixes, the non-aligned countries too are identified as non-aligned (R)—pro-Russia, and non-aligned (A)—pro-America. There is not a single non-aligned country without a suffix.

Switzerland is perhaps the only country the neutrality of which is unanimously respected by all other countries, but then, Switzerland is neutral, and not non-aligned. Not a single non-aligned country is unanimously and universally recognised as "non-aligned". The non-aligned countries cease to be so unless they are recognised as such by the super powers in particular and other countries in general.

All the wars, after the second world war, have been fought on the soil of non-aligned countries by one non-aligned country, supported by one super power, against another non-aligned country, supported by the other super power. The unity among the non-aligned countries is pure myth. They prefer to remain non-aligned even when one of its own members is a victim of aggression. For example, the non-aligned countries remained non-aligned when India was attacked by China. That should have been the end of the non-aligned movement for India.

Is a country's foreign policy an extension of its domestic policy or based on any ideology? The answer is an emphatic NO. If it were so, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. should have been allies and not enemies, and the U.S.A. and China should have been enemies, and not allies. Pragmatism and national interests alone guide a country's foreign policy.

By refusing to condemn the Soviet aggression against

Afghanistan, India today finds herself totally isolated in the camp of the non-aligned countries, although India was one of the original founders of the movement. In any dispute between Israel and the Arab countries, India is certainly not non-aligned, and cannot afford to be so, because of her total dependence on the oil-producing Arab countries for oil supplies. Right or wrong, we have to support the Arab countries! Judging each international dispute on its merit is a myth. When there is a conflict between the head and the heart, the head always prevails over the heart because of selfish interests.

Pandit Nehru had once said that India would never hesitate to condemn aggression committed by any nation. However, we have preferred to remain silent over the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia, Hungary and now Afghanistan because of the consistent support given to us by Soviet Russia in the United Nations on the issue of Kashmir, and on some other issues.

We are vociferous in condemning aggression only when it is alleged to be committed by America. This does not mean that American aggression should be condoned. All that I say is that all aggressions should be equally condemned without fear or favour, irrespective of who the aggressor is.

We should judge each international dispute on its merits. But, is this practical, or possible, if our policy based on such a judgment harms our national interest? So, all the talk about morality, ideology and high principles guiding a country's foreign policy is just hogwash.

Afghanistan was a buffer state till its annexation by Soviet Russia. Pakistan is now our buffer state against the super power Russia. A militarily strong Pakistan as a buffer state should be welcome. Hence, in the beginning, the people of India did not object to the American decision to give military aid to Pakistan.

President Zia's repeated statements that military aid from America would never be used against Russian-occupied Afghanistan, but only for defence against aggression, forced us to have second thoughts on this issue. Defence against aggression from whom? The answer is obvious. Indira was absolutely right when

she said that Pakistan was not sincere in the offer of a "No-War Pact". Our entire country is now united on this issue. Pakistan has kept two divisions on her border with Afghanistan and seventeen divisions on her border with India. This exposes Zia's offer in its true colours.

What is all this fuss about a "No-War Pact" between India and Pakistan? No such pact is necessary between two friendly countries, and between two hostile countries it is meaningless. Either can violate the pact with impunity, and since aggression has yet to be defined by the United Nations, each can accuse the other of violating the pact. However, there is no harm in signing such a meaningless pact!

President Zia should realise that our sub-continent cannot be defended at all unless India, Pakistan and Bangladesh stand united against foreign aggression, since Afghanistan has ceased to be a buffer state with its annexation by Russia. He should also realise that any war with India will be disastrous for our entire sub-continent. India, Pakistan and Bangladesh will cease to exist as independent nations and end up as satellites of Russia or China.

Zia should also realise that any war with India will be the last war between India and Pakistan, and that Pakistan will be wiped out. Let not President Zia preside over the liquidation of Pakistan.

The success or otherwise of our non-alignment policy entirely depends upon the super powers!

raymond's suitings

A GUIDE TO THE WELL-DRESSED MALE



The Raymond Woollen Mills Limited

J. K. Building, N. Morarjee Marg,
Ballard Estate, Bombay-400 038

VOICES—1

K. G. B. In India

The Communist Party (Marxist) has suspended Comrade Shiva Pada Sen Gupta, a member of the West Bengal State Committee of the Party, on the ground of leaking Party secrets to the Central Intelligence Bureau of India (IB), euphemistically described as the "Enemy Camp".

The CPM received intelligence from the Russian KGB that Com. Sen Gupta had liaison with I.B., and that he was parting with organisational secrets to it.

This incident has raised some very serious issues. Firstly, active participation of KGB with Indian political parties; secondly, extent of KGB infiltration in the intelligence apparatus of our government; thirdly, open interference by Russia in the internal and domestic affairs of India; and fourthly, the incompetence of the present government which sees a foreign hand under every bush, yet is unable to weed them out from under its own wings.

Only recently, I unsuccessfully raised before the Supreme Court the issue of the acceptance by Mrs. Gandhi's Government of Mr. Novoa as the Cuban Ambassador in India. Mr. Novoa was declared *persona-non-grata* in 1978 by Ethiopia and expelled from that country because of his KGB links. It is unfortunate that the Government of India has accepted him as Cuban Ambassador. The irony of the situation is that our neighbours, Bangladesh and Nepal, have not as yet agreed to receive Mr. Novoa as the Ambassador of Cuba in their countries, obviously because of his Ethiopian antecedents.

In 1974, the Communist Party of India published its thesis on the "Political Role of the Army in Developing Countries." It openly preached sedition. It said: "In the developing countries the Army can become a force . . . it is essential for the idea of overthrowing the Government to be ripe in the minds of the majority of the officers in key positions."

The events in Afghanistan clearly demonstrate the thesis in its practical application. The red flag over Kabul is a warning to India.

There are 14,000 Russian advisers currently in India, meddling in every activity of the Government. It is regrettable that neither the Press nor any political leader has publicly commented on the long-range effects of this proliferation of Russian officials in India.

If the KGB operations, as disclosed by defectors

FREEDOM FIRST

from its ranks, are interpreted, 80 per cent of the foreign recruits working for the KGB belong to the various Communist Parties. The lesson drawn is: members of Communist Parties the world over, with a few honourable exceptions, are potential KGB operators inside their respective countries.

That is why Mrs. Indira Gandhi said in Moga in 1959: "The activities of Indian Communists have proved beyond doubt that they are the fifth column."

Of course, circumstances having changed, Mrs. Gandhi now gains more by befriending the "fifth column". The shifting loyalties of selfish personal politics can harm India's freedom if the people are not forewarned of the deplorable and disgraceful conduct of Russia in interfering in our internal affairs. Let there be protests.

It is a warning that our freedom is in peril at the hands of our neighbour super-power.

Pran Nath Lekhi

VOICES—2

Our Culture Today A viewpoint

I drive into the airport much too early, as usual, and turn primly into the parking space marked **For Owner Drivers**. Unexpectedly, the parking lot seems to be fully occupied, but I note that most of the cars have white number plates and are embellished with lounging drivers. As I reverse into the last remaining space a ragged urchin appears with an outstretched hand. Not a beggar in the usual sense; he is collecting the parking fee. I lock the car, nervously checking everything twice, and negotiate the rubbish-strewn turf to find a policeman. "Why," I ask him, "do you allow taxis to park in the Owner-Divers' enclosure?" "Not taxi. Luxury Taxi," he says.

"But, since they are chauffeured, they should be in the other enclosure," I say "This enclosure is meant for **unattended** cars. That notice board says so." "You ask that police officer," he says, pointing. I ask that officer, and repeat my point. "You can make complaint to Airport Officer," he says.

I leave it and join the group at the entrance-ticket window. I pointedly take my place as though there were a queue. As I reach the window, a large family group arrives and, spearheaded by a very small girl, pushes ahead. "Please take your place in the queue," I say, speaking to the child, but addressing her father.

The Flight Schedule Board at the entrance is blank, and carries no information about any arrivals or departures, scheduled, actual or expected. But since I have the misfortune to be a frequent visitor to this airport, the man at the door is a familiar face. "Bombay flight on time?" I say hopefully. "On time," he answers. After a few minutes inside, I realize that there is an ominous lack of activity, and I approach the Enquiries Counter with the beautifully attired girl behind it. Here too, the notice board presents an empty face. "Could you tell me if the Bombay flight is arriving on time?" I speak carefully, in deference to her hair-style. "Bombay flight delayed," she says. This is a shock. "Well, have you any idea how long that might be?" "Maybe 20 minutes, 30 minutes, can't say." "Oh well, if it's 20 or 30 minutes late, it means that it's left Bombay." "No, not left Bombay." "In that case, how can it possibly arrive in 20 minutes—the flying time is an hour and a quarter". "Yes", she agrees placidly, "can't come. Indefinitely delayed."

I decide to go to a friend's house close by to wait it out. The familiar doorman has the grace to admit that I need not produce a fresh entrance ticket when I return; but the attitude of the parking contractor is another story. "Look", I say to him, "the flight is delayed, so I'll be coming back in a short time. I don't think it's right to ask me to pay the parking fee twice." "No," he says. "Government rules. Pay two times."

An hour and a half later the phone miraculously works, and I'm able to ask the airport for news. "Bombay flight landing 10-45," the voice says. I am aghast. "But it's 10-45 now," I say. "Yes, landing," the voice says. At my top speed of 40 m.p.h. I race back to the airport. By now the luxury taxis have forced private cars to park along the drive, at corners, everywhere. "Where can I park?" I ask the policeman. "Go like that and turn left," he says and I find myself among the autorickshaws and their drivers. I lock the car even more carefully, but you cannot lock hub caps, windscreen wipers, and other such necessary and saleable items.

Inside the arrival hall, I find I needn't have hurried. It is another fifteen minutes before the plane actually lands.

It is *because* such incidents are not only familiar but predictable that we need to analyse them. They are a faithful reflection of our general culture. And what sort of a cultural milieu do they reflect? Well, they reflect a total lack of logic—(20 minutes late, although it hasn't left Bombay), a refusal to take even

the minimum responsibility—(parking lot story) and a casual, not to say negative, attitude to the truth.

Logic does not have a central position in Indian philosophy. Does that explain our inability to think step by step, to connect effect with cause? On the other hand, we have always been much preoccupied with the cloudy questions about Appearance and Reality. Perhaps my commonplace little airport story can be treated as a contemporary version of the serious difficulties of distinguishing between Reality and Appearance. We have large blackboards with flight schedules, with ETA and ETD, as in foreign countries. In reality these boards are seldom kept up, and they might as well not exist. We have smart smiling girls with nail polish before the large notice board inviting Enquiries. It turns out that the visitor is left to make his own deductions. We have different parking spaces for different categories of vehicles, and the policeman in charge is unable to distinguish between one category and another. It is clear that the *intentions* are unexceptionable. Their effective execution is unimportant, even unnecessary. The important thing is to pass an order, not to see it carried out. "When Your Majesty gives an order", says the Lord High Everything Else, "it is as good as done. Practically, it is done. And if it's done, why not say so?"

The pattern of intention without action, plan without execution, philosophising without performance, appearance without reality, is woven so closely into our national fabric that we have lost the power to recognize our inconsistencies, let alone be shamed by them. Our culture in which we take so much pride, remains petrified in our temple sculptures, dance forms and rigidly observed rituals. It does not occur to us that the quality of either our human material or our institutions can have any connection with our cultural status.

If we can bring ourselves to admit that, apart from corruption, it is our muddled thought-habits which are answerable for many of the difficulties and inconveniences of everyday life, then we are in a position to think of possible remedies. It would take many generations to change our style of thinking, but we could start our self-education from the wrong end, as it were. We could, without going into abstractions or virtuous generalizations, start with small things, putting a premium on mere functioning. A flight schedule board *must* be informative, even if the only information is "No news." Let us forget our deep, wide and amorphous generalities and concentrate on doing small and mundane things which work.

Laeq Futehally

"PEACE WITHOUT WEAPONS IS AN ILLUSION"

German, French and British Press Opinions

By Juan Fercsey

The immediate proximity of the Soviet superpower calls for constant vigilance and preparedness of every European state which wants to preserve its freedom and sovereignty; this is peace reality—wrote a columnist for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, commenting on the peace rallies. At the same time, Helmut Schmidt and Helmut Kohl, the leaders of the Government and of the Opposition respectively, stood firmly behind the "dual decision of NATO", which means: both defend the necessity of the alliance and the counterarmament against the threat of the Soviet SS-20 nuclear missiles.

Chancellor Schmidt said that the unilateral deployment of new medium-range missiles by the Soviet Union gave rise to "an ominous security imbalance in Europe". He recalled that in agreement with France and England, West Germany supported the counter-arming on condition that arms control negotiations would be proposed to the Soviet Union at the same time. He emphasized that "the German peace policy's objective is a zero-solution in Eurostrategic weapons"—which means that no nuclear missiles would be deployed in Europe, East or West.

Helmut Kohl, the Chairman of the Opposition Christian Democrats, warned against neutralist tendencies in West Germany and accused the Social Democrats of "weakness and lack of leadership". He said that "a neutralist Germany would remain free only as long as the Soviet Union wished," stating that "the decisive fact for the Federal Republic is to remain part of the West and in alliance with the United States." He reminded that more than 250 Soviet "nuclear hydras", each with three nuclear warheads—are not aimed at targets in the United States, but at every West European capital. The Soviet Union has a 4 to 1 conventional superiority and wants to create fear, spreading the impression that subjugation to the will of Moscow is inevitable, he said, and emphasized: "Peace without weapons is an illusion; without the protection of the alliance freedom has no permanence. . . ."

Le Monde of Paris observed that "the French Communist Party has a strong influence on the French peace movement," which is reflected in the pro-Soviet tone of several of its slogans. The newspaper recalled

FREEDOM FIRST

the campaign against the atomic bomb in the 1950s, "galvanized by the Cold War and powerful Soviet orchestration." *Le Monde* wrote: "common sense demands negotiated and monitored reciprocal measures," and concluded: "Otherwise it would be necessary for another pacifist and unilateralist campaign to develop in the East, too, over the (Soviet) SS-20 missiles for a start; but we are a long way from that. . . ."

Le Figaro, a conservative Paris daily, is astonished by the rapid development of pacifism in Western Europe, where "the peace marchers apparently wish neither to be defended by the United States, nor to defend themselves." The Paris daily pointed out that Brezhnev's goal is to get West Europe to abandon the introduction of Euro-missiles which would be capable of counter-attacking Soviet SS-20s, in exchange for a simple reduction in the number of SS-20s or by shifting their bases on Soviet territory. That would "keep the Soviet potential to destroy free Europe's defences without it being possible to reach Soviet territory by similar missiles from Europe."

For the defence of Europe, both the American commitment and the nuclear forces of France are necessary.

The British press is alarmed by the "peace movement" and observed: "the mammoth rallies (are) . . . a highly coordinated Europe-wide campaign." What would Europe's destiny be without the alliance with the United States? *The Daily Telegraph* of London answers: "A panic-stricken Europe which has suicidally deprived itself of American protection, would be as much at the mercy of the Kremlin as Poland would be now but for the courage of its people. . . ."

Looking at the foot soldiers of the "peace-protest", who are overwhelmingly young people "whose idealism, inexperience and alienations are exploited," the London daily says: "it is obvious that Russia has played a large part in inspiring and orchestrating the various manifestations of the peace movement. Opinions differ as to how much is spontaneous and how much is the result of the machinations of the long-established network of Communist parties, cover organizations, trade union activities and so on." It points out that "the integral part of Russian policy is to spread panic through military intimidation."

The Observer, London, reports that just before the "peace" movement started, several international meetings were held in resort places in Hungary (Gardony), and Czechoslovakia (Kosice), and also in Romania. The meetings were organized by front organizations of the "Peace Council," one of the "peace-weapons" of the Soviet Union.

The Economist of London believes that "in Soviet

eyes, a 'friendly' neighbour is one who not only respects Soviet interests but accepts the Soviet definition of those interests." That can be achieved by "more or less arm twisting (Finland), crude sabre-rattling (Poland), or direct military intervention (East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan)." The London magazine concludes: "Faced with a neutral Western Europe, the Russians might or might not want to occupy it; but they would certainly wish to control it."

Interco Press—Antar-Sanchar

A FEW SUGGESTIONS FOR A BETTER GOVERNMENT

N. K. SOMANI

While there have been a few people of goodwill both at the central as well as state government levels in the post-independence era, they were vested with a great deal of caution and timidity. So they could not gather courage to usher in bold and creative policies for the common good of our people. One of the first assignments of any government should be to get out of the citizens' hair as much as possible, and to create the necessary environment and infrastructure so that a person can earn his livelihood or conduct business based on personal initiative and group dynamics. Unfortunately, the trend in this country has been to direct each and every activity of the citizen. It has been virtually a passage full of road blocks at every stage.

Although several law commissions and a plethora of other committees and commissions have gone into various aspects of our country's problems, their reports have all been gathering dust. As is well known, most of our codified laws, both civil and criminal, date back to the 19th century. They have now lost all sense and purpose as a result of the multitude of amendments, additions and subtractions. It would certainly be worthwhile for any government to take prompt executive and legislative decisions to see that all such laws are made relevant and meaningful and as simple as possible.

The same applies to the fiscal area. Numerous half-hearted attempts in various fields have only brought about a steady deterioration. One would test a government's efficacy in any given area of a citizen's concern inversely by the number of trips he has to make either

to a Mantralaya or to the corridors of the central secretariat. It would certainly create a new atmosphere if a citizen does not have to run to Delhi or a state capital for each and every aspect of his essential activity.

Decision-making in governments has necessarily been slow as a result of ancient and outdated methods of collecting data. It is well-known that a small silicon chip of the size of a human thumbnail can store millions of bits of information, which can later be processed and analysed. It is a pity that at such a time, the attention given by the government to a particular problem is at least several years behind the times. A total modernization of government organisation is necessary, which will leave ministers and bureaucrats comparatively free for reflective and creative thinking rather than doing donkey work 14 to 16 hours a day.

All policies for agriculture and industry should be ostensibly marked towards creating at least 10 to 15% surplus in every essential product or commodity. This will obviate all necessity for price and distribution controls, which is one of the largest areas of corruption in public life. Industrial licences should also be done away with, by and large, except for very critical areas which may be reviewed every 3 to 5 years.

Several hidden subsidies are being continued in various fields of agriculture which, unfortunately, are being cornered by the top 10% of India's farmers. Even critical products such as petroleum products are being priced without any relation to reality. Kerosene through ration shops is sold at below Rs. 1,400/- per KL as against the international price of Rs. 2,625/-. It is well-known that most ration shops are located in the urban areas, and that quite a lot of the subsidised kerosene finds its way to other than the intended channels. Clearly, this is a case for dual pricing based on rural and urban usage.

Similarly, furnace oil is being sold to industry at Rs. 2,200/- per KL, which is far above the international price of Rs. 1,800/-, because it is supplied to fertilizer factories at Rs. 1,040/- per KL. Food subsidies too, for rationed foodgrain are directed towards the urban sector. There is a great need to have a close look at this sector.

Education has been unfortunately relegated to a very poor priority, with the result that the nation is producing unemployable literates with no capacity or willingness to put in an honest day's work. The full price of such a poor education system will only be known in a few years' time, when these vast hordes of unemployed will take law and order in their own hands.

One of the significant fallouts of a sound and purposeful education policy would be that the family planning programmes would be far more easily acceptable. This has been proved in the case of Kerala and several other regions in the country.

Our outdated labour laws unduly protect workers in factories. Short of broad day-light murder, it is nearly impossible to fire a person on any ground. It is desirable to have employment quotas in numbers per unit, but it need not be the same person. In reasonably proven circumstances of gross insubordination or misconduct etc., it should be possible for an employer to substitute a particular unproductive worker with another.

There has been an unnecessary and undesirable emphasis for a long time in India on political parties and their functioning, evolving around a central personality. A time has come when such a syndrome of hero worship should be abjured and erased from the public mind by systematically substituting a political system based on a sound ideology, programme and diligent teamwork.

The Focus in East Germany : Twenty Years of the Berlin Wall

A. JAMES MCADAMS

Last month, the citizens of East Berlin marked the 20th anniversary of the wall that divides their city. For two decades now, this infamous concrete barrier, with its steel girders, dog-runs, watchtowers, tank traps and "death strips" has symbolized Communism in its worst, most brutal form. So it must have come as a surprise to some tourists watching the proceedings from the West that the leaders of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), far from merely having learned to live with this symbol, are neither embarrassed by it nor ashamed to praise it.

To be sure, in the days immediately after August 13, 1961, when the residents of East Berlin awoke to find barbed wire, heavily armed troops and teams of Volkspolizei blocking their access to the Western Sector, the official tone was hardly jubilant. Both Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and the GDR's head of state, Walter Ulbricht, conceded that the completed Wall was an "ugly thing" and a "defect". It was all too obviously a response to the fact that thousands of

East Germans had been demonstrating their dissatisfaction with life under Communism by taking advantage of the previously easy crossing into West Berlin. But this population drain had been crippling the fledgling East German state. Ulbricht, and his security chief, Erich Honecker, finally turned to their Soviet allies for permission to seal the border out of desperation.

Then, because the Wall was too conspicuous to conceal and too much a product of Communist craftsmanship to lament or decry, the East German regime was soon forced to come to terms with its creation. Thus it began celebrating the monstrosity and tracing it as an object of national pride, as if it were a Statue of Liberty or an Arc de Triomphe. Without fail, every August 13 now huge parades entertain well-organized, flag waving crowds assembled on Unter den Linden to pay tribute to the edifice, and somber Party officials preach on the history and significance of their handiwork. Not even May 1 overshadows these anniversaries.

The "justifications" that the East Germans offer for their veneration are often little more than convenient fiction. They would have it that the Wall was erected on the eve of a huge assault by Western troops; Only the valiant construction of this "anti-fascist protective barrier," or *Schutzwand* as East German lore describes it, was enough to stop American tanks in their tracks and foil NATO's plans for unleashing another world war. The *Schutzwand*, more-over, preserves the best German traditions and "humanist" principles, while shutting out the tainted influences of "militarism and imperialism" still furthered by the "Hitler generals" in Bonn.

The Wall is further credited with halting the dangerous influx of "spies, smugglers and kidnappers" into East Berlin. Were it not for the presence of these pernicious elements in the city, according to the Communist version of history, few East Germans would have been enticed into leaving their homeland in the '50s.

Some GDR tributes to the Wall, though, have been closer to reality. The Party newspaper, *Neues Deutschland*, in its 1970 salute, was not altogether wrong in saying: "The successes in the development of our economy and of our whole Socialist system prove how good and right it was to secure our border." The East Germans had recognized that every time they lost a talented, productive citizen, they slid that much closer to bankruptcy. The Wall, they hoped, would change the country's fortunes. And by the mid-60s it did indeed experience a minor *Wirtschaftswunder*, or "economic miracle."

The price paid for this by the average citizen, of

course, was high. From the moment the Wall started going up, his options were drastically reduced. The freer life and prosperity offered by the West were shoved entirely out of reach. In place of his dreams of a better existence under non-Communist rule for the first time he was forced to take the country more seriously and accept that he had to make the best of the new circumstances. One of East Germany's chief economic planners made no bones at the time about the benefits to the regime of sealing in the populace: "It is now clear to everyone in our Republic, including those who once vacillated and occasionally glanced toward West Germany, that their future lies here." The press declared that the Wall added "clarity" where there had been confusion.

To the GDR's leaders, the Wall also provided something that no Soviet decree or state constitution could ever give them—proof that their claim to sovereignty was legitimate. Before August 1961, the GDR was constantly being denounced as a mere temporary appendage of the Soviet Union, a fictional creation that had no right to speak for those it ruled. Pankow went virtually unrecognized internationally, and it had difficulty establishing credibility domestically. But the new construction, it was felt, made clear that the GDR was here to stay, no matter what anyone might say. The leadership still frequently asserts its authority on this basis. "The border of the GDR," *Neues Deutschland* proclaimed in its 1976 encomium to the Wall, "is not open to debate. This is a state border, the border of a sovereign Socialist state, and it must be respected."

The East German government is fond of contending, too, that putting up the Wall was actually a "blow for peace in Europe, ostensibly because it showed the Western Allies once and for all "the limits of their powers." Although the East Germans often harp on NATO's supposed plans to undermine the GDR and penetrate the Warsaw Pact, this talk of limitation does contain at least a kernel of ironic truth. When the Wall was built, the Allies had to make a hard choice between tolerating the structure or openly challenging East Germany's right to divide Berlin. The decision not to confront the GDR was crucial, for it was soon taken to be a sign of the West's tacit acceptance of the European status quo.

In this sense, the Wall really has become the cornerstone of the Continent's current division into two rival blocs. The East Germans understandably champion the unhappy circumstance, using it to explain every twist and turn in East-West relations. In detente's better days, the barrier was exalted as hallmark of world stability, the source of everything from SALT to the Helsinki Conference. Lately, it has been hailed

as a warning to the West of the likely outcome of superpower confrontations. That, in fact, was the burden of the address delivered by the GDR's current leader, Erich Honecker, at the 20th anniversary celebration of the Wall.

For the moment, the presence of this grim symbol of Socialist purity, peace and sovereignty enables the East German government to avoid putting the population's loyalty to the test. There are restrictions, however, to what the Wall can do. It may never be permanent enough to win the GDR the kind of international esteem its leaders aspire to. And it will never be high enough to shut out all the "corrupting" forces whether they emanate from the capitalist West or, to take the Polish example, from the Socialist East. Such "threats" do not respond to guns, mortar and barbed wire. But none of this deters the GDR's leaders from glorifying their crowning achievement. Year after year the Wall's paramount position in East German society is affirmed.

REMEMBERING HUNGARY 1956

To,
The Editor,
Freedom First.
Dear Friend,

I have pleasure in enclosing a booklet entitled "Hungary 1956".

You will recall that exactly twenty-five years ago the Hungarian people staged, what Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru called a "national upsurge" against the hated Rakosi regime. Their slogans centred around national independence, neutrality and democratization.

However, this national upsurge was brutally suppressed by the Soviet military intervention, a feat the Soviets have repeated in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. Fear of it persists in Poland.

Since then although Hungary has made remarkable economic progress, the question of independence remains. Some of the Hungarian freedom fighters have reflected on this aspect in the enclosed booklet. They feel that an independent Hungary would lessen world tension. That is the significance of the booklet.

I would be obliged if you could comment on the desirability of independence for Hungary. An acknow-

ledgement of the receipt of the booklet may as well be sent.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
S. K. TRIPATHI
Director Antar-Sanchar

7/36, Daryaganj,
New Delhi-110 002.

Prime Minister Gandhi,
India

Your Excellency:

October 23rd of 1981 marks the 25th anniversary of the first day of the Hungarian Revolution. The Hungarian people, in a spontaneous uprising, defeated the Soviet occupation forces, a Moscovite terrorist ruling clique, and the Soviet controlled secret police. The Revolutionary Government proclaimed Hungary's neutrality, requested protection from the United Nations and demanded the withdrawal of the Soviet occupation troops from Hungary.

The Soviet Union agreed to hold negotiations for the military withdrawal, but at the same time, concentrated overwhelming forces near the Hungarian border and, on November 4, 1956, attacked the Hungarian people with thousands of tanks, crushing the freedom fighters.

The United Nations condemned the Soviet Union in 14 resolutions, demanding the withdrawal of the Soviet forces and free elections in Hungary. But the Soviet Union and the Soviet-installed puppet regime ignored the U.N. resolutions.

Hungary's tragedy was an example of Soviet ruthlessness. Unfortunately, the free world was unprepared to help the Hungarian people and the United Nations proved to be impotent. The consequences were long years of oppression and suffering in Hungary and, subsequently, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan in 1979. With an independent and neutral Hungary, the tensions and danger would be reduced in Europe and in the world.

The Hungarian people, talented and individualistic, survived remarkably well despite the Soviet colonial system and the fact that Hungary is forced to pay for the costs of 70,000 Soviet occupation troops who are "temporarily" in Hungary—for 35 years. But, in the face of the democratic revival in Poland, there are signs that Soviet pressure is becoming stronger in Hungary. This could drive the Hungarian people into fatal despair again. Facing a hopeless and fearful future, Hungary's birthrate is one of the lowest in the world.

As the former President of the Hungarian Parliament, I ask your Excellency to call for a remembrance of the heroic struggle of the Hungarian people and to condemn the brutal Soviet aggression and oppression.

Please, Your Excellency, accept the expression of my deep esteem.

Sincerely yours,
Bela Varga,
Former President of the
Parliament of Hungary.

**STATEMENT OF BELA VARGA, CHAIRMAN,
HUNGARIAN COMMITTEE AND FORMER
SPEAKER OF THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT,
1946-47**

The Hungarian people are historically tied to their Polish brethren.

The face of both nations has been indeed similar. They fought valiantly against their occupiers and sacrificed grievously in order to retain their independence. Only thus could they have survived oppression and remain living parts of the cultural, political and economic life of Europe.

Today, the Polish people strive for their independence alone. Its workers commenced the struggle and in their hands rests the future of Poland as they forged the national unity now prevailing. Their weapon is their faith and the participation of the overwhelming majority of the nation, though their fate is still tied to Moscow. Yet no matter what the final decision will be in the Kremlin, it may decelerate the drive for Polish freedom but never defeat it.

The Hungarian people at home cannot openly endorse and sympathize with the people of Poland and, therefore, it is necessary for us to do so in their behalf.

We sincerely wish that the wisely and valiantly conducted Polish struggle for independence should attain its goals. Such success would not only solve Poland's problems but benefit all peoples behind the Iron Curtain and would certainly weaken the colonizing power of the Soviet Union.

The Hungarian Committee warns the Government of Hungary from participating in any Soviet action against the Polish people. The martyr Hungarian premier, Paul Teleki prevented at the outbreak of World War II German use of Hungarian territory during their invasion of Poland. After the Soviet and German invasions, Hungary became the second home for civilian and military refugees from Poland.

If the Hungarian regime is unable to support the independence struggle of Poland, it at least should not harm it or inflict irreparable damage on the historical Polish-Hungarian friendship and Hungarian honour.

May God help the Polish nation.

APRIL 1982

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

Lakshmi's
BELLERINA *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.



VSN/LMC-BAL/657

THE
**LAKSHMI
MILLS**
COMPANY LIMITED
COIMBATORE

SYMBOL OF
OUTSTANDING FABRICS

WHOSE FREEDOM? WHOSE ORDER?

Whose Freedom? Whose Order? by D. R. Mankekar.
Clarion. Pp. 234. Rs. 55.

The tremendous growth in the range and power of the media in recent times is a by-product of ever-new technological development, especially in the field of electronics, and the growth of social and political consciousness which has given a new edge to public opinion. Information creates public opinion, which in turn demands fuller and more diverse information by which it holds authority accountable and participates in decision-making, nationally and globally.

In such an instant world, information and communication flows constitute power. The world is witness to yet another global division as between information-rich and information-poor nations, and the emergence of some information superpowers.

This imbalance is no different from related imbalances in wealth, living standards and technological power that divide the world. Yet, if wars begin in the minds of men, if communication is an input in development, and if an enlightened public opinion is to play a positive role in promoting peace, social justice and an improved quality of life for all, then a better, freer and more balanced information flow between and within nations around the world is necessary and important.

It is the quest for this that constitutes movement towards a new information order.

The demand for a change in the established *status quo* initially alarmed those in the West who thought that a more balanced flow of communications implied less freedom. Images of regulation, state control and censorship confused the issue and started a false debate. Perspective has gradually been restored, and Mankekar has made a useful contribution by filling in the background and providing focus in **Whose Freedom? Whose Order?**

Mankekar attributes the West's initial panic reaction to ethnocentricity, and makes the point that in many newly-independent states the stark choice is between state media and no media. The present free flow of

information is all too often a one-way flow which poses very real and delicate issues of cultural identity, a concept that might come in conflict with undiluted exercise of the right to freedom of information.

Such a situation might arise from direct television broadcasts from satellites which would be far more potent than external broadcasts beamed to different parts of the world. This is not a matter that affects developing countries alone. Such a highly developed nation as Canada is acutely sensitive to massive trans-border television and other information flows from the United States, as Mankekar notes.

The sheer volume of information flows from information superpowers could lead to "cultural imperialism", resulting in alienation of traditional societies seeking to modernise. Such consequences are not to be ignored merely because they are involuntary rather than wilful. This happens through the distribution not just of news services but of television and radio programmes, films, books, periodicals, and advertisements, and as a result of data flows and even the use of certain world languages which have become prime vehicles for international exchange and the transfer of technology. Recognition of these factors is a necessary precondition for adopting any long-range ameliorative measures.

Mankekar sets these ideas against the background of the changing concept of freedom of information from "free flow" to "free and balanced flow", to "the right to know", and the "right to communicate (a two-way concept)". He sees the electronics revolution as having created certain reverse rights in the international arena, namely, the "right to privacy" and even the "right not to know". These last are as yet hazy concepts but they are beginning to be articulated.

The Third World needs assistance to develop requisite infrastructures, adopt appropriate technologies and acquire the necessary skills. Access is vital—even to such finite natural resources as the electro-magnetic spectrum, the geo-stationary orbit, and newsprint. Efforts like regional news services, the Non-Aligned News Pool and a putative multinational news agency currently under discussion, broadcast exchanges and new funding and technical agencies being sponsored

by UNESCO and other international bodies are steps in the direction of ensuring better balance.

Mankekar notes the limitations of the Non-Aligned News Pool as it exists today, but pleads that the answer lies in its improvement and not in its abolition. The Pool itself is anxious to develop a more professional service and image. Yet, the cause would be better served if governments would stay aloof where they are not needed, as in the case of India. The Indian news agencies should be left to participate in the Pool without official guidance and intervention. This would add credibility to this infant institution and disarm at least some of its Indian critics. Otherwise the feeling grows that the Pool is a device to disseminate official propaganda.

Mankekar strongly supports the recommendations of the MacBride Commission set up to study international communication problems, and UNESCO's initiative in this and other matters. He himself proposes a World Press Institute "exclusively composed of and administered by professional journalists" which might evolve a code of conduct . . . set up a credible panel to monitor international news coverage, as also adjudicate on such matters as the Right of Reply claimed by a government in order to ensure that the right is not abused by the government concerned."

This idea was mooted by Mankekar before UNESCO in 1978 and met with a mixed reception. The media world is not yet ready for such a body, but some such international organisation could come into being with broad and agreed terms of reference at a future time.

While Mankekar has demolished several myths and cogently argued the case for a new information order, he too falls into the trap of confusing "a new order" with "the new (world) information order". It is this definitive "the" which frightens people who fear an end to diversity and plurality, with everybody being put into a single preconceived mould. This is surely impossible, and any attempt to do so would be undesirable. Mankekar's use of "a" and "the" in this context is inadvertent and he clearly uses the two as synonyms. This, however, is a slip and could confuse.

A second weakness is the omission of TASS from the purview of the book on the ground that "its news service does not constitute a major source of external information to the developing countries". If this is so, it is not for lack of trying. Governments have unfortunately sometimes used the media and news agencies for intelligence purposes and for spreading disinformation, and there is no reason to suppose that the Soviet record on these counts has been impec-

Nachiketa Publications Limited

5 Kasturi Buildings, J. Tata Road,
Bombay 400 020.

A STATESMAN ENTERPRISE

Books for all bookshelves and budgets:

	Rs.
Aesthetics and Literary Criticism	by R. B. Patankar 10/-
Bihar Shows The Way	by S. K. Datta-Ray 75/-
D. M. K. In Power	by P. Spratt 10/-
Education In The Fourth Plan	by J. P. Naik 6/-
Freedom Of The Press In India	by A. G. Noorani 6/-
From the Jhelum To The Volga	by S. Nihal Singh 15/-
Gandhi And The American Scene	by C. Seshachari 8/-
Glimpses of Old Calcutta	by R. R. Chowdhury 55/-
German Scholars On India —Vol. II	75/-
Hindu Muslim Relations in Bengal 1905-1947	by H. Rahman 15/-
Indira's India: A Political Notebook	by S. Nihal Singh 35/-
Indian Polity: A Plea For Reform	by R. A. Gopalswami 10/-
India In Transition	by M. N. Roy 12/-
India's Caribbean Adventure	by K. Bhimani 8/-
Kerala: Yenan of India	by Victor M. Fic 25/-
The Career Of The Secondary School Teacher in Poona	by P. Kale 9/-
The Phases Of Indian Nationalism, and Other Essays	by Dietmar Rothermund 12/-
Traditional Recipes Of India	by Mrs. B. J. Maneckshaw 22/-
Under The Indian Sky	by A. Chanda 10/-
Writings And Speeches Of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan	by S. Mohammad 16/-
What Price A Free Press? Edited	by V. V. John & A. B. Shah 9/-

Also Available From:

THE STATESMAN LIMITED

Statesman House Connaught Circus, New Delhi 110 001	Statesman House, Chowringhee Square Calcutta 700 001.
Fagun Mansion 26 Commander-In-Chief Rd. Madras 600 105	

How much Freedom do you want for 15 rupees?

Well, you can get a monthly journal devoted to it for a whole year at that ridiculously low price.

FREEDOM first

30th year of publication

Founder : M. R. Masani

Editor : Nissim Ezekiel

Each issue contains two or three major political articles;

two or three items of wit and wisdom in our regular feature VOICES;

two or three book reviews;

and other material of outstanding interest to every serious citizen of India and the world;

to say nothing of the Editor's statement on an important and topical event every month.

So

read Freedom First regularly. Subscribe today :

Freedom First

Subscription Order Form

Democratic Research Service

127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,

Bombay-400 023.

Please send *Freedom First* to me for one year (twelve issues) at the following address :

NAME : _____

ADDRESS : _____

This is a New/Renewal* subscription.

I enclose payment of Rs. 15 in favour of *Freedom First* by

*Cheque *Bank Draft *Postal Order

I have remitted by money order, receipt enclosed. For outstation cheques kindly add Rs. 2 for bank charges. Renewal intimation cards are posted to subscribers separately.

Signature _____

cable. The omission on the other hand might convey an impression of bias, however unintended.

A third and major flaw is inadequate reference to the crying need for a new information order *within* nations and among the developing nations themselves. Every sin of imbalance, one-way flow, cultural dominance, lack of infrastructure, lack of access and the lack of the right to communicate can be laid at the door of many if not most Third World nations. If the plea for a new world information order is a plea for democratisation of the information and communication system, it must rest on sure domestic foundations.

The communication gap between rural-urban, rich and poor within developing societies is mentioned in passing in reference to communication policies. This would however have merited a separate and detailed discussion, as it is fundamental to any real reform and equality in information flows and structures.

Nevertheless, everything said, **Whose Freedom? Whose Order?** adds something of value to a major international debate.

B. G. Verghese

Redressing history

Having ordered civil servants out of jackets and ties and into national dress, President Zia Ul-Haq of Pakistan is now ordering a change of clothing for Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the father of the nation.

In many thousands of portraits Jinnah appears in western dress. He appears in collar and tie on Pakistan's banknotes, his head covered with a lamb's wool cap. Jinnah is remembered as a fastidious dresser who shot an elegant cuff and favoured two-tone shoes and spats. Zia wants Jinnah to be represented in the close-fitting, high-buttoned coat known as the *sherwani*, a garment Jinnah wore only occasionally. The president thinks it more suitable than western clothing.

Accordingly, artists are taking part in a competition, with a prize of £2,500, painting Mr. Jinnah in a *sherwani*. The winning portrait, selected by the president, will be the official portrait for government offices and banknotes.

(The Times, London)