

BREAKTHROUGH AT SIMLA?

A. G. Noorani

SMALL minds and great empires go ill together, it has been said. The reaction to the Simla Agreement in this country would suggest that the smallest minds are of those who talk most of India's bigness. Their accountancy of the gain and the loss from the agreement is erroneous, their history is all wrong, and their vision of India's role in South Asia is a singularly narrow one.

The Simla Agreement which Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Bhutto signed in the early hours

of course, for further talks but both the sides knew its futility in view of their respective positions. Once the Declaration was implemented and a deadlock reached in the Indo-Pak talks on Kashmir, the greatest beneficiary of the Tashkent accord became the mediator, Russia. On every conceivable occasion, till very recently, it recalled the Declaration and, by implication, its own role. Now all that is relegated to the past.

The Simla Agreement is the first major political accord arrived at directly between India and Pakistan since the Nehru-Mohammed Ali accord on Kashmir declared on August 20, 1953. It fell through because Pakistan sought American arms soon thereafter. But the Indo-Pak equation is now altogether different. A war was fought on both the eastern and western sectors and Pakistan was decisively defeated. Worse still, it finally lost the eastern wing. In consequence India has emerged as *the* Power in South Asia. Any agreement now with the vanquished must achieve two

This is it!

By Sudhir Dar



Courtesy: Hindustan Times

of July 3 is quite unlike the previous Indo-Pak accords on the termination of armed clashes. The Kashmir Plebiscite Agreement embodied in the UNCIP's resolution of January 5, 1949, and the Kutch Arbitration Agreement of June 1965 were meant to resolve the disputes that had led to the limited wars. The Tashkent Declaration of January 1966 really sought no more than a restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* in the western Indo-Pak border where alone the war of September 1965 had been fought. There was provision,

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ends. One, it must regularise the aftermath of the war. Next, it must lay down the guidelines, tacit and explicit, for a durable peace.

Bismarck: But, President Bhutto was only too right when he said that a durable peace and an imposed peace are contradictions. India's prime objective in the December 1971 war was the liberation of Bangladesh. That object having been accomplished fully, we would do well to think not of a Versailles *diktat* but a Bismarckian settlement. As Dr. Henry A. Kissinger has remarked, "Bismarck could base self-restraint on a philosophy of self-interest". His successors remembered his wars; they forgot "the moderation that had secured their fruits".

Doubtless, now is the best time, for reasons more than one, to strive for a Kashmir solution. But those who advocate an imposed solution based on victory reckon little with the realities of the international order. An imposed peace will lead only to an era of confrontation and the abandonment of the bilateral approach we seek.

Consider only the accountancy of the critics. Not one of them, nor for that matter official spokesmen, has cared to recall the U.N. Security Council's resolution of December 21, 1971. It "*demand*s that a durable cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities in all areas of conflict be strictly observed and remain in effect until withdrawals take place, as soon as practicable, of all armed forces to their respective territories and to *positions which fully respect the cease-fire in Jammu and Kashmir supervised by the U.N. Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan*". (Italics author's)

Disinterest: India's withdrawal from Pakistan's territory does no more than what the Council called for and is in conformity with its own declared stand of disinterestedness in territorial gains. But what is overlooked is that Pakistan has under the Simla Agreement waived the advantage accrued by the resolution and agreed to the present position on the cease-fire line. And this pending a final settlement.

Meanwhile, it has agreed that "Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat of the use of force in violation of this line". It has also concurred "that the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations."

Detergent: Be it remembered that the Council's resolution keeps that body "seized of the matter" and

requests the Secretary-General to keep it informed "on developments leading to the implementation of this resolution". All this is now attenuated by the accord on "bilateral negotiations". In agreeing to this, of course, Pakistan has not been altruistic. It has merely been realistic enough to appreciate the futility of washing the sub-continent's dirty linen in the premises of the U.N., where these days even an effective detergent is hard to come by.

Bilateralism will collapse if Pakistan is driven too hard. It can be sustained only if it is given the prospect of an honourable accord. The Simla Agreement does that—and no more. It opens a prospect of a durable peace in the sub-continent through a Kashmir settlement and a tripartite accord among India, Pakistan and Bangladesh on tidying up the mess the war left.

There is no reason why a Kashmir settlement and the tripartite accord should not be accomplished if the parties show the spirit of give and take which resulted in the *modus vivendi* that is the Simla Agreement.

India No. 3 Menace

Intelligence agencies have informed the White House that Peking has lowered the U.S. to No. 4 on its list of potential threats to Communist China's security. Russia ranks No. 1, followed by Japan and India.

U.S. News and World Report, July 24.

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Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



J.P. and the Dacoits

JAYAPRAKASH Narayan must, like many people before him, be thinking to himself: "With friends like these, I need no enemies." In a sudden and unexpected outburst in Bhopal on 10th July, Mr. P. C. Sethi, Chief Minister of M.P., whom Mr. Karunanidhi has aptly described as one of "the ready-made Chief Ministers in New Delhi", suddenly turned round on J.P. and his supporters and accused them of breach of trust in connection with the surrender of dacoits in M.P. He also charged Sarvodaya workers with undermining the role of the State Government, notably the efforts of the police. The final charge against J.P. was that he had "stooped to challenge the Prime Minister's authority", whatever that may mean.

This is all very sad. Mr. Sethi had his share of kudos for having cooperated with the Sarvodaya leader in securing the surrender of a large number of dacoits. For this the whole country rejoiced. It is a pity that he should now have ruined his good work.

As an editorial in the *Indian Express* recently put it; "For a comparative neophyte like him to talk in disparaging terms of a nationally respected leader like Jayaprakash Narayan is impertinence of a singularly low order." According to the editorial, the motivation for this kind of outburst would seem to be an unfortunate habit of the Chief Minister of M.P. to "draw attention to himself." The paper is right in saying that this "vulgar exhibitionism" is not likely to disturb J.P. or the Sarvodaya movement to which he belongs.

Like a Daniel come to judgement, Acharya Vinoba Bhave has come forward with an award about the division of credit for the surrender of the dacoits which seems to exercise the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh so much. According to Vinobaji, 33 per cent of the credit goes to the dacoits who surrendered, 33 per cent to the police who cooperated, and 33 per cent to the Bhoodan workers and the people of Madhya Pradesh. What about the remaining one per cent? Vinobaji had originally apportioned this mite to himself for his earlier initiative, but he has now "humbly offered it at the feet of the Lord." So one per cent goes to God!

McGovern for U.S.?

THERE are many who think that Senator McGovern's nomination as the Democratic candidate for

President has ensured President Nixon's re-election and the Republicans have welcomed it as "a good omen" for themselves. Rather than vote for this Left-wing isolationist, most middle-of-the-road-voters in the U.S., whether Republican or Democrat, would, it is believed, plump for President Nixon. All the same, the American electorate, being as volatile as it has proved to be in the past, the possibility of McGovern's election cannot be ruled out, and the *Daily Telegraph* of London has already envisaged the 'Perils of McGovernment' in a recent editorial.

According to the *Telegraph*, if this unlikely denouncement materialises: "Wishful thinking would become a State religion, with the President as its High Priest.... The results for the security and the balance of power would be appalling.... It is madness for Mr. McGovern to undertake to cut American forces in Europe by two-thirds and her defence budget by half without any reference to what Russia is doing. We cannot believe that things are really so rotten in the United States of America."

In case it is felt that this judgement is a little too harsh, let us recall that Mr. McGovern's past is not at all an untarnished one. In 1948, he supported Henry Wallace who, though technically a 'Progressive' candidate, was in reality the candidate of the Communist Party of the U.S. Many of the naive formulations of Senator McGovern, including his appalling promise to withdraw from Vietnam and Indo-China unconditionally within three months, whatever North Viet Nam might do and however large number of people who might be massacred in consequence, would indicate that he has not yet been cured of the illusions from which he obviously suffered in 1948. The amusing thing is that Mr. McGovern is fiercely opposed by the AFL-CIO which represents the American working class while being aptly described by a U.S. journal as "the candidate of that segment of the rich and newly rich who for one reason or another are consumers of Left-wing rhetoric". We in India are familiar with that tribe.

Good News from Vietnam

MEANWHILE, news from Vietnam gets better and better every day. Last month, we had ventured the hope that by autumn or winter, the communist aggressors would be cleared from South Vietnamese territory. The liberation of Quang Tri city and province

adjacent to the DMZ has proceeded so very much faster than anticipated that one might hope that soon the aggressors will be fleeing across the DMZ itself.

The only danger comes from the resumption of talks in Paris which started on July 13. Fortunately they made a bad start. The North Vietnamese may, with some reasonable optimism, be counted on to miss that bus also. They are obviously banking on President Nixon's defeat and his replacement by Senator McGovern. Relying on this hope, it is likely that they will stick to their demands that South Vietnam be handed over to communist occupation and thus make it impossible for the negotiations to succeed before they have been cleared out of South Vietnam altogether. It is a time for friends of Vietnam to keep their fingers crossed.

It is to be hoped that the lack of realism on the part of the North Vietnamese communists will not be less than that of some of the misguided supporters of Senator McGovern. Among these is Professor Galbraith. Believe it or not, on February 15, 1968, Professor Galbraith pronounced with his usual self-assurance a forecast of what would happen in Vietnam. These were his words: "Anything that can effectively be called a government in South Vietnam will disappear within the next few weeks, and about the same time span will bring about the effective dissolution of the South Vietnamese Army."

Happily for us and the world, the South Vietnamese forces simply refuse to die in accordance with Galbraith's commands. It may even be that, if the worst happens in Washington, the South Vietnamese army and government might continue to defend Vietnam successfully in spite of the scuttlers of Asian freedom like McGovern, Galbraith and their ilk.

'The Writing on the Wall'

THE Young Turks of the communist and socialist variety have, for the time being, patched up their quarrels. So we are told by the daily press. All the same, it would be good not to forget what one group had to say about the other as recently as the middle of June 1972. In the *Young Indian*, a weekly journal that he edits, Mr. K. Chandra Shekhar writes an article entitled 'The Writing on the Wall'. If we are to take this gentleman seriously, patching up with his opponents will not help and not everything that was inscribed on the wall will be erased. Perhaps his forecast may yet come true. Here are a few of his thoughts:

"Some among the politicians seem to believe that they can manage the electorate with promises alone by periodically reiterating them in a new style. But the growing awareness among the people has brought about a qualitative change in the situation and such beliefs are bound to prove illusory."

Mr. Chandra Shekhar, therefore, comes to the conclusion:

"The choice is severely limited; either they gain and sustain people's confidence or they succumb to new forces that are sure to emerge. Every society throws up elements who provide convincing answers to its questions. The Indian people are no exception."

From press reports, it is clear that Mr. Chandra Shekhar has now been made to eat humble pie and that, on the seven man panel the Steering Committee of the Forum has set up to prepare a document on the role of the Forum, out of seven members no less than six are communist fellow-travellers.

Meanwhile, infiltration of the Union Government proceeds apace. According to the *London Economist*, these "ex-communists include one Cabinet minister, Mohan Kumaramangalam, several junior ministers, the most important of the three Party General Secretaries and the new Chief Minister of Orissa." For those of our readers who are unable to identify the rest, we may mention that the junior ministers include Mr. K. R. Ganesh and Mr. Raghunath Reddi, the General Secretary of the Party is Mr. Chandrajit Yadav, and the new Chief Minister of Orissa is Mrs. Nandini Satpathy.

If Mr. Chandra Shekhar really wants to stop the communist take-over of India, he will have to do two things. First, he will have to break off from the infiltrators in the Socialist Forum. The other thing he must

IN THIS ISSUE

"Peace isn't about to break out all over Mrs. Gandhi's subcontinent," wrote the *Economist* while commenting on the Simla meeting. Rajaji described the meeting as a Preamble without a Bill to follow. Mr. A. G. Noorani, however, finds several positive points to notch up, and tells us why.

Mr. Dharma Vira, a distinguished Civil Servant and Governor of more than one State, while discussing the qualities and the role of leadership in administration, debunks the vapid talk of "commitment".

Corruption is a way of life in the Soviet Union and makes the wheels of the planned economy turn, says Steven J. Staats in the prestigious Journal, *Problems Of Communism* from which we have made an abridgement.

Geeta Doctor returns from a visit to Madras with a "Lament" for that city.

Mr. D. C. Kale, an up-and-coming consulting engineer, contributes a review.

Two film reviews by members of the staff follow.

bestir to himself to do is to look for new allies among those who are consistent democrats and understand Indian communists a little better than himself.

Backwash of Summit

IN our March issue, we had carried a review by Nissim Ezekiel of Medvedev's book, *A Question of Madness*, which had told of the horrors through which Zhores Medvedev, the eminent biologist and geneticist, had to go in a Soviet mental asylum. Now, that unfortunate scientist has had to face another ordeal, though not quite such a lurid one.

Having been invited to address the Ninth International Congress of Gerontology meeting in Kiev, the scientist was found strangely missing when his turn came to read his paper. The mystery was later solved by the receipt of a telegram to a fellow scientist which was read out to the Congress and which ran as follows: "Regret to say that I would not be able to attend the symposium... because of earlier arrangement with Prof. R. Kidnapper." We understand that there was not much difficulty in the eminent gerontologists assembled deciphering the coded message to read: "Professional Russian Kidnapper," in other words,

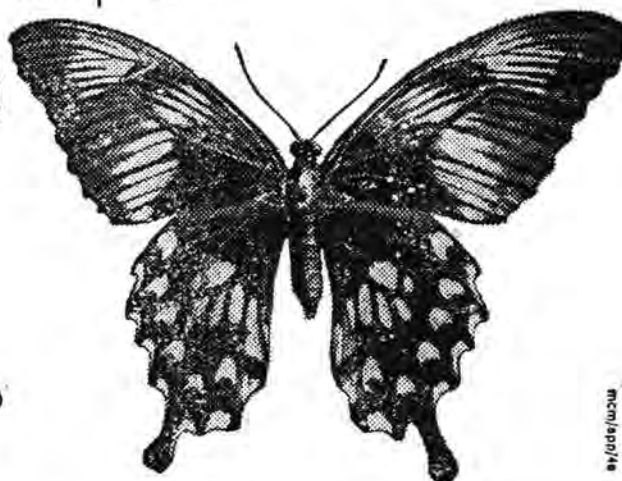
our good old friends the NKVD. Evidently, Professor Medvedev had been intercepted by the secret police and prevented from attending the Conference.

President Nixon might put this in his pipe, if he uses one, along with the arrest of Pyotr Yakir, the leader of the Soviet civil liberties movement and son of a general who had been murdered during the purges by Stalin, as also the enforced exile of Yessenin-Volpin, an eminent Jewish writer, who has been forcibly expelled from the Soviet Union. There can be no doubt that one of the immediate results of the Moscow summit and the respectability President Nixon has given to the men in the Kremlin has been an intensification of the war against the Russian people and their intellectual leaders, even those within the Establishment, like the men just mentioned.

Many years ago, Mr. Bertram D. Wolfe, one of the finest scholars on the Russian Revolution, observed that the Soviet dictatorship was at permanent war with the Russian people and that anyone who fraternised with the dictators and gave them respectability would, in fact, be striking a blow at the struggle of the Russian people to be free. What a beautiful illustration of the truth of this dictum is provided by this latest persecution of the intellectual leaders of the Russian people!

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LEADERSHIP IN ADMINISTRATION

Dharma Vira

WHAT was the type of leadership we had in India in administration before the advent of democracy? It was an imperial government and the leadership in administration was provided by the senior services which consisted of officers carefully chosen, both British and Indian, who were trained with great care for the discharge of the functions that they had in administering an empire. The main tasks were maintenance of law and order, to give to the subject people a reasonable and efficient Government, collect the revenues and, above all, maintain the dignity and prestige of the sovereign power. For this, we were told—I happened to belong to one of the senior services, at the time—that we have to be decisive. The cardinal sin was not to take a decision and the other sin was to go to your superiors repeatedly for advice on what you were expected to do. You were expected to take decisions, learn by your mistakes and if you committed mistakes you could expect to be supported so long as your bonafides were above reproach. Further, because it was a government by a sovereign power, the leaders of the senior administrations were expected to maintain considerable touch with people through constant touring and meeting them in the villages, in the towns, and at all sorts of places. Even the 'Shikar' for which the officers of those times were blamed, were places for meeting the people, talking to them, discussing with them the problems of the rural areas. Finding out if the 'Patwari' was a little more extortionate than normal, or some officer was behaving badly. There was a constant check and a sort of vigilance maintained, not through a Gestapo or anything like that but through contact with the people. It was a very satisfactory government for an imperialist regime.

Then we came into the period of independence and democracy was ushered in. And the whole vista changed because, from a law and order government, we came to a government which was pledged to creating a welfare State, to give a fair deal to our teeming masses and to remove speedily the ill effects to our social and economic structure brought about by the neglect of centuries. The new Constitution provided for a society "sworn to secure to all its citizens justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of individual and unity of the nation". In the administration of the country there became two partners, the services and the politicians, and, of course, the people to oversee them. But people have only a remote control and that too a precarious one, and hence it is really the partnership

of the politicians and the services which became responsible for administration in the new India.

The Wake of Independence: When Independence came, the country was faced with numerous problems. The services through the departure of the British element and quite a lot of the minority element, away from India, were very much depleted and in a state of disorder. Agriculture was poor. The health services were scanty. Literacy was only 10% and above all, we were faced suddenly with over nine million refugees from across our borders. Pakistan forced a war on us in Kashmir and there was the very important task of unification of the country. The British had left to us, in what was left of India, a divided India—the British India, that consisted of some provinces and the Indian India which consisted of numerous States. And all this created a danger to the existence of the new democracy.

We were lucky in those times because we had political leaders like Pandit Nehru, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Abul Kalam Azad, Gobind Vallabh Pant, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel—people who lead by example and who were also prepared to understand and to give a sense of security and understanding to those they were leading. The services followed their leaders regardless of any inconvenience, regardless of the long hours. It was the normal routine for years, but nobody grudged it. Because we had a leadership, political as well as in the service, which led by example that we overcame most of the difficulties at that time.

Roles: The role of the politician in administration is that of laying down the policies and to ensure that those policies are implemented by the services. The services roles are (1) advise their political masters in the process of policy formation, (2) implement the policies that are ultimately decided upon and (3) provide continuity of administration. Our Constitution provided for permanent services for this very reason. Politicians come and go according to the exigencies of political what-you-might-call 'ups and downs'. But the services have been kept permanent in order to give a continuity to administration and to give stability to the administration. And lastly it is to ensure that the people received a good and efficient administration. With time things changed. The understanding and what you might call 'leadership by example' passed away and a new breed of politicians came in, who were power-hungry, and who were anxious not only to lay down policies but also at the same time interfere with even the day-to-day execution of them. The service leadership also weakened greatly because a certain amount of sycophancy and opportunism

entered into the service leadership. Of course, a number of people said 'What could the services do? They were pressurised and steam-rolled into submission.' But I, for one, am quite unable to agree with that. If you have the proper moral fibre, nobody can bend you and if the services allowed themselves to be pressurised into submissiveness and into a state of sycophancy, then they have only themselves to blame and they cannot put the blame on the politicians.

Touch with the people also is disappearing. One would have thought that, with the ushering in of democracy, the administration would be in a greater and more intimate touch with the people. But senior services are much too busy dealing with files or receiving Ministers and VIPs. People are left to the tender mercies of the smaller officers. There is considerable frustration all round.

Also, we have maintained the water-tight compartments that existed in the British times, between the senior services and the smaller services. This has created a process of casteism in services. We have to see that these caste barriers in the services are broken and that there is a greater elasticity for civil servants to go up according to their deserts and on their merits, and not simply because they happen to have been placed in a certain compartment, by whatever process—may be of competition, selection, anything.

Committed Civil Servants? There is a lot of talk about 'commitment' these days. Everybody has to be

'committed'. Committed to what? That nobody tells us. To me, to my way of thinking, an administrator, if he is worth the name, if he is not committed to creating a welfare society, to carrying out the Directive Principles of our Constitution, if he is not committed to the service of our people and if he is not committed to his functions as an administrator, is not worthy of being a 'civil servant'. But if, by 'commitment' it is required that the services should be committed to a particular political ideology, then that might even go against our Constitution. Because, if the services are committed to a particular political ideology today and if, perchance, a new set of people come in with a different ideology, what do they do? I think they will have no option but to walk out and to make room for others. And that will break the continuity of administration the Constitution has provided for. That will mean coming to a system of spoils, political spoils; when the political masters change, the whole lot of the top rung of the services change. This, I hope, is nobody's intention. Nevertheless, it is about time, now that we talk so much about 'commitment' that the position be made clear. Any confusion that is created in the minds of the services by loose talk about 'commitment' is likely to do a great deal of damage to the democratic structure as well as to the administrative structure of the country. And I do hope that this will be borne in mind by the people who talk about 'commitment' all the time without ever telling as to what exactly do they want the administrators of the country to do.

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A LAMENT FOR MADRAS

Geeta Doctor

"I DON'T want to frighten you my dear, but..." and invariably the guest would glance significantly at the brooding outline of the deserted grey building in front of us. For the first few months of my arrival at Madras, the ghost of that old East India Company building, known as the Mess House, continued to haunt me. It was inevitable. Ours was the first house to be built on its vast grounds and clearly it resented our presence which seemed to threaten its own existence.

Built to last for centuries, the old building lay like a galleon in an ocean of Raintrees and it was not difficult to imagine the neighing of horses on certain nights as the old carriages came creaking up under its porch, or the dark bay windows in the fore-castle gleaming once again in the moonlight. That was a mere half a decade ago, it sounds less when one says ten years back, though in actuality it seems a century ago, so much has the scene changed now.

The old East India Company house did not even survive as a figment of romance for very long. At first some attempts were made to salvage it as a Government office but when even the mousy clerks found it too inconvenient to carry on their surreptitious activities there, the building was swiftly demolished.

Going back now, it is difficult to imagine that the grand old building had ever existed. Brand new blocks of flats, stacked like teacups in pink and yellow have materialized in its place alongside fanciful pieces of concrete confectionery pretending to be houses, all jostling each other for space. The trees also are gone and instead there is a network of wires overhead and a procession of cars below.

The charm is lost. Ten years back there was history and a haunted house. There were eccentric neighbours who provided endless material for speculation like the man living, in an enormous old house nearby who was reputed to run a strange ménage à trois with two wives and a cow. The odd part of the story was that while the wives stayed down, the cow could be heard sedately trotting up with him every night, to her upstairs boudoir.

Now every house is the same, with the same black Ambassador in front and yapping pomeranian at the back, the same respectable looking husband and the same smart wife who manages to keep herself and her family up to the all-India standards of good living as decreed by *Femina*.

However, at this point, we must admit that pleasant though it might be to sit and indulge in this kind of

elegiac nostalgia, and lament for the moping owl that returns no more to yonder ivy mantled tower, it is hardly reason enough to condemn a whole city and complain that not only has there been a change but that the change has occurred for the worse.

A Trifle: If we could afford to be snobbish like the fastidious Englishman who complained about the transformation in Madras life as far back as 1865, we might say with him, "Madras can no longer be termed aristocratic, the highest order has come down a trifle, and the lower and the lowest have risen by more than a trifle." We would not however be able to say this, as such a blatant display of bourgeois mentality today would be unpardonable, and yet without mentioning classes or orders we cannot help but feel that something, some standard, some essential quality of Madras life has disappeared.

Perhaps it is just a matter of cleanliness. At one time Madras was considered to be one of the cleanest cities, with spacious gardens and avenues of trees which produced a soothing effect on the eye of the beholder, in spite of Madras' reputation for being unbearably hot. This is no longer the case. Slums appear to proliferate and with them wretched looking specimens of cattle, hogs and other livestock, who graze along the foot-paths, nosing among the filth and rotting garbage which has apparently been left there for their benefit.

Even if we may be able to overlook the slums, it is difficult not to be shocked by the number of lepers who walk the streets. Roaming in small groups with dirty and makeshift wooden carts for those who cannot walk at all, they stand guard at market-places and at the entrances of temples, importuning visitors with such a menacing air, only too conscious of the instinctive dread their deformities produce, that they seem no longer to be begging but threatening.

Going from private (if slums can be described as that) to public places the story is the same. At the Madras Museum for example parts of which have been renovated to bring out not only the value of some of the exquisite items on display, but to emphasize the distinctive style of the building itself it is painful to see how some of the 'visitors' are allowed to behave. Families squat on the ground, talking noisily, and eat their food leaving a trail of unwanted scraps and damp areas where the younger children have been deposited during the meal. The attendants, more wooden than any of the exhibits, stare with bored eyes and come to life only at the hope of getting any money.

This same squalor and complete disregard on the

part of the authorities is evident at almost all the famous places which the newcomer is urged to see, from the ancient rock carvings at Mahabalipuram to the temples and the zoo. But the place where it is most evident is at the Marina Beach, once the pride of every Madras who would invariably claim that it was the second longest in the world.

Tricks: Standing once more at the Marina, watching the crowds, the bhelpuri stall à la Chowpaty, the fishing boats which never used to be there, the newly erected statues which all look the same, my memory began to play tricks again. Once it was that the Marina beach seemed so vast and pure and beautiful that it could enfold a thousand people in its sandy embrace and still make each person feel that he existed alone in the Universe and that the stars shone and the sea whispered only for him. This was perhaps the special quality that Madras possessed—that it existed in a secret world of its own, untouched by any outside influence, serene in itself. In one travelogue trying to describe this quality, Madras has been gushingly referred to as "A survival of ancient India in its purest form" and though with Fort St. George forming the nucleus around which the British built the City, this statement is hardly accurate, though there is yet some truth in it. For at one time Madras did seem to preserve what was best of the past, so that side by side there existed the leisurely cultured grace of a colonial era with the quietly throbbing beat of Hindu tradition flowing unhindered through the centuries.

Looking at the crowds on the beach it was also easy to understand at least partly why it was inevitable that the old Madras should disappear. Suddenly there seemed to be more people than even the Marina could absorb. The rate of people coming into Madras had at last made it impossible for her to continue her dream of the past. She was taken over by earnest sounding men who studied the figures and shook their heads and recorded that "in the years 1951-'61 600,000 migrants drifted into Madras...at this rate the population of Madras which is 25 lakhs will double itself in another 20 years...the employment potential..." But they were less successful in finding solutions, and when they did find them these appeared to be rather bizarre. Why for instance was it quite so necessary to rehabilitate the fishermen right on the Marina which tradition has long reserved for the graceful outlines of educational institutions presided over by the University of Madras? As a result of their decision the beach has become a convenient backyard for the fisherman, which they use not only for keeping their boats and other fishing equipment but also as a place to bathe and perform their natural functions.

Pearls: I noticed my old College surveying the scene through a shroud of trees, looking strangely different having been metamorphosed as "Rani Mary

Kalledge" or whatever the Tamil equivalent for Queen Mary's College would be. I wondered idly whether the marble bust of the Queen dominating the main entrance, with its proud head of Edwardian curls and prominent bosom covered with row upon row of pearls would also have been transformed into a dark-skinned lady with a nose ring perhaps? Or it is more likely that it would have been found easier to remove her disturbing presence altogether from the area.

Change is inevitable but does it have to be so arbitrary? In the case of Madras it would seem that the omnipotent beings controlling the fate of the City are not always right. They have calculated at length, drawn up grandiose schemes, spent impressive sums of money, but the ideal city has not emerged as yet. Instead every year the problems get a bit worse, there is an epidemic one year owing to a leak in the sewage system, another year there is a threat of a water famine, and every year the slums grow worse. Something seems amiss.

In the olden times before entering a town a traveller was expected to propitiate the tutelary deity of the place he was about to visit. The idea may not be altogether absurd. Every city has a spirit of its own made up of the cumulative spirits of all the creatures that dwell in it. City planners should sometimes remember to take into account the needs of this spirit, for a city is after all made up of people.

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CORRUPTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Steven J. Staats

CORRUPTION is present in varying degrees and forms in all but the most primitive societies. Certainly, the Soviet Union has not been immune. The national, regional and local press of the USSR contains myriad accounts of bribery, falsification of reports, party-state complicity in concealing corruption, misuse of public office and state funds, and patronage and nepotism in personnel appointments.

It is surprising that this enduring aspect of Soviet society has been subjected to so little scholarly examination. A primary obstacle to such examination is the fragmentary and indirect nature of the evidence provided by the official Soviet newspapers, magazines, and specialised Journals. Furthermore, sporadic campaigns of corruption-reporting may be consciously-designed efforts by the party leadership to discredit minority groups (e.g. the Jews). Thus, we encounter what might be termed the "corruption" of Soviet corruption reporting.

At the outset, however, we must devise a suitable definition of corruption—which is itself a risky matter, for the definition can easily become so all-encompassing as to lose its capacity to serve as a principle of differentiation. Samuel P. Huntington perhaps comes closest to a workable definition of corruption for our purposes:

"Corruption is behavior of public officials which deviates from accepted norms in order to serve private ends."

The Function of Corruption: Thus, for an act to fit our definition of corruption in the Soviet context, it must, first, violate some stipulation of the legal, political, or administrative codes of the USSR. The second distinguishing characteristic is that the act must be committed in relative secrecy, an indication that the perpetrator(s) recognise that the act is objectionable in the eyes of Soviet society. Third, there must be a transaction of some kind whereby inducement is involved. Beyond a certain point, negative inducement clearly ceases to be corruption and becomes coercion.

More important is the question of why corruption exists in the Soviet Union, of the functions it performs in Soviet society and politics. Students of corruption have suggested that it is intimately related to a society undergoing social change. While, as we shall see below, it is true that certain types of corruption in the Soviet Union owe their existence to such a transitional situation in the more backward areas of the country, this hardly explains the persistence of corruption throughout what is basically a modern bureaucratic state.

What then explains the prevalence of bureaucratic and political corruption in the USSR? By examining the functionality of corruption, one may discover that the phenomenon is, in fact, an important feature of the system rather than an aberration.

A particularly persistent problem is the inability of the bureaucracy to deliver industrial raw material supplies on time and in the required quantities and quality.

The Soviet expression *blat* refers to the use of personal influence to obtain favors to which a certain department, enterprise, or official is not legally or formally entitled. The institution of the *tolkach* (or expeditor) is also resorted to when the manager chooses to operate indirectly in achieving his ends. Yet, as interviews with Soviet émigrés reveal, such widespread informal mechanisms are not sanctioned by the rules or ideology of the system—i.e. they are corrupt.

What one discovers that in certain circumstances, corruption on a limited scale may make an important contribution to organisational efficiency and goal-fulfilment.

Black-Market Bureaucracy: This is not to suggest that corruption of the above order does not create its own problems. In other words, because of their particularistic nature, there is no guarantee that such corrupt relationships will produce a final result conforming to true or stated national interests or priorities. Consequently, the regime officially prescribes such behavior, presumably winking at it when favoured activities benefit and prosecuting it when the overall effects prove harmful.

Because of the rigidities of the Soviet command economy, there is a continual imbalance between supply and demand. To the extent that corruption works to equilibrate these two forces—i.e., to introduce market (albeit, black-market) attributes into the command system—it can be seen to be functional.

There is also what has been termed "black-market bureaucracy", a form of corruption resulting from the fact that the Soviet government is equally unable to satisfy popular demands for services. Bribe-taking continues to concern Soviet leadership, as evidenced by Breznev's comment at the 24th CPSU Congress last year.

Disequilibrium: Whenever the centralized allocative mechanism breaks down in the face of serious disequilibrium between supply and demand—regardless of whether one is talking about baby-carriages or

apartment permits—corruption is likely to result, introducing market features in the command economy.

A report from the December 1969 session of the central Committee of the Azerbaïdzhan Communist Party typifies this situation:

There is speculation in private homes and automobiles in the city; individual homes are being constructed by people who cannot afford them, and large plots of land were illegally taken from the state.

The most common participant in corrupt activities is the administrator or bureaucrat who is in a position to expedite a shipment or shunt goods and services off to the private consumer who is willing to pay the black-market price. As has been demonstrated above, such aspects of the Soviet system as poorly articulated bureaucratic channels and tautness in the supply of goods and services combine to encourage bureaucrats to accept bribes in return for performing illegal acts.

A striking feature of most of the cases of Soviet corruption open to our scrutiny is that they involve members of the Communist Party. The fact that corruption persists within the very institution which is supposed to monitor and control all aspects of Soviet life suggests the existence of a common interest impelling party members as well as other social groups to collude in the perpetration and/or concealment of corrupt acts.

For *blat*, bribery, misappropriation, and other forms of corruption to be successful, there must be the active assistance or acquiescence of others in its execution and in the evasion of detection or punishment.

The Soviets define *nomenklatura* as "a list, whose incumbents are approved by a higher party, governmental, or professional organization." Once the power to appoint key local officials has been diverted to promote private ends, the *nomenklatura* system can actually operate to protect corrupt officials. No criminal proceedings can be initiated against an official without the consent of the party organs to whose *nomenklatura* list he belongs.

Not Transient: What general conclusion can one draw from this examination of corruption in Soviet Society? First, it is clear that corruption, while not necessarily institutionalised, is an important feature of contemporary Soviet life and not just a transient phenomenon. One might say that the only thing worse than a society with a rigid, overcentralized bureaucracy is one with a rigid, overcentralized, and honest bureaucracy.

As we have already noted, lower party and government officials often find considerable common interest in moderating output goals, procuring resources, and collaborating to insulate one another from pressures exerted by their superiors. Interestingly enough, this provides enough evidence of strong interest articulation at the output or implementation

stage of Soviet politics. One might suggest that it is at this point, rather than at the input stage, that particular interests are most effective in amending concrete Soviet policies.

The fact that party and government functionaries are intimately involved in Soviet corruption differentiates this phenomenon from the situation in certain Asian countries where corruption centred among groups that are denied access to formal political channels (e.g. minority groups or foreign companies).

Integral: Some forms of corruption in the Soviet Union are linked to the social transformation taking place in a modernizing USSR. In outlying locales the various forms of corruption help to "humanize" social change and the harshness of elite-conceived plans for social and economic modernization. In Myron McMullan's words, "the degree of low-level corruption can soften relations of officials and people," or as Edward Shils stated, it "humanizes government and makes it less awesome"

From all this, it emerges that corruption is unlikely to be eradicated tomorrow in the Soviet Union, if only because of the important functions it continues to perform. It appears that corruption may be as integral to Soviet life as *Vodka* and *Kasha*.

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Review

India, Pakistan and the Great Powers

William J. Barnds. Pall Mall, London, 1972. 388 pp. £4.25.

IT is difficult to write a book about matters which are going through a critical phase, and to write about India, Pakistan and the Great Powers in the middle of 1971 must have been extremely so. The author of this book has done so, and done it so well that nothing in the book loses any validity because of the war in 1971 or its aftermath. The book reviews events in the sub-continent during the past thirty years or more, and then "appraises the present critical aspects facing the United States and its longer term concerns in the light of basic American aims in the area."

The US had early hopes that India and Pakistan would assume some responsibility for the defence of Asia and co-operate with the West. If these two strong nations could not withstand communism, what hope was there for other, smaller, nations? By contrast, Soviet fears must have been that if India and Pakistan succeeded without Communism, what kind of example would it be to the other emerging nations? The author feels that these countries are prime examples of how skilful leadership can exploit great-power rivalries for their own benefit.

Russian and Chinese involvement on the subcontinent did not really begin till 1951-52. Till then the communists viewed Indo-Pak independence as bogus, and even the Republicanisation of India in 1951 was thought to be a sham. After Stalin's death things changed. Khrushchev and Bulganin's famous visit of 1955 saw the USSR finally siding with India in most matters including Goa, Kashmir and Afghanistan. The Chinese-Indian relations passed through Panch Sheel and Bhai-Bhai stages until, in 1958, the Aksai Chin road was discovered by India and claimed by China. At about this time, Mao's "Hundred Flowers" movement had backfired, and China had adopted a hard line both inside and outside the country.

Border Problem: In October 1958 Ayub Khan had come to power in Pakistan and in late 1959 he suggested a joint defence of the subcontinent. Nehru turned this down, though relations improved to enable the Indus Waters agreement and others. In November 1959 Chou En-lai suggested a settlement with India, basically agreeing to 38,000 sq. miles in NEFA remaining with India, while 10,000 sq. miles in Aksai Chin would be recognised as Chinese. This too was turned down, and as result India now has border disputes with both Pakistan and China. After 1962, events in the region stopped drifting with the tide of world affairs and moved much more purposefully.

The final four chapters then turn to future US policy

in the area. Barnds concludes that the policy of arms aid and alliances has failed, and that more economic aid might have been better. He feels that the moral duty of rich nations to poor is definitely involved, but that the needs of these two countries are too great for correction by foreign aid alone. As regards US policy, the author's advice is that economic aid should be stepped up, though he presumably did not foresee the possibility of India disdaining such aid. In Kashmir the US should take a hands-off attitude, frankly admitting its inability to play a determining role. To Pakistan, the author advises withdrawal from alliances—which are mostly moribund in any case—and stoppage of arms aid. America, he observes, has to invest heavily in this area with no guarantee that it will achieve its long-term goals. Short-term goals are to be discounted.

The book is exceptionally easy-reading despite its size. If the United States is making large blunders in its foreign affairs, it obviously does so in spite of its advisers and not because of them. Mr. Barnds is to be congratulated on a perceptive and important book. Although it is addressed to Americans, it provides excellent food for thought to Indians. It is a pity that the Nixon administration ignores such sound advice; the Indian Government has no such problem, for it is doubtful if anybody in our Foreign Service can produce a work of such competence.

DINESH C. KALE

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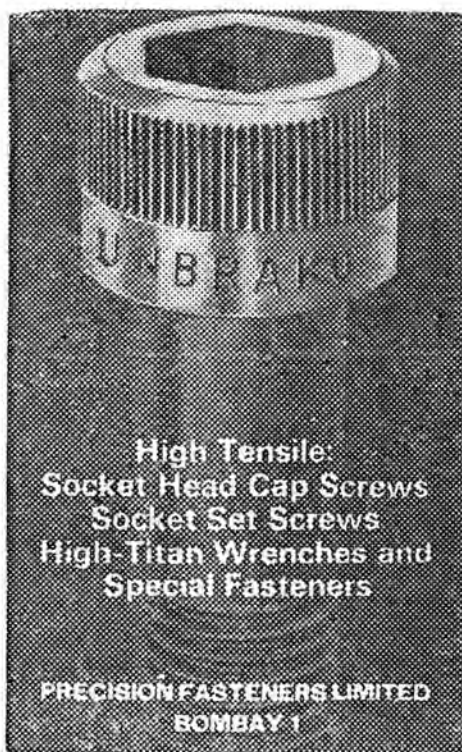
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Movie Reviews

THE LONE RANGER

HE is called *Dirty Harry* because he doesn't play according to the rules. He's a tough, superficially misanthropic San Francisco cop whose short-and-brutish approach to life makes him out to be a maverick at best and an anachronism at worst. Clint Eastwood caricatures ubiquitous Inspector Harry Callahan, whose exploits pit him against soft and hardened criminals, drug addicts, queers, a psychopathic killer named Scorpio and all the assorted flotsam that is attracted to city life.

In one scene Eastwood shoots it out single-handedly with three armed bank robbers in downtown San Francisco while nonchalantly chewing on a hot dog. In another scene he risks his life to save a neurotic perched high atop a multi-storied building. But what finally makes steel-nerved Harry blow his cool, lands him at complete odds with his superiors (in rank, not character), and in disgust throw away his cherished police badge (shades of *High Noon*) in his clash with Scorpio.

Gunman on the Roof: After shooting one swimsuit clad beauty in a terrace swimming pool, Scorpio demands \$100,000 from the city or threatens to strike again. The Mayor wants to pay, Harry is against it and three victims later, Harry catches up with the killer in a deserted stadium. But here's the rub. Scorpio is let off, *freed*, because according to the movie, Harry, *Dirty Harry*, didn't comply with the U.S. Supreme Court rulings as laid down in *Miranda*, *Esposito* and other cases. He searched Scorpio's quarters illegally and failed to inform him of his rights. The District Attorney calls the evidence "inadmissible" and Harry is told *he's* lucky that *he's* not being prosecuted for infringing on the killer's rights.

Incensed, Harry relentlessly stalks Scorpio. After a few shenanigans, Scorpio hijacks a busload of children and holds the city to ransom for \$200,000. The Mayor agrees to pay but when Harry refuses to deliver the cash, he is ordered to stay out of the picture. But true to form, he intercedes and in the process nearly gets everyone killed.

What makes *Dirty Harry* so convincing is that in that over-rated city of San Francisco, a homicidal maniac who called himself "Zodiac" murdered and terrorized the citizenry for weeks. Zodiac wrote to newspapers claiming credit for cold-blooded murders the day before and threatened to strike again. He phoned up radio and television stations during talk shows and pleaded for help, claiming he was unable to stop himself from killing. This horrifying past, the idyllic surroundings of San Francisco, the excellent directorship of Don Siegel (*Madigan*), the remarkable portrayal

of Scorpio by Andy Robinson, give the movie a deceptive air of reality.

Deceptive because no district attorney, no mayor, no Supreme Court ruling would have permitted a psychopath like Scorpio to go free. Despite Harry's irregularities in seizing his prey, there was enough evidence available to have nailed him for something if not four murders! But then who could the audience have turned its anger on if not the "Dirty" Supreme Court? Not Scorpio, he is a misfit who doesn't know better, not the product of a diseased society that nurtures such venom in its bosom. Not the gun lobby, that permits such nuts to purchase lethal weapons. And least of all not Harry, who while keeping the order runs amuck of the law.

J. R. PATEL

THE BLUE ANGEL REVISITED

AFTER bouncing failures in the Hindi film world, V. Shantaram has at last returned to his senses. He has rightly caught the note of the mounting popularity of "Tamasha" songs on the Marathi screen and has made his latest movie *Pinjra* (Cage) an unforgettable classic.

The story focuses on a fierce clash between a village school teacher (Dr. Shriram Lagu) and a determined dancing girl (Sandhya) from a gypsy camp. The humble school teacher, is shown as the replica of Sane Guruji, one of India's ideal school teachers, striving for the prosperity of his village. And when the villagers desert him for the glamorous dancer he attempts to destroy the root of the evil by raiding all the gypsy camps. The challenge is taken up by the girl, and every effort is made to drag him into the tempest of dance and music. The ideals are blown off as a speck of dust and the story takes a dramatic turn. The good-natured, idealist teacher is dead and what remains is a drunkard in a gypsy camp. He looks upon his new environment as a "golden cage". But she consoles him by noting philosophically that the soul is also imprisoned in the cage of one's body. He has now become the guilty man, the accused person who confesses to "murdering" the high "ideal" of the village.

VRUNDA MOGHE

The Pope on Vietnam

It would be pleasant if North Vietnam were to accept what the Pope recommended, free and secret elections throughout Vietnam. That is what President Thieu has proposed in the south. The truth is that the northern government has never shown the slightest willingness to risk a normal election, let alone tolerate a real opposition with its own press and access to the electorate.

The Economist, July 15.

WITH MANY VOICES

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

Really nice little men never become prime ministers,
or do not remain nice for long if they do.

—*Economist*, May 20.

There was a time when the word "Plan" was evoca-
tive; even provocative. That was long, long ago. Today,
it produces no reaction. All it induces is a yawn.

—G. N. Acharya in *Blitz*, June 10.

There is too much talk in this country, north, south,
east and west, of India being run by a Kashmiri cabal
at the Centre.

—Frank Moraes in *Indian Express*, July 10.

You had better learn to like me, whether you like
it or not.

—Z. A. Bhutto quoted in *Times of India*, July 3.

As a European, I find the Chinese totally incompre-
hensible.

—Leonid Breznev, in *U.S. News & World Report*,
July 3.

Tyranny does not cease to be tyranny simply because
it is perpetrated by the elected representatives of the
people.

—Mr. C. R. Irani at Annual General
Meeting of the Indian & Eastern
Newspaper Society.

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It seems that nobody hates a young Marxist so much
as an old Marxist and *vice versa*.

—*Economist*, June 10.

This is the lesson of Chinese history. The greatest
tyrants have the shortest dynasties.

—Lin Yu-tang in *National Review*,
April 14.

For years now it has been chic to refer to the "so-
called free world."

—William F. Buckley in *National Review*,
April 14.

I am a product of the sub-continent which is the
greatest contradiction.

—Z. A. Bhutto quoted in *Times of India*, July 3.

When a man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight
it concentrates his mind wonderfully.

—Dr. Samuel Johnson quoted in the
Economist, June 29.

By and large, those in the world who placed freedom
above equality have done better by equality than those
who placed equality above freedom have done by
freedom.

—Mr. Shimon Peres, Minister in Israel, in
National Review, March 31.

Japan-U.S. relations are like air and water. If we
don't have air and water we would die.

—Prime Minister K. Tanaka in *Times of India*, July 6.

I would like to draw your attention to an important
omission in the article by our Russi-bhai Karanjia—
there were no pictures or mention of the world-famous
prison camps in the Soviet Union.

—Jai Godrej in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*,
July 16.

Everybody who buys a typewriter in Czechoslovakia
is obliged to give the shop his name and address.

—*The Guardian*, Jan., Feb., Mar. 1972.