

OH, THE FRIVOLITY OF IT!

M. R. Masani

THE Swaran Singh Committee has exceeded its normal frivolity in dealing with serious issues by the way in which it is playing ducks and drakes with the rights of the Citizen in its latest proposals on the Duties of the Citizen. Having published its Report on July 3, it has announced its final meeting on July 15 and asked for public comment within the twelve intervening days. Now isn't that really generous?

And these are the issues on which the people of India are asked to reach conclusions within twelve days: (1) Whether the Duties of the Citizen should be added to the Country's Constitution and the violation of these Duties made punishable by law? (2) Whether these Duties should override the Citizen's Fundamental Rights when the two happen to conflict? and (3) Whether the Courts should be permitted to examine the validity of laws passed by Parliament which thus punish the Citizen? The Committee's answer to the first two questions is in the affirmative and to the third — you have guessed it — in the negative.

A monthly journal like ours obviously cannot comply with the fantastic deadline set by the Committee; nonetheless, we endeavour to respond to that invitation.

First, there is nothing particularly objectionable in most of the eight duties and, if they were mere exhortations for voluntary action, we might be inclined to go along with several of them, while indulging in the luxury of wondering whether history shows that good men and good citizens are produced by passing laws.

Secondly, this is not the time to tinker with the Constitution.

Thirdly, Gandhiji repeatedly warned that the power of the State and the violence emanating from it are more dangerous than any other because they are uncontrollable. We Liberals agree that, in the second half of the 20th Century, the State has become the biggest single threat to human freedom and that its power needs to be cut down to size. In free societies, the criminal law lays down the "Don'ts" for the Citizen,

while the Constitution prescribes the "Dont's" for the Government.

In this context, when the 25th Amendment has already undermined the Constitution of the Republic (in the drafting of which your Editor was privileged to play a humble part) by subordinating the Fundamental Rights of the Citizen to the Directive Principles which were never intended to be enforceable, to superimpose these Duties on the already truncated Fundamental Rights of the Citizen is to drive another nail into the coffin of a free and pluralist society. To place these activities beyond the scrutiny of the Courts of Law is to make nonsense of the very concept of the Rule of Law.

Finally, since every tragedy has a comic side to it, let us recall the first of the eight Duties: "To respect and abide by the Constitution and the Law". But, Sardar Swaran Singh and comrades, how about practising what you preach? Coming as this sage counsel does from those who themselves can hardly claim credit for respecting the spirit of the Constitution, can we be blamed for being amused and exclaiming: "Look who's talking!"

Mr. Gokhale, the Law Minister, has now capped all this by announcing that he proposes to make the Swaran Singh Committee recommendations, including its latest *obiter dictum*, part of the Constitution by piloting yet another omnibus Amendment through the Monsoon Session of the rump Parliament which only represented twenty-four per cent of the electorate even when it was elected in 1971. Easy, but not good enough. It is so much easier to demolish than to build — the way we patiently did in the Constituent Assembly under the leadership of Nehru, Patel and Ambedkar from 1947 to 1949. The question, however, is how long this hastily erected structure will last. "Easy come, easy go" it is said of money. Perhaps that also applies to Constitutions?

July 10, 1976

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



St. George and the Dragon

FEW things have thrilled the world in recent days as much as the triumphant rescue, lasting "36 minutes of glory", of the unfortunate hostages at the point of the gun by a gang of thugs who had hi-jacked an Air France plane. The rare combination of daring conception, efficient execution and courageous resourcefulness which marked the release within a few minutes of the unfortunate hostages and the French crew have extorted admiration even from those who are normally to be found in the camp of Israel's enemies.

What is a fundamental issue is that for the second time Israel, alone in a pusillanimous world, has shown how to deal with terrorism, and that is not by the kind of appeasement in which the world at large indulges but by action that not only releases the victims but also acts as a deterrent to further terrorism.

It is good that President Ford of USA, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France and Prime Minister Callaghan have each his own way welcomed the Israeli action but, as the *Times of India* in a rarely open-minded editorial put it, "the crucial question that the world at last must face relates the succour and refuge that some countries tend to give to hijackers and other terrorists".

As for President Amin, who is grinding his teeth in impotent rage, there is substantial evidence that President Amin was in collusion with the hi-jackers of the Air France plane.

The Israelis have added a shining example to the list of heroic rescues in human history through the ages since the days of St. George and the Dragon.

'Judges' Siberia'

NO, we do not refer to India. This phrase comes from France and thereby hangs a tale.

It appears that recently Mr. Etienne Ceccaldi, Deputy Public Prosecutor (not a judge) in Marseilles, who was dealing with a case of oil companies accused of rigging prices, was transferred to another part of France. At this, a public outcry resulted which made it necessary for the Minister of Justice to give an assurance in the Senate not only that the case against the oil companies would not be hushed up but that he would submit the case of Mr. Ceccaldi, who had refused the transfer, to a special commission and would review the whole matter after the Commission had reached a decision.

At a time when High Court Judges are punished by being transferred by the dozen from one part of this sub-continent to another with impunity, this story of how a democratic country reacts to the slightest suspicion of interference with the course of justice and those who administer it, including even a Public Prosecutor, comes as a breath of fresh air.

The town of Hazebrouck, to which the prosecutor was sought to be transferred, has been widely described in the French press and radio as a "Judges' Siberia". Stung by this slander, the Mayor of the place has come to the rescue of its reputation by claiming that it is equipped with schools, creches, tennis courts, swimming pools and one of the best football teams in France and happens to be located only two hours by rail from Paris. Chief Ministers of Assam, Orissa and our own Siberias may please note and copy.

'Bread and Freedom'

IN December 1970, Mr. Edward Gierke came to power as President of Communist Poland as a result of food price riots which led to the downfall of his predecessor, Gomulka, who had himself become party chief after the Poznan "bread riots" of 1956 which began with the cry "Bread and Freedom".

All this perhaps explains the speed with which Mr. Gierke has backed down from proposed increases varying from 30 to 70 per cent on many staple items of food. Within a day of strikes and rioting involving the ripping up of railway lines and the death of two persons and about 75 injured, the Polish Government blindly announced that it had become necessary to "reanalyse the problem"! It was also mentioned that this process of re-examination would take several months! This face saving formula will, of course, deceive nobody.

The lesson of all this is that price control and the arbitrary fixing of prices by government from time to time are no substitute for the laws of the market even under a totalitarian dictatorship, as shown by way in which the Polish Communist government had to eat crow. As economists have patiently explained, jettisoning the laws of supply and demand and fixing prices by government dictat is to treat the symptom while ignoring the disease of shortages which needs to be dealt with. It is this that leads to the black market, known as the "free market" in Soviet Russia.

The irrationality of this entire procedure was brought out in all its absurdity by an incident which is reported

by Peter Drucker in his book *The End of Economic Man*. A Nazi soapbox orator during Hitler's days ended up his speech with the peroration: "We don't want higher bread prices, we don't want lower bread prices, we want National Socialist bread prices", at which idiotic remark the entire crowd burst into loud applause.

A group of Polish intellectuals have written to the Communist leadership warning them that this kind of trouble will recur unless "democratic liberties" are widened. So, twenty years after the Poznan riots, the cry is once again: "Bread and Freedom".

Anti-Climax in Italy

AFTER weeks and weeks of triumphant intimations of victory by the Communists and much wringing of hands by Mr. Henry Kissinger and opponents of Communism, the results of the Italian general elections have resulted in a continuance of the *status quo* and proved wrong those who had assumed that the Communists would take over Italy.

It is now clear that the Christian Democratic regime, which has ruled Italy since World War II, has by its inefficient and corrupt administration alienated the people, but that on the other hand the Italian people are not prepared to accept Mr. Berlinger's siren song and hand over to him the reins of office. This astute scepticism on the part of the Italian electorate could perhaps be summarised in one sentence. If the Italian Communists want to preserve a pluralist democratic society with full political freedom for opposition parties, hold regular free elections and even accept defeat in them, maintain a mixed economy and protect the rights of free enterprise, and give loyal support to NATO, why don't they change their name, drop the label of communist and declare themselves to be a democratic socialist party? That question is answered with a defening silence.

A way out could have been provided if the middle-of-the-road democratic parties like the Liberal Party, the Republican Party and the Social Democratic Party, which have a clean record, could have secured the votes of the larger number of people who are fed up and disillusioned with the Christian Democrats. Un-

IN THIS ISSUE

It is a very mixed bag that we offer the reader this month. It ranges from comment on the Swaran Singh Report and the U.S. Bicentennial to the Resolutions of the Annual General Meeting of the Citizens for Democracy. The world of Books is covered by a review contributed by Mr. A. G. Noorani while that of the Theatre is touched on by Geeta Doctor.

SUBSCRIBE NOW

As a member of the intelligentsia interested in current developments and the expression of honest views, you would naturally be interested in reading *Freedom First*.

The record of the last year during which *Freedom First* has made news, proved true to its name and performed a service to freedom of expression makes it possible for you to benefit from the interesting information and candid comments on developments, both in India and the rest of the World, that *Freedom First* provides.

ALL WE ASK

If you are *not* a subscriber, why not cut out the subscription form on the last page and send it to us with your subscription by postal order, money order or cheque made out in favour of *Freedom First*?

If you are a subscriber, why not oblige your friends by bringing *Freedom First* to their notice and enrolling them as subscribers?

Extra copies of *Freedom First* available from:

DEMOCRATIC RESEARCH SERVICE

127 Mahatma Gandhi Road
Bombay 400 023
(Phone: 273914)

fortunately, the election results have not shown any such trend. On the contrary, these parties, which deserve better, have all lost heavily both in seats and votes.

A Happy Combination

SO Portugal has a new President and a new Prime Minister. General Eanes, the Chief of Staff, who was elected President on June 28 by an overwhelming majority, capturing over 60 per cent of the electoral votes, has called on Mr. Mario Soares, the Socialist leader, to form a new government. With this development, friends of freedom in Portugal may breathe a sigh of relief and hope that Portugal is now safely able to occupy its place within the free world.

The combination of General Eanes and Mr. Soares is a felicitous one. Mr. Soares is an amiable politician who appears to have at last made his choice between his professed belief in Marxism and his undoubted attachment to democracy. About General Eanes it has been said that his "dour personality shields his scrupulous honesty and a keen liberal mind". The way he put down the conspiracy for a leftist take over some months back shows that he has the necessary muscle to supplement Mr. Soares' idealism.

TASS vs. THE TIMES

Writing on the eve of the first anniversary of the Proclamation of Emergency in India, a Soviet commentator was quoted by Tass (as reported in a Samachar message from Moscow published in the Times of India on 27th June) as complaining that the Western press had stepped up its attacks against the policies pursued by the Indian Government.

As it happens, on June 21 the London Times had carried an editorial entitled Britain and the Future of India which, in a way, anticipated such criticism and answered it. Both the statements, which provide two sides of an interesting dialogue, are published below:

TASS

A SOVIET commentator has said that western criticism of the state emergency in India stemmed from a deeprooted dislike of everything that helped former colonial peoples along the road of independent socio-economic development.

Writing on the eve of the first anniversary of the emergency, Sergei Bulantsev of Tass noted that the western press had stepped up its attacks against the policy of "cardinal socio-economic transformations" pursued by the Indira Gandhi government.

"Just more than a year ago when the rightwing parties and the left extremist groupings were conducting a campaign of violence and terror in India and one of its victims was the minister of railways Mr. L. N. Mishra, the western press shed no tears.

"The intimidation of workers and trade union activities of industrial enterprises by subversive elements and slander against Indian leaders were viewed by the western press as something in the natural order of things.

"But when the Indian government was compelled to take resolute measures against forces of internal and foreign reaction the western mass media fiercely attacked the Indian government and started shouting about the 'suppression' of democracy." (*Samachar*)

THE TIMES

A YEAR ago this week Mrs Gandhi shocked many people by putting India under a state of emergency, arresting and imprisoning opposition leaders, censoring the press and threatening to curb other political liberties. At all times since then she has vehemently denied that India's democracy was being swept away or that she cared nothing for political freedom. The measures were temporary, to stem a growing tide of anarchy and to allow India time to reconsider her political system to make it more effective.

Judgment of India's future political course may have to be revised: it is too early to forecast. What is beyond doubt now is that India's relations with Britain have been much soured by criticism of what was done and perhaps worsened by an exaggerated view of the part relations with India should occupy in British consideration. At all events it is not only the British Press in

which a churlish anti-Indian bias is found; many other quarters in Britain to which India looked for friendship and encouragement have been found wanting.

Among all ex-colonial countries a readiness to interpret foreign disapproval of the Government as disapproval of the nation in general is still strong, above all in a country like India where the Congress Party was so strongly entrenched and mature. Seen from the British side there are however obvious reasons why Mrs Gandhi's action evoked more disappointment than apparent moves towards authoritarian government have excited in other countries with a similar British political endowment. For one thing the adoption by the best-educated Indians of a Westminster-style democracy goes far back. Congress was experienced in its ways when it took power in India in 1947. Not only was India by far the largest scene of Britain's efforts in transmitting democratic freedoms through an assembly, an electoral system and an independent judiciary; India seemed eager and skilled at using it.

This assumption of India's will and capacity, with its hope for India's future in 1947, was quickly overlaid by another. As the cold war loomed over Asia with China's communist government taking power in 1949 India was seen as Asia's largest democracy which could stand as the champion of political freedom. For a time in Nehru's day Indian democracy was accorded a world importance whereas military takeovers in Pakistan, Burma and elsewhere were passed over with disappointment but little hostile comment.

Neither of these assumptions was well founded. Of the two the cold war opposition of a communist China and a democratic India was the most false in that it took Asia as a geographical unit to have also a political substance which it never has had. The idea that India could be a rallying ground for Asia's democracies is now admitted to have no foundation: the truth is almost the reverse in that India's political influence is small. As for India's supposed experience in operating a democratic system in the British manner, it is now a commonplace that this was true only of an urban English-using ruling class, by its nature divorced from India's peasant masses. That Congress as an old-established organization had the means to get the votes gave to India's democratic bloodstream misleading

(Continued on page 5)

'LAST BEST HOPE OF ALL MANKIND'

Bernard Levin

1776 is celebrated, above all for what took place in Philadelphia 200 years ago....

What, then of the 200-year voyage that has followed? What of the hopes and dreams of the signatories? What of the 50-State nation that has grown from those 13? What of the next two centuries? What of the disappointments and defeats, the doubts and the dangers, that have also marked the triumphant march? What sort of balance does the United States of America strike this day in the books of history?

For my part, I have no doubt at all. It is the idle fashion of Britain's idle day to decry America, if not, indeed, to paint her as the world's enemy, and many's the flabbily sneer and bloodless whine that we in this country have had to put up with on the subject. But I shall mark Sunday's anniversary with gladness and gratitude, with admiration and love, believing that the United States is today what she was then: the 'last, best hope of all mankind'.

Sometimes, from this side of the Atlantic, it seems that America has lost faith in herself. I think that is probably only because we tend to hear mainly the voices of those Americans who actually have; but be that as it may, the conclusion is wrong—about as wrong, indeed, as it is possible for a conclusion to be. If you doubt *that*, stop a moment and compare the condition and prospects of the United States with those of almost any other country that makes a real contribution to the world's affairs. Would you bet much on the prospect of France surviving as a free country, as the Stalinist thug Marchais strides on towards his Soviet goal? Are you quite sure that Signor Berlinguer, everybody's favourite communist, is all he would like you

to think him? Are you entirely happy about the economic survival of Britain? Is it quite impossible that Iberia will yet destroy herself in civil war? (Is it *quite* impossible that Northern Ireland will?)

Does black Africa look like making much of a reality, for its peoples, of the joys of "liberation" and "independence"? Does white Africa show any serious signs of preferring decency to indecency, or even of pretending to for safety's sake? Does India ("whose only peer was the Holy Roman Empire") inspire much confidence today, with her seedy dictator? How would *you* like to be a Chinese who wanted to think for himself, and express the fruits of his thinking? How would you like to be any sort of Cambodian? If you went to bed anywhere between the Fezzan and the Euphrates, would you really not dwell even for a moment on the possibility that you might not wake up? Will the Soviet Union, as Andrei Amalrik pointedly asked the filthy pigmies who rule her, survive until 1984?

And yet nobody ever talks seriously, indeed nobody ever talks at all, about the possibility of the United States collapsing, dying, becoming exhausted. With that astounding self-healing mechanism she possesses, which has carried her from the birth-trauma two centuries ago, through the great rending she experienced almost exactly half-way between that day and this, through her entry upon the world's stage, through her assumption of leadership and the building of the alliance of the free, to her condition as she enters at midnight tomorrow upon her two hundredth birthday, she remains *Semper eadem*, and still holds out for all her people unlimited promise, and for the rest of the world unlimited hope.

Nor has it been only hope that she has held out for the rest of the world. The sums, in cash and kind, that she has poured out since the end of the Second World War in aid to nations less wealthy than she is by far the greatest act of material generosity in the history of the world, though she has had little enough thanks for it, and, indeed, on the part of many of the recipients she has had nothing but abuse and a persistent and active hostility to her interests. In being instrumental in setting up Nato, and in being willing to bear a vastly disproportionate share of the cost, she has offered the world something more precious than cash, irrigation schemes or machine-tools for nascent industry; that is, the protection of freedom and the maintenance of a precarious balance with those who would destroy it; for this, she has received even more meagre thanks, and even more overt and persistent hostility, not least from any of those who only live in freedom because

(Continued from page 4)

signs of life while concealing how wide was the gulf between government and people.

Such discarded British misapprehensions are not alone the explanation of the present lack of sympathy of which India complains. In part the change marks the inevitable passing of an era as the British generations whose lives were closely involved with India disappear from the scene. Obviously India's wish to find political ways that accord better with indigenenous habits and a society with still limited horizons — if that is Mrs Gandhi's objective—must be respected. No less plainly a year is a short time in the evolution of so complex a polity. One way to revive British interest and to dispel misapprehension about India in this new phase would be to open the country to unimpeded inspection.

(Continued on page 6)

CITIZENS FOR DEMOCRACY

The Annual General Meeting of the Citizens for Democracy, a non-political, non-party organisation, was held in Bombay on June 19 and 20. Among the resolutions adopted on the occasion are two on matters of vital national importance which are published below for the enlightenment of our readers.

On Amending the Constitution

THIS Conference is totally opposed to the attempts which are being made to amend the country's Constitution at a time when freedom of expression is severely curtailed, public meetings are not allowed to be held, thousands of our countrymen remain in jail without trial, a free and open discussion of the issues involved is not possible, and the Lok Sabha also has outlived its normal tenure of five years and exhausted its mandate. The Constitution should not be amended except with the sanction of the people obtained in a free and fair election.

This Conference is further of the view that the Swaran Singh Committee set up by the ruling party has overlooked the main defects which the working of the Constitution has revealed so far. Experience has shown that the Constitution can be virtually overthrown

(Continued from page 5)

the United States is willing to bear the burden of seeing that they do. But apart from these things, she also offered the world an example of a country that has insisted on making her own future, on having no expectations other than those she makes for herself, on refusing to blame others for her ills. Can we in Britain say as much? How many countries can?

She is troubled, certainly; deeply troubled. She has terribly far to go still on the road to colour-blindness, and she has still to learn how to keep the life-enhancing sting of capitalism while drawing off the poison of its selfishness. The Vietnam War, and the response to it of peoples and governments in the rest of the free world who live only because of the same arms that fought there, wounded her sorely; yet for all the noise it never came near destroying her, and she surmounted her next great test, the overthrow of an unworthy President, with consummate ease.

The granaries of her future are full, and the bread she will bake from them will feed the spiritual hunger of countless millions yet unborn. "With malice towards none, with charity for all", she goes her way into her third century, and the blessings of any man or woman of sense should accompany her. The fabric of her Constitution is intact, and though her body politic has been scarred by the years, the mighty heart within it is still sound. And the truths that, two hundred years ago, she held to be self-evident, still are.

—Courtesy: *The Times*

by a Central Government having a bare majority in Parliament if, by taking advantage of the Emergency Provisions in the Constitution, it proclaims an Emergency without adequate justification and proceeds to suspend all fundamental rights and to take over the government of all the States under central rule. The Emergency provisions in the Constitution require therefore to be amended so as to ensure:

- (a) that a proclamation of Emergency under Article 352 of the Constitution can be made only when the country is involved in actual war on account of either external aggression or internal insurrection;
- (b) that the proclamation of Emergency under Article 352 as well as the proclamation under Article 356 which enable Central rule to be imposed in any State are both made justiciable;
- (c) that the suspension of fundamental rights is strictly confined to the purposes of an Emergency; and
- (d) that the suspension of the right to enforce any fundamental right does not have the effect of suspending the rule of law.

Experience has also shown that the Constitution is required to be amended for the following additional purposes:

- (a) to ensure the independence of the judiciary by providing, among other things, that appointment of the Chief Justice and Judges of the Supreme Court and of the Chief Justices and Judges of the High Courts does not depend on executive patronage;
- (b) to ensure the impartiality of the Election Commission, by providing in particular that members of the Election Commission are appointed by a Committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the leader of the Opposition and the Chief Justice of India, and that the members will not be eligible for any Government post after the expiry of their tenure office.
- (c) to provide a similar mode for appointment of Governors of all the States;
- (d) to restrict preventive detention to periods in which the country is involved in actual war and for purposes connected with the war efforts;
- (e) to confine Article 31-B and the Ninth Schedule to legislation having economic objectives, so that Acts like the MISA, Representation of People Act and the Prevention of Publication of Objection-

(Continued on page 7)

WORLD NEWS

STURDY SWISS VOTERS

LIKE a breath of mountain air is the result of the Swiss referendum vetoing a Government decision to make an interest-free loan of £45 million to the International Development Association, an offshoot of the World Bank. Switzerland has an admirable provision in its constitution whereby all the country's foreign obligations which extend over periods of 15 years or longer must be confirmed by a vote of the people when requested in a petition signed by a minimum of 30,000 citizens. In this case, that number was comfortably exceeded and the ensuing referendum gave a 56.5 per cent majority against the loan, on a turnout of 34 per cent of the 3,400,000 eligible voters. Switzerland is the richest *per capita* nation in the world. Her "aid" contributions are the lowest of any developed country. The Government, and all the main parties, wanted the IDA loan to go through to help to correct this — in their view — damaging image. But the sturdy voters have turned it down.

More nonsense is talked about any other subject in international affairs. It has been aptly defined as taking away from poor people in rich countries in order to help rich people in poor countries. The Swiss voters took note of several things — that fast-rising public expenditure had pushed their federal budget into the

red; that multi-national aid administered by international agencies is often directed into the wrong channels; above all that the recipient "poor" countries were constantly combining at the United Nations and elsewhere to do as much harm as possible to their benefactors. A salutary lesson. Indeed, how many here would support Mrs Judith Hart's desire to give Mozambique £15 million?

—*Daily Telegraph*, June 15.

SOVIET SAUSAGE TASTELESS

RUSSIAN meat supplies have been so badly depleted by last year's disastrous grain harvest that processing plants are now under instructions substantially to reduce the amount of beef and pork used in the making of sausage.

The orders, endorsed by two deputy Ministers, were issued without public announcement last December when the full extent of the impending food problem was becoming clear. The four-page document was of necessity widely circulated among food and health authorities and a copy has now been made available by unofficial sources.

Sausages of various types, smoked or boiled, are a staple of the Russian diet and make up about 40 per cent of total meat output in the Soviet Union, accord-

CITIZENS FOR DEMOCRACY—Continued from page 6

able Matter Act are not put in the Ninth Schedule; and

- (f) to provide that any Constitutional amendment made by Parliament which alter the basic structure of the Constitution will not be effective unless it is approved in a general referendum.

On Holding Early Elections

This annual membership meeting of the Citizens for Democracy is strongly of the view that general elections to the Lokasabha are overdue and that they should be held as early as possible and in any event not later than March, 1977.

In order that elections may be free and fair it is essential that a climate congenial to a free and fearless discussion of public issues should be created by taking the following measures well ahead of the date of elections:

- (1) Release of all political prisoners
- (2) Restoration of the freedom of the press
- (3) Removal of ban on public meetings.

Unless these preconditions are fulfilled any election under the present conditions would be a fraud.

This meeting also wishes to draw the attention of

the Government of India to the proposals for electoral reform contained in the report of the Committee appointed by the C.F.D. and urges that these proposals be incorporated in the election law. In particular this meeting urges that the amendments made in the election law in 1974 and 1975 should be scrapped. The amendment of 1974 practically removes the ceiling on permissible expenditure at the election of a candidate by providing that the expenditure incurred by the party of the candidate or by his friends and relations even when authorised by him would not be treated as a part of his election expenditure. This makes a mockery of the ceiling on expenditure and permits money-power to dominate the elections.

The 1975 amendment is still more dangerous. It makes it legal for the government and its officers to render assistance at an election to the candidates of the ruling party holding official positions and practically allows the use of public funds in favour of ruling party candidates. This is contrary to the universally accepted principles of free democratic elections.

This meeting calls upon its members to make vigorous efforts to cultivate public opinion in favour of the demand contained in this resolution.

ing to recent figures. The purpose of cutting beef and pork content, Western experts say, is to maintain as nearly as possible the quantity of sausage while lowering quality.

There is no indication, however, that prices for any of the sausages have been reduced. . . .

Even the most expensive sausages, which cost as much as the equivalent of \$2.50 (about £1.50) a pound, contain less actual meat and more scrap, by-product, and substitutes than previously. The same is also true for packages of soup concentrate and stews.

The effect of the lower sausage quality on taste is understandably a matter of opinion. But many Russians complain that their favourite types somehow do not seem as tasty as they were and some, as one woman put it, "aren't even worth eating."

Russia's meat problems reverse a trend of recent years in which consumers were encouraged to improve their diets by eating more meat and less starchy food such as bread and potatoes. Americans ate nearly three times as much meat and fish as their Russian counterparts.

—*Washington Post*

£ 18,000 SOVIET WEDDING

PRAVDA recently recalled with nostalgia the old-time Russian weddings, celebrated by a few relatives and friends around the family dinner table.

Nowadays, it said, such modest affairs have been superseded by lavish banquets attended by hundreds, even thousands, of guests. The newspaper added that after one such feast, the newly marrieds estimated that without help from their families it would take them until their silver wedding to pay the bills.

The number and importance of the guests the quantity and quality of the food and liquor, and the kind of entertainment provided, are all status symbols. And one-upmanship is the rule. If, for example, a subordinate entertained 100 guests at his son's wedding, his boss will feel obliged to invite at least twice as many to his daughter's wedding. And if the former hired five Volga saloons to drive his guests to the banquet, the latter is likely to charter a fleet of seven or eight Chaika limousines.

—*The Times*, June 25.

DOMINO?

from Peter Hazelhurst

IF any single event has helped strengthen the hand of President Park Chung Hee's dictatorial regime and contributed towards the setback of democratic forces in South Korea then it was the fall of Saigon." These were the words of a prominent South Korean professor, who is a dedicated democrat.

He was attempting to explain why Seoul's normally volatile students have remained docile this year and

have failed to organize expected protest demonstrations against a new wave of arrests and trials of democrats, Christians and academics.

The professor, who cannot be identified because he can be jailed under the emergency decree for talking to a foreign journalist, is closely associated with the student movement. . . .

He pointed out that the fall of Saigon gave South Korea a traumatic shock last year. "It played right into the hands of the regime. Ever since then the regime has used it as a scare to bolster its claim that any sign of disunity in the South might encourage the North to believe that South Korea is weak.

"As a result, many people believe ordinary democratic rights have to be sacrificed for the sake of unity and national security and in the process the fight for democracy in South Korea has suffered a terrific blow."

—*The Times*, June 15.

SMUGGLED FILM REVEALS SOVIET PROTESTS

Andrew Wilson

SOME of the most dramatic film ever to be smuggled out of Russia showing the nature and extent of the minorities' resistance movement will be shown on television by Granada's 'World In Action' tomorrow evening.

More than 30 rolls of the film were seized by the KGB when two members of the team came out from the Soviet Union in April. But it is clear from a preview that much the more important part of the material, filmed on amateur 8 mm cine sound cameras, came out unscathed.

In all some 30 people were involved in making the film, which was brought out in relays. The actual shooting was done in a tightly arranged and long-prepared schedule in three days.

The film opens with two young Jews, Anatole Scharansky and Boris Levitas (the latter on the run from the Soviet Army) walking towards the concealed camera in Granada's rented car in a Moscow suburb.

Throughout the showing, Scharansky talks into a handheld microphone, in English, as the car tours places where there have been tense, but often unreported, demonstrations by ethnic and religious minorities—Jewish, German, Ukrainian and Tartar.

From time to time, a hand reaches forward to lower the microphone out of sight of traffic police. (The car was once stopped for a traffic offence, but the camera and microphone went unnoticed.)

Slepak, the electronics engineer says, 'If it were not for pressure from the West, all activists in Moscow would be in prison.'

The dissidents say again and again that the Soviet Government now finds itself in a vice—because of its need for American grain (making it sensitive to Ame-

rican Jewish opinion) and for technological aid particularly in machine tools, from West Germany.

The most sensational impact of the film in Europe (where it has been bought by TV networks) is likely to be its coverage of the barely reported plight of the Volga German minority in the Soviet Union, uprooted by Stalin and transported to Kazaktstan during the war.

A Volga German spokesman describes Soviet attempts to deprive the community of its language and cultural identity.

The film describes a number of daring protests by the Germans, including one outside the West German Embassy in Moscow. It includes still camera shots, taken by a tourist inside the Embassy, of banners in German saying: 'Send us home.'

Driving round Moscow, the Granada cameramen evaded security police surveillance to steal shots of KGB headquarters, the Lubyanka prison and the Serbsky Institute for Psychiatric Medicine—where dissidents are given 'medical' treatment for abnormality.

Its pictures of the Serbsky could help draw attention to the Institute's latest victim, the imprisoned Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, who was transferred there in May after a five-month hunger strike during which, according to the prison authorities, he 'acted strangely' by talking to God, i.e., praying.

(A week ago 11 British bishops pleaded for his release; and the Soviet Embassy is being picketed by Ukrainians in Britain.)

A member of the Granada team said yesterday: 'The ultimate irony is that according to the Helsinki agreement, we should have been able to make this film openly. We have written to the Soviet Embassy asking

under what section of Soviet Law our reels at Moscow airport were impounded.'

—*The Observer*, June 13.

UNITA FIGHTS ON IN ANGOLA

THE first comprehensive details of the guerrilla war being fought inside Angola by Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita forces indicate that operations are being carried out against the forces of the ruling MPLA, which include large numbers of Cubans, over thousands of square miles in central and southern Angola.

A black American freelance journalist, Mr Christopher Edwards, whose reports have been made available by a Unita spokesman, says he has been travelling with Dr Savimbi inside Angola since last February. He says Unita effectively controls an area more than three times the size of Switzerland, and has wrecked most of the Benguela railway line.

Force of the Angolan Government, he says, can move along the main roads only in armed convoys and are unable to penetrate the countryside.

According to Mr Edwards, Unita has about 4,000 men undergoing military training and another 8,000 are "Militarily active". They are said to be operating in guerrilla bands ranging from 25 to 300 in number.

No outside aid is reaching the Unita forces, the reports say, but they have ample supplies of arms and ammunition, and are continually capturing more from the Government forces.

On May 10, a manifesto was agreed after a meeting on the banks of the Cuanza river, east of Silva Porto, which is said to have been attended by some 4,000

The Andhra Pradesh Paper Mills Limited

Manufacturers of top quality paper in a number of varieties.

**REMEMBER: IT'S ANDHRA MILLS
FOR PAPER THAT IS
GOOD FOR EVERYTHING**

Registered Office & Mills:
RAJAHMUNDY (A. P.)

Administrative Office:
Shreeniwas House
Hazarimal Somani Marg
Bombay 400 001



YOUR GUARANTEE OF GOODNESS

people including Unita representatives from many areas of Angola. Those present included presidents of village councils, as well as women's, youth and trade union groups.

—*The Times*, June 12.

SOVIET JOURNAL SUED FOR LIBEL

MR ALFRED FRIENDLY, Moscow Correspondent of the American magazine *Newsweek*, today filed a libel suit against the Soviet weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* over its allegations that he worked for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

In his suit—which was accepted by Judge Boris Shalagin in the people's court of Moscow's Dzerzhinsky district—Mr Friendly demanded that the official organ of the Soviet Writers' Union should print a retraction of its article and an apology to him. Observers could not recall a previous case of a foreign journalist here suing a Soviet publication for libel.

In its edition of May 26, a *Literaturnaya Gazeta* article signed by V. Valentinov spoke of the "loyalty" of Mr Friendly, Mr Christopher Wren, Correspondent of *The New York Times*, and Mr George Krinsky of the Associated Press "to their true master—the CIA". All three correspondents have denied the allegation.

In his suit, Mr Friendly said: "This statement does not correspond to reality. I categorically affirm that *Newsweek* is my only employer in the Soviet Union, that the CIA has never been my employer and that I never received instructions from the CIA nor acted under instructions from the CIA.

—*Times*, June 26.

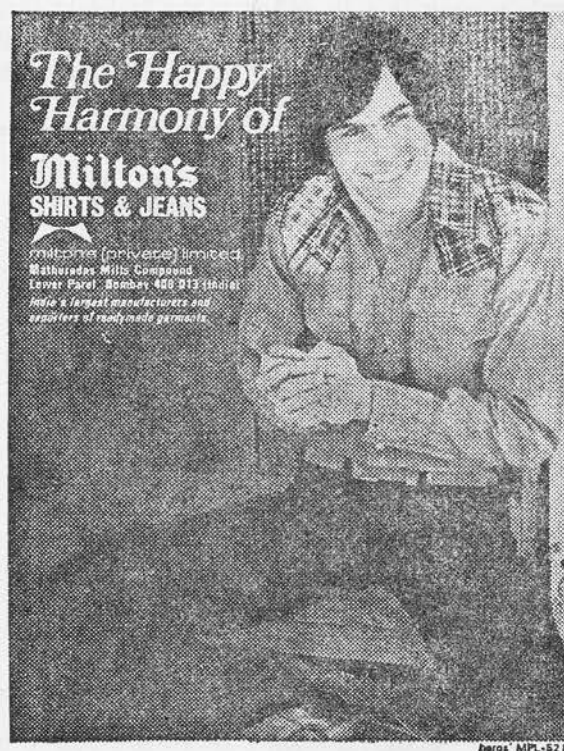
OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND

AT the age of 34 Vladimir Bukovsky is in danger of dying in a Soviet prison. It was he who first drew the outside world's attention to the misuse of psychiatric practices in the Soviet Union to enable the State to treat its critics as mentally ill. He has himself been inside the psychiatric institutions which he has exposed, but his current prison term of seven years, to be followed, if he lives, by five years' internal exile, was imposed by a court in 1972 for his part in disseminating anti-Soviet information. It so happens that to coincide with a protest meeting about Bukovsky's condition in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, there has arrived in London one of the chief apologists for Soviet psychiatry, Professor Marat Vartanyan. Unlike most of his fellow-countrymen he is free to travel, and it would be wrong to stop him coming; but while he is here Dr Denis Leigh, who is secretary-general of the World Psychiatric Association, should make it his business to tell Professor Vartanyan of the deep repugnance felt in Britain both about the prosecution of dissidents in

general and specifically about the abuses of medicine. His protest would echo not only the "slanders" of Fleet Street blamed for the controversy by the Soviet press, but also the petition of Jean-Paul Sartre, Daniel Ellsberg, Mary McCarthy, and Noam Chomsky.

A macabre defence could, of course, be offered for the chemical injections, the deprivations, stimulants, and punishments given to political dissenters in Soviet clinics, and it may indeed be the defence which Soviet psychiatrists invoke for their own self-respect. For if it is accepted as dogma that historical necessity will bring about the ideal society only after the present period of strict authoritarianism (and that is the only philosophical justification, threadbare though it is, for the Soviet Union as its affairs are at present conducted) it follows that an intelligent man who rejects the dogma is insane in the eyes of those who hold to it. The argument is similar, with different premises, to that used by the torturers of the Inquisition; some may have devoutly believed that the body should be burned for the good of the immortal soul. It is hard to see what other defence Soviet psychiatry can mount, but if indeed this is all it can do it needs to be told that what is being practised is not psychiatry as defined and understood by the great majority of the profession.

—*The Guardian*, June 30.



Paros: MPL-52 B

THE CRY OF THE KOEL

Geeta Doctor

APRIL, says the poet, is the cruellest month, digging feelings out of their graves and exposing them to the vivifying sun. He was of course talking about England. In India Vaishakh is the season of colour when the coral flowers flame out in answer to the burning sun and the mangoes, hanging gobs of green, turn greener and then gold, it is the season of brightness interrupted only by the sudden stabbing cry of the Koel shrieking through the trees. In Sitansh Yashashchandra's Gujarati play *Vaishakhi Koyal*, this sudden almost unbearable poignancy in the very heart of fullness is brought out with a lyricism and sensitivity that has not been seen for a long time on the Indian stage. It is a play written by a poet and Yashashchandra, described as "a young poet who teaches in a city college", is one who has in this work managed to combine dramatic tension with his poetic fancy.

To those who have come to associate the Gujarati stage with "quickie" translations, lurid stage effects and the kind of over-heated emotions meant only to stir the herd-like audiences that come in droves with their bundles of food and children to chew and burp their way through four hours of entertainment after which they depart without even the slightest applause, the success of a tenuously delicate play such as *Vaishakhi Koyal* comes as a surprise. The story evolves around Alka, the wife of an up-and-coming industrialist in the small town of Banaskantha. Her husband Vikram is too pre-occupied with establishing his empire to notice that Alka and he have drifted apart, though he is acutely aware in his quieter moments of their inability to produce a child. Alka on the other hand is regressing to the carefree enchanted life of her childhood by reliving it again through the eyes of a young protegee, Ratan, who has come to stay with them.

One day they go to a fair and Alka, exhilarated with a girlish recollection of being swung high into the air on a giant wheel, urges Ratan to go on one also. Ratan, who is the very image of youthful exuberance, does not need much urging. She goes and immediately falls in love with the young man sitting by her side on the giant wheel. From this chance encounter, followed by another more surreptitious one, a friendship is established between the young man, now identified as Abhaysingh Parmar, and the ecstatic Ratan. Alka half vexed, half amused, is at first only a spectator to this sudden turn of events until almost inescapably she is drawn into becoming a participant when Abhay starts writing to Ratan who being illiterate pleads with Alka to write instead.

Love letters however cannot be written without feelings and Alka finds that she is soon embarked on a series of letters that absorb her deepest feelings and thoughts. Vikram with his eternal telephone conversations and business deals drifts into the periphery of her consciousness. All her repressed yearnings for love and for the freedom of the giant wheel are now centred around the letters from a young man she only saw distantly at a fair. Even Ratan fades away into the background so that one day when she comes back after a brief holiday and tells Alka that she is pregnant and that she had met Abhay again after the fair, it comes as a terrible shock.

Alka realises that she has to save Ratan by persuading Abhay to marry her at once. He comes immediately and there is an exquisite scene when Alka meets her great love for the first time only to arrange for his marriage. This is soon accomplished and as Ratan is about to leave the house after the marriage. Abhay asks her to present a row of cultured pearls to Alka with a letter as a token of their gratitude. This leads to a tense situation when Ratan, realising that she is about to be caught, tries to escape while Abhay, equally firm, insists that she writes. Ratan breaks down and confesses that she cannot write and Abhay, horrified that he has fallen in love with a dream, confronts Alka for an explanation. Only her complete honesty and lack of guile saves her at this point: she explains her love but also sacrifices it for the sake of Ratan. So that Abhay, even as he confesses that it is for her, and her letters alone, that he has fallen, accepts that their love cannot ever hope for anything more, and leaves the house with Ratan.

But Alka is not completely lost. Her husband Vikram, alerted to his wife's emotional upheaval by his sister who is a sympathetic spectator to all these events, has been watching what Alka is going through. He knows that it is she who has been writing the love letters and when he hears Abhay's poetic description of them he sees a side of Alka he never believed or had the imagination to believe, existed. When Alka stands watching Ratan and Abhay going away into the distance and turns back to face the loneliness of her life once more, Vikram is able to come to her and in the first moment of tenderness between husband and wife, comfort her for her loss.

This is merely the story line of the play and apt in such terms to sound like the usual kind of corn. What makes it interesting is that the play revolves around a woman who is not the usual stereotype of either long-suffering womanhood or an anton seductress. It is so

common to see women being crushed, reviled and defeated on the stage, as for example in some of Tendulkar's plays, that it is a relief that Alka is not made "to pay the price" for her love. The sister, who is a model of understanding and tact, does not once make her feel guilty about it but in fact tells Vikram that it is he who is at fault to have become so involved in his work as to have turned into a machine. Alka's love is a warm, passionate, life-giving love. It even touches the mechanical Vikram, creating at the end of the play some hope that their sterile relationship will now change as a result of this love.

Undoubtedly a great deal of the play's success is due to the assured direction of Pravin Joshi, who also acted as the husband. The main role was of course that of Alka, acted by Sarita. She was childlike in her wonder at the beauty of life, uncomprehending of the business-like Vikram, passionate and anguished in her love for Abhay, her soul torn between the vision of an ideal, impossible love and her duty as a wife and guardian. Except for a few moments of melodrama when she is made to cry out that she rather than Ratan should have had Abhay's child, it was a very mature performance.

In fact, except perhaps for Abhay who seems to have been too ordinary a young man to have inspired the kind of lyrical fire he lit in Alka's heart, the others were splendid in their roles. Ratan was particularly good in the earlier, lighter parts of the play as she skipped her way into the hearts of the audience, infecting them with the gaiety and spontaneity of first love. The more sombre overtones of the play however seemed to pass over her head. Her admission that she was pregnant sounded hollow and made the whole business of the illegitimate child-shotgun marriage seem rather contrived. One cannot immediately suggest some other resolution for the drama, but this nonetheless does not excuse the playwright any more than Ratan, for not having had the moral strength to resist this particular predicament.

The set was somewhat gaudy with red velvet upholstery and carved drawing-room furniture and door ways in white that looked as though they had been meant to decorate a wedding cake. It is to its credit that it very smoothly and effectively served as the background for the whole play without the necessity of any changes and yet did not become tedious. This should show, if not anything else, that when the vital element is there, the drama, by which is meant the reflection of human emotions that passes for life, nothing else matters; the stage, the costumes, the actors all recede into the background and there remains only a record of one human being talking to another.

When that human being is a poet as well as a playwright the conversation takes on a special dimension, it touches a secret chord in the soul of the listener as when he hears the call the Koel and wonders, is it a song of gladness or is it a cry of sorrow?

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

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



VSK/LMC-BAL/657

THE
**LAKSHMI
MILLS**
COMPANY LIMITED
COIMBATORE

SYMBOL OF
OUTSTANDING FABRICS

COMMUNIST TAKEOVERS

A. G. Noorani

COMMUNISTS have gained power in twenty-two countries or parts of countries. Only in two—in Kerala and in San Marina—did they secure power by constitutional means. In all others it was by force of arms. When all is said, this feature of Communist takeovers alone suffices to reveal the nature of the movement and its record especially in the last nearly sixty years since the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

Prof. Thomas T. Hammond has accomplished a feat in the study of Communism. He has edited a collection of studies on Communist capture of power as well as some unsuccessful bids since 1917 in a single, inexpensively priced volume *THE ANATOMY OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVERS* (Yale University Press; 1975; \$5.95). Mr. Robert Farrell is associate editor of the volume. As Professor Cyril E. Black writes in his Foreword, "of the 90-100 countries that have undergone revolutionary transformation since 1917—some 10 in Europe, 8 or 10 in Latin America, 25-30 in Asia, and as many as 45 in Africa—no more than 7 have been successful spontaneous Communist revolutions. The imposed Communist Governments were successful as takeovers and had revolutionary consequences, but they belong in the category of power politics."

More than one-third of the chapters are devoted in part or in full to abortive revolutions: Germany in 1918-1923, Finland in 1918 and 1944-1948, Austria in 1945, northern Iran in 1945-1946, Guatemala in 1951-1954, Indonesia in 1965, and South Vietnam since World War II. Mr. Dennis J. Duncanson's account of Vietnam ends with the 1973 accords. It is truly an international effort. The authors represent, either by birth or long residence, the following countries—the U.S.A., Great Britain, Germany, France, Australia, Albania, Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Iran, Korea, Vietnam and Cuba.

The editors explain: "Some readers may wonder why we have generally used the term 'takeover' instead of the more common term 'revolution'. The reason is simply that the process whereby the Communists gained power often cannot accurately be described as a 'revolution'. For example, in many countries the Communists did not carry out true revolutions but were installed in power by the Red Army. Furthermore, in Kerala and San Marino the Communists got control through free elections rather than through revolutionary coups. In fact, very few countries have become Communist through genuine revolutions. They also emphasise that for reasons of space they decided "not to deal at length with the historical background or with the underlying social and economic conditions that prepared the way for revolution. Similarly, we have

not discussed what the Communists did after they gained power—the nationalization of industry, the collectivization of agriculture, and so on. Instead we have concentrated on the actual takeovers, with special emphasis on the strategy and tactics of seizing power." Each of the contributors is an acknowledged authority on the subject.

They are all knit together with an able introductory essay by Prof. Hammond on "The History of Communist Takeovers" and a summing up by him. In his view "In four countries—Yugoslavia, Albania, China and North Vietnam—Communist takeovers were the outgrowing primarily of World War II resistance movements carried on simultaneously with civil wars. The Soviet army played a relatively unimportant role in Yugoslavia and China, while it played no role at all in Albania and Vietnam. The victory of the Communists in these four countries was attained by guerrilla armies, and the regimes established by the Communists were dominated by former military officers. Thus armed force was the key factor in these takeovers also, even though it was not Soviet armed force."

The notable failures after the War which he lists in Greece, Finland, Austria, Iran, Burma, Malaya, Philippines, Indo-China, South Korea, Indonesia, Guatemala.

There are two oddities in Prof. Hammond's list of failures. One is the omission of the Communist revolt in India in 1948 under Mr. B. T. Ranadive's leadership. As the Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, said in the Constituent Assembly on February 28, 1949: "The Communist Party of India has, during the past year, adopted an attitude not only of open hostility to the Government but one which can be described as bordering on open revolt. This policy has been given effect to intensively in certain limited areas of India and has resulted in violence, indulging in murders, arson, and looting as well as acts of sabotage. The House is well aware of the Communist revolts that have taken place in countries bordering on India. It was presumably in furtherance of the same policy that attempts were made in India to incite people to active revolt."

The other oddity in the editor's list is the inclusion of Chile on which he writes thus: "In October, 1970, Dr. Salvador Allende an avowed Marxist but not a Communist, became President of Chile after his coalition of Socialists, Communists, and other leftists won a plurality of thirty-six per cent. His programme of gradually taking over private enterprise might have led eventually to a Communist-type regime, but this programme, combined with inflation, shortages, and strikes, aroused the middle classes, who got financial

aid from the CIA. Finally on September 11, 1973, a military junta ousted Allende and seized power."

Then there are the "Soviet counter-revolutions" in East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. "In East Germany the rebellion erupted outside of the Party and was essentially leaderless. For this reason, as well as because the country was already occupied by Soviet troops, the revolt was quickly and totally suppressed."

"In Hungary and Czechoslovakia, by contrast, the anti-Stalinist liberalization movement were led by Communists, their aim being to keep the "good" features of communism while removing the "bad," to create "socialism with a human face," as it was called in Czechoslovakia. These movements quickly attracted non-Communist and anti-Communist elements, reformed communism. They called for such fundamental changes as the institution of free elections and the establishment of a multiparty system, which were clearly incompatible with Communism."

But it is the successful takeovers which provide the main attraction in the book. It is significant that it is the countries where the take-over was spontaneous and owed little to Moscow which ploughed an independent line. Witness — Yugoslavia. Granted the Allied or Soviet assistance "the fact remains that the partisans were, by the end of the war, far and away the strongest of the domestic groups contending for power, and that they had reached this position almost exclusively through their own efforts. Only the presence of the Germans, prevented the Communists from gaining control of the country much earlier than they did. By the same token, only massive intervention by the United States or Britain at the end of the war could have prevented a Communist takeover. This would have been no less true had the Soviet troops never entered Yugoslavia."

It is not surprising that their leader Tito, was the

most outstanding and successful of the Communists who defied Stalin. Czechoslovakia went Communist because of the 1948 coup while the advent of Communism in Albania was "rather the product of the Axis aggression and the assumption by the Communists of the leading role in the resistance movement." For the rest Communism arrived in Eastern Europe "on the wings of the Red Army" as Anna Pauker put it in the case of Rumania.

The volume contains ably documented summaries of Communist takeover and serves as a good source of reference. Mr. Malcolm Mackintosh's summary of the roots of Stalin's policy in Eastern Europe is of much wider relevance and deserves to be quoted *in extenso*: "To summarize Stalin was never able to free himself from the bonds of Russian nationalism, with which he identified so strongly. All his policies were related to this loyalty to his concept of Great Russia merged with Soviet power, and this accounted for his preoccupation with such traditional matters as frontiers, buffer zones, and defense problems. But Stalin's belief in Communist ideology and his sense of mission were also deep and lasting. Stalin's motives in Eastern Europe (and beyond) probably included a sense of fulfillment of his and Lenin's destiny to expand Communism by one means or another. While he felt loyalty to Russian nationalism, it was from Communist ideology that he got much of his driving force and inspiration. Stalin's limitations became crucial when he was faced with external situations of which he had no experience, i.e.,

Just Out
**THE LAW OF PRESS
CENSORSHIP IN INDIA**

By
SOLI J. SORABJEE

For the first time the upto-date law on the subject is made available in one place, together with an analytical and objective commentary by a outstanding lawyer. (Rs. 35.00)

N. M. TRIPATHI PRIVATE LTD.
164, Samaldas Gandhi Marg
Bombay 400 002

**Beautify your home
with Silvicrete,
ACC's white cement**

Easily available from
the nearest cement
Marketing Division

of
**THE ASSOCIATED
CEMENT COMPANIES LTD.**

maa. acc. 13

in dealing with such problems as Berlin, Yugoslavia, and, of course, China in the Far East. Stalin was most successful when he could seal off a country from the outside world and deal with it steadily and in detail, directing all the tactical moves himself. He would then keep the tightest possible hold on events, even to the point of occasionally reversing his previous policies and thereby surprising his own subordinates. But in the face of two or three failures in the areas more remote from Soviet frontiers, he was ready to cut his losses and turn elsewhere. When this happened, Stalin's European policy became one of holding the external line rigidly against the West and continuing the internal counter-offensive against the national communism of Titoism. Finally, it is my belief that Stalin planned the communization of Eastern Europe as soon as he became convinced that the Soviet Union had survived the shock of the German invasion. But by the time the Red Army reached Eastern Europe and was in a position to put his plans into practice, the two motives — nationalism and Communist ideology — were inextricably inter-woven; and this is surely one of the lasting elements of Soviet foreign policy which has survived to the present day."

The case of Kerala is well-known to the Indian reader. Communist rule was brought to an end by the imposition of President's rule in 1959. Mr. Gerald Hesger's essay on Kerala is typical of the rest — concise, lucid, and analytical — and takes the narrative up to the mid-term election in the State in 1970. "Communist political power continues to be a primary political force in Kerala, Kerala Communism is a linkage of pay-offs for political strategy and communal conflicts increasingly understood in class terms. In this sense it is unique. Members of the Communist Party (Marxist) in West Bengal, who gained power as part of a United Front in 1967, possess neither organizational preponderance on the left nor as able social base. Elsewhere non-class conflicts have defied Communist efforts to develop support. In Kerala, however, caste, class, and organisation have telescoped to produce power."

The case studies, interesting as they are, pose the question as to the possibilities of extension of Communist power in the future, bearing in mind, of course, that the Communist monolith is no more and there are varieties of Communism. The Sino-Soviet cold war is waged in the name of ideology but in practice ignores ideological considerations. Both the Soviet Union and China are intensely nationalistic and as amenable to considerations of *Realpolitik* as any other State. Moscow, as the editor points out, no longer assumes that the assumption of power by a Communist Party would "automatically be good for Russia." Nor, one might add, does Peking make any such assumption for itself.

The factors that will weigh in deciding to support a Communist Party's bid for power are: (a) its position

MURDER — F.O. WAGS A FINGER

"When British subjects are threatened or ill-treated by foreign tyrants, even in lands as distant as Angola or Uganda, the long arm of the Foreign Office will stretch forth — in a gesture of supplication. And should they be actually murdered, the F.O. will wag an admonishing finger."

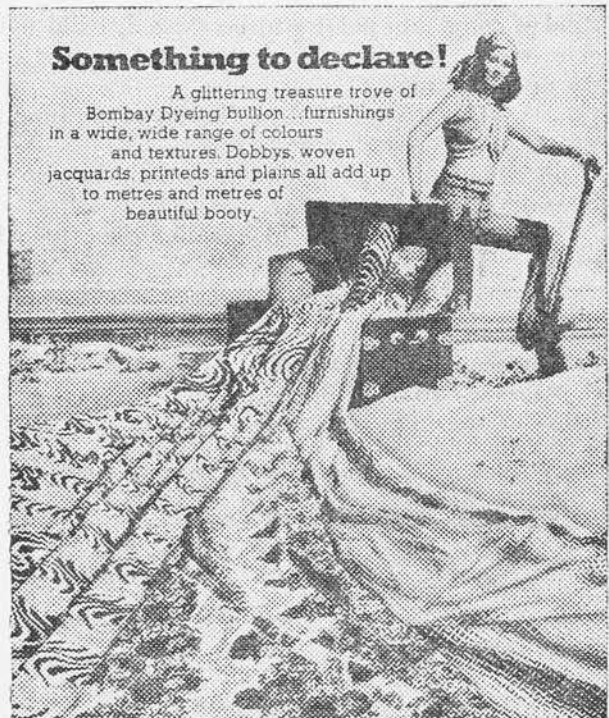
—Commons Sketch by John O'Sullivan in the *Daily Telegraph*, July 13, 1976.

in the Sino-Soviet cold war (b) the demands it is likely to make in terms of aid, economic and military (c) the effect it will have on the detente; more specifically, the response it will evoke from the U.S.

Prof. Hammond's analysis leads him to the conclusion that "while Russia has on the whole benefited from the expansion of Communism in the past, Soviet policy today is by no means motivated primarily by a commitment to the cause of world revolution. Kremlin policy towards Communist takeovers has been, is today, and will in the future be determined above all by considerations of Russian national interest." And that is a measure of the change that has overtaken the Soviet Union since 1917 despite all the takeovers which the volume chronicles.

Something to declare!

A glittering treasure trove of Bombay Dyeing burlap... furnishings in a wide, wide range of colours and textures. Dobbys, woven jacquards, printeds and plains all add up to metres and metres of beautiful booty.



Fantasy furnishings from

BOMBAY DYEING



BD. 9909

WITH MANY VOICES

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

—Tennyson.

This is an African democracy. It has one chief, not two, not three.

—President Mobuto of Zaire quoted in *Time*, May 31.

Has there ever been a spring as glorious as this year's? Perhaps God loves England even if the moneychangers don't?

—Letter in *Times*, June 3.

The Arab League is noted more for reflecting Arab divisions than Arab unity.

—*The Guardian*, June 11.

If Russia moves to Western Europe, the United States would be left with no recourse but the one thing that none of us wants at all—the nuclear button.

—Ronald Reagan quoted in the *Observer*, June 13.

"I didn't come into politics to be excited. I did it for achievement. If you want excitement I suggest you take up motor racing".

—David Steel, M.P. in *The Guardian*, June 17.

Enrico Berlinguer sleeps better at night because he knows Italy is part of NATO.

—Interview in *The Guardian*, June 16.

FREEDOM FIRST,
C/o Democratic Research Service
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 400 023 (Phone: 273914)

Please enrol me as a subscriber to **FREEDOM FIRST.**

I remit the annual subscription of Rs. 5.00

Name:

Address:

Signature

The two-party system is dead but won't lie down.

—John Pardoe, M.P. in *The Times*, June 17.

I have described Margaret Thatcher as a cheeky, arrogant bitch. That's what she is! Who the hell does she think she is?

—Mr. Cyril Smith, M.P., Liberal Party whip in
The Guardian, June 16.

They also vote who only stand and stare.

—John Pardoe, M.P., in *The Guardian*, June 18.

This is the eighth time that Indira Gandhi has gone to the Soviet Union, and the fourth after she became the Prime Minister of India.

—*Blitz* Editorial, June 12.

We have got to stand up for the democracies of the world. There are about two dozen of us left. We have got to be the leader of that coalition.

—Patrick Moynihan in *Indian Express*, June 12.

I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations.

—James Madison's speech in the Virginia Convention
quoted in the *Times*, June 16.

It is wrong to tax poor people in our rich country to help rich people in poor countries.

—Jimmy Carter in *The Guardian*, June 5.

The safest rule of thumb is: Where there is no free press, assume the worst. Not necessary because the worst is true, but because that is the ethically cautious conclusion to reach. A refinement of that position is: Place the burden of doubt on the government where there is no free press.

—William V. Shannon in *International Herald Tribune*, June 25.

The Soviet Union should accept us as we are and not as they would like to have us.

—President Sadat in *The Times*, June 4.

The latest example of reform by scandal is the case of Wayne Hays, Democrat of Ohio.

—*International Herald Tribune*, June 6.