

A TICKET TO NIGHTMARELAND

Manohar Malgonkar

YOU cannot, Alexander Solzhenitsyn points out in the very first paragraph of his book, *The Gulag Archipelago*; (Fontana, Rs. 15) buy a ticket to visit the Gulag Archipelago. To get there, you have to be arrested. He then plunges you into a horrifying account of the mechanics of arrest in the Russia that he grew up in, and which, since he was born in the very year of the Revolution, is post-Czarist Russia or, more familiarly, the U.S.S.R. And even before you have finished that first chapter, you realize why those who guide Russia's destinies today, would delight in incinerating every single one of the millions of copies of *Gulag* that are in print, and to declare its author an 'unperson', which expression, in George Orwell's fantasy of life under communism, was coined to describe a process by which, any citizen could be shown never to have existed. For the book is an exposition of sick minds as well as of a sick system, (or at least of abuses that, with prolonged usage, have become calcified to become an inerradicable part of the system,) a condemnation not so much of the Stalinist regime but of communism itself, and—most unforgivable of sins—of the great father image of world communism: Lenin.

But if there is one man in the world today whose existence cannot be blotted out by the decree of any

party presidium, it is Alexander Solzhenitsyn. However much the Kremlin leaders may detest him, they have good reason to fear him too, for, like our own Mahatma Gandhi, he is an irrepressible one-man force in a world accustomed to being kicked around by political parties; someone who has defied a system of government far more ruthless, unprincipled and oppressive than the Raj ever was, or (to translate the simile to its proper setting) the rule of the Czars could ever have been.

Hitherto, Solzhenitsyn, who is a Nobel Laureate, has been mainly known outside his country as a novelist, but in Gulag there is nothing fictional whatsoever except the name itself. There is no group of islands which is collectively called the Gulag Archipelago; the word Gulag is made up of the initials of the Central Corrective Labour Camp Administration, and the 'camps' run by this administration which, in any other country, would be described as jails, are peppered all over the land mass of Russia like thousands of islands. These are the islands, that, in the author's mind, form the Gulag Archipelago.

But if you cannot buy a ticket to visit the archipelago, it does not mean that it is a difficult place to get to; if anything it is an astonishingly difficult place to keep away from. In a land where guilt and innocence are all but meaningless terms, arrest is not necessarily a consequence of a crime committed, but a simple

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HISTORY IS WITH JP — Masani

MR. M. R. MASANI, our Editor and member of the National Council of the Citizens for Democracy, was with Jayaprakash in Patna on November 2 and 3.

Before leaving Patna he told the Press: "I am greatly impressed by the atmosphere in JP's camp which reminds one of the spirit which animated us during the Civil Defence and the Quit India campaigns in the days of the struggle for Independence. I have little doubt that, if his health does not let him down, Jayaprakash

will succeed in his mission. Time is running in his favour and the forces of history are on his side."

People throughout India, according to Mr. Masani, were watching with intense sympathy the struggle in Bihar, whose ripple effects would provide a peaceful channel to the people's discontent throughout India.

Mr. Masani found Mr. Jayaprakash keeping remarkably fit but pleaded for more consideration being shown for his health.

matter of the arresting agency, which bears the vile title of 'The Organs', pulling you in to fulfil its allotted quota of people to be sent to prisons, for, arrest and imprisonment are all but synonymous. There exists, in the Russian Criminal Code, a section, the article 58, which is so wide-sweeping in its range that "there is no step, thought or action, or lack of action, which is not punishable under it." And punishment in Russia does not mean a fine or a few months behind bars; for most offences under the all-embracing article 58, the normal punishment was a 'tenner' which was ten years of hard labour, and even this was improved upon by Stalin when in a fit of caprice, he introduced the 'quarters' of twenty-five year terms. In our own country, even a 'life' term rarely exceeds fourteen years in jail.

Tea Party And Punishment

Men and women were arrested and punished for holding a merry tea party, for being intellectuals (and thus potential thought-saboteurs), for owning houses, for believing in religion, for not betraying their friends, wives, or husbands, for not producing enough wheat for the motherland or even for producing too much, and, in the case of millions of Russian soldiers who fought in the second world war and became prisoners of war, for allowing themselves to be taken prisoner by the enemy. Thus might Pakistan have served out 'tenners' and 'quarters' to her 90,000 POWs the moment they were repatriated by us. Believe it or not, you could even merit a stiff sentence for being the first in a group to stop applauding Stalin.

"Piles of victims", Solzhenitsyn observes with loathing. "Hills of victims."

On a cold February day in 1945, he himself was gathered into one of these piles. A clean, all-Russian boy who, in his youth, was weaned on Marxism and who, while he studied higher mathematics at a university, dreamed of writing the history of the glorious revolution, Solzhenitsyn had found himself drafted into the army when the war began, and had done well enough in it to have reached, in three years, the rank of Captain in the artillery. On that fateful morning of his arrest, the battery he commanded was, in military parlance, "in contact with the opposing enemy force." He was summoned to Brigade HQ where, even as the German shellfire was rattling the windowpanes, two SMERSH agents rushed at him, tore away his badges of rank and told him that he was under arrest. It was the Brigade Commander who, brushing aside the dire warnings of the SMERSH men, salvaged a dreg of traditional military comradery by revealing to Solzhenitsyn why he had been arrested: because in a letter to a brother officer, he had criticized Stalin.

SMERSH, you learn with horror, is not a lexical monstrosity dreamed up by Ian Flemming; it is the official designation of the Counter-Intelligence Agency

(the CIA) of the Red Army, a body of men feared by all others in the service irrespective of seniority or rank, so that a Colonel commanding a regiment rarely fails to stand up when a SMERSH subaltern enters the room. And SMERSH has its counterpart in every conceivable walk of life; in factories, in farms, workshops, offices, universities, stores; a wolf-tribe created by the Organs whose talent scouts comb the colleges for the most promising young men who are then drafted into the service whether or not they want to join it, because after all it is for the sake of the Motherland. "It is always for the Motherland", laments Solzhenitsyn. The training these young men are put through may have been specially devised to dehumanize them, but once they have completed it and joined the force, they are at once elevated into a cadre of the elite. "You enter any room, and everyone notices and trembles... everyone understands that you are the head man there. From the moment you don the heavenly blue service cap, you stand higher than publicly acknowledged power."

The Art of Torture

The Bluecaps are not only a privileged class in a supposedly classless social order, but they can be, on the evidence of Gulag, as corrupt, as pleasure-loving, as vice-ridden, as depraved, as any professional playboys in the most decadent of capitalist societies. Here is one, a Colonel who, during the Russian advance into the heart of Germany, was placed in charge of "keeping a watch" over plundering. (Not, it will be observed, as is the practice in other armies including ours, to prevent the troops from looting enemy property, but to ensure that whatever loot was taken from the enemy was turned over to the state.) This Colonel "pulled in whole freight-car loads for himself, built several dachas... (and) operated on such a scale that, (arriving at a railway station) he ordered all customers chased out of the restaurant and had girls and women rounded up and forced to dance naked on the tables."

But, to become entitled to these forbidden fruits of a supposedly rotten capitalistic society, you have to serve the Organs both loyally and diligently; which means that not only must you fulfil your allotted quotas of arrests in good time, but you must also extort the necessary confessions from those you have arrested. Only then will the Organs stand by you; promote you and pay you well and, in case of trouble, rush to your rescue. Is it any wonder then that the rank and file of the cadre has mastered the art (or is it a science?) of torture. Solzhenitsyn himself quotes a long list of thirty-odd methods of torture commonly practised by the agents of the Organs. Neither what Mr V. D. Savarkar has written about the brutalities practised in the Andamans during British days, nor what Papillon has to say about the horrors perpetrated on the inmates of

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THE POLITICS OF TREATIES

A. G. Noorani

TREATIES, like roses and pretty girls, last only as long as they last, a wag has quipped. The transitoriness of treaties has long been the subject of jest and gibe. What is far more important is to consider their political significance. Why is a treaty signed when it is and as it is? That provides the clue and explains why a treaty is violated, ignored, or simply becomes obsolete when it does. Treaties reflect a political situation and cannot survive a change which goes far beyond their structure. The North Atlantic Treaty survives still after a quarter century because the signatories still perceive the same military threat and from the same quarter, the detente notwithstanding. In contrast, the SEATO is all but dead. It was directed against the Sino-Soviet alliance which is in bits today.

In a speech at Leipzig on March 7, 1959, Krushchev said: "History teaches us that conferences reflect in their decisions an established balance of forces resulting from victory or capitulation in war or similar circumstances." Interestingly this telling quote finds a niche in Dr. Henry Kissinger's classic, *The Necessity for Choice*.

But treaties proliferate and the most indefatigable negotiators of treaties are the Russians. Their philosophy of treaties merits detailed study. At any rate, today, no student of politics can follow current events without having constantly to refer to treaties and joint communiques. Prof. J. A. S. Grenville's compilation *The Major International Treaties 1914-1973: A History and Guide with Texts* (Methuen & Co. Ltd., £ 3.95) fully lives up to the high standards of the University Paperbacks series and has no rivals.

The selection of the treaties testifies to the editor's sure grasp of the subject. The Introduction as well as the introductory survey of each phase in the history of sixty years, which form the subject of the book, make the work truly a "compleat" source of reference together with the texts of the treaties. The ones omitted unfailingly find a mention in the survey which is astonishingly up-to-date. It ends with Chancellor Brandt's visit to Prague, on December 11, 1973, to sign the long delayed treaty normalising the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Czechoslovakia. The Indo-Pak Agreement on repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees signed, on August 28, 1973, is also discussed in the survey.

The texts end with the documents signed in June 1973 when Brezhnev visited the U.S. The volume, thus, includes the basic texts that underly the detente. Considering that it takes off from 1914, when "normalcy" was shattered — "Europe will never be the same again", someone so correctly predicted then — the compilation

is a veritable feat and it is not surprising to know that Prof. Grenville spent several years of research on this unique work. In the best sense of the overworked phrase, it has been a labour of love. "A firm grasp of the major international treaties is fundamental to an understanding of international affairs and recent history. Most monographs and general books on diplomatic history assume their knowledge, although the treaties themselves are not easily available to students... many years of teaching modern international history have convinced me of the urgent need to provide a usable collection of such treaties in one volume." This book is it.

It contains an astonishing variety of treaties; some pledge diplomatic support, some forge alliances, others confer legitimacy on the status quo, and some, especially in modern times, establish institutions in abundance and call them with long names that are shortened to amusing acronyms. They concern economists (witness: the Rome Treaty setting up the EEC), and technocrats besides, of course, those interested in world affairs. And they concern the lawyers, too. But, therein lies a pitfall which Prof. Grenville points out. "No practising diplomat can sensibly view a treaty merely from a juridical point of view, in a kind of legal vacuum separated from all these influences which actually shape the conduct of foreign policies. The treaty may be one of the very important influences on that policy; it can never be the sole consideration."

That said, it must be recognised that the phraseology matters especially when phrases mean so much to one of the super-powers, the Soviet Union. This field of study lies neglected. Soviet literature on diplomacy is fast growing and it is possible to read the Soviet mind with far greater accuracy than ever before. Certain set phrases or formulations used in treaties or, for that matter, in joint communiques, hold particular meaning. So does the style of the communique. So, words do matter. Only reality matters more.

An instance will suffice. Of the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union with Egypt, Iraq and India, it is the first which imperils the freedom of the smaller power most. The reference in Article 2 of the Soviet Egyptian Treaty, signed at Cairo on May 27, 1971, to the UAR as having "set itself the aim of reconstructing society along socialist lines" was feared to have provided a possible basis for a later extension of the Brezhnev Doctrine to Egypt. But a little over a year later, President Sadaat had the Soviet advisers in his country sent home. He had accepted the formulations in a hurriedly negotiated treaty but retained the will

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FOR WHOM THE BULL TOILS

A. K. Das

NINE out of ten children born even today to a cobbler and a sweeper can almost be written off to a life of drudgery and biting poverty. So is a porter's son and a pedlar's darling. This, after a grand march of 27 years, topped by an impressive nuclear explosion, tends to leave one dazed and drunk without even a drink. The race is on and we have already begun raising our sights to heavens above, the spectre of which contrasts with the grim luxury of many hapless ones shrinking to death, hungry and totally worn. Such events recur with dreadful regularity but we seem to treat these nearly on par with a matinee show, to be discussed only in drawing rooms stuffed often with sophisticated gadgetry. Urged more by the lofty prestige than any real concern for the afflicted, we hover dramatically at respectable heights, hitting the headlines promptly.

Such and many other curious exercises we pick on throw up at best the lighter fractions of the bureaucratic and ministerial pomposity. Behind, however, all that we have so far failed to achieve, a host of heavy infractions hide. It is almost inconceivable that a nation of 571 millions has been at pains so far to check the humiliating slide to depths even the hardest gold-digger would dread. People toil merely to pay heavy tolls and grumble at their perfect incapacitation to mend matters.

The stark truth is that men who are chosen to guide the destiny of such a vast mass of people must be meticulously screened, weighed and tested for their ability to identify their hopes, interests and aspirations fully with those they claim to represent. It is one thing to have power and quite another to know how to use it. Indeed, we have written too generously into the electoral laws of the land, giving too wide a berth to relegate responsibility, accountability and conscientious control to the back bench. Experience points to the tragic fact that the question of rights and privileges have predominated and overshadowed the supreme injunction that all rights flow from duties well performed. If anything, the rules of the game have been observed more in their breaches and the events and developments over the long years since Independence bear ample testimony to planning having missed the

planes from where greater heights were to be reached, conflict of ideologies having retarded the healthy interplay of intellect and efficiency. Instead of carrying the nation progressively forward, it has left us running to stay where we were, gasping and exhausted. We glibly mouth dicta like energy-control, pollution-control, population-control, quality-control, and even advertise "controlled explosion". It all clearly signifies that any structure—social, economic or political—worth its name is invariably sustained by a set of controls, only the character and content varying with the nature and complexity of the sector involved. If we should boast of any progress, we must confess to the crucial and continued need for sensible and intelligent control forming the base for every inch of growth. While we profess to be conscious and alive to the demands of modern management, one is entitled to pursue the matter to its logical end and ask: "Why then are we in such a nasty mess?" In fact, at the risk of inviting almost spontaneous bureaucratic wrath and criticism, one can explain that the largest single factor nursing this mess has been the vicious fall-out from the rather explosive faculty we have developed of controverting control. One would not be far from facts either to claim that we have, as a nation, specialised in decontrolling control in most of our vital transactions of individual and social life.

Atrocious

It is overwhelmingly atrocious to arrogate to oneself the freedom of unrestrained action in any organised or orderly society. The laws of the land are also framed to provide safeguards against such propensities. Often enough, it is the instinct of self-preservation that predominates and, no matter how intense the provocation may be, the intended step is checked and the head continues to ride the shoulders. Basically, it is either the concern for individual or collective safety or an overriding sense of accountability that smothers the urge and impulse to run free. It is terribly tragic that we have a surfeit of ills still continuing to scuttle the very many efforts and schemes we launch. The problems in a large measure defy solutions, because we have had a procession of myopic policies, leading to desperate situations—all tending to owe their strength to the virtual vacation of control.

As a massive race of rational animals, we have an equally high reputation to proliferate fast. The risk of shedding population was never there and yet we have never at all been as serious as a population-heavy nation ought to have been. Almost unabated has been the surge of arrivals of new mouths to feed and this

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to act independently. The status of the treaty today, to use an Americanism, is uncertain. It has been a case of, to adapt Milton's lines ease recanting vows said in pain as unsaid and void. That is the fate of a good many treaties only a little more so of the imposed ones.

despite the high potency dose of Family Planning with the obscure elements of condom, vasectomy and what have you. The high-speed population race could not be halted even by the threatening Red Triangle, as if we were innocent enough not to realise that even traffic, bursting at its seams, on the roads go painfully past the much too obvious and glaring red lights. We laid the target only to miss it by miles and now we wriggle at the prospects of a population explosion. Could we not give this explosion even a quarter of the character we drum up for our "controlled nuclear explosion"?

How religiously we also believe that variety is the spice of life. This was perhaps a reasonable luxury 50 years ago but we have at least not yet lost the appetite for high and spicy drama. The scene we are now being treated to is "hyper-inflation" with the ace smugglers lodged comfortably behind the screen, having perhaps a cynical plot up their sleeves to cloud out the painstaking steps of the supreme hero of the Act—the M.I.S.A. Where and how did we compose this colourful drama? The evil frame stood defiantly all the time, propped up by pernicious political patronage. The axe failed for long to fall on the forbidden heads, setting in motion a deadly economic drain.

Years of cushioned comfort and the warmth of dismally infructuous doctrines that hatched only in the flirtatious company of the well groomed minstrels of the world circuit, took the last edge out of our already blunted pragmatism and perspective. The backyards of the nation are still condemned to be content with the shrill cries of pain and hunger. The green of the vaunted Green Revolution has already withered to humiliating grey, hounding out the high priests of Delhi to go out again with the begging bowl. The poppycock of self-sufficiency hangs in shameful shreds as millions trek aimlessly into large cities to shed the last vestige of their human dignity.

Political Bikini

The prolific political tongue wagged big and mouthed the pernicious promise of "Garibi Hatao". A very fashionable phrase indeed, but how did this come to be coined? Such a slogan was doomed to be buried unsung in a country ridden with obstinate and almost endemic poverty. It did seem to spur temporarily the fancy of the adolescent and the amateur but it was soon forced to shed the charisma, struck by the grim realities of life. The Arabian Nights looked less bountiful and romantic and there was no Ali Baba to steer the people to the treasure trove. The one truant pebble that had slipped off the impudent edifice has now spelt the gigantic landslide. The political bikini concealed the vitals and only revealed the tempting superficials to bemuse the unsuspecting and the ignorant.

The language that still flourishes and flows out of the high officers can no longer sweep the crowd off their feet, soar and numb, having dragged these for years.

The mockery we have made of our Constitution, the injury we have inflicted on our judiciary, the whip of hurried Ordinances we so brazenly brandish, the white-wash we pretend to give to our black deeds, all point to one unmistakable malady—that good sense has departed for good.

Alas, we are so godly that what the left hand does, the right hand does not know. We preach austerity and energy conservation but turn a blind eye on the impressive motorcade we unfailingly muster to hide our hollow coffers. There is talk filling the air of cease-fire on all sensitive frontiers but we lack the will and honesty to acknowledge that such a line is beyond our capacity to draw along the burning hearts and stomachs of the hungry hordes. It seems we suffer from of idealism to eschew violence and preserve the sanctity a chronic primitive incompetence.

Youth today are exhorted to rise to the dizzy heights of idealism, to eschew violence and preserve the sanctity of educational institutions and universities. How irrational a prescription this is when seats of power are cornered and swallowed with gulps of black-money, but a paltry job cannot be had even for blood money.

Far afield, the farmers hold stocks firmly, manufactures cut production dangerously, hoarders hide openly and all one gets out of the ceaseless hunt is a dead duck. Even precious life hangs perilously on the spurious vial traded by the valiant vendor. How far is this long march going to take us all? The next hop could as well be the heavenly heights, induced mercifully by a mammoth supply of hashish, marijuana and the like. If at all we recover from this stupor, all we shall discover is that the cart ran before the horse, spring sprang before winter, promises flowed faster than actions and the bulls broke loose into new, dry pastures, leaving the plough to be burnt as firewood to cremate the damned dead.

IN THIS ISSUE

We are fortunate in having Manohar Malgonkar to write about Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*—the book of the year.

A. G. Noorani reviews a compilation of the major international treaties from 1914-1973.

The burning topic of the PLO is discussed by Ya'acob Caroz who draws a quite valid distinction between the Palestinians on the one hand and the P.L.O. on the other.

George Meany, veteran President of the AFL-CIO, makes a valuable contribution to the debate on the phoney detente between the USA and the USSR.

LET THE DEBATE BEGIN

George Meany

THE *New York Times* recently reported that our Secretary of State was preparing for a major debate when he got home from Europe—a debate, in the words of the *Times*, on “the meaning of security in the nuclear age, and on the value and risks of closer ties with the Soviet Union.”

I am glad that the Secretary is preparing for a debate. Maybe that way we can clarify some of the mysteries of this detente—on which subject, I have some modest thoughts.

The American labour movement is going to assert as strong a voice as possible in developing the foreign policies of this country. We intend to continue to be heard because the foreign policies of this Administration—or any Administration—have a direct bearing on the living standards and the welfare of millions of working people and their families.

When this Administration, in the name of detente, subsidizes a wheat deal with the Soviet Union to the tune of 300 million taxpayers' dollars—those dollars come out of *our* pocket books.

When the price of bread then skyrockets, costing our housewives hundreds of millions of extra dollars—those extra dollars come out of *our* pocketbooks.

When the Soviet Union urges the Arabs to play oil blackmail—and when American oil companies create shortages in the quest for profits—the cost comes out of *our* pocketbooks.

When our government's trade policies encourage the export of American jobs and technology, who bears the costs? It comes out of *our* pocketbooks.

And, if the policies of our government should prove wrong and there should be war, all Americans will be called on to sacrifice—and this, of course, includes workers.

So, we are not inclined to leave foreign policy to the experts. We are not convinced that they have our interests at heart—the interests of working people, the interests of the great majority of the American people.

Just prior to Mr. Nixon's visit to Moscow, hundreds of Soviet Jews were rounded up, arrested and jailed. *This*—in connection with a visit from the President of the United States! And he uttered not one word of protest.

Well, you may say that would have been counter-productive and inappropriate. That would be offensive to the hospitality of his hosts. That would be interfering in the internal affairs of another country—and the President told us, in his Annapolis speech, that we mustn't do that.

But when the commissars pulled the plugs on the American networks as American broadcasters sought

to interview Andrei Sakharov, Soviet censorship was reaching into the living rooms of Americans. The Soviet government was deciding what Americans—not Russians but Americans—could and could not see on the news.

And, from our government, from our Secretary of State and from our President, not one word of protest. Not a whisper—not a frown.

Let us remember that how nations behave toward their own people has something to do with how they behave toward other nations. There is a relationship between internal structure and external conduct. There is a relationship between what societies *are* at home and what they *do* abroad. That was true for Mussolini and Hitler and Stalin—it is just as true for Brezhnev.

A Difference

There *is* a difference between democracy and totalitarianism. And, one system *is* better than the other.

Once in a while, I think we need to remind ourselves of that—especially these days when leading lights of big corporations are spouting the line that the difference isn't all that important.

Let us get down to the basic question—what *is* this detente? What *is* this thing in whose name we turn our eyes away from brave people struggling for human rights?

What is this detente in whose name a great nation like ours—which in the last decade spent its best energies in a painful, unfinished but glorious struggle for civil rights and civil liberties—now stands by as the shadow of indifference, opportunism and cynicism darkens its highest ideals.

People died for the right to vote in this country.

People died fighting for the right to organize workers into free unions in this country.

We know which side we were on in the struggle between freedom and repression in our country. And, we know which side we are on in the same struggle in the Soviet Union.

The dictionary says that detente means relaxation of tension. Now, it seems to me that if there is tension between two parties, there's got to be a relaxation on both sides—a little give on both sides.

The idea of detente was held out to the American people as a promise of cooperation between the world's two superpowers—not only to relax tensions between their respective countries so as to lessen the possibility of nuclear war but to use their power and influence with other nations to prevent lesser conflicts that could eventually spread to global war.

Then, there was of course the economic side of

detente—the give and take of trade negotiations—very beneficial to both nations, so we were told.

And, what has happened in the two years since detente was sold to the American people?

Has the Soviet Union fulfilled its commitment to peace?

Has the anti-American propaganda—surely a cause of tension—propaganda that holds up the United States as a vicious, imperialistic country—has this propaganda, emanating from Moscow and spread throughout the world, been brought to a halt?

No—the vicious anti-American propaganda goes on and on—more vicious than ever.

And how about the super-powers using their influence to stop conflicts among the smaller nations?

Last October, Egypt and Syria—without warning—attacked Israel on one of the high holy days of the Jewish religious calendar. This attack, without question, was incited by the Soviet Union and carried out by Soviet trained personnel, using the most modern weapons of war supplied by the Soviet Union. As soon as the attack started and immediately after the Israelis fought back, the Soviet Union launched a massive airlift of military hardware to Syria and Egypt.

This action proved that the entire operation was planned and executed by the Arabs under the watchful eye of Soviet instructors and supervisors. And, at the very same time, Brezhnev openly and publicly pressed the other Arab nations to come into the war against the Israelis.

The United States reacted, of course, in accordance with its commitment to assist the Israelis in the defense of their nation.

For the first few days, the Arabs—having the initiative as a result of their sneak attack—did quite well on the battleground. President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger pleaded with the Soviet Union to agree to a meeting of the U.N. Security Council in an effort to bring about a ceasefire. For several days, there was no response whatsoever from the Soviets.

Then a change in the fortunes of war. The Israelis began to get the upperhand, driving deep into Syria, crossing to the west bank of the Suez and entrapping the crack Soviet-trained Egyptian 3rd Army Corps.

Suddenly, the Soviets wanted very much to have a cease-fire before their Arab clients were again humiliated.

Then the U.N. got into action. It brought about a cease-fire—very much against the wishes of the Israelis from their hard-won positions—under the pressure of the United States.

Then, our nation voted for a lop-sided resolution—against Israel—in the U.N. Security Council.

Egypt was given back the Suez Canal and more than a thousand square miles lost in the Yom Kippur war; likewise, Syria was rewarded by the return of hundreds of square miles of lost territory.

So when we look at what happened in the Middle East, we ask ourselves what contribution did the Russians make to detente in that situation?

Dr. Kissinger said they acted with great restraint. If fanning the flames of war in the Middle East goes by the name of restraint, what goes by the name of belligerence?

What is real here? Underneath all the mysteries, all the secret diplomacy, all the surface smiles, all the rolling rhetoric—what is the reality of detente? The reality, as I see it, is very simple.

Strangled

First, the Soviet Union is worried about America getting too friendly with China. I don't think this has very much to do with the great Nixon-Kissinger diplomacy at all. The Russians and the Chinese have been at each other's throat for a long time—not because of Kissinger's genius, but because Russian imperialism poses a threat to China.

Secondly, the Russians are in desperate need of American technology.

We Americans tend to forget how backward the Soviet economy really is. We see the Russians going into space and constructing nuclear weapons, and we assume that they are as advanced as we are. We tend to forget the enormous price the Russian people pay for this military hardware—twice as much of their gross national product as we do.

And, to sustain this level of weapons production, the Soviet consumer economy has been strangled for almost fifty years.

Consumer goods we take for granted are in continuous short supply in the Soviet Union. Not only industrial consumer goods—not only housing— but food. Soviet agricultural production is a mess—thanks to Joe Stalin's wonderful miracle of forced collectivization of agriculture.

So what do the Russians want?

They wanted us to bail them out of their agricultural disaster—and we did. We looked the other way as they pulled off the Great Grain Robbery, so costly to American families.

This is a give-away program. This is a welfare programme to bail out the Soviet government.

What are some of these loans for?

Well, in May the Eximbank announced a loan of \$180 million to develop fertilizer production in the Soviet Union. This is a \$400 million project that will enable the Russians to produce nitrogen fertilizer and export it to the United States. In other words, if we are short of fertilizer, then instead of investing in fertilizer plants at home, we invest in fertilizer plants in the Soviet Union so they can export fertilizer to this country.

You might wonder whether a truck plant could be

of military use to the Soviet Union. The answer is yes—and the administration knew it.

Evidently this Administration is so hell-bent on detente at any price that they will give the Russians equipment with a military potential.

Oh yes, the Russians are after Boeing, Lockheed and McDonnell-Douglas to sell them half a billion dollars worth of wide-bodied jets.

Now this sounds great—half a billion dollars worth of wide-bodied jets. Just think of what this means in jobs for American workers. Wouldn't this give our balance of trade a real nice boost?

It looks like a great deal—until you take a close look at the conditions.

Number one, the Russians want the planes on long-term, low-interest rate *credit*. Number two, they want to *co-produce* them in the Soviet Union.

Soviet Strategy

They want to co-produce these jets in a plant built for them in the Soviet Union by Boeing, McDonnell-Douglas or Lockheed. This plant construction would be financed by American credits, would eventually employ 80,000 workers, and would produce more than 100 wide-bodied jets each year.

Also, the Soviet negotiators demand complete access to all our present and future technology in this field.

What does this all mean for the American aerospace industry and its many thousands of workers?

We'd sell some of these big jets in the next couple of years while we would be setting the Soviets up in a big way with our financing credits, our technical know-how. And then we'd have a competitor, with access to unlimited slave labor, selling these jets at well below American prices.

What is really involved here is American economic aid to the Soviet Union plus the transfer of American technology as well. To me, it looks like a good old-fashioned shell game.

The Soviets are now cutting deals with American corporations that give them computer technology, integrated circuits, tele-communications, photo-optical equipment, sophisticated machine tools, oscilloscopes, aircraft parts, ship and submarine quieting techniques—that sort of thing and at bargain rate credits that are subsidized by the American taxpayer.

There is one other interesting bit of technology we have that the Russians want. According to the *Chicago Tribune*, the Russians want to buy some police technology from us—specifically, they want voice print recorders.

These are like finger printing machines except they make pictures of your voice. With this picture on file, your voice can be positively identified on the phone.

I am sure this will come as great news to Andrei Sakharov and to Soviet Jews who are trying to maintain phone contact with friends in the West.

On the first evening of Mr. Nixon's latest trip to



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Moscow, according to the *New York Times*, Mr. Brezhnev criticized Americans who oppose this so-called detente as being in favour of whipping up the arms race and returning to the methods and mores of the cold war.

It would be nice to report that Mr. Nixon—in reply—reminded Mr. Brezhnev that open dissent is still part of the American way of life.

But, no—Mr. Nixon was content to state that the key to future relationships between our two nations was the close personal relationship between him and Mr. Brezhnev.

Frankly, I just don't know what the President hoped to accomplish in Moscow. I don't know why he had to make the trip—unless it was for domestic political consumption.

After all, the ABM limitation was no big deal in the year of 1974—neither was the limitation on underground nuclear testing. According to newspaper reports, there was no discussion of mutual force reduction in Europe—and the hope for agreement on offensive weapons was a flop.

The failure to make any progress on the crucial question of limiting offensive nuclear weapons means that the arms race goes on unabated.

Down the Drain

It means also that the basic idea of this so-called detente as it was sold to the American people—the relaxing of tensions between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. has gone down the drain.

So, what really came out of this trip? We got, according to Mr. Nixon, a "network of agreement"—a pattern of interrelationships—"habits of cooperation"—"arrangements for consultation."

What do those words mean?

On the surface, then, it appears that Yalta, 1974 was another Nixon failure. But the Administration keeps hinting darkly at deeper progress.

Now, they can't have it both ways. If the surface evidence is wrong and there was deeper progress—that, to me, means secret agreements. If there were no secret agreements, then the surface evidence stands!

Considering the course of this detente so far, considering its public give-aways, its open unilateral concessions to the Soviet Union, I shudder to think of what any secret agreements might mean for the future of America and freedom in this world.

I think the American people are entitled to know what really happened in Yalta.

Many years ago—it seems like a hundred—a young politician surveyed the results of the first Yalta conference. He saw it as a sell-out. He denounced the President who made wartime concessions to the Soviet

Letter

LATIFI ROBBED OF BRAINS BY CHINA

Addressing a meeting of the Indian Council of World Affairs, Mr. Danial Latifi said that there were no thieves or pickpockets in China. Being a victim myself of a pickpocket recently, I was very happy to hear this. However, after hearing him for half an hour, I concluded that the Chinese Government had robbed him of his brains before his departure! Either Mr Latifi is a simpleton (I don't think he is, as he is a leading Supreme Court Advocate) or considered the audience as a bunch of idiots. This is what he said: "There are no thieves or pickpockets in China. There is no unemployment in China. Everybody is happy (all 800 million people! Mr. Latifi interviewed all of them! In Hindi or English? He does not know the Chinese language) Plenty of food in China and everyone has got a house! Mao has never said anything against India. The Chinese love Indians very much. (China has been attacking India all the time). No flies, no rats and not even dogs in China. No need to keep dogs to keep thieves away". (The Chinese eat dogs. That the Chinese are driven to eat dogs only proves the prevailing situation in China). An overseas Chinese, Mr. Frank Ching, who was on a private visit to China said recently, "Movie theatres warn their patrons to be careful at their belongings and hotel personnel advise visitors not to carry money and important documents in back pockets." Mr. Latifi embarrassed even the pro-Chinese among the audience. He had not a single critical observation to make! A pro-Chinese friend of mine at the end of his talk told me that Mr. Latifi has done a disservice to Sino-Indian friendship by his over enthusiasm.

Bombay

SHEILA SUMANT

Union—he denounced that President and his party for twenty years of treason.

He said of the first Yalta:

"The reason the concessions were made was that the leadership of the free world didn't know what the Communist animal was like"

Those words were spoken by Richard Nixon almost twenty years ago. Was he a prophet? Was he twenty years before his time? Or was he then and is he now, an opportunist without deep beliefs or large ideals, cynically indifferent to the cause of human freedom? And, more frightening still, has he refashioned American foreign policy in his own image?

PALESTINIANS, YES; P.L.O., NO

Ya'acob Caroz

THE Palestinian problems apparently will not lose their position as a prominent issue in the next few months. It is, therefore, advisable that we clarify to ourselves who the Palestinians are, especially in light of the impression among many circles in the world that the Palestinians are only the inhabitants of refugee camps in Lebanon, represented politically by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and actively—violently—by the terrorist organizations which comprise the PLO.

Under May 15, 1948, all the Palestinians were residents of the territory of the Mandate of Palestine. This mandate was granted to Britain by the League of Nations after World War I. In 1922, the British Government divided the territory into two parts. It gave Trans-Jordan to the then Emir, and later on King, Abdullah. Since then the name Palestine has applied only to the western part of the country, from the Jordan river to the sea. The word Palestine was printed in the three official languages in British passports held by residents of the country—"Palestine" Jews and Arabs. The initials for Land of Israel appeared in Hebrew. Throughout the world, holders of these passports were identified as

coming from a region in which Jews live. In one of the European ports where holders of these passports used to call their visit to the continent, they were nicknamed "Sabbath Englishmen."

On Both Banks of the Jordan

The majority of Jews there were ready for a territorial compromise on the west bank of the Jordan river. The Arabs always demanded all for themselves. After the termination of the Mandate, the larger part of the area west of the Jordan became part of Israel and the smaller part was annexed to Jordan. All the Jews, including those who had formerly resided in the areas annexed to Jordan were concentrated in the Jewish state. Most Palestinian Arabs who, on the eve of the War of Independence numbered 1,278,000, remained on both banks of the Jordan river, namely in the original territory of the Mandate. A considerable number of those who had resided in areas on which the State of Israel was established fled and settled down in Jordan, on both banks of the river. All of them received Jordanian nationality. Some of them moved to the Gaza Strip, or became refugees in other Arab countries.

The Six Day War did not radically change the map of Arab Palestinian settlement. As was the case elsewhere, their number increased as compared to 1947 and amounted to 2,360,000 according to the following breakdown.

Judea and Samaria	650,000
The Gaza Strip	400,000
Jordan	600,000
Lebanon	150,000
Kuwait	150,000
Syria	130,000
Saudi Arabia	100,000
Egypt	20,000
Libya	10,000
Other countries in the region and in the world	150,000
	2,360,000

This number does not include the 450,000 Arabs living in Israel, including East Jerusalem.

It follows that 1,050,000 former Palestinian Arabs and their descendants—excluding citizens of Israel—are currently living in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. If we add to them those who reside in Jordan—some of whom also lived there before the termination of the Mandate—the total number will come to 1,650,000. This means that a great part of Palestinian Arabs did not leave the boundaries of the original territory of the Mandate. Most of the remainder live in Arab countries, in an environment not alien to them;



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I only wear
leaves!"
says
Parveen
Babi**

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1,250,000, over half of those who lived outside Israel before June 1967, are Jordanian citizens.

False Registration

As for the refugees among the Palestinians, the High Commissioner of UNRWA made an enlightening distinction in his 1972-73 report. He differentiated between registered refugees — holders of refugees cards — numbering 1,540,694 and persons listed in refugees camps, totalling only 457,300. The report itself treats the former with scepticism. According to the report, for instance, deaths are not registered and many registrations were false. The number of refugee cards does not tally with the number of persons residing in the camps. As for the listed residents of refugee camps, many were absorbed, economically and socially, in their countries of residence. Even if camp inmates were refugees to all intents and purposes, they would constitute only sixteen per cent of the total Palestinians. This, despite the efforts exerted by Arab governments not to solve the problem of the refugees, to let it "simmer" for more than twenty-six years.

These figures clearly narrow the issue — the solution of which does not seem to incur unsurmountable difficulties — to its right dimensions.

In view of this demographic deployment it would seem natural that efforts for the solution of the Palestinian problem would be exerted in the country in whose boundaries their largest number is found. It is in the areas under Israel rule. Today the contention is heard in Israel that during the seven years which elapsed since the Six Day War, no attempt was made to create a stratum of leaders to represent the residents of the administered areas and serve as an authoritative party in negotiations towards a settlement.

This contention ignores the real facts of the situation. Until September 1970 most residents of Judea and Samaria supported their return to the Hashemite Kingdom. Hussein's liquidation of the terrorist organizations undermined — were it only temporarily — their loyalty to Jordan. What solution could they come up with? It is difficult to imagine that any leadership would have proposed, say, annexation of the area to Israel or the establishment of an independent state. Without attachment to Jordan, such a state — not durable in itself — would have been considered an Israel satellite. Even if leaders were prepared to agree to that, it is doubtful whether they would have dared voice their plans aloud, both for concern over their isolation in the Arab world and their fear of Jordan and the terrorists.

Who is speaking on behalf of the Palestinians? Jordan, which until 1967 ruled Judea and Samaria, considers itself the legal representative of their population. The West Bank inhabitants are Jordanian nationals, just like the Palestinians who live on the East Bank. Jordan's "qualification" is further strengthened

by the fact that twelve of the twenty ministers in the present cabinet of Amman and seven of the twelve members of its delegation to the Geneva Conference are Palestinians. The Jordanian authorities also feel that they are empowered by Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 to negotiate the future of the administered areas and also to determine the form of their future relationship with Jordan.

The second pretender to the right to represent the Palestinians is the PLO. It was never chosen by those on whose behalf it presumes to speak. Its "voters" were members of the Arab League who decided on its esta-



The screening of the Israeli commercial film "The Highway Queen" starring Gila Almagor was banned in India following complaints from Arab Embassies.

This is how the Israeli artist Zeev sees it (in *Maariv* of 9, August 1974).

blishment, at Egypt's recommendation, in 1964. The summit conference held in Algeria in October 1973 recognized — with the exception of Jordan — its existence as the sole representative of the Palestinians.

The PLO is currently the roof institution of all terrorist organizations. Its objectives — the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people," the implementation of which is demanded by the Arab states — are defined in the Palestinian National Treaty, as amended in 1968. The treaty negates Israel's right to exist. It states that only the Palestinian people have the right of self-determination and only they "have a legal right to their homeland." It rejects the historic links of the Jews to the country, arguing that contentions of such a link contradict historic truth. Judaism is a religion, not a nationality. Jews are citizens of the countries in which they live and have no right of self-determination. The Zionist movement is illegal and all governments in the world should forbid its existence and activities. Only

Jews who lived in the country before the "Zionist invasion" which began in 1917 are entitled to remain. The Balfour Declaration and the mandate given by the League of Nations are to be considered null and void, because they opened the gates of the country to "invaders." The Arabs are duty bound to "clear Palestine of the Zionist existence."

"Final solution"

After outlining its ideological foundations and determining the aims of the PLO, the treaty reveals the way to implement them. It specifies that "armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine." This struggle will be conducted through "Fedayeen activity," which constitutes the nucleus of "the Palestinian popular war of independence." "Fedayeen activity" is simply an act of terror.

One who reads the full text of the National Palestinian Treaty cannot evade the awkward feeling that there is something irrational in all these pretentious determinations, formulated as though coming straight from a divine source — what is historic truth and what is not; which national movement is legal and which one is not; which is nationality and which is not; who has the right of self-determination and who has not; which historic documents are valid and which ones are null and void. One may argue that Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was an insane document, but there was a holocaust

nevertheless. Actually, just as Hitler wanted a "final solution" for the Jewish people, the PLO is striving for a "final solution" for the State of Israel.

The Palestinian National Council — the PLO's supreme institution — which convened at the beginning of June this year, did not at all moderate the extremist demands expressed in the national treaty. On the contrary, the council's resolutions are based on the treaty. It did not discuss a change in the organization's objectives but only ways and stages for their implementation. It expresses readiness to set up national rule in any area evacuated by Israel so that it would serve as a base for the continuation of the armed struggle for the attainment of the final objectives.

The council also lent expression to the additional PLO objective — the annihilation of Jordan. The state of the terrorist organizations is, thus, to range on the two banks of the Jordan river. It is doubtful whether this is a suitable basis for a meeting between Yasser Arafat and King Hussein, a meeting on the possible holding of which, through Sadat's mediation, so much has been reported in the communication media. In fact, the PLO is striving for the implementation of the programme of the maximalists in the Zionist movement, but it wishes to see the state "cleared" of Jews.

In the past, too, Palestinian leaders wished to attain the impossible and, rejecting the possible, lost everything. They have apparently learned nothing.

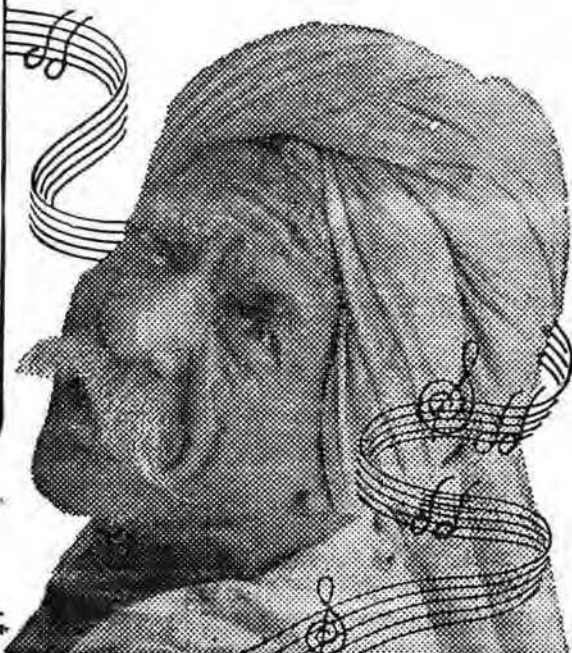
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Reviews

MANAGEMENT OVERSIMPLIFIED

How to get to the Top—C. Northcote Parkinson and M. K. Rustomji (Macmillan, pp 143, Rs. 12.50).

A MANAGEMENT 'quickie', the authors have sought to capsulize for the busy supervisors(?) with a chapter thrown in for those at the "Higher Level" some do's and don'ts in management.

This is a small volume—75% illustrations and 25% reading matter—and looks more like a book of jokes. The illustrations though humorous are however not meant to be purely jokes. They seek to convey higher 'management truths'. Practice them, and you are on the right track in your ascent to the Peak—the Top, the authors seem to suggest.

The book is one more addition in the "How to" series *a la* *How to Stop Worrying and Start Living*, or the more famous *How to Win Friends and Influence People* etc. It cannot however claim to be an addition to serious literature on Management, nor does one suspect the authors intended it to be so. It cannot be for the simple reason that the situations and the solutions are oversimplified.

The book claims to deal with various aspects of management as can be gathered from the 12 chapters ranging from Human Relations to the ticklish problem of promotions. It is a pity that the authors did not consider it necessary to give us a peek into their minds through even a teeny weeny introduction!

The association of Prof. Parkinson raises expectations. The enunciation of a new Law perhaps. It doesn't and thus disappoints. One expects differently from the author of such books as Parkinson's Law, The Law and the Profits etc. This leads us to wonder at whom or (in modern management jargon) which constituency the book is aimed at. Since Joe the Supervisor appears to be more or less the 'hero' of the volume, perhaps we might conclude that it is aimed at the constituency of Supervisors.

If this is so, then the book has merit. It also means that the title of the book needs revision. The authors are preoccupied not so much with reaching the Top as with the handling of people, in the work situation.

Nevertheless the book has its uses. Copies ought to be within easy reach of supervisors who could use them to good use to relieve tensions caused by their Bills and Freds! But then not many supervisors can read English. Here is therefore a suggestion for the publishers. Why not language versions. And while they are about it artist Chakravarti can replace the characters in his drawings with swadeshi names and naturally apparell

S. V. RAJU

ABOUT INDIAN GURUS

Godmen of India — Peter Brent (Penguin Books, 1972, 45 pp.)

GODMEN of India is a book aimed at the "spiritually bewildered", western youth which has turned to eastern religions, particularly Indian, and those disturbed by this phenomenon wanting an explanation.

The book can be looked at in three parts — first, the chapter, "The Background", second "The Godmen" and "The Godmen's flock" and the last, "The Godmen's meaning". The background, though briefly given, is adequately comprehensive; covering the development of Hindu thought, the meaning and content of the Vedas and Upanishads, the position and meaning of a Guru, the different types of Guru, and the other half of the relationship — the shishya disciple.

It is the development of this Guru-shishya relationship which occupies one body of the book. Travelling from Risikesh to Kanyakumari, the author records the conversations with Gurus of various sects and some of their disciples. The chapters concentrate on philosophy and customs of the sects revolving around each Guru, of the initiation and development of the Guru and form of the Guru-shishya relationship. It covers the Gurus of Vedic schools, where one has the sense of glimpsing one last, already tottering, dodo, "of the Jnana marga" of the bhakti marga, such as the Vallabhacharyas, in which "you offer up your vices to Krishna" and the worship of the idol is of great importance.

There is a detachment in these chapters like a well made documentary, where personal impressions and critical comments are at their briefest. Consisting chiefly of verbatim taperecorded conversations, they however fail in one aspect; in giving the individual personality of the Guru or disciple interviewed.

It is for the last section that the author reserves his judgements and comments on his jet-age trip through the spiritual world of India. One has however to admire his honesty in confessing the feeling of inadequacy to comment — "It is so alien in its intensity to anything we have, I felt myself so unqualified to stand critically aloof, that for a long time even to want to do so seemed an impertinence." "... such a judgement is a generalization to which anyone who knows India can indicate exceptions", "... I have no intention of being smart-alecky about it" and "... I recognise how arrogant such an assertion sounds..."

The explanation assigned for the form of the Guru-shishya relationship by the author is the emotional and, of course, the sexual repressions of Hindu society — "that there are parallels between the relationship of lovers and those of Guru and disciple is evidenced..."

the strong patriarchal system Guru, which "for the disciples, there can be no doubt — the power is divine" Says the author "This certainty makes the process of surrendering to him so difficult and sometimes unpalatable to the Westerners." According to the author it is total lack of comprehension of these reasons for surrendering to the Guru and the "self imposed" delusions which has resulted in "the sort of intellectual mustiness which pervades a good deal of the Gurushishya relationship."

There seems to be almost a desperate attempt to understand, or to be fair, to explain what the author has grasped during his voyage into Indian spirituality. At one point he wonders if the liberation of the Guru is a fraud, because though the Guru is out of the Hindu society, the Hindu structure has created a place for "liberated" man and for the relationships of Gurushishya and Guru-society. At the same time he criticised the rigidities of the western social system which has created outcasts of the rootless young and where unlike India "we give our mad no opportunity to compromise with their delusions, instead we put them behind walls as if to drive them farther into their personal universe."

There are explanations for the Western, restless young, "the spiritually bewildered" and as to why "those in search of ways out of their dilemma should not have turned to what lay nearest at hand — the Christian Religion." The Western youth has learnt to question, in which LSD has played a part — "the drug experience has not been for these people an end but a beginning." A paradox perhaps, is that from the affluent society, in which "literacy, democracy, technology, what the 19th century visionaries hoped for has been achieved," the youth is looking for "individual self realisation" and has turned to the east to seek it — the east, still with its 19th century dreams of "literacy, democracy, technology."

ARUNA THOSAR

CULTURE UNDER THE RED STAR

Communism and Culture; Harry Goldberg. (Siddhartha Publications, Delhi, Rs. 3/-; pp. 24).

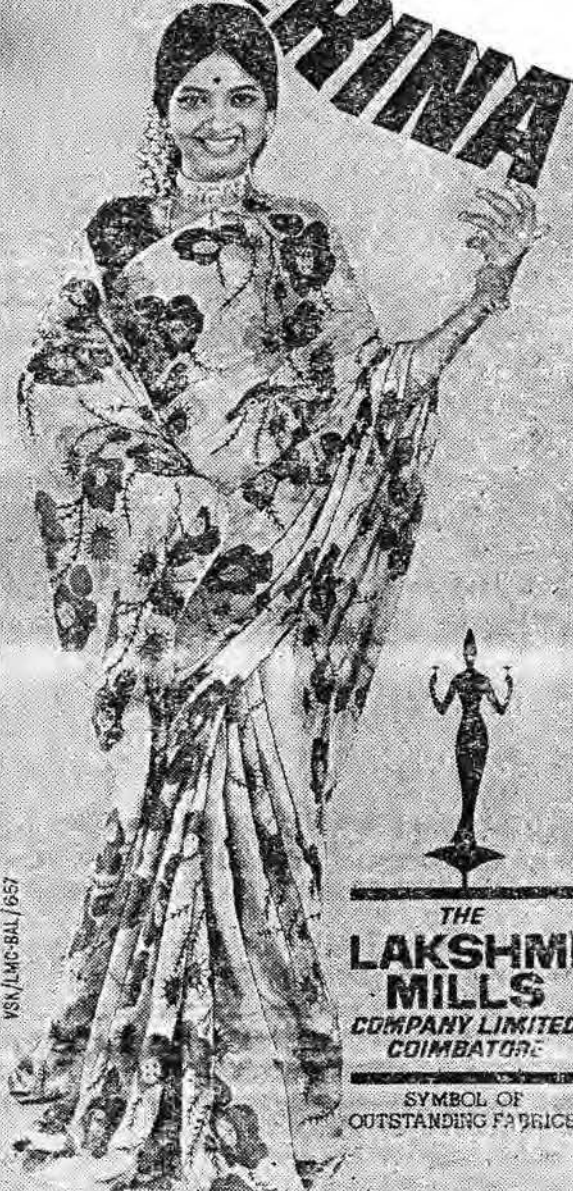
HARRY Goldberg is long associated with the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations. As a representative of that Committee he was in India and other Asian countries some years back. Apart from being a trade union leader, he is a scholar, a musician and a dedicated democrat. This is a collection of the essays that he contributed to the Delhi journal *Thought* some months back.

The essays portray the state of culture under Communism. They show how natural sciences and arts like music and drama are subject to the control of the State and the Party. Many intrepid spirits, the most recent example being that of Solzhenitsyn — have revolted against this suppression of the free spirit of man. The author has dedicated the essays to those brave dissidents.

V. B. KARNIK

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the French penal colonies, quite prepare you for the range, variety and ingenuity of the Russian methods. "Just give us a person and we'll create a case," the Bluecaps are believed to boast among themselves. They might also assert with equal professional pride: "Just give us a victim and we'll make him confess."

The arrest, the interrogation, the forced confession, the sentence, the imprisonment, all are a part of a highly organized and smooth-running system which Solzhenitsyn lays bare with a meticulousness that might be ascribed to his training as a mathematician. He hammers home his points by quoting from literally hundreds of case histories, many of which would provide excellent material for novels and short stories. Solzhenitsyn throws them at you with prodigal recklessness, to create a sort of machine-gun effect. Shock follows shock through more than six hundred pages, and at that the *Gulag Archipelago* consists only two parts out of a seven-part history of what passes for crime and punishment in the U.S.S.R. But fortunately Solzhenitsyn is such an accomplished writer, and his logic so unflawed and his viewpoint so civilized, that the effect of this bombardment is never blunted. As one reads, one cannot but help being amazed at the incredible amount of research and sheer hard work that must have gone into the book; it is as though a dozen writers of extraordinary literary brilliance and boundless energy had joined in compiling this denunciation of a system of Government by terror. Stalin, the benign, homespun Big Brother of the war years, stands revealed as "exactly the same kind of dog as Ivan the Terrible," a maniac who sent tens of thousands to their deaths and hundreds of thousands to the Gulag Archipelago. The motives that prompted Stalin to act as he did are too involved, too contorted, and even too full of contradictions to make sense to outsiders. "Who knows the secrets of these courtyards?" Solzhenitsyn laments. But basically it was all a part of the dog-eat-dog in fighting that went on at the very pinnacle of power. Stalin trusted no one and employed spies to report on spies. Indeed Solzhenitsyn suggests that it was Beria, the Chief of Security who, finding himself in danger of being made the victim of a purge, "arranged to have Stalin done away with."

Turning Point

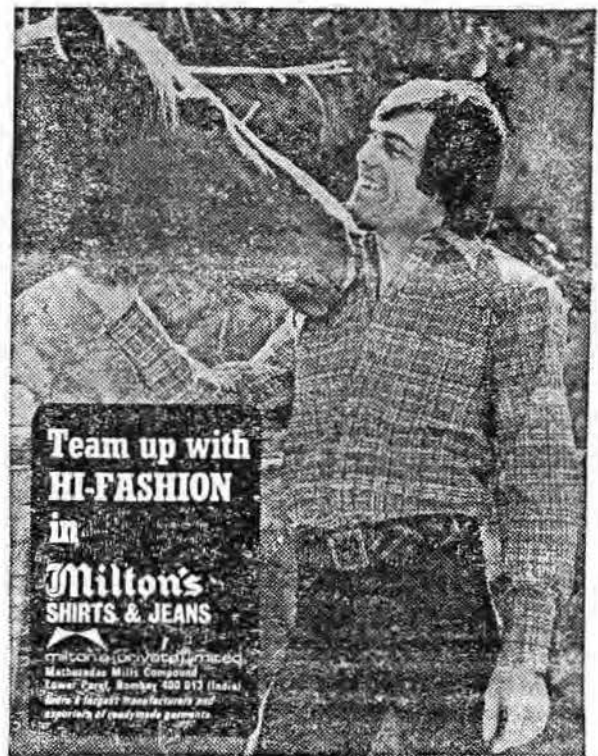
Solzhenitsyn's arrest was a great turning point in his life. The man who might, in all probability, have ended up as a portly professor of mathematics in a Moscow college, has become the most dynamic literary figure of the twentieth century. He has emerged the victor from his "duel with insanity and all the trials of loneliness," and can now speak with true detachment of national calamities as well as of human tragedies. "In war, not victories are blessed but defeats . . . people need defeats as much as an individual needs suffering

and misfortune: they compel the deepening of the inner and general spiritual upsurge."

No matter how much the Kremlin's propagandists vilify him, Solzhenitsyn emerges as a hard-grained patriot, a man who loves Russia and her people. Gulag is a courageous attack not at anything basically Russian but at what Communism has made of Russia; a look back, not so much in anger as in disgust. The fact that large numbers of Russian soldiers who had become German prisoners dreaded their repatriation when the war ended is perfectly understandable to him; for a return meant yet another, longer and more arduous, term of imprisonment. And he is justifiably incensed against the Americans for having turned away several Russian divisions and "forced them to Soviet hands", as well as against Winston Churchill for transferring the entire Cossack Corps of 80,000 troops, to the Russians. But what defeats his understanding is the fact that over half a million captured Russian soldiers should have actually accepted service in the German army, and that some of the most renowned Russian officers allowed themselves to be embodied into a "Russian Liberation Army", and willing, as a part of the Wehrmacht, to fight their own brethren.

"Why was it", he asks with indignation, "that in capitalist England in this war, only one traitor could be found, the businessman 'Lord Haw Haw'—but in our country, millions?"

Why? In the *Gulag Archipelago*, he seeks to provide the answer. "Might the heart of the matter not be in the political system?", he asks.



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WITH MANY VOICES

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

We who believe in and live by majority rule must always be alert to the danger of 'tyranny of the majority'.

—President Ford in *Time*, September 30.

The golden age of the foundations is over.

—*The Economist*, September 28.

You are preoccupied with the crisis in your own brains instead of with the economic conditions with which we are grappling.

—Chancellor Schmidt to young Socialists quoted in *Daily Telegraph*, October 1.

Nearly everywhere, agriculture is being treated like the stepchild of development by citified policymakers.

—Juan T. Gatlinton in *Insight* (Hongkong), April 1974.

Academic liberals can always be trusted to sell the pass, where real values and first-rate standards are concerned: to care for those is called élitism.

—A. L. Rowse in *The Daily Telegraph*, October 3.

You (Dr. Hargobind Khorana) are the first Indian I have met who does not want to make a speech.

—Swedish Foreign Ministry official quoted in the *Times of India*, October 23

Mrs. Gandhi is plainly torn between admitting that India is woefully short of food and losing face, or covering up the threat of famine and losing foreign aid.

—*The Economist*, October 5.

Question: 'Why is Comrade Gierek going to Washington next week?'

Answer: 'To get American filters to purify the oil, he is getting from Comrade Brezhnev.'

—*The Economist*, October 5.

The word Ostpolitik is so closely linked with the fate of Willy Brandt that it seems to have disappeared with him.

—*The Economist*, October 5.

That autocrat of nineteenth-century Spain, General Narvaez, when asked on his deathbed whether he had forgiven his enemies, could reply with an equally clear conscience: 'But, Father, I have no enemies; I had them all shot'.

—*The Economist*, October 5.

A dying man needs to die, as a sleepy man needs to sleep, and there comes a time when it is wrong, as well as useless, to resist.

—Stewart Alsop quoted in *National Review*, June 21.

He (Giscard) is a liberal Conservative and I am a conservative Social Democrat. This goes well together.

—Chancellor Helmut Schmidt quoted in *National Review*, June 21.

I don't think you can be a legislator on Monday, a policeman on Wednesday and a judge on Friday.

—Newton Minnow quoted in *Time*, October 24.

Krishna Menon died unwept and unsung by his Russian and Arab friends whose cause he focussed on the international forum.

—Dilshad M. Hussein & G. N. Nadaf in the *Indian Express*, October 18.

The whole subject is not whether Rockefeller has millions of dollars. It is whether or not he has used these millions of dollars to buy power. I think that is wrong.

—Senator Barry Goldwater quoted in the *Indian Express*, October 26.

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