

DEATH OF A DICTATOR

NISSIM EZEKIEL

The truth about Brezhnev is that he continued the tradition of Stalinist dictatorship, in changed circumstances. He did not, for instance, kill 20 million Russians; there was no need to do so. But he killed, imprisoned and tortured citizens of the Soviet Union who were opposed to his policy, and he did it for the sake of "peace and communism".

The truth about Brezhnev is that he was a true believer in communist imperialism. So he continued the Soviet oppression of Eastern Europe. When a movement arose to redeem communism, at least partially, from its normal mode of rule by terror, he crushed it mercilessly. The movement was pathetically in favour of "communism with a human face".

The truth about Brezhnev is that he sold the policy of detente to the West and used it to build up the armed might of the Soviet Union. Detente had no other motive.

The truth about Brezhnev is that he ordered the invasion of Afghanistan and kept the Soviet Union's cruel grip on it without one word of remorse or good-will. He did not order the invasion of Poland

because the pro-Soviet regime there did not need his help in putting down the rebellion of the Polish people against communist tyranny.

The truth about Brezhnev is that he was a friend of India, as he was a friend of Poland, adjusting his friendships in the specific terms most appropriate to the general Soviet policy of expanding communist influence.

In Poland, those terms required the threat of a take-over. In India, they required political support and economic co-operation.

Indira Gandhi has said that Brezhnev's life was "one of unusual dedication, tenacity and achievement." So was Stalin's. So was Hitler's. Millions suffered because of such dedication, tenacity and achievement.

Indira has also said that Brezhnev "directed the strength and creative spirit of the Soviet people towards peace and the task of ensuring a world where nations could live in amity." Strength, creative spirit, peace, amity, these four words are desecrated by Indira when she associates them with

Brezhnev, who destroyed groups of Russian citizens attempting to soften the rigours of Soviet rule.

The truth about Brezhnev is that he imprisoned or exiled his fellow citizens who tried to assess his compliance with the Helsinki agreements on human rights. He did the same to Russian activists who opposed the long-standing Soviet practice of sending dissidents to mental hospitals and compelling psychiatrists to declare them insane.

Newspapers and journals in India, fighting against the creation and imposition of a code of conduct for journalists, should not praise Brezhnev who maintained and strengthened the Soviet policy of treating all its journalists as propagandists of the Government.

Of what use to praise him for building up the military power of the Soviet Union when we know that the build-up was accompanied by keeping the Russians slaves of their system?

Of what use to describe as one of his "achievements" the signing of the Helsinki accord when he did not respect its provisions in the

country of which he was the top man.

Of what use to describe SALT-I as another of his achievements when evidence is available that it led to no limitation of strategic arms in the Soviet Union?

The truth about Brezhnev—and it can't be any other—is that like Stalin the mass murderer and all other communist leaders in or out of power past or present he was “dedicated” to the destruction of freedom and democracy: pluralist modes of living and thinking, with a variety of political, ethical and philosophical beliefs, autonomous literary, intellectual, educational and cultural institutions, etc. He

favoured economic development and international co-operation in the interests of eventual communist domination, the creation of a world in which the Soviet pattern of one-party government would prevail. Strength, the creative spirit, peace and amity, in Indira's words, would then be achieved.

To admire and praise Brezhnev is to insult all those Russian and East European citizens who courageously raised their single, isolated, individual voices against his oppressive communist rule, and suffered the consequences. Thousands of them are still in jail, where they probably read the mendacious tributes to Brezhnev, not only of diplomats and their kin

but of independent minds, who protest loudly when their own rights are in danger.

It is surely hypocrisy to write articles and make speeches against the Bihar Press Bill while keeping silent about the Soviet Union's imposition of total control over its own Press. Brezhnev did nothing to decrease that control nor did he even believe that it should be decreased.

“Brezhnev will long live in the hearts of progressive humanity,” said the official Soviet announcement of his death. If progressive means enslaved, it may be true, but even so his image will live as oppressor, not as liberator, as Hitler's does and Stalin's.

Know your Road Signs-2



**Be level-headed:
don't go without
BI-Girling brakes**



**Brakes India:
Making your safety
a certainty**

The rate of accidents at unmanned level crossings is incredibly high... don't take chances. Make sure that the coast is clear before you proceed. And make sure that your vehicle is armed with BI-Girling brakes. Because they're rigorously tested—for 100% safety, 100% efficiency, 100% reliability. And they're backed up by the expertise of the famous international brake specialists: Girling Limited of U.K.

For maximum safety on the road, trust Brakes India: manufacturers of BI-Girling brakes and braking equipment, hydraulic brakes and clutch actuation systems.

Brakes India Limited
Padi, Madras 600 050

Issued in the interest of Road Safety

SAA/BI/227

FREE CHINA AND THE PEOPLES OF ASIA

ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN

(*Freedom First* is privileged to make available to its readers the full text of the vital speech made by Alexander Solzhenitsyn on October 23 in Taipeh which has significance for all the peoples of Asia.)

For 33 years, Taiwan has attracted, by its specific fate, the attention of many people throughout the world. I myself felt that way long ago. Three score countries have already fallen under the yoke of communism. Scarcely one of them has been fortunate enough to retain even a tiny patch of its independent national territory and through comparison show the world the difference between itself and communist disorganization. In Russia, such a patch of land could have been Wrangel's Crimea. But, lacking any external support and abandoned by its unfaithful former allies, it was soon crushed by the communists.

But in China, thanks to a wide strait, a fragment of the former state became the Republic of China on Taiwan which, for a third of a century, has proved to the world what heights of development could have been reached if the whole of China had not fallen under the yoke of communism. Today, the Republic of China on Taiwan differs from others in its development, its industrial achievements and the well-being of its population, thereby proving how logically the forces of a nation can be guided if they are not in inimical hands.

It would seem that the population of our planet should clearly perceive such an instructive comparison and should have its eyes opened to see how peoples who escape communism flourish and how those who fall victim to communist tenets perish by the million. The history of communist destruction in the Soviet Union, Poland and Cambodia is now known to all. The history of the millions destroyed in China, Vietnam or North Korea is yet to be revealed in detail, but many signs allow us to judge this history even now.

But no. It is free China which has had to endure and suffer from the greatest injustices and ignoble attitudes of other countries. The United Nations, degraded to an irresponsible side-show, disgraced itself by expelling from membership the 17 millions of free China. The majority of countries on our planet treacherously expelled your country from the U.N., whose delegates, adding insult to injury, whistled, jeered and shouted. The majority of third world countries behaved like madmen who don't know the price of freedom but are themselves waiting for the kick of

the boot.

For centuries the western world has known very well the price of freedom. But with years passing and well-being achieved, it is less and less prepared to pay for it. The western people value their state systems but are less and less inclined to defend them with their own bodies. From decade to decade, the west has become increasingly senile and unable to defend itself. The betrayal of one country after another had already begun before the second world war. Afterward, no scruples were felt in abrogating the whole of eastern Europe just for the sake of the west's own well-being.

How easy it was to betray the government of Mikolaychik. How easy it was to withdraw support from one's ally Chiang Kai-Shek. And soon we shall witness how one country will betray another for the price of surviving just a little longer. Should it be surprising that the majority of the frightened western countries are even afraid to sell you weapons for fear of angering Peking? That's how much their drive and concern for freedom is worth. Meanwhile, threatened Europe should understand your position better but is so cowardly that it fails to recognize that the Republic of China and other countries of Asia are themselves endangered. Just recently, the former Premier of Japan declared that the arming of free China would destabilize the far east. What more can be said?

They are all obsessed with search for self-protection and the quest for a stand-in. So there emerged an attractive myth—that there are "Bad" and "Good" communisms. And out of such a myth grew the image of communist China as a good-natured peacemaker. But should that be surprising? When, in South Korea, which herself survived a communist assault, there exists a myth that actually the Soviet Union is not directly hostile to them, not so much an enemy, not like North Korea? The South Koreans have also been doing their utmost to curry favor with Peking.

No, it is not out of shortsightedness, not out of stupidity, that such myths are believed, but out of despair, out of the loss of spirit.

In a particular relationship to you is the United States of America. Up to this day, the United States provides the only outside guarantee restraining the communists from attacking your island. But how difficult it becomes for the United States to remain faithful to Taiwan! How much has already been lost on the way!

The Americans have also succumbed to the general

world trend to leave the Republic of China to its perils, to abandon it to its fate. America moved to abrogate its diplomatic relations with the R.O.C. For what? For what fault of hers? Only to follow the futile western dream of gaining an ally in communist China. America has restricted its connections with you, curtailed its military support and is denying you much of what you need.

What pressures have been exerted upon American Presidents, urging surrender of Taiwan! Not all of them could bear the strain. Here we have a former President, just back from a visit to China, where he flattered his hosts by saying "A strong Communist China is a guarantee for peace," and that America seems to be interested in China. Such people in former years have governed the United States, and there is no guarantee that another such person might not succeed President Reagan.

The United States is highly heterogeneous. There are many currents, of which the capitulatory tides are quite powerful. Extremely powerful circles are leaning toward betrayal of a free country in favour of friendship with a totalitarian one. They gladly picked up the hypocritical offer from Communist China on "peaceful unification." Many American journalists cry from the housetops that Peking is now "bound by promises" to effect unification peacefully. They wanted to forget, and therefore successfully forgot, how many times the communists have already cheated. The experience of "governments in concert with communists" in postwar Eastern Europe has taught no lesson. This hopeless experiment now is being conducted in Cambodia.

Similarly, according to Kissinger's agreement, North Vietnam was "bound by a ceasefire"—until it set the day for the seizure of South Vietnam. And leading American newsmen reached such heights of stupidity as to write that the United States doesn't make mistakes. If Red China "breaks its promise" and seizes Taiwan by force—then—only then—America would be freed from obligations and could again start to deliver arms . . . to whom, then? . . . Yes, such delirium appears on the pages of leading American newspapers, and they don't realize what they are doing.

And thus the influential circles in the United States want to force Taiwan to accept capitulatory negotiations, to relinquish voluntarily its freedom and power.

What, then, does communist China want from you? Certainly it is eager to grab your blossoming economy, to plunder and devour it. After all, that has happened in the 20th century. Only shortsighted simpletons can trust Peking's promises that it will totally preserve your economic and social system, and even your armed forces along with some elements of freedom.

But the main issue is not to take away your wealth, to steal the fruits of your hard work. The main thing is that the communist system does not tolerate any deviation in anything or anywhere. Not even the wealth of your island is important; what matters is the deviation from their system. Communist China hates you for your economic and social superiority. For them it is not permissible that other Chinese should know that there can be a better life without communism.

The communist ideology does not tolerate any islets of freedom. And so, with all their might, the communists want to cut off the sale to you even of defensive arms, to try to weaken your defence capability, to disturb your balance of power in the Strait—and thus to bring closer the day of intrusion into your island.

In order to nurture the apathy of the United States, red China plays speculatively on the negotiations between Peking and Moscow on matters of China-Soviet rapprochement. Such rapprochement is not make-believe. It is a very realistic perspective. Both governments have long had common roots, a fact which everybody seems to forget. As far back as 1923, a Soviet agent Grusemberg, alias "Borodin", prepared a communist coup, and it was he who promoted Mao Tse-Tung and Chou En-Lai to the highest positions in the party.

**For The Most Professional Service in Air
Cargo Bookings—Domestic and International**



Regd. Office : Neville House, Nicol Road,
Ballard Estate, Bombay 400038.

Branches : Bangalore, Bhadohi, Calcutta,
Hyderabad, Madras, New Delhi,
Kanpur, Pune, Srinagar, Tri-
vandrum and Varanasi.

(Approved by Government of India)

All that I am telling you, because of the deadly danger in which you find yourself, is understood well by many, if not yet by all. The threat is understood better here than in South Korea where the young generation, the students, have quite forgotten the brief horrors of communist intrusion, so that the present freedom seems to them not enough. But they will remember and revalue their present "Non-freedom" when, after a command "hands back", they are driven under armed guards into concentration camps.

It seems to be fashionable in the west: To demand from all who stand in the forefront of defense, under machine-gun fire, the widest democracy, and not just simple but absolute democracy, bordering on total dissoluteness, on state treason, on the right to destroy their own state and country, such freedom as western countries tolerate. Such is the price the west demands from each menaced country, including yours. But it seems that on your island the logical limits are known and will sustain your struggle.

There is another danger stalking you. Your economic successes, your living standards and well-being are of a two-fold nature. These are the bright hope of all the Chinese people. But they also can become your weakness. All prosperous people tend to lose the awareness of danger, an addiction to the good living conditions of today, and consequently lose their will for resistance. I hope and I urge you to avoid such a weakening.

Don't permit the youth of your country to become soft and placid. To become slaves to material goods, until finally they will prefer captivity and slavery to the struggle for freedom. That for 33 years you lived peacefully does not mean that you might not be attacked in the coming years. You are not a serene, care-free island, you are an army, constantly under the menace of war.

You are 18 million, about as many as there are Jews in the world, and your problem is of the same dimensions. But the Jewish problem attracts the attention of all states and has become one of the central problems of contemporary times. Comparing this with the uniqueness of your position, I don't perceive why the fate of Taiwan should not command the equal attention of the world.

In today's world betrayal from weakness reigns supreme, and it is only your own strength upon which you can really rely. But there is also one more big and bigger hope: The peoples of the enslaved nations, who will not endure indefinitely but who will rise in one menacing hour, menacing to their communist rulers.

In your books you write that your island is "a bastion of national recovery". So be it. Not only defense,

not only self-preservation should be your goal, but help the liberation of your compatriots suffering on the mainland, and first of all, free courageous radio broadcasts.

It may seem, since no one comes to mind, that you have no firm, reliable allies, although they might appear in the hour of destruction. But you have the most formidable ally in the world: one billion Chinese people. Their sympathy is your moral and spiritual support. Just a few days ago, you had an encouraging signal from your compatriots through the act of defection of a red Chinese air force pilot. Often I think of still anonymous prisoners of the Chinese gulags whose true story might not be told until the 21st century.

All the oppressed people, including the peoples of the Soviet Union, cannot rely on outside help, only on their own strength. At the best, the whole world would watch indifferently, but possibly with a great deal of relief, if the mad rulers of China and the USSR should unleash war among them. I hope that won't happen. But in any case, let us testify here and now to the mutual amicability and trust between the Chinese and Russian peoples, to the absence of contradictions amongst them. Even more, let us hope for a union of our long suffering compatriots against both communist governments. Whatever might happen between these two self-interested, anti-national governments, let us preserve mutual understanding, mutual compassion and friendship. Let's not allow them to blind our eyes and deaden our ears through fruitless national hatred.

We don't know how long the plague of communism will affect our world. One hundred and thirty-five years ago, who would have told the leaders of the then great empires that the tiny group of utopists—communists who organized themselves in Europe—would conquer them all with iron and blood, and force to their knees their might and pride? They would not even have smiled at such a prophecy. Such forces could not then be seen anywhere. The strength of the communists was based on their drive and their cruelty. The weakness of the west was rooted in the absence of the will to fight.

We don't know what whimsical zigzags human history will follow. I have already expressed a supposition that world communism will outlive both Soviet and Chinese communist regimes, and spread over other countries, many of which are still eager to experience communism.

But in our two countries, national commonsense shall finally prevail. Anyway, both our peoples have suffered too much, lost too much. They are already moving along the way of liberation and recovery.

TERRIFIC
TOGETHER



CINTHOL SOAP AND TALC

The perfect partners for deodorant
protection—a bath with Cinthol Soap
and a sprinkling of Cinthol Talc—
to take you to great heights of freshness.

CINTHOL by *Godrej*



Interpub/CTS/1/80/16

A VARIETY OF COMMENT

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

1. RURAL REPRESSION

INSTANCES of repression in the rural areas have become so commonplace in India that they hardly make news any longer. Even so, the sampling of cases involving gruesome violations of human rights of rural inhabitants the world over, documented by Amnesty International in its Supplement published for the Prisoners of Conscience Week this year, makes shocking reading.

In Guatemala, for instance, government forces are reported to have embarked on an officially-approved programme of torture and massacre of Indians and peasants since March this year. "In one Indian village in Quiche province," says AI, "troops were reported to have forced all the inhabitants into the courthouse, raped the women and beheaded the men, and then battered the children to death against rocks in a nearby river. So far, no less than 2,600 persons are believed to have perished in such outrages all over the country."

The El Salvadoran example is worse. In a systematic and widespread campaign of mass killings, thousands of peasants have been tortured to death, some simply because they happened to be in areas which were targeted for "security operations". One example will suffice to bring out the stark brutality of the Salvadoran offensive.

According to a refugee who fled to Honduras in 1981, the security forces, in one of their raids, assassinated 18 humble peasants in the Cabanas zone, "among them a young woman who was seven months pregnant, called Adelaida Aleman. After they killed her, they sliced open her belly and took the child out and they cut it up with a *curvo* (curved knife) and threw it to the dogs."

Similar savagery has been reported from several other countries of diverse political and social systems. And all this, it is worth remembering, is only the tip of the proverbial iceberg.

2. DRUG REFORMS IN BANGLADESH

Only the exceedingly naive would believe that the long-drawn-out battle over infant formula which culminated in a decisive, if undeserved, victory for the motley group of anti-business activists in the UN last year, has marked the end of the virulent tirade launched against multinational corporations in general and the international drug industry in particular.

The latest manifestation of a renewed attack on the

drug MNCs comes from Bangladesh where the Martial Law regime, in an evidently ill-conceived move, promulgated an Ordinance seeking to remove from sale as many as 1707 pharmaceutical products, many of proven safety and therapeutic efficacy. By prescribing revised criteria for refusing product registration, the Ordinance also aims at pre-empting the introduction of several new drugs in that country in the years to come.

As is only to be expected with measures of such a sweeping character, the Ordinance is riddled with grave inconsistencies. For one thing, a majority of the products that it seeks to banish from the Bangladesh market are those manufactured, not by the multinationals which the Government appears to be determined to "tame", but by hundreds of locally-owned firms, in some of which the Government itself holds equity.

For another, many of the products scheduled to be removed from sale can hardly be classified, which the Ordinance does, as "non-essential". Given the sizeable demand that drugs of proven efficacy like ampicillin, tetracycline, metronidazole, etc. command in Bangladesh (as elsewhere in the developing world), the Ordinance can have but one effect, namely, a sharp escalation in prices for the consumer due to reduced availability. As for the quality of substitute products that are bound to proliferate, the less said the better.

Merits apart, the most reprehensible feature of the move is the brazenly arbitrary manner in which it has been made. The least that was expected of the Government while dealing with an issue of such seminal importance, is that those vitally affected, not least the consumers themselves, should have been given an opportunity of debating the pros and cons of the matter at some length.

3. THE PERILS OF WELFARISM

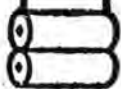
For many years now, Milton Friedman and his colleagues have been at pains to point out that there is no such thing as a free lunch. But if the grandiose Mid-day Nutritious Meal Scheme launched by the Tamil Nadu Government earlier this year is any indication, Indian politicians are of a different mind.

Initiated amidst great fanfare by the State Chief Minister, whose flair for gimmickry has almost passed into a byword, the Scheme attempts to provide over 68 lakh children throughout Tamil Nadu with a square meal every day, at an annual expenditure of Rs. 150

crores. All objections on the financial viability of the Scheme were brushed aside lightly, and the entire measure was rushed through by the state administration with a rapidity that is as amazing as it is alarming. Predictably enough, formal legislative approval was dispensed with, while no member of the Opposition was included in any of the Committees that were constituted to oversee the Scheme's implementation.

Churlish though it may seem to criticise a measure aimed avowedly at promoting the welfare of children, a majority of whom suffer from acute poverty and malnutrition, it would nevertheless be unwise to disregard the dangers that unbridled welfarism brings in its wake, especially in a country like India. The culture of dependence which inevitably follows Schemes like the present one, not only saps the moral fibre of the populace at large, but also constitutes the greatest impediment to harnessing the true potential of the citizens for national progress.

Corruption is yet another by-product of welfarism which in a society like ours assumes added significance. The lure of fattening one's purse while spending someone's money on someone else is so strong among bureaucrats that, over a period of time, corruption becomes institutionalised, as is borne out by the experience of every single Welfare State in recent history. Small wonder, therefore, that the clamour for more and more redistributionist schemes continues, even as the complete failure of existing ones becomes readily apparent.



**To create
a good impression
use West Coast Paper
for writing
printing
packaging
and many other uses**

WEST COAST PAPER

Shreenivas House,
Hazarimal Somanl Marg, Bombay 1

A Fair Deal

Dear Reader,

Do you know that the direct cost of paper, postage and printing of your copy of **Freedom First** is no less than Rs. 1.66? This is because of the steep rise in the cost of paper, printing and postage in the last couple of years. As against this, we have asked you to pay us Rs. 1.25 per issue. This means that your subscription is subsidised to the extent of 41 paise per copy.

But even that is not the whole story. There is in addition rent of the office, office utilities, stationery, conveyance and payment of honoraria, however modest, to members of the editorial and managerial staff. So you see, you have so far not been asked to pay even half the cost of your copy of **Freedom First**!

Since you have been a devoted reader of **Freedom First** I do not believe you would wish this state of affairs to continue, because it means we would have to close down the journal. You will agree that **Freedom First** is "better read than dead"!

In view of this, my colleagues and I have been forced to raise the subscription with immediate effect for renewals and new subscriptions to Rs. 20 or Rs. 1.66 per issue. So if your subscription has lapsed and you have not renewed it as yet, would you kindly send Rs. 20.

This means that your copy will still be subsidised to a considerable extent to cover the cost of office overheads, staff, etc. These costs we shall endeavour to cover through advertisements and donations.

I trust you will find this arrangement a fair and equitable one and will be good enough to respond. Would you care to consider sending several years' subscription in advance?

(M. R. Masani)

Chairman
Democratic Research Service

FREEDOM FIRST

CORRUPTION IN THE COMMUNIST FATHERLAND

AZIZ MADNI

Corruption in India has come to be accepted as a way of life. It has become so widespread because it lines the pocket of the receiver and thereby gets things done for the giver the way he or she wants it. This phenomenon is not peculiar to India; it is common to all the countries of the Third World. Nor is the United States or any of the advanced countries of Western Europe totally immune to it. The only difference is that there they believe in going about it in a much bigger way or not at all.

But what about Soviet Russia? Perish the thought! How can one even think of the possibility of such a thing existing in the land of Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev? Is not communism—or whatever passes for it there—a guarantee against any sort of corruption at all? So at least guillible people everywhere in the world thought of Stalin's bloody excesses until none other than Khrushchev exposed them for what they were at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia!

The job of exposing rampant corruption in that birthplace of communism has been done just as well by another—if a lesser—Russian, Konstantin Simis, a lawyer who was expelled from the land of his birth for doing just that. He has continued the good work from the United States where he lives now. His book **U.S.S.R.: Secrets of a Corrupt Society** (to be published by J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. and priced £8.95) is promising to be a veritable bombshell, if extracts from it reproduced in the British press are any indication.

"Corrupt from top to bottom, from party chiefs in palaces to peasants fiddling for copecks. That is the picture of the Soviet Union drawn by Konstantin Simis," comments the *Sunday Times*, for example. Now let us look at some of the extracts from the book subjectwise:

The Ruling Elite: "To comprehend the magnitude of the privileges and benefits which the Soviet ruling elite has secured for itself one must have at least some general idea of the standard of living of the ordinary people in the Soviet Union. The average monthly wage for the manual and office workers... is 164 roubles... the minimum required for a family of three to live modestly is 250 roubles... At the same time the salary of the minister of defence or of the president of the Academy of Science (2,000 roubles a month) is almost 30 times the legal minimum wage of 70 roubles a month. If all the legalised perquisites... are also taken into account, then without exaggeration a minister's monthly income will run to as much as

4,000 roubles—at least 60 times the minimum wage paid to a manual or office worker..."

So much for the difference in income. But that is not all. "Among the privileges which come with the membership of the highest level of the ruling caste," writes Simis, "the most important of all is a secure private supply of food and such daily necessities as clothes, shoes and so forth... The ruling elite in Moscow gets its food supplies through the 'Kremlin Canteens'... including caviar and other expensive delicacies such as brandy, wine and high-grade vodka."

The author then works up to a climax: "There is a group in the Soviet Union which stands beyond all these categories: the members of the Politburo, those 13-15 people who make up the highest organ in the party apparatus. Without restriction and completely free of charge, they get anything they want in limitless quantity." Then again: "Each Politburo member has his own personal palace... The reason is that corruption, even in the highest strata of the Soviet Union has become a fact of life."

From Cradle to Grave: "From the moment of birth corruption enters a Russian's life," writes Konstantin Simis. And then he goes on to illustrate the point: "For instance, a woman about to go in labour will be taken to her maternity home without any bribery, but if she wants to go in a hospital known for its high standard of service and its qualified staff... then a bribe will be required... In Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and other major cities are the famous hospitals and specialised clinics which are sought after by patients from all corners of the country. Friends or bribes help considerably here."

Higher Education: "In the Soviet Union the system for entering higher educational institutions is by competitive examinations... On one occasion in the dock of Moscow city court there were nine defendants, all of them the employees of one of the most prestigious institutes of Moscow... All were accused of taking bribes from a number of candidates' parents, in return for which they would arrange for candidates to be accepted at the school by giving them high marks on entrance examinations."

Graves for Sale: Writes Simis, "A sociologist friend of mine in Moscow counted 12 categories by which a Soviet citizen may be buried... It is even possible to 'arrange' for burial in the cemetery of Novodevichy Monetary (which is only second to the Kremlin Wall) by a payment of a hefty sum of around 2,000 to 2,500 roubles... Everything in this business generated profit. The coffins and wreaths were returned to the

funeral supplier and would be resold twice or even three times over. . . . The clothing and underclothing would be sent on consignment to a second-hand shop and the gold was sold to one of the several black market currency dealers. . . . One could not but be struck by the callous efficiency and matter-of-factness that prevailed in the trade dealing with the death of *Homo sovieticus*."

Fat Cats of Kremlin: Who says sex plays no part in the politics of the Kremlin? Konstantin's investigative writing exposes it in no uncertain terms from behind the seclusion of the walls of the Kremlin. Let me cite an instance of it from one of the extracts. "Here is another example of corruption at the very apex of the pyramid of power; the case of the late Ekaterina Furtseva. The dizzy career of this beautiful woman is as puzzling as it is astonishing. She began as a humble laboratory assistant at the Moscow Medical Institute, and her first small step upwards was her election to the secretaryship of the Institute's Party bureau. From there her career experienced a swift and mysterious take-off. . . . Then there was another sharp jolt upwards, and Furtseva became first secretary of the Moscow Committee of the Party: one of the most prominent posts in the ruling Party apparatus. . . . Furtseva's career is full of such sudden rises, which are difficult to explain without accepting the version circulating in Moscow concerning the romantic foundation of that career, a version which, among others, mentions the name of Nikita Khrushchev himself."

All these glaring instances of corruption go to show how this all-pervasive disease is eating into the very vitals of Soviet society. The picture, scandalous as it is, would not be complete without the finishing touches given to it by Michael Binyon, *The Times* correspondent in Moscow from 1978 until June 1982. He witnessed at first hand not only the rampant corruption but also the crackdown over the past one year to stamp it out. So far it has cost thousands of bureaucrats their jobs and sent, along with hundreds of them, members of the police force to prisons and labour camps. This has climaxed in the exposure of a major scandal in which no less a person than President Brezhnev's daughter is involved.

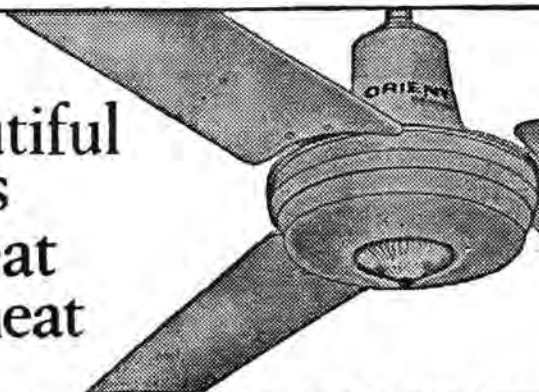
One can do no better than reproduce the relevant excerpt from Binyon's dispatch to his paper: "The go-ahead for all this was personally ordered by President Brezhnev, who sharply attacked corruption, especially in the medical service, at the last party congress. But when the investigations began to touch senior party officials, a bitter row is believed to have broken out over how much should be revealed of the wrongdoing at the top. And in the spring, this led to a scandal; Brezhnev's own daughter, Galina, was linked to the name of Boris the Gypsy, a flamboyant one-time Bolshoi performer, who was caught in a diamond-smuggling racket with the director of the state circus management, also now arrested. There were signs that the corruption issue was being used by those manoeuvring to succeed Brezhnev to discredit their opponents."

Beautiful ways to beat the heat

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

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

Guaranteed for two years



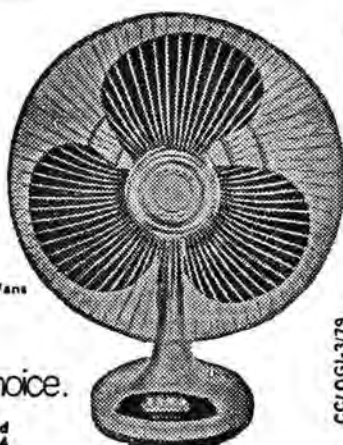
ORIENT FANS

4 Ceiling Fans • 8 Table Fans • 2 Pedestal Fans



More of beauty. More of choice.

Orient General Industries Limited
8, Ghore Bibi Lane, Calcutta 700 054



CCIOGI-3/79

H. V. Kamath—a true Karma Yogi

S. S. BANKESHWAR

In the death of H. V. Kamath (known as Vishnumam to his close relations and friends), India has lost a great parliamentarian and a freedom fighter, and we have lost one of our great family friends.

Whenever he was to visit Bombay, he was in the habit of sending a post card to me: "I shall, *deo volante*, arrive at your place on ———at———" One such was received by me just a week before his death!

I have a feeling that our Vishnumam had a premonition of his death recently. When I sent to him my greetings on the occasion of his 75th birthday, he replied: My dear Sumant, thank you very much for your best wishes on the occasion of my birthday. After three score and ten, every year we live is a bonus from God. Even the bonus agreement is for three years, but God has extended it in my case for another two years, without my consent! It seems that I shall have to carry on my fight against corruption and inefficiency even in Heaven as some bureaucrat there is holding up my visa to that Heaven! My dear Sumant, my health is somewhat indifferent now-a-days and I have been medically advised to be very careful about food, rest and sleep. Thanks a lot for sending me the *Mid-Day* cutting of my interview with that paper."

I first came into contact with our Vishnumam in 1954, but very closely only in 1956 when he, along with the late Shri Nath Pai, stayed at the residence of my late father, Shri S. B. Bankeshwar, who was Shri Kamath's permanent host in Bangalore. When he learnt of my father's death, he took the first possible opportunity to visit my mother in Bombay to offer his condolences. After 1972, I was his permanent host in Bombay. When I was staying in our Godrej quarters in Vikhroli (1959-1962), Mr. Kamath stayed at our place only twice.

Mr. Kamath was too honest and principled to be a politician. He was one by accident. He told me once, "Had I not met Subhash Chandra Bose in my life at all, I would have been a bureaucrat, being an I.C.S."

Mr. Kamath was very uncomfortable in any party he belonged to—the Forward Block, the P.S.P. and the Janata party—as he stood for value-based politics.

He could have walked into any cabinet of talent, but he declined all such offers as he knew he would never be able to function as an effective minister for more

than six months because of his intolerance of corruption, lethargy, laziness and incompetence of the bureaucrats in every ministry. When his twin political brother—Mahavir Tyagi—deserted him, Shri Kamath commented: "Our Tyagi has now become a Bhogi." After Tyagi "deserted" Kamath, he told me: "It is like Laxman deserting Rama."

Mr. Kamath belonged to that rare vanishing breed of politicians like J.P., Acharya Kripalani and S. M. Joshi, who always stood for freedom and justice, and fought a relentless battle against corruption, inefficiency and lethargy.

Whenever I sent to him press clippings of my articles, he always used to reply with his critical comments. When I sent to him my article "Non-alignment—Myth or Reality" published in *Freedom First*, he wrote: "Your article provided interesting reading, but I felt you could have buttressed your thesis further by a little more detailed elaboration of events in Europe and Asia commencing from 'Massive invasion of India' (Nehru's words)."

Commenting on my article on "Gandhian Socialism", Shri Kamath wrote, "Thanks for your letter plus the well-worded, cogently reasoned article. I have long held the view—even when I was in the P.S.P.—that nationalization is nothing but governmentalization which, in effect, is bureaucratization. 'Socialism' has come to mean all things to all men."

Commenting on my article on "National Alternative" in *Freedom First*, Shri Kamath wrote: "The prospects for constitutional Parliamentary democracy are becoming bleaker day by day. Principles, values and norms in politics and public life are 'non-est'. I enjoyed reading your hard-hitting article which is quite apposite in the present circumstances."

When I asked him recently to write an article on "A National Alternative" for *Freedom First*, he wrote: "I have no inner urge to write on this topic, in view of recent happenings—comic if not tragic—which have blotched our political landscape in recent months."

If I write for *Freedom First* on any subject, my article will be in manuscript and not typescript. I have no competent typist here to do the work, and at my age I cannot go in search of one."

Shri Kamath was really a Karma Yogi like Acharya Kripalani and J.P., who were never after power or pelf, but who always fought for freedom and justice.

BOOK REVIEW

THE BANDICOOT RUN by Manohar Malgaonkar. Vision Books. 338 pages. Rs. 60.

It has all the ingredients that go into the making of an exciting story of espionage: murder, a missing file, stolen military secrets, a British mercenary who is currently a Pakistani spy, the lust for power in the highest echelons of the Indian Army. The backdrop is the distrust and mutual recrimination that reached its peak in the years soon after Partition. Yet, as the story progresses, one gets the feeling that Malgaonkar was not at his best while writing it.

The story revolves around the missing Gilchrist file. It contains a record of the court martial proceedings against Brian Gilchrist, an officer charged with accepting bribes to tamper with the postings of Indian army officers ordered to front-line positions during the Second World War. One of the officers implicated in the case is Shamlal Behl, risen to the post of Major General in a divided India and a strong contender for the post of Chief of Army Staff.

The information contained in the Gilchrist file soon falls into Pakistani hands, and Behl is blackmailed into giving away top military secrets. How the affair comes to light and how Behl is eventually exposed forms the essence of this tortuous story, which winds its way through supposedly eventful incidents but falls far short of arousing the reader's interest or capturing his imagination. Besides, Malgaonkar subjects his fans to lengthy, often boring conversations between "Kite" Nadkar and Pulla Reddy, the two main characters who put the evidence together.

The two are amateurs, having entered the fray only to protect the interests of their friend "Jacko" Garud, rival to Shamlal Behl, and now under house arrest. He is charged with betraying Indian secrets to Pakistan.

Nadkar is, in fact, a gentleman farmer. A retired army captain, he lives in a place called Satnala and spends his time shooting snipe, tending orchards and attending Board meetings of local Committees, including the Forest Preservation Committee and the Orange Growers' Association. Happy in his role as the local squire, he shows little or no interest in the affairs of his erstwhile profession.

Pulla Reddy, on the other hand, is an in-service Colonel, whose vision in certain respects is as limited as Nadkar's, for he is totally caught up in the intrigues of the army, satisfied to be one of the jostling crowd of ambitious men.

Given a situation in which two amateurs take on an established spy trail, with all its in-built protection against exposure, there should have been enough opportunity for the author to create an intriguing

story, racy and vivid. Besides, the times were cruel, full of despair and with a bitterness set awash by the loss of a huge part of the country.

But none of this is evident. Throughout the book there runs a vein of complete placidity. There is no hurry, no sense of the two being pitted against potentially dangerous men, and nothing disturbs the even tenor of their existence. In fact, they go about their spying with an air of total unconcern and with all the detachment of students engaged in academic research. While this quality may be delightful in a folk story or a travelogue, perhaps, in this book its effect is disastrous.

In fact, the only truly interesting character is Brian Gilchrist, the man who steals the file, originally for the C.I.A., but has a change of heart at the last minute and decides that it would be less dangerous to the sub-continent if its secrets were sold to Pakistan.

To put it in his quaint philosophy, "There are things a sahib just does not do." White of skin but brought up to be more or less Indian, he typifies the small number of Englishmen left high and dry when the British moved out. Unable to return to a Europe they had lost touch with, they stayed back, kept alive by memories of "a frayed regimental tie and a dimly recollected marching tune."

All in all, the book is a sad disappointment from an author of the stature of Malgaonkar. It is difficult to believe that this is the same person who gave us *A Bend in the Ganges* and *Distant Drum*.

SANDHYA HARIHARAN

Raymond's suitings

A GUIDE TO THE WELL-DRESSED MALE



The Raymond Woollen Mills Limited

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

Kabul's Debt To Moscow Requires Piping Out Of Its Gas For 10 Years

RAMA SWARUP

It has already been years since the Soviet Union became the sole customer for Afghanistan's natural gas, which is piped directly into Soviet Central Asia. Since the Occupation, the Soviet Union no longer pays for this gas; instead, it deducts the estimated value of the gas from the increasingly heavy debt owed by the Afghan Government to Moscow.

This debt essentially represents the costs of the Soviet Union's own military occupation of Afghanistan, which is charged to the Kabul Government. The debt amounts to about 50 million dollars. Even if this debt were no longer increased (which is impossible), it would take Afghanistan 10 years to discharge it according to the present flow of its gas to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union in mid-1980 priced Afghan natural gas at the rate of \$83 per 1000 cubic meters, which is only half the current world rates.

The haemorrhage of natural gas has forced industries in the Afghan North, such as the Nazar-e-Sherif fertilizer and electric plants built for gas consumption, to switch to coal. However, owing to the success of the resistance forces in controlling most of the countryside, it has become difficult, not to say impossible, for these plants to enjoy access to coal. This has caused economic activity in Northern Afghanistan to plummet. In 1980, Afghan GNP dropped by 50 per cent.

The traditional trade pattern of Afghanistan now stands broken, along with its disturbed transport and sharply reduced commerce with regional customers such as India and Pakistan.

Kabul customs revenue, worth 40 to 50 million Afghani a day before 1978, has dropped to between 4 million and 5 million a day this year. Meanwhile, trade links with the Soviet have been reinforced.

In early 1981, the Kabul Government announced that during 1980, Afghanistan had exported to the Soviet Union 511 million in fruits and vegetable oil. What the Government spokesman did not specify, however, was that such revenue is to be deducted from the Afghan debt to the Soviet Government. Such products were exported previously to India and Pakistan at far more favourable prices.

A trade protocol signed this year agreed that the Soviet Union and Afghanistan should exchange each other's cement production per ton. This agreement apparently is just absurd. Closer inspection reveals the true action. Soviet cement is a product of extremely inferior quality and cannot be sold in world markets. Afghan cement, however, is manufactured

according to international standards and used to command high prices in the Asian market. This source of income has also now been lost.

Afghan facilities have been taken over by the Soviet Union. In April 1981, the Soviet Union signed a protocol agreeing to supply Afghanistan with considerable amounts of mining equipment and to provide the services of Soviet mining experts. The Soviet Union has shown increasing interest in Afghan mineralogy since the military occupation. In the last 10 years, Soviet geologists were invited by the former Afghan Government and tended to minimize the importance of Afghan iron, chrome, uranium, coal and oil deposits. Now that the Soviets enjoy sole access to Afghanistan's mineral resources, Soviet experts recommend it for mining operations.

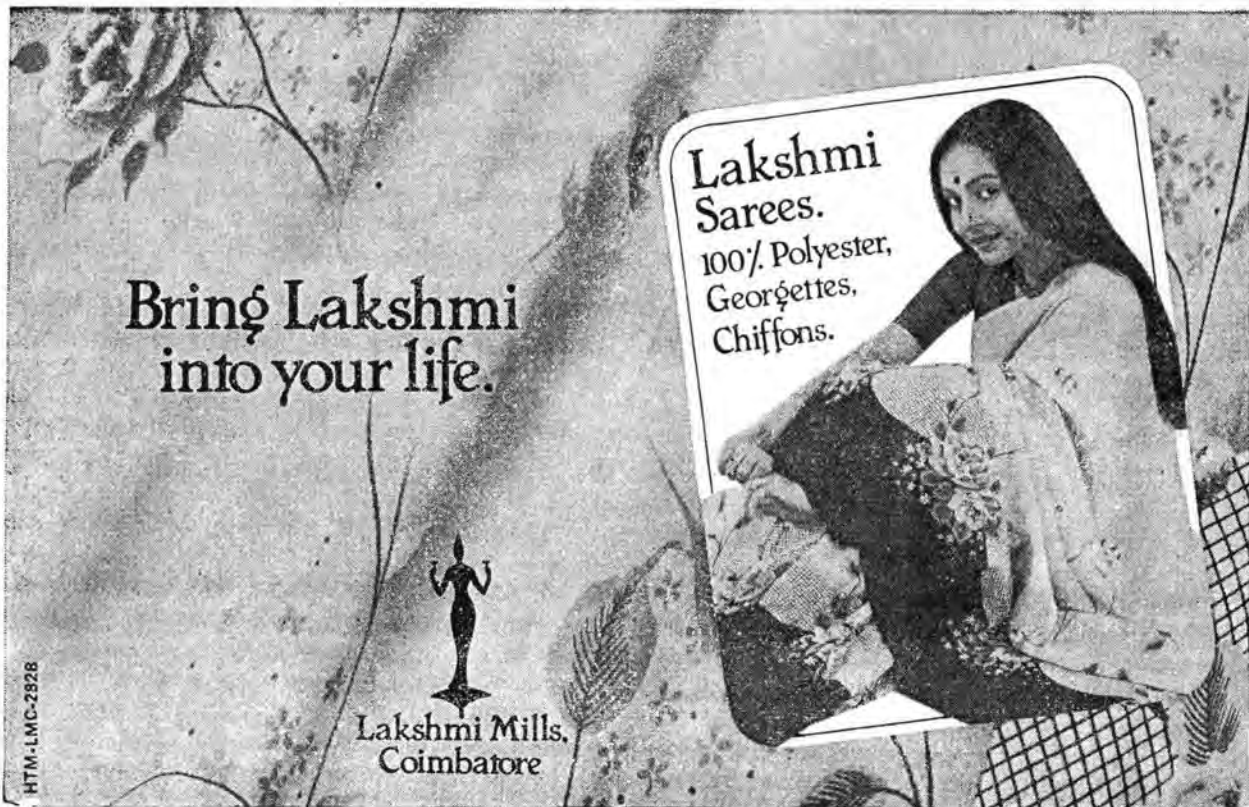
In conclusion, it may be noted that in late April 1981, the Kabul Government announced the sale of 300,000 tons of wheat by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan. The wheat bill will be added to the amount of the Afghan debt, further justifying the Soviet monopoly on Afghan national production.

**MUKAND
IS
STEEL**



**MUKAND IRON & STEEL
WORKS LTD.**

**Registered Office :
Lal Bahadur Shastri Marg
Kurla, Bombay 400 070.**



Bring Lakshmi
into your life.

Lakshmi
Sarees.
100% Polyester,
Georgettes,
Chiffons.

Lakshmi Mills,
Coimbatore

HTM-LMC-2828

THE HAPPY CYCLE OF TRUST

Yes, Sundaram Finance is surging ahead with your support, with its own funds (Capital and Reserves) increasing from Rs. 146 lakhs in 1971 to Rs. 503 lakhs in 1982. What's more, the assets of the company as at 31st December, 1981 exceeded Rs. 74 crores.

The corporate policy of the company has always been service-oriented, which means, when the customer comes to Sundaram Finance, he gets not just hire-purchase finance or leasing facilities but service throughout the period of contract.

With the kind of service we offer, it's not surprising that the number of customers has grown. Today, Sundaram Finance has on its rolls 7,700 customers and over 40,000 depositors.

Sundaram Finance has now entered a new field—Equipment Leasing, thus contributing to industrial production.

**THE PEOPLE TO TRUST IN
HIRE PURCHASE AND EQUIPMENT LEASING**

SUNDARAM FINANCE LIMITED

180, Mount Road, Madras 600 006

LETTERS

Dear Sir,

I have read with great interest the interview of Mr. Morarji Desai with Mr. Sumant Bankeshwar in **Freedom First**.

I am afraid Mr. Desai has completely misunderstood Islam. He says that Muslim countries are not democratic, because they are Islamic. If Mr. Desai was aware of the early history of Islam he would not have made a statement of that kind. After the passing away of the Prophet, the first four Khalifs, Abubaker, Umar, Osman, and Ali were elected to the Khilafat by the democratic consensus of the early Muslims. To this Mr. Desai cannot object, because he himself was elected Prime Minister by democratic consensus of the then Members of Parliament.

It is true that the democratic spirit of early Islam disappeared when Mawiya deviated from the early tradition and nominated his own son, Yazid, as the Khalif. From this time, the Khilafat was converted into dynastic rule, except in the case of Umar-Bin-Abdul Aziz who was an ideal Khalif and ruled democratically. The social system of Islam is completely liberal. There are no castes, and Muslims generally inter marry. In India, however, the Hindu caste system has exerted some influence on certain Muslim communities. But this influence is lately disappearing. There is no concept of socially high and low in Islam.

I have great respect for the liberalism of thought in Hinduism. But socially Hinduism is absolutely rigid, and the Hindu caste system has led to fragmentation of Hindu Society.

The democratic form of Government which exists in India today is not the result of the Hindu tradition but a legacy of British history. Prior to British rule in India, the country was divided into various kingdoms, none of which was democratic. We should thank the British for democracy in our country and not our traditions.

Bombay

ADAM ADIL

Nachiketa Publications Limited

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

A STATESMAN ENTERPRISE

Books for all bookshelves and budgets:

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

Also Available From:

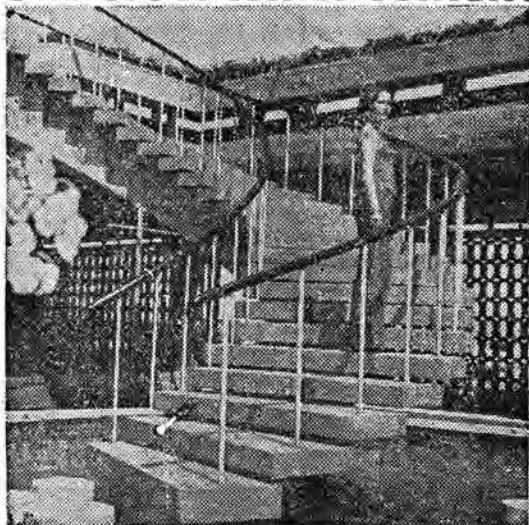
THE STATESMAN LIMITED

Statesman House
Connaught Circus,
New Delhi 110 001

Statesman House,
Chowringhee Square
Calcutta 700 001.

Fagun Mansion
26 Commander-In-Chief Rd.
Madras 600 105

Silvicrete white cement



not just exclusive...marvel-lous!

a product of The Associated Cement Companies Ltd

ACC

Freedom First

Subscription Order Form

127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay-400 023.

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

NAME : _____

ADDRESS : _____

This is a New/Renewal* subscription.
I enclose payment of Rs. 20 in favour of *Freedom First* by

*Cheque *Bank Draft *Postal Order

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

Signature _____

WITH MANY VOICES

General Sharon would not have lost the Vietnam War.

—W. F. Buckley Jr. in *The Herald Tribune*,
October 7.

I will die in the year 2001 and not before.

—Herman Kahn as quoted in *The Herald Tribune*,
October 6.

One of the people I long to meet most in life is Solzhenitsyn.

—Prince Charles as quoted in the *Guardian*,
August 30.

At best, any future Labour Government would be disorganised hypocrisy, saying one thing and doing another, at worst, "a single ticket to Eastern Europe".

—Mr. Roy Jenkins quoted in the *Times*, October 22.

Mrs Thatcher is now emerging as one of British politics most remarkable gamblers.

—*The Economist*, October 2.

Lenin said 'Soviets plus electrification' would produce 'socialism'; what has been produced is the black market.

—Lord Max Beloff in the *Times*, October 18.

I am sorry to keep quoting the *Times*; but it really is such a museum of obsolescent attitudes as to be impossible to avoid.

—Enoch Powell in the *Guardian*, October 18.

If the clergy of the Church of England were typical of the electorate as a whole, the next Prime Minister would be Mr. Roy Jenkins by an enormous majority.

—Clifford Longley in the *Times*, October 18.

My main rule is: Thou shalt not be boring. I learned that teaching at a state university where the students are a little sleepy.

—Paul Fussell quoted in the *International Herald Tribune*.

I never knew an enemy to puns who was not an ill-natured man. The same is true about enemies to riddles.

—Philip Howard in *The Times*, October 22.

The country may have democracy, or it may have dictatorship. It cannot have a *vanaspati* monarchy parading as a republic.

—Rajinder Puri in *The Sunday Observer*, October 31.