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SAKHAROV vs KISSINGER

James Burnham

ANDREI SAKHAROV is a Soviet parallel to Edward Teller. He is one of the world's foremost nuclear physicists. While still in his twenties he was assigned to the Soviet nuclear programme and became known, like Teller in this country, as "father of the H-bomb." From 1958 on he urged Khrushchev to accept the Eisenhower proposal to end nuclear testing in water, air, and space. (This premature initiative first led the apparatus to write him down as a "dissident.") In 1968 a memorandum Sakharov wrote on detente and "convergence" got global attention. The thesis of this memorandum was, however, misunderstood. In the interview he gave last month to Edouard Dillon of Agence France Presse, Sakharov went out of his way to clarify his then intended point: Detente is desirable only on "the hope of the convergence of the two systems: that is, *l'évolution du camp socialiste vers une plus grande démocratie, et celle du camp-occidental vers le social*." The meaning of this French clause is in essence: the socialist countries becoming more free, and the capitalist countries more humane.

In this interview, Sakharov continued (I am translating directly from the French text of the original publication): "I still consider convergence the ideal solution. But if we get down to facts, to what has actually gone on these past eighteen months, we find the reality to be extremely complicated. The developing rapprochement is uncovering very grave hidden dangers. The authorities of our country might, and perhaps already can, exploit the detente not for the purpose of democratization but, on the contrary, for the sake of ever greater rigidity. Apparently the objective is the strengthening of the economic and administrative structure." Sakharov went on to cite various instances—including several not heretofore reported abroad, as well as others already notorious—of KGB repression in the recent past, many of them ending with incarceration, incommunicado, in a KGB-operated "*hôpital pénitentiaire*"—i.e., "prison hospital" for those declared insane by the authorities.

"To get back to the question of whether [this wave of repression] is connected with the change of the

international situation [toward detente], I cannot avoid the impression that the connection exists, and I believe this ought to show Westerners that in accepting detente they must realize that detente cannot be unconditioned. If it is, that would be one more capitulation to our anti-democratic regime, an encouragement to its crimes. It could have grave and tragic consequences for the entire global situation. It could bring about the infection of the entire earth with the disease that is ravaging us.

"The West should also realize that if our country does not develop toward greater freedom, any agreement will be precarious. It will last only as long as immediate economic and political necessity compels the rules of this country to respect it.

"The key issue to pose from the beginning ought to be an end to the insulation of this country. This means freedom to leave the country, freedom to return, freedom to renounce or to keep Soviet nationality ... I believe that a proposal, coming from the Western partners to the detente, to institute freedom for

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IN THIS ISSUE

James Burnham, one of America's ablest political commentators, discusses the deep moral issue that lies between the thinking of Academician Sakharov and Secretary of State Kissinger.

Prof. B. P. Adarkar comments on the Government's policies about the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

We welcome a new contributor, Geeta Gopalakrishnan, who analyses Prof. Dandekar's Presidential Address to the All India Economic Conference.

The issue is rich in book reviews contributed by Manohar Malgonkar, Mr. V. B. Karnik and Joan Contractor.

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



The Cost of Two Bandhs

THE cost of the two bandhs from which Bombay has recently suffered has been variously estimated. According to PTI, the loss in industrial production alone would be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 15 crores. Maharashtra accounts for 20 to 24 per cent of the total national production. The effect on the country of two such stoppages is easy to visualise.

One wonders whether those who organised the second bandh in order to protest against rising prices took five minutes off to consider what effect this would have on prices. If they really thought that such a stoppage would induce a downward trend in prices, they need to have their heads examined.

The fact is that an increase in the production of goods and services counteracts inflation and keeps prices from rising while any lessening in the production of goods and the functioning of services like transport inevitably results in rising prices through the same amount of money chasing a smaller quantum of goods and services. An awareness of this appears to have dawned on Mr. Rajni Patel at the time of the second bandh which was directed at the Congress Party and its Government. What a pity that he did not think of it at the time of the first bandh which he supported on the Maharashtra-Karnataka issue! Or would he care to argue that the economic impact of a bandh varies with the issue on which it is called?

The saddest part of the story is that on both occasions a large majority of the citizens of Bombay, who would have liked to carry on their normal avocations and follow the Prime Minister's repeated appeals for increased production, were prevented from doing so due to the fear of their cars being wrecked, as had happened previously, or the public transport needed not being available. This in turn was due to the failure of the Government to protect the lives and property of citizens as guaranteed under the Constitution. This was yet another portent of the dark and turbulent days that lie ahead for the people of India unless they are able to effect a change of Government.

Air Marshal Does It

THERE are, of course, people who clutch at every straw in the hope that things will mend without a change of Government. To such, the stand taken by the management and the Chairman of IAC, Air Chief Marshal P. C. Lal, may provide the latest straw. There can be no doubt that, against the background of one abject surrender after another by the Government

which dots the history of the relations between the IAC and its employees, the stand taken by the management comes as a gust of fresh air. Who would have thought that it would have taken an Air Force officer to display a better grasp of sound Industrial Relations than the numerous professional managers who have kow-towed to Trade Unions inspired by communist leadership? But so it is. The people of India owe a debt of gratitude to Air Chief Marshal P. C. Lal for the courage of his convictions that he has displayed and for his unswerving stand in restoring discipline and holding the Unions to their pledged word.

In case some persons who call themselves 'progressive' are inclined to consider the management attitude to be unduly harsh, let us recall that, at a press conference called by the Air Corporation Employees' Union on 28th December, Mr. N. C. Mukherjee, Chairman of the Union, was brazen enough to announce that the "settlement would be signed only to enable the lockout to be lifted" and that "in course of time the union would have to reassert the rights that it may be forced to surrender." In other words, the Chairman of the Union quite frankly admitted that the Union would enter into a settlement tongue in cheek. His communist friends and allies describe such an agreement as 'tactical'. Mr. Mukherjee then went on to blame the Union Labour Minister for remaining inactive. This was an unkind cut from one comrade to another, for everyone knows that Comrade Raghunath Reddy had tried his best to help bail his communist friends out of the mess which they had got into but was kept at bay by the former Air Force Chief.

One swallow does not make a summer. Whether or not the IAC management's stand reflects a new trend it is yet too early to say. Will it be extended from the white collar worker to the blue collar worker also? While waiting for an answer, let us keep our fingers crossed. Mr. Raghunath Reddy protests that all this does not indicate any change in policy. So much the worse for India and for the Government.

Guilty Silence Broken

WE have received a letter from one of our readers asking us to enlighten her as to the response received by Mr. Moshe Kol from European Liberals to his letter to the President of the Liberal International which was published in our December 1973 issue. We are glad to do so.

While some of those addressed maintained a guilty silence, the response generally was not disappointing. The President of the Italian Liberal Party, the Hon.

Giovanni Malagodi, concluded his positive response as follows: "All this is much less important than an end to hostilities, (the end of which) will be achieved by the traditional heroism of your soldiers, which will lead to a just, honourable and workable political solution."

Mr. John MacCullum-Scott, Vice President of the Liberal International, while expressing his solidarity with Israel, said: "I was deeply distressed to read a copy of your letter of October 14 to the President of the Liberal International.... May I add my warm admiration for the people of Israel? I am doing, and shall do, what little lies within my power to help them at this time. It is quite clear that they stand in the front line in the battle between liberty and dictatorship."

Mr. Hans de Koster of Holland wrote: "We in the Netherlands are all unhappy about the outbreak of war in the Middle East. You will fully understand that the sympathy of the Netherlands is with Israel.... We admire, as you well know, the people of Israel who have to fight for the fourth time for their independence."

One of those to whom Mr. Moshe Kol wrote an appreciative letter was the British Liberal Leader, the Rt. Hon. Jeremy Thorpe: "I... convey to you my thanks for your courageous speech in the House of Commons on the embargo on arms which is mainly against Israel. You are the first Liberal leader of the Liberal International to express your very clear opinion about the unjust policy of Her Majesty's Government."

Fraudulent Peace

THE bogus peace in South Vietnam appears at last to be reaching its nadir. Taking advantage of the cease-fire that Mr. Kissinger engineered in order to get American troops out of South Vietnam, the Communists from Hanoi have pushed in 35,000 more men into South Vietnam, making a grand total of 117,000 men in the South, alongside of 600 tanks. They are poised for another major war of aggression.

What is one to think of those who gave the Nobel Prize for 'Peace' to Mr. Henry Kissinger and Mr. Le Duc Tho? It is to the credit of the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* which immediately protested. "Kissinger has shown that he is a tough negotiator... He has been said to give the Nixonian thoughts an intellectual setting; but he has never produced something which coincides with the peace ideals of Nobel. And the same goes for Le Duc Tho—a tough negotiator."

The comment that came from Saigon was even more apt: "It is like a Mafia chieftain being praised for his contribution to the Church. It is like the hypocritical rapist who won the morality prize."

Another interesting comment came from the Italian

newspaper *La Stampa*: "Never have 510,000 kronor (the prize money) been spent so badly, becoming a prize of encouragement to those who will want to declare war so as to be able to wind it up later. Young diplomats and generals will be exultant now there is a Nobel prize in their future."

Solzhenitsyn Again!

THERE will be many in India who will look forward with keen interest to obtaining a copy of *Gulag Archipelago*, Alexander Solzhenitsyn's latest work which will be published shortly by Harper & Row and Collins. The book is based on the eleven long years spent by Solzhenitsyn in prison, concentration camps and exile along with the experiences of 227 survivors of Labour camps whom he interviewed. It is a 600 page document of the Soviet system of police terror right upto 1958.

Solzhenitsyn documents a comparison between the Tsarist terror and the Communist terror. In terms of numbers of arrests and executions and length of prison terms, he declares, the Soviet regime has exceeded imperial rule by factors ranging between 10 to one and 1,000 to one. Solzhenitsyn also asserted that the Soviets killed and imprisoned far more people than the Nazis did, excluding wartime casualties on both sides. He estimates that in any one year of the Stalin era, 12,000,000 people were held in prison. 'As some departed beneath the sod', he adds, 'the machine kept bringing in replacements. He eloquently calls for punishment of all those responsible for such crimes against the Soviet people, noting that post-Hitler Germany has convicted more than 78,000 persons of brutality and murder, while post-Stalin Russia has tried only two dozen of its former executioners.

Taking issue with those who denounce Stalin as a horrible monster and excuse all the other guilty, as Khrushchev tried to do, Solzhenitsyn strikes out at the officially deified figure of Lenin and rejects the thesis that Stalin alone was responsible for such excesses. He shows deep insight when he demonstrates that brutality under Stalin was only made possible by Lenin's dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and establishment of one-party dictatorship and a police state. He recalls Leninist purges, Leninist concentration camps and Leninist mass executions.

By publishing this book, Solzhenitsyn has shown courage—a quality so rare in this country. It is to be hoped that this brave voice will not be silenced. In any event, Solzhenitsyn has the satisfaction of providing through his book what he himself describes as "a monument of solidarity with all the martyrs and dead of the years from 1918 to 1958."

Prof. DANDEKAR'S UTOPIA

Geeta Gopalakrishnan

THERE is a story of a modern poet who wrote about a magical electric switch which could dispel all the darkness around. The problem was to find this switch. Prof. Dandekar's Presidential Address to the 56th All India Economic Conference at Tiruchinappalli on December 27, 1973, refers to this magical switch right through — the Democratic Socialist Path to Economic Development. The problems in accepting and implementing Prof. Dandekar's theories arise from the very academic platform he has stood on.

For instance, Prof. Dandekar has closed his long address with a plea that the country must have unscrupulously clean politicians; that there must be no rewards to high political office; that the assets of every politician must be "open to public gaze and scrutiny". Who has not heard these before? Who does not want all this? Even our politicians want this. But it just does not happen in our kind of social and public discipline.

Prof. Dandekar has rightly pointed out that further progress towards socialism can come only if this power structure is attacked at its source. His whole theory is based on this simple requirement.

With this, and a lot of other "ifs" and "buts", Prof. Dandekar has spelt out his "Policy Framework for the Approach Paper for the Fifth Five Year Plan", if he were a one-man Planning Commission. He decries the present policy frame as being a mouthful of clichés, which has not achieved tangible results in 25 years of planning. He, therefore, advocates the Democratic Socialist Path.

His basic objective for the V Plan is to remove poverty arising out of unemployment or underemployment. In contrast to this, the present view of Government is that the additional wage-employment likely to be generated in the V Plan will fall short of the estimated increase in labour force. Prof. Dandekar begs to differ with this promise. He feels that he would direct all policies to meet this single purpose i.e., that all able-bodied adults are adequately employed to support themselves with a "reasonable number of dependents". He excludes from his target the elimination of poverty among, inter alia, people with "too large a burden of dependents". With the kind of family size, income distribution and employment in India, it is not clear how exactly Prof. Dandekar hopes to use a Democratic — Socialist Path that excludes people with "too many dependents".

The Professor then describes a minimum wage income as the ability to purchase 3 kg. of foodgrains per worker per working day. The V Plan Approach he recommends is to tackle unemployment by offering wage-employment at this minimum poverty line. He

would use labour co-operatives, or departmental organizations to achieve this. He estimates that 10 million workers, each costing Rs. 1,500/- p.a. to employ, will seek employment under such a guarantee scheme. There shall be no shortage of resources to meet this huge wage bill. He believes that investment resources to generate an additional wage bill of Rs. 1,500/- crores can, and will, be found — without deficit financing, and in a situation of stable prices. One does not question whether there is productive work to do — one only wonders whether Prof. Dandekar's is tending to oversimplify a far more complex problem.

As a result of investing this minimum wage in the rural masses, Prof. Dandekar continues, the agricultural wage will immediately rise — this will increase the cost of agricultural produce. He implies that higher wages means additional purchasing power.

Nationalisation of wholesale trade, controlled Food-grain Marketing and so on are recommended as means to his great end. There is no sign of the Professor having considered the cost of his recommendations, the problem of agricultural procurement, the co-ordination machinery required for 350 odd districts setting up a multilogue on foodgrain movement — all these have been glossed over with euphoric theory — his suggestions seem particularly ironic and "innovative" when, right now State Governments are unable to meet their Kharif procurement targets, and when the distribution system is already overburdened with bans of many types on inter-district movements. The entire theory seems incongruous by his conceding "when the price of the cheapest grain goes up, the government shall give a consequent rise in the minimum money wage". That is what happens when you try to have the cake and eat it too — democratic socialism!

Many other utopian suggestions on urban sanitation for our 400,000 odd villages, drinking water supply, cement and sanitaryware for the villages appear in the Plan. Lower wages for the executive, higher wages for the worker (1:5 ratio), controlled dividends, worker participation in equity, and so on and so on. Most interesting of all is his principle of giving the workers the right to strike but no right to stop work — a typical example of a hotch potch ideology. He even goes on to describe a ludicrous "simulated strike" where workers will not receive wages, management shall not be entitled to profits, notice of strike shall be given, but production will go on!

Reading Prof. Dandekar's address is interesting for a few of its thoughts — but it does make one feel happy that he is not, in fact, a "one-man Planning Commission" as he has tried to be during his address.

THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

India's Policy in Retrospect and Prospect

B. P. Adarkar

INDIA'S own policy has been based upon insufficient historical or juridical study and does not appear to be even consonant with her basic principles of peace, justice, and non-violence. There has been a tendency on our part to take side without proper ratiocination and without weighing the consequences for our own political or economic interests. We have often rushed in where others have feared to tread and declared our partisanship in unseemly haste, when we could have made a major contribution to world peace and order by pouring oil on troubled waters instead of consistently encouraging the Arabs in their *Jehads*. It is indeed difficult to see what exactly we are aiming at and what we have achieved by our West Asia policy.

Pandit Nehru backed Nasser at every step against the Anglo-American alliance. Nasser was a parody of Pandit Nehru and had the ambition of becoming an Arab hero by mobilising the entire Arab world against the Jews and the Western powers. He took over the Suez Canal only in the end to destroy it; he built the Aswan Dam at enormous cost only in the end to realise that it was a bankrupt project. Almost all the Arab Nations joined in his grand idea of leading a *Jihad* against Israel. In the four wars fought since then, they squandered billions of dollars and thousands of lives in the hope of destroying Israel, but the latter, like the Jumping Jack in the Box, has come up and over again, with extended frontiers! Meanwhile, issues which could be settled amicably across the negotiating table have been needlessly exaggerated in a spirit of obstinate hatred and fanaticism.

To whom does Palestine belong?

To whom does Palestine belong? Neither Allah, nor Jehovah, nor the Father in Heaven can possibly answer this question! This ancient theatre of war in Western Asia has been the centre of bloody conflicts between different nations and religions for thousands of years. In Jerusalem itself, Jews, Christians and Muslims have all staked their territorial and religious claims. The interesting part of all this is that all these people belong to the same race, viz., the Semitic Race. Altogether, this internecine war seems to be like the endless opera, in which generations of the same people have been the tragic players! The answer to the question posed above, then, is that Palestine, or rather entire West Asia belongs to the Semitic people and not to any particular denomination amongst them. *Therefore, the historical basis of our West Asia policy*

completely falls to the ground. Also, the evidence explodes the theory that the Arabs have any superior right as against the Jews to sovereignty over the land.

Who committed aggression?

In the above context, the question, Who committed aggression?—is a meaningless one. Since 1948, there have already been four wars and there has never been a Peace Treaty; in other words, it must be regarded as a *continuous state of war*. In 1948 and 1973, the initiative was undoubtedly taken by the Arabs; in 1956 and 1967, the initiative was taken by Israel in a "pre-emptive" way. Thus, there is no question of vacating any aggression. Until a peace treaty is signed, it is useless to ask either party to withdraw. Of course, the United Nations, in various resolutions including the one of 1967 (Resolution 242), have asked Israel to withdraw from territories occupied in the 1967 war and to be entitled to "secure and recognised boundaries" to be determined in a peace treaty. However, *the Arabs seem to be interested only in withdrawal*. There have been various other recommendations of the United Nations which have been completely ignored by them—including those relating to the recognition of Israel's sovereignty as a State and to direct negotiations. It is a basic principle of law that those who seek equity must themselves do equity; but that is precisely what the Arabs do not want to do. They do not want peace but only the "destruction of Israel" as Nasser said in 1967; or as the Arab Summit Conference at Khartoum resolved in September 1970: "No peace with Israel; no negotiations with Israel; no recognition of Israel, — only insistence on the rights of the Palestinian people to their own country." As regards quitting aggression, even the Soviet legal view has been that states acting in self-defence may retain conquered territories, in order to prevent new aggression. Indeed, this is the basis for the Russian and Polish annexations of the former German territory to the east of the rivers Oder and Neisse.

Israel does not propose to stick on to most of the territories, but her contention, which seems plausible, is that so long as the Arabs do not even recognise her legal existence, and, on the contrary, threaten to destroy her, the retention of a few locations (e.g., Sharm el Sheikh) becomes necessary for sheer self-protection and for strategic reasons. In spite of all this, it is surprising that the Soviet Union and also India should go on, from time to time, asserting that Israel

has been guilty of "aggression." What evidence have they had for this especially when the Egyptians themselves boasted of having taken the first plunge this time?

Guerilla Blackmail

After the 1967 war, the entire atmosphere of Western Asia had been more or less peaceful. Only on the borders of Syria and Lebanon the Arab guerillas carried on sporadic attacks and Israel naturally reacted to them. In view of the right of "hot pursuit", Israel was fully within her legal rights to punish the guerillas even by crossing into Syrian and Lebanese territories. If Syria and Lebanon or other Arab countries did not like these frequent skirmishes on their borders, the remedy was entirely in their own hands. Because of the Arab guerillas, not only Israel but many other countries of the world, which are not remotely concerned with the Arab-Israeli conflict, have been constantly harassed by the guerillas and their agents. The Arab States are fully aware of this international hooliganism but they have still continued to encourage it.

The Real Issues

Unfortunately, no one seems to be giving thought to the ultimate well-being of either the Arabs or the Jews in the region. On the contrary, the Arabs and the Israelis have got entangled in the endless and fruitless question, viz., to whom does Palestine belong, and they—particularly the Arabs—have been stressing only questions of prestige and hatred and squandering both money and blood on them. If the Arabs cannot see clearly wherein their real interest lies, it is the duty of the Big Powers and also of neutral states like India to guide them in this. Instead of discharging that duty, most of these States, including India, have been mainly adding fuel to the fire. The funds and resources wasted in this insane conflict during the last 25 years add up to colossal amounts. My own calculation is that the direct and indirect (material) cost of the four wars has been around \$35 billion. Even if one-tenth of this money were spent on the rehabilitation of the Arabs in the region and on the development of West Asia, the Arabs (and the Jews) would have lived in great happiness in the holy land of Palestine. But such thoughts are of no concern to the Arabs.

The Arabs have now decided to blackmail the entire world with their oil and they seem to be in both homicidal and suicidal moods! They are prepared to destroy the economies of many countries, not connected or concerned with their dispute, to achieve their end—which still remains the destruction of Israel. And, while Israel has been fighting for its very existence, the Arabs are fighting for pieces of land and the rights of the Palestine Liberation Organisation only. One fails to understand what else Israel could do but fight to the bitter end.

On the other hand, the problem of the Arab refugees are not insoluble. In fact, the refugee problem has arisen just because of the recalcitrance of the Arab States and the guerillas and their constant attacks on Israel; as, for sheer self-defence, Israel has been compelled to keep out the elements which are dangerous to its existence. It is a perfect vicious circle. If the Arabs would recognise the right of Israel to exist as a State and of the Jews to a place in the sun, it will make a world of difference and pave the way to peace in the region.

Israel's objective has been the attainment of peace within *secure* borders. It seeks borders which will be defensible, i.e., will not constitute a temptation to a potential aggressor, as did the pre-1967 lines. The Arabs must realise that the Israelis have also a right to exist and that that right is not only legal but moral and historical. The question of Palestine should be resolved on the basis of the humanitarian interests of both Arabs and Jews. From the practical viewpoint, this would involve the minimum of expense and the maximum of gain for Arabs, Jews and everyone else. *In any case, in the mad pursuit of their aim to destroy Israel and un-write history, the Arabs have positively no right to involve the whole world.*

India's Policy

From the foregoing, it will have been clear that India's foreign policy in regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict is meaningless and irrational, and not even in our interests. The Arabs have always opposed our position during our own troubles with Pakistan and China. Why must we kowtow to them? It is contrary to our peaceful foreign policy, our neutrality and our non-alignment. The last we could do is to remain neutral. *Moreover, our foreign policy should have been directed to the ultimate and humanitarian interests of the Arabs, the Jews and all those who depend upon the facilities of the Suez Canal and the oil resources of the region.*

As a major non-aligned nation, India was perhaps the only country in the world which could have mediated with any degree of success in this dispute. On the other hand, by encouraging the Arabs to pursue an unjust and wholly suicidal course, we have brought upon ourselves two major disasters, viz., the closure of the Suez Canal, which has inflicted heavy losses on the Indian economy in regard to the cost of food imports during the last 15 years, and now the tragedy of Oil, the very oil for which presumably our foreign policy has been so solicitous for the friendship of Arabs. Even today, if our foreign policy makers would bend their energies to helping a rational, peaceful and humanitarian solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute, not

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GOKHALE AND WESTERN EDUCATION--II

P. N. Driver

TODAY, as a result of the regional medium in our colleges in several parts of India, we have made it impossible to get even the best Indian teachers from all parts of India. It may be worth noting that Gokhale wanted the best teachers from all over the world and specially from England. He, and other stalwarts of the Congress were aware of the good and inspiring work done by English Professors, specially men like Prof. F. G. Selby, and Dr. Wordsworth, the grandson of the great poet. Gokhale pointed out that England's best work in India was done through such men and that, "it is these men who present to the Indian mind the best side of English character and English culture." Gokhale could not help feeling this, because in a place like Maharashtra all our biggest leaders—Ranade, Gokhale, Agarkar, Lokamanya Tilak, Telang etc.—men whose stature was far above the level of those who have come after them in times after the policy of Indianisa-

tion, were products mostly of either the Elphinstone or the Deccan College where we had not only the British system of education in the English medium (in the real sense) but where several important teachers were also British Professors. A simple question which arises incidentally here is, why, since the time we Indianised education and weakened the old system, we have not been able to produce among us leaders of such national stature as those listed above? Gokhale was very anxious that the quality of our colleges should be improved by Government bringing out from England the best men available for this work. He suggested this even as late as in 1903 and recommended also putting these men on a level with members of the Civil Service as regards pay and promotion. He felt this could bring about a marked change in the tone of Government colleges in India and the private colleges would be driven to work up to the level of the Government colleges.

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only India but the entire world could benefit by our efforts.

The following are some of the essentials of a possible solution:

1. Israel should be recognised as a sovereign State by the Arabs and all other nations, facilitating diplomatic relations without let or hindrance of any kind.

2. Israel's boundaries should be properly demarcated on the basis of defensibility and military viability.

3. Israel should surrender any surplus territories outside the demarcated boundaries, some of which it has acquired during the four wars, including the current one.

4. The Popular Liberation Front and all other terrorist and guerilla organisations should be disbanded.

5. The United Nations should immediately undertake the reconstruction and development of the region, particularly with a view to the rehabilitation of the Arab refugees.

6. The Suez Canal should be re-opened with international assistance if necessary and should be open to all nations, including Israel. Similarly, there should be freedom of passage for all nations, including Israel, through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran.

7. There should be international guarantees for the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area through measures including the establishment of demilitarised zones.

What Was Wrong

With his fairly long practical experience of teaching, Gokhale saw clearly what was wrong in our system of education and made many valuable suggestions of which the most important I think was the need for improved material on which college professors have to work. In view of the mess we have created today in our education this point requires some attention. Gokhale pointed out how the material on which college professors have to work depends on the character of the instruction imparted in secondary schools and the standards we adopt for examinations. The deterioration in higher education today — a point on which I can write at length after my experience of the last forty years — is largely the cause of many of our troubles in politics today. This deterioration can be traced directly to the lowering of the standards of studies in English at the School level at a time when we do not have well qualified teachers in English. The tampering with syllabuses sometimes by men not at all qualified to lay down policies in calculation is also very important in this context.

In the matter of the scope of western education which Gokhale had in mind for India, he laid special stress on two subjects which we today have not given the prominence due—British History and Literature. He looked upon these subjects as specially responsible for the elevation of the character of the British people. Whatever may be the truth in this, there are I am sure many Indians who can point out honestly the basic inspiration these subjects gave in India's struggle for

freedom. No one who reads with an unbiased mind the story of the political unfolding of British democracy in the 19th century under the care and caution of her Minister, including even small men comparatively like Lord Melbourne and his careful handling of the young Queen Victoria before and after Peel came into power, will fail to learn something vital as to the behaviour required in a democracy when good standards have to be set. Though literature was no my subject for studies I still remember the fervour obtained from some of the giants of British literature specially of the 19th century and after Waterloo. This literature that attracted the attention of the Indian students' interest in freedom was connected closely with problems of political and social organisation and was saturated with thoughts about common weal and common woe—of incalculable value to students in India dreaming about their own freedom. I still remember the lines of Shelley inspired by his pen dipped in the fire of the French Revolution and expressing a protest which was bound to find an echo in the hearts of Indian students reading them as recorded even in British Political history texts:

"Men of England, wherefore plough
For the Lords who lay you low?
Wherefore weave with toil and care
The rich robes your tyrants wear?
Rise like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number
Shake your chains to earth, like dew
Ye are many, they are few!"

Emotionally these lines could upset us but we learnt to be less selfish than before and ready to do our bit. In this connection one can imagine what I feel when I read Gokhale and the great truth he expressed: "I think Englishmen should have more faith in the influence of their history and literature". It is a pity that today in our short-sightedness we have removed the study of British Political History from the courses as also from our schools. Our national pride and ego wants inspiration from Indian History instead but the question is: can Indian History serve the same purpose?

In the Presidential address at the Banaras Congress in 1905, Gokhale described Lord Ripon as "the best-beloved of India's Viceroys" who had quickened by his righteous actions our consciousness of nationalism even though he had been persecuted by other Englishmen for what he did for us. This served as a reminder to us in those days that there were also others besides Ripon who had encouraged western education precisely for the purpose Gokhale had in mind—making India fit for freedom. It is interesting to note that as against these men were the English conservatives like Lord Ellenborough who feared the consequences of a free India arising as a result of this western education.

Lord Ellenborough warned Englishmen that if European education and ideas were imparted "to the natives", the English must not expect to retain their hold on India. The fact that almost all the leaders of the National Congress who fought for freedom were trained in this manner through the English language bears out the truth behind the fears expressed by Ellenborough very early. One has only to prepare a list of the contemporaries of our great leaders in the universities abroad where they also studied to understand how it was western education after all, both in India and abroad that opened the minds of our people. Jawaharlal, for example, has given a list of his contemporaries at Cambridge — J. M. Sengupta, Kitchlew, Syed Mahmud, T. A. Sherwani and S. M. Sulaiman (later Chief Justice of Allahabad).

A Premonition

Gokhale seems to have had a premonition that though western education had given us national unity whilst the British were in India during the fifty years preceding 1905, our unity would be short lived if we did not have the essential condition or requirement of a long period of peace and order to consolidate the achievement. The peace and order India had till then was entirely the work of the British Government, and the consolidation necessary for our unity meant therefore continuous support to British rule. In his talk before the Students' Brotherhood in Bombay, Gokhale made clear his faith why British Rule alone could give us the peace and order necessary for slowly evolving a nation out of our heterogeneous elements. In a speech before the Deccan Sabha in 1909, he warned the people that "the tradition of order was comparatively recent: with our inheritance of centuries it did not take much to stir up disorder even today."... Since the feeling of national unity had to be consolidated and this was bound to slow work, there should be no disturbance. If peace and order were disturbed, our unity would not be of much use in practice. This explains why Gokhale could not support "unfair misapprehensions" of the intentions of government roused by his extremist opponents. Somehow, as he explained at the Congress at Banaras, he was not sure of our sense of responsibility for proper exercise of the political institutions of the West required for our freedom and unity. He stressed the fact that this sense of responsibility could be acquired only over a long period through practical training and experiment. He could not of course have known at that time that soon after our Independence we would cease to produce "national" leaders of the type we had during the hey-day of British rule, that we would weaken the common link of English for our higher education throughout India and in the end produce through our regional medium and the so-called "national" language in places like

U.P. and Bihar, only regional narrow-minded leaders — unfit even to handle their own Police, thus endangering seriously the peace and order we require for our national unity and feeling. It is interesting to note in the light of our slogan-mongering and superficial talk of radicalism what Gokhale had to say regarding the acceptance of extremist doctrines by the people even in his day. He ascribed this to "our lack of political judgment. Not many of us care to think for ourselves in political matters... Ready-made opinions are as convenient as ready-made clothes and not so noticeable".

The Vernaculars

It would be a mistake to think that Gokhale and his contemporaries like Malabari, the great social reformer, wanted the use of the English language because they were against the "vernaculars" of India. They wanted English because it was the only language possible for higher education throughout India then, as now, and also because this was necessary for the unity of the country. In fact it was felt that the advancement of higher education in English was necessary ultimately to improve and invigorate the vernaculars and infuse in them the new strength derived from the English language. Gokhale wanted candidates for the B.A. degree in Languages to take up the Vernaculars as optionals with the Classical languages. He even suggested a *separate* Vernacular University, but he was always clear in his mind that these vernaculars could never take the place of English. Even when he suggested the Vernacular University he made it clear that "for a long time to come", its degrees would be "inferior to the degrees of our present University." Besides, even in the Vernacular University he wanted English and Sanskrit to be compulsory second languages.

In the above connection it may be asked how many of us are even today aware of the fact that taking even the truncated India of today there are "over 1300 languages and dialects spoken as mother tongues in India" according to a written reply in the Lok Sabha given last May and reported in our Press on 8-5-73. Without the use of English they tend to make us strangers in our own land among ourselves.

Some opponents of Gokhale have created the very wrong impression that Gokhale was pro-British no matter what they did. In actual fact, Gokhale's advocacy of western education and his admiration for English character and language went along with a strong condemnation of those responsible for false accusations against Indian character. Whenever he found gross injustice, negligence, and breach of faith or promises given by the British, he protested courteously but none the less very strongly. For what Lord Curzon did Gokhale openly compared him to Aurangzeb in rather strong language. Gokhale hit him hard by

showing how, in spite of undoubted gifts, he lacked imagination and sympathy and did not really understand the people of India. He asserted that Curzon could not claim, in spite of having been one of the greatest Englishmen who ever came to India, that he had strengthened the foundations of British rule. Likewise he condemned Lord Dufferin for his "jingoism". When Lord Harris, who was also unsympathetic to us, told an English audience that educated Indians were displeased with him as he (Harris) had tried to serve the masses in India, Gokhale described and condemned this defence as "absolutely inconsistent with that accuracy of statement which we have a right to expect from one who has occupied the exalted position of Her Majesty's representative in this country". Gokhale was also very critical of the opposition of men like Mr. Chatfield, the then Director of Public Instruction, to having necessary changes in school text-books just because of the fear that they were likely to be "considerably Sanskritized in the process". Gokhale never tried to curry favour with the British in his economic and other criticism. Because of his honest independent stand on matters, he was misunderstood by both the British as well as his Indian opponents. He condemned the British for expanding railways at the cost of education and agriculture. He criticised the British strongly for failures to implement promises given in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. He even asserted that if the pledge of equal treatment of Indians was repudiated, one of the strongest claims of British rule to our attachment would disappear. When he was told that if the I.C.S. was thrown open to Indians in India the entire Service would be swamped by the Bengalees, he asserted that a Bengali was nearer to him than Europeans who had a monopoly in the Service. He pointed out fearlessly that British rule would be in peril if Indians were not treated with equality, courtesy, and proper consideration (Crawford Case). The greatest mistake of the British in his view was that after training the Indians in the liberal thought of the West our educated young men were not given the opportunity to get into posts of higher responsibility for which their education had prepared them. He called this "little short of folly". It was not Gokhale's fault if, with all his criticism of the British, we as Indians had more defects than the British. Gokhale's ultimate faith in the British stands vindicated when we see how India got her freedom in 1947 granted to her constitutionally by the British Parliament and not obtained as a result of any revolution as done by the American colonies in the 18th century.

Vindication

Finally, we may note Gokhale wanted freedom for India as much as Tilak or Gandhiji but believed that only western education through the English language

could arouse among us the ambitions required to be a free country, an important point here because this was what Tilak also saw as true rather too late just before his death. Whilst earlier Tilak had differed from Gokhale, at the end in his Manifesto in 1920 just before he died he admitted that it was English education that gave rise to the desire for freedom, and added most unexpectedly: "We want the English people, English institutions, English liberty and Empire." Tilak seems to have admitted what he had failed to do all his life earlier when he had opposed Gokhale, namely, that British rule had been useful and even more than useful. One wonders whether he was thinking of the statemanship of Gokhale and his views and perhaps even regretting his earlier opposition to Gokhale when he added: "It has been well said that British rule is conferring inestimable benefit, not only in its civilised methods of administration, but also by bringing together the different nationalities and races of India, so that a united nation may grow together out of it in course of time". The admission of Britain's role as a teacher of freedom and unity to India, and also that India was not yet a united political nation and required British help, is very important for the consideration of many of our unenlightened regionalists of today who occupy seats of power without the vision to see how this unfortunate country is slowly going to pieces again through the premature and fatal policy of destroying the educational foundations advocated by Gokhale and accepted practically with his dying breath by Tilak.

In conclusion, we may remember that even today the real key to most of our problems lies in the character we can develop to work and suffer for the unity and freedom of this land. Nothing perhaps is as important as education, and more education both for our masses and for producing the *national* leaders we require. Western education and the English language have still a very great role to play in the years to come. We need to remind ourselves of the concluding words of Gokhale in his address to the Bombay Graduates in 1896:

"I think in the present circumstances of our country no subject can call forth such universal, such whole-hearted enthusiasm, as public education. If anything will ever restore us to our lost glory, it will be this. In the eloquent words of a recent writer, 'Knowledge is Heaven's light to our steps, and a nation that shuts it out, seals its own doom, and cannot stand.' Gentlemen, in our present fall we are paying the penalty of past sins. For these sins many of your best lives must be sacrificed on the altar of education by way of atonement. At this altar the nation must kneel for years, many and long, before it can rise purified and regenerated, ennobled and strengthened, and proceed to take its place among the nations of the world".

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Reviews

KUMARAMANGALAM'S THESIS

THE confidential thesis that the late Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam wrote for the Communist Party of India (CPI), laying down the guidelines for a seizure of power, has now been brought out in book form by the D. K. Publishing House of Delhi at Rs. 16 for the hardcover edition and Rs. 10 for the paperback. As the master plan which brought CPI its most resounding victories, the 'Thesis' is no doubt held in great reverence by the Party itself, its every word to be pored over and savoured. But to those who might be less involved, and even granting that it is, by its very nature, a dry political treatise, it is pretty heavy going, barely readable and clumsily put together, with its arguments laboured and flagrantly twisted to conform to a line of thought. The only thing that emerges clear is the author's single-minded devotion to the cause, the cause in the pursuit of which no holds seem to be barred. In a less direct way, it provides an insight into the diabolic workings of the communist movement, how norms of political conduct are subordinated to the overall strategic objective of seizing power; how, when a frontal assault looks hopeless, there is an unabashed switch-over to Trojan Horse tactics.

The dreary obfuscation that the 'Thesis' suffers from is relieved by an incisive introduction written by a professional New Delhi journalist, Mr Satindra Singh. Apart from having put in a good deal of sound homework on the study of communism in India, Mr Singh speaks with the palpable authenticity of the insider, having himself been an active communist for ten years. In his fifteen-page commentary, he focusses attention on the more sinister aspects of the 'Thesis' and in the process, adds considerably to our knowledge of the means and methods employed by the CPI in its efforts to take over power in this country.

All the same, it somehow does not seem right that, on the strength of his introduction, Mr Singh should consider himself entitled to treat the entire book as though it were his own effort and even dedicate it. His dedication reads: TO MRS INDIRA GANDHI WHO MIGHT BENEFIT. This may be Mr Singh's way of suggesting that, if only she were to get her facts straight, the Prime Minister would not go about asserting that her party was not "going towards communism." And facts are what Mr Singh sets out to provide, without mincing words or holding back names. On the other hand, it is not at all unlikely that the late Mr Kumaramangalam himself might have dedicated his effort to Mrs Gandhi, even possibly in the same words. On the evidence presented by Mr Singh, they would have seemed singularly appropriate.

MANOHAR MALGONKAR

THE MELTING POT

Beyond The Melting Pot by Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, (The M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts \$1.95 pp. 363.)

IN the last three centuries, wave upon wave of religiously, politically and economically afflicted Europeans and Latin Americans have hit the shores of America. Meanwhile, negro ex-slaves migrated to the industrialized urban north from the pastoral south. Many members of these groups settled in New York City. From a conglomeration of genetic, religious, cultural, and linguistic characteristics, one common motivation united them all, they were looking for opportunity. Their collective hope was that they could come to New York City, blend into society, work hard, and achieve success. New York City would theoretically become "a melting pot" one thoroughly integrated mass of humanity, all with the same vast mixed gene pool, all with one standardized Christian religion, all having one uniform culture, class and political interest. In *Beyond The Melting Pot*, Nathan Glazer and the United States Ambassador to India, Daniel P. Moynihan examine five major distinctly recognizable ethnic groups of New York City in 1963; the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish, and analyse what

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cultural, economic and political factors have kept the melting pot from happening.

The melting pot theory of American history is not the only ideology to be challenged in the book. Indeed, to the writer, intellectually suckled in the large radical American university of the late 1960's *Beyond The Melting Pot* comes as a shocker. In the basic assumptions of the 1963 edition, and persistently in the ninety-page updated introduction of the new 1970 edition, Glazer and Moynihan, have exploded sacred radical chic doctrine. The American radical of the 1960's was embarrassed to admit that different ethnic groups had different attitudinal and cultural characteristics, and believed that those groups, especially negroes, who have not achieved, have been forcibly prevented from doing so. Glazer and Moynihan blithely toss a certain amount of the blame right back in the laps of the less than privileged.

It would be extremely controversial, in the late 1960's to admit that the negroes, or blacks, carried any burdens on the road to success except those imposed upon them by racist American discrimination. It has been pointed out in the book, that while there is undoubted discrimination against American blacks in New York City, especially in getting decent housing, some of the negro's problems are internal, a legacy from his slave days. It is admitted that white society clamped blacks into slavery, but to pretend that the psychological after-effects of slavery are not a persistent block to black advancement is a short-sighted and non-productive as the late 1960's tendency to ignore the numbers of blacks who are rising into the American Middle Class Mainstream, to ignore all blacks, but radical students and welfare mothers.

Glazer and Moynihan were tough on the American blacks, but they were as tough on the Irish. The culmination of the criticism was a strong hint that unlike the Italians, the Irish were too busy drinking to involve themselves in organized crime. In his (Moynihan's) strong personal attempt to shame some life into the Irish community, he didn't directly challenge the ideology of the radical elite of the late 1960's who never did hold the largely working class Irish as a cause celebre. Indeed, the police-career-oriented Irish and other ethnic groups were somewhat regarded as the radical monster from the black lagoon, the hard hat, Wallace man, racist.

If Moynihan didn't stir radical sentiment in the first edition of his book by criticizing the Irish, he set up the Italians and Irish as his cause celebre in his new introduction, written in 1970. Moynihan and Glazer point out that the upper class educated elite comprised largely of the Jews and non-ethnic white protestant Americans, took common cause with the under privileged blacks, and to a lesser extent Puerto Ricans against the lower middle class, which in New York City, is disproportionately Italian and Irish. The



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general pattern was that the powerful white Protestants and Jews decided what advantages the blacks deserved in the way of housing, jobs, etc., and demanded that the working class Irish and Italians give up their job and houses. The educated elite themselves didn't have to surrender much. Of course, any complaining on the part of the lower middle class ethnic groups was immediately written off as bigotry. In actuality, the contempt and hatred shown against the lower middle class workers by the professors and radical elite, was as harsh, divisive, and destructive as any hatred that anyone had against the blacks.

The new edition of *Beyond The Melting Pot* is timely, written before the divisive turbulent times of the 1960's radical movements, and edited and added to when the same movement was in its wane, it does much more than its stated intention to show that distinct ethnic groups are a permanent feature of New York City. It ignores the over delicate notion that it is vulgar to recognize ethnic differences and admits that these groups have different characteristics, interests and problems. The book assumes that stating the truth is salutary, and that one prejudice is as bad as another. *Beyond The Melting Pot* blows a breath of fresh air.

JOAN CONTRACTOR

DEDICATED SERVICE

In The Cause of The People: Reminiscences; by A. K. Gopalan, (Orient Longman; Rs. 40/-; pp. 299).

MR. A. K. GOPALAN'S life is really a life in the service of the people. For over fifty years he has toiled for the people and sought to serve them according to his light. In that service he had to suffer imprisonment for over sixteen years, had to face lathis and bullets on many occasions and had to undergo many other sufferings and privations. There are not many who have such a long record of suffering and sacrifice.

Mr. Gopalan began as a Congress worker. After about ten years in the Congress, he joined the Congress Socialist Party and then gradually drifted into the Communist Party. In the Communist Party he drifted to the left and is, since its inception, a prominent member of the Marxist Communist Party. His main field of activity is small peasants and agricultural labourers. He has conducted for them a number of struggles in his home State of Kerala as well as in other parts of the country.

The book is a record of his reminiscences. It is more or less a diary of the hundreds of meetings that he addressed, scores of marches that he led, of the struggles that he organised, of the sufferings in jails and of his travels in the country and abroad. It is a plain matter-of-fact statement of incidents as they took place in the political life of the author without any analysis

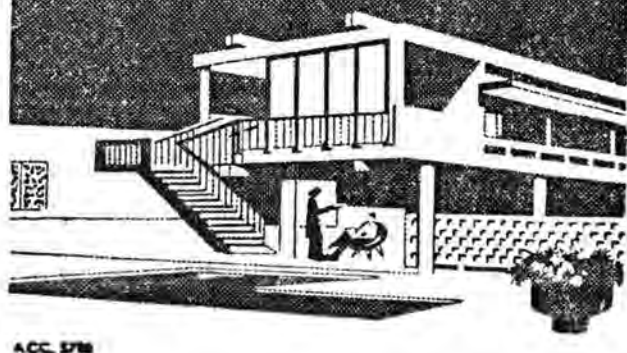
and without any attempt to place them in the larger context. There are in many places exaggerations and many intemperate statements.

Mr. Gopalan is not a learned man or an intellectual. He is an activist, an activist of a very energetic type. Whatever Marxism he has learnt is mainly through the political and social struggles in which he was involved. Later in his life, he received some recompense for the sufferings and privations that he had to undergo in the earlier period. He was elected to Parliament several times, and had opportunities to visit China and Russia and enjoy their generous hospitality. But that did not deter him from jumping into the people's struggles as and when the occasion demanded. Though it did not fit in with his Marxist philosophy, Mr. Gopalan made ample use of the Gandhian technique of fasts. The book ends with the 1971 mid-term election to Parliament in which he again won a victory over the combined opposition of over a dozen parties ranging "from the Muslim League to the Jan Sangh". The book is useful as a record of the activities of a vigorous political agitator and fighter.

V. B. KARNIK

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Soviet citizens to emigrate or travel abroad... could not be considered a threat to the sovereignty of the USSR. It is, rather, an equitable and indispensable condition for detente.

"It is impossible to have mutual confidence if one of the parties resembles an immense concentration camp... The problem of the freedom to emigrate and to return is only a part of a vaster problem—that of ending our insulation from the outer world..."

"You don't hear much, abroad, about such a matter jamming foreign broadcasts. However, every evening, when we turn the knob on our radio set, we get a shock—the shock of high decibel jamming. Millions of rubbles, precious technical knowledge, immense resources are thus squandered so that modern science can prevent the citizens of this country from getting news from abroad."

To go ahead with trade and technical aid in an unconditioned detente, Sakharov had summed up a few days earlier, would have the result that "the world become helpless before this uncontrollable bureaucratic machine... Unqualified Western willingness to improve relations would mean cultivating a country where anything that happens may be shielded from outside eyes—a masked country that hides its real face... No one should be expected to live next to

such a neighbour, especially when the neighbour is armed to the teeth."

Secretary of State Kissinger was asked by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee about these carefully reasoned statements that Sakharov has with such incredible selflessness and heroism addressed to us. Kissinger replied that he was "deeply moved" by them; but not moved enough, apparently, to be in the slightest degree influenced.

"We have to ask ourselves the question," Kissinger testified, "whether it should be the principal goal of American foreign policy to transform the domestic structure of societies with which we deal or whether the principal exercise of our foreign policies should be directed toward affecting the foreign policy of those societies... We must proceed on the course on which we are." But Sakharov's analysis has nothing to do with such empty generalities. He is contending that in this specific case of the presently developing relations between the existing Soviet Union and the Western nations, it is impossible to affect Soviet foreign policy in a manner of benefit to the Western nations *unless* there is a change in the domestic structure; that, in fact, Soviet policy without domestic changes *must* be a continuing and increasing danger to the Western nations. Sakharov is serious. He deserves a reply more serious than a routine debater's evasion.

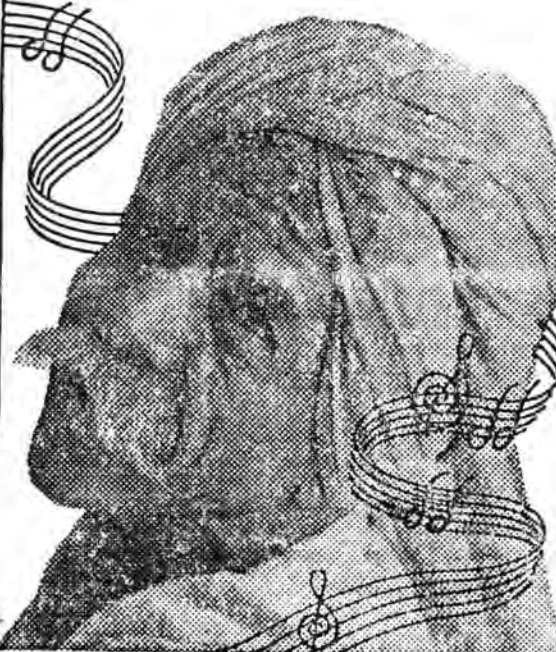
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Moans round with many voices. Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world."

—Tennyson.

Real peace — one that means I could go shopping safely in Cairo.

—Golda Meir in *US. News & World Report*, December 17.

If freedom of the Libyan people cannot be guaranteed and if this country's independence cannot be achieved except under the protection of the Russians, then let this people go to hell.

—Col. Gaddafi, quoted in *Survey*, September 1973.

He (Chavan) has shown himself to be the true mugwump, sitting upon the fence with his mug on one side and his wump on the other for so long that the iron spikes on its top have entered onto his soul, inhibiting all action in the face of the clearest economic disadvantage of the ordinary people.

—*Opinion*, January 1.

The Russian rulers are in fact Socialists in words, imperialists in deeds.

—New China News Agency quoted in *Indian Express*, December 24.

We live in a world where madmen put straitjackets on normal people.

—Czechoslovak writer quoted by Pierre Hassner in *Survey*, Spring 1973.

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Gunboats are as necessary for international order as police cars are for domestic order.

—Irving Kristol quoted in *Time*, December 24.

Solzhenitsyn takes the Western world to task for being able to say, when faced with a muddy swamp, 'Oh, what a charming necklace!'

—Pierre Hassner in *Survey*, Spring 1973.

The last 'victory' the Soviet leadership would at present wish to be saddled with is, say, an India going Communist — with Moscow henceforth responsible for providing the food, the administrative apparatus, capital, work, the ethic of efficiency and productivity, and the strategic umbrella for the Indian subcontinent.

—Alexander Dallin in *Survey*, Spring 1973.

One should not see an adversary as a devil, but one should not see him as a friend either.

—Raymond Aron in *Survey*, Summer 1973.

Our Russian friends are very polite to us. But they usually abuse us through their friends in third countries.

—Iranian Foreign Minister Khalatbary, in *Times of India*, December 18.

Peking has denounced the distribution in Taiwan of ten thousand copies of *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* because such romantic reading might distract Taiwan's youth 'from the just struggle for unification' with the Mainland.

—*National Review*, September 28.

Allende, oohed and aahed over as the world's only 'freely elected' Marxist head of state, had produced a calamity and called it socialism.

—*National Review*, September 28.

I cannot imagine how the Russians could simultaneously (a) prepare to receive, house, and feed fifty thousand people for the Olympic Games in 1980 and (b) prepare for a world war. Anybody who has ever lined up for a cup of tea and a sandwich in Moscow will understand what I mean.

—William F. Buckley in *National Review*, September 28.