

WHAT IS FASCISM?

WRITING about the so called anti-fascist conference in Patna some time in December the leftist *Economic* and *Political Weekly* wrote under the title 'Innocents at a Conference':

"Thronging the venue of the conference were people ignorant of such matters as the interests of contending power blocs, of the meaning of fascism and of the import of the goings-on in the one-square-kilometre of Lalit Narain Mishra Nagar."

In this context, it may perhaps be useful to delineate the essential features of fascism so that it may become easier to decide who is a fascist.

Fascism is a historical phenomenon that originated in Italy under Mussolini and developed in Germany under Hitler.

The essential features of Fascism may be listed as follows:

1. Fascism attempts by the manipulation of nationalist sentiment to impose a dictatorship whose basic slogan is "One Nation, One Party, One Leader".

2. A Fascist dictatorship and its leader are above the Law and the Judiciary is in consequence reduced to subservience.

3. Fascism may tolerate some kind of mock Parliament which, however, is a tame instrument for rubber stamping its dictates.

4. There can be no question of a free press under Fascism and the press is placed under heavy censorship and is prevented from providing honest reporting or dissenting comment.

5. Opposition Parties are not tolerated and the leading opponents of the regime are deprived of their freedom.

6. The economic expression of Fascism took the form of the "Corporate State" in Mussolini's Italy and "National Socialism" in Hitler's Germany. Capital, management and labour are all subordinated to the dictates of the Government which professes to act in the national interest. Collective bargaining and the right to strike become a dead letter and Trade Unions thus lose the very purpose of their existence, though they continue to function in name. While private ownership in Indus-

try and Trade is not altogether abolished, Industry and Trade function under very heavy controls and all economic power is concentrated in the hands of the rulers. In an editorial article on 2nd December, 1975, the *London Times*, while discussing the nature of Fascism, observed:

"There is therefore a characteristically corporatist transfer of rights or liberties from the individual to the corporate bodies concerned and to the state . . . Some people would say that this is indeed corporatism but not fascism, since fascism implies illegality. Yet if you control the state and pass laws which are binding on other people, and other laws which remove restraints on yourself, you are left with no advantage from illegality. All corporatism is oppression, because it is inherently anti-individual; in this sense, all corporatism is fascism."

7. In such a regime, as Jawaharlal Nehru once wrote, "Fascism makes of the State a God on whose altar individual freedom and rights must be sacrificed".

8. To justify all this, Fascism claims to have the monopoly of truth.

9. It follows from this that Fascism hates the intellectual and culture. "Whenever I hear the word culture", said Goering, "I reach for my gun."

This then is Fascism.

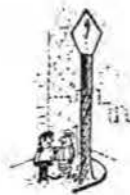
IN THIS ISSUE

This is essentially an international issue — a sort of global *tour d'horizon* covering Angola, Mozambique, Palestine, France, the USA and the USSR.

The Editor's letter to the Prime Minister brings us back to India.

There are readable reviews of biographies of Rudyard Kipling and Harry S. Truman and an autobiography by Lord George-Brown.

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Repentant Panther

ELDREDGE CLEAVER, militant Black Panther and author of *Soul on Ice*, ran away from justice in the United States when faced with charges arising from a 1968 gun battle with the Oakland police after proclaiming his disgust with his "reactionary" country. He stayed abroad in exile for seven years in Cuba, Algeria, Guinea, North Korea and the Soviet Union. It will be noticed that this great revolutionary naturally chose only "progressive" countries for asylum.

Before his flight from the United States, Cleaver had distinguished himself by calling the rape of white women an "insurrectionary act"! When later the Panthers split on policy, it was Cleaver who insisted from his exile in Algeria on continuing armed conflict.

But, lo and behold, an unexpected development then took place. Eldridge Cleaver discovered from his new point of vantage that the status of American blacks had during his absence undergone a "fundamental change for the better". Of course it had, but how did this leftist revolutionary come to make this discovery? The answer is provided by Cleaver himself. "Living under dictatorships," the chastened Panther sadly concedes, "gives you a more balanced picture of what is going on in the world." Cleaver confided to a stunned interviewer from a radical paper: "After seeing the socialist world close up, I think the U.S. should be second to none militarily. . . In this creative period of democracy after Watergate, we must hasten the disintegration of the totalitarian Soviet camp."

Without in any way wishing to suggest interference with the course of American justice, we hope there will be some indulgence shown to this man so that he may, by his public recantation, help others, whether in the United States or elsewhere, who are today as blind as he once was, to have their eyes opened in good time to these realities.

Pravda vs. L'Humanité

WHEN *Pravda* in Moscow and *L'Humanité* in Paris quarrel publicly, truth will out as sure as the honest man comes into his own when thieves quarrel.

The provocation for this falling out in public has been the exhibition on French TV of a film purporting to show a slave labour camp in the Latvian capital of Riga, now part of the Soviet empire. The French Communist Party was so revolted by the conditions disclosed by the film that it announced that "if the film was genuine it would express its deep surprise and strictest condemnation".

At this, *Pravda* protested that the film was a gross fabrication. At the same time it rebuked the French Communists for their statement. French TV accepted the *Pravda* challenge by screening the film once again, giving an interview with the man who produced it for the BBC and insisting that the film was genuine.

If the Indian Communists had been concerned, *New Age* would have quickly apologised to Moscow, but not so *L'Humanité* which stuck to its guns. Not only that, but M. Georges Marchais, the Communist Party leader, told the annual congress of the Young Communist Movement in Paris that the French Communists were justified in their challenge to Moscow and said that "when one loves liberty in Paris one must love it elsewhere whatever the country".

Is it not ironical that, at a time when many governments in the West and elsewhere do not seem to mind the absence of further debate in the Soviet empire and the existence of concentration camps, it should be left to the Communist Party of France to uphold the cause of freedom with such vigour?

Birds of a Feather

THE way Communists throughout the world instinctively work together came to light when, at a meeting of the British National Union of Students which met in Scarborough in December 1975, Miss Susan Slipman, national secretary of the NUS and a member of the Communist Party, was relieved of her responsibility of running that body's international affairs as convenor of their international policy group.

Among the instances of her misbehaviour and of utilising the NUS for party purposes was the charge that no telegram by way of protest against New Delhi's Emergency measures and the truncating of civil liberties in India was sent because Miss Slipman considered it her duty to line up with the Indian Communist Party which has supported these steps. When Miss Slipman argued that no protest telegram was sent to India because the Union had not adopted a policy on the Indian Emergency and claimed "India is a non-existent mandate; there is no policy," she was promptly asked by her irate British colleagues why, in that case, she had sent a five page telegram to protest against the arrest of students in Argentina without a conference mandate! Miss Slipman confessed that she did so because they had been asked for a message by the Students' Union of Argentina. The *London Times* reports that there was laughter when she said that "none of the Indian Students' Unions had asked for similar support."

'Is America going mad?'

FREEDOM FIRST has through the years never hesitated to lambast the perversities and idiocies of certain American east-coast "liberals". We are therefore delighted to read and re-publish the following editorial article in the *Daily Telegraph* (London) of January 3, 1976, about this group of men who have shown themselves to be friends of every country except their own.

"It is time America's friends spoke out, with some nasty questions to the so-called "liberal" east-coast establishment. By that we mean sections of the Press, sections of Congress, television commentators and comedians, university pundits and a lot of other people who may think there is a dollar to be made out of denigrating their country's institutions and leaders. We all know about the "trauma" of Vietnam and Watergate, but it's getting a bit boring. How long has the rest of the free world got to put up with these tender-minded people recovering from their "trauma"? Indefinitely?

America is accustomed to, and has merited, a good deal of deference from her allies. But deference can be a disservice. The United States should know that her European cousins and allies are appalled and disgusted by the present open disarray of her public life. The self-criticism and self-destructive tendencies are running mad, with no countervailing force in sight. She has no foreign policy any more, because Congress will not allow it. Her intelligence arm, the CIA, is being gutted and rendered inoperative, the names of its staff being published so that they can be murdered. Her President and Secretary of State are being hounded, not for what they do but simply because they are people there, to be pulled down for the fun of it.

We hope and believe that the vicious antics of the liberal east-coast establishment, which are doing all this untold harm, do not reflect the feelings of the mass of the country. But it is a matter for wonder. Is the country as a whole becoming deranged? Surely not. Perhaps the Presidential election later this year will clear the air. Yet that is still eleven months away, and in the meantime there is all the campaigning to be gone through. Please, America, for God's sake pull yourself together."

Kaunda Speaks Out

PRESIDENT Kenneth Kaunda of Angola is a pillar of non-alignment and was not long ago an honoured guest in New Delhi. He can hardly be accused of being Washington's stooge or be written off as an agent of American "imperialism" in Africa.

In refreshing contrast to some other black leaders in Africa, President Kaunda has in an interview with the veteran journalist C. L. Sulzberger published in the

International Herald Tribune of December 31, 1975, struck a note of sanity free from racial hysteria:—

"Once Portugal was out of Angola (whose independence was declared Nov. 11, 1975) there was no justification for Soviet support of the MPLA. . . .

"I feel we must speak plainly on Angola, "Kaunda continued. "We are a non-aligned nation and we spoke out plainly against the United States on Vietnam. Now we must be morally and politically courageous and tell the Soviets: You are wrong. As for the U.S. arms help for other Angolans, that is an effect of the situation, not a cause. A truly non-aligned country must condemn Soviet influence in Angola. It is not just a political issue; it is a moral issue.

"If U.S. aid is asked by any Angolan political parties, who am I to say the U.S.A. should not respond? The UNITA-FNLA coalition has every right to request arms from the U.S.A. when the MPLA receives such arms from the Soviet Union. We cannot complain about this — until reason at last prevails in Angola.

"The Soviet Union has supplied arms to MPLA all along. If the United States is asked by the others to help them accordingly, who am I to stand in their way? We in Africa must look at Angola in a sober, cool way, not emotionally.

"Much as we condemn the South African presence in Angola we cheat ourselves if we think that by condemning South Africa we are settling things. The South African presence too is an effect of the problem, not a cause," Kaunda said.

Even before President Kaunda spoke up, *The Observer* of London had aptly summarized the situation in an editorial article titled 'Innocence Is Not Enough'. *The Observer* advised black African leaders that they may usefully re-read Prof. Denis Brogan's classic of the thirties 'Is Innocence Enough?'

The question that Africans and the others have to face is: which is the greater evil — the hateful South African apartheid or the totalitarian Soviet dictatorship which duplicates itself wherever the Communists take over, whether in Mozambique or Portugal? In case anyone should have any doubt on the subject, listen then to Mr. Diogenes Boawila, Minister of Justice in the self-styled MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) government in Luanda. Listing the principles of jurisprudence which he was going to implement, he mentioned: first, people's tribunals; second, labour camps; and thirdly that the verdicts of courts would take into account "the will and decisions of the popular masses who will attend each trial".

Writing on the subject, the *Swiss Press Review* has something apt to say: "For years, the answer to the question of who to support has been obvious: you support freedom against apartheid. But what happens

when Freedom disappears? What about when totalitarian dictatorship takes the place of freedom? How do you choose between two kinds of slavery?" Answering these questions, the journal concludes: "Those who choose Communism don't choose again."

When the conference of the OAU met in Addis Ababa on January 12, 1976, the Communist MPLA turned down a proposal by several African countries for a national united government including members of the FNLA and the UNITA. This led to a split amongst the African countries which despite all efforts could not be resolved. Out of 46 members, only 22 recognized the Luanda "government". Even these 22 votes evidently were secured by altogether dubious means.

Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, the British Liberal leader, told the press on January 4 that a "Soviet lay-off in gold was given directly to at least one African head of state, and possibly to several such leaders, to gain early recognition of the MPLA regime". According to him the bribe paid by the Soviet Union was a fifty million dollar one.

"Independent"?

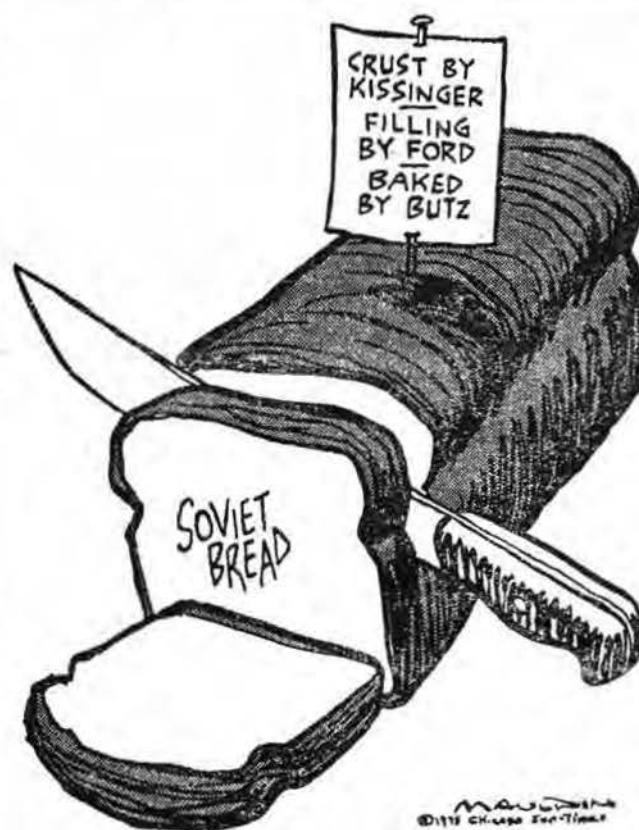
A PRESS report entitled "T. V. Independent of A.I.R." discloses that the Union Cabinet decided on 20th January, 1976, that Television would be separated from All India Radio and function as an independent department headed by a Director-General. An interesting and undoubtedly sound step.

The Union Government appear, however, to have missed the point. What Television needs is not in-

dependence from A.I.R. but from the Government of the day and, until two separate Statutory Corporations are set up, one for Broadcasting and the other for Television, independent of the Government of the day as recommended by the Chanda Committee and as is the practice in Britain and other progressive countries, the real problems of these services and of the listeners will still remain to be solved.

Look Who's Talking!

DR. BORIS RUNOV, Soviet Deputy Minister of Agriculture, who was in Delhi in January, gave us a little homily about how "large farms yield more" and "small holdings will hit farm output", these being the newspaper headlines under which his sermon was published in the *Indian Express* and *Times of India*



Courtesy: International Herald Tribune

M

IS J.P. THE ANSWER?

Minoo Masani

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respectively. It was also announced from New Delhi "that the area of co-operation between India and the Soviet Union in agriculture and animal sciences is to be widened".

All this is positively hilarious considering that, against the target of 215 million tons for the past year under the Five Year Plan, the Soviet grain harvest reached only 137 million tons, leaving a shortfall of a mere 78 million tons! Yet these be our mentors!

EDITOR'S LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER

RECENTLY, a copy of a pamphlet put out by the Director of Audio Visual Publicity of the Government of India some time last year came into our hands. We were shocked to find that a gross misquotation attributed to the Editor by the Prime Minister in the course of her speech in the Lok Sabha on July 22, 1975, was reproduced as part of this pamphlet, which was entitled, ironically enough, 'Preserving Our Democratic Structure'.

Normally, one would not quarrel with the DAVP for publicising the Prime Minister's speech in Parliament. In the official proceedings of Parliament, however, the three sentences torn out of context had dots between them, thereby conceding that certain matter that came in between these sentences had been eliminated. Even these dots have been dropped by the DAVP in this reproduction.

Also, as it happens, the Editor had written to the Prime Minister on July 25, within three days of her speech, drawing attention to the misquotation and pointing out how three sentences torn out of context from a long interview given by him to "Z" magazine as far back as March 1974 had been wrongly described by her as a speech made by him. One would have thought that, after this correction, the Editor would be correctly quoted. Since this courtesy has not been extended, it becomes necessary to publish below the Editor's letter of July 25, 1975, to the Prime Minister in order to put the record right:

"My dear Prime Minister,

In the *Times of India* of July 23, 1975, there is a UNI report of your intervention during a debate on the Emergency in the Lok Sabha on July 22, 1975, in the course of which you are reported to have "cited many utterances of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan and his close associate, Mr. M. R. Masani, soliciting the intervention of the army 'to save democracy' in India."

I have now obtained the text of your reference to me and find that you were very badly served by whoever briefed you, with the result that you have unwittingly done me an injustice. As you said: 'It is there in black and white'. But, as it happens, it was not a speech as you were led to believe but an interview in a magazine. Unfortunately 'the black and white' placed before you was evidently from the *New Age* of April 14, 1974 and not from 'Z' magazine by whom I had been interviewed in their issue of March 1974. The version you were given was a distorted and synthetic one, altogether at variance with what I had actually said during my interview with 'Z' magazine. This was done by *New Age* resorting to the simple expedient of deleting various sentences in my 'Z' interview and threading together others.

As you will see from the following sentences, which form part of my interview but which were not in the quotation you read to the Lok Sabha, far from

soliciting the intervention of the Army I had repeatedly expressed my disapproval and distaste for any such development while drawing attention, as a student of history, to such a danger. The first passage should have followed the first sentence in your quote. The second should have preceded and the third followed the second sentence in your quote.

Missing Passages:

(1) "I fear, though I am a very strong democrat, that for a while extra-constitutional forces will take over. We are beginning to see them already in Gujarat. I deplore the methods used. It is terrible to overthrow governments this way, but the people feel there is no other way".

(2) "I am not advocating it (military intervention). Let's get this clear. The cancer specialist who warns of cancer is not provoking it. He is not promoting cancer. All he says is, 'Operate — do something !'..... Mind you, I'm not advocating it, but it's the kind of thing that history throws up against insoluble problems".

(3) "As a student of history, I would say it (military intervention) is a lesser evil to the other path. It is preferable to a treacherous Communist take-over which hands the country over to China or Russia".

I am writing to draw your attention to this in order to remove the wrong impression you seem to have been given and would like to think that you will now appreciate that what you said in Parliament was not quite fair to me."

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'CRY LONG AND HARD YOUR TEARS OF REPENTANCE'

Bernard Levin

Momentous news: *The Guardian* has discovered sin. And don't jeer: those pure and innocent souls may have been preceded on the road to enlightenment by others, but we all have to start somewhere, and if they are congratulated on their achievement rather than chided for its belatedness they may, thus encouraged, go on to more exciting things yet, such as finding out that holding a guinea-pig up by its tail does not cause its eyes to fall out.

The discovery was announced in a story by Antonio de Figueiredo, their expert on matters Portuguese, and there was no preliminary throat-clearing on his part, for this is how it began:

Photographs and other documentary evidence smuggled out of Mozambique seem to show that national independence has become intertwined with revolution and that Frelimo, the freedom fighters of yesterday, are well on the way to becoming a totalitarian regime...

Chinese or Albanian-style people's courts complete with public exposure and criticism of barefoot blacks and whites accused of deviating from the correct party line, are a new feature of Mozambique's judicial system. A recent document containing the guidelines of Frelimo's policy towards religion... provides some insight into the ideological character of the new Mozambique. ... "The Catholic Church is a reactionary organization which gives rise to counter-revolutionary activities in peoples' democracies. ... So that peoples' democracies can proceed in the path of Socialism and Communism, it is necessary once and for all to put an end to the influence of this Church..." ... The surprise and alarm at Frelimo's anti-religious campaign is likely to have repercussions which are by no means confined to Church people...

Well, that last statement is what is known as a self-fulfilling prophecy, because Mr de Figueiredo's surprise and alarm are plain for all to see. But a man who makes plain that he is surprised, and unpleasantly at that, by the discovery that Tuesday follows Monday resembles the proverbial thirteenth chime of the clock, which is not only suspect in itself but casts doubt on all that has gone before.

What right has Mr Figueiredo to be surprised at the fact that ruthless totalitarians are behaving like ruthless totalitarians? What does he mean by saying that, in Mozambique, national independence has become intertwined with revolution? And, above all, is not his own breath taken away when he says that: "Frelimo, the freedom fighters of yesterday, are well on the way to becoming a totalitarian regime"? For it was, after

all, people like Mr Figueiredo and papers like *The Guardian* which told us that the members of Frelimo were "freedom fighters" in the first place. In doing so they poisoned the well of truth: now they are complaining because the water tastes funny. But what form of apology are they proposing to offer the poor devils who have actually got to live under the régime in question and to drink the bitter cup to its dregs? ...

For—and this, after all, is the point—*The Guardian* and its writer on Portuguese affairs are genuine believers in democracy, not in people's democracy. Mr Figueiredo really is distressed that the citizens of "liberated" Mozambique are to be denied freedom of worship and that (as he tells us in the same story) many are now languishing in what he delicately calls "rehabilitation camps" for an attempt to exercise it. ...

In my song of praise for Mr Daniel Moynihan the other day I endeavoured to draw the vital distinction between the hard-headed liberals like him, who do good, and the soft-headed progressives who do harm. It is a distinction that becomes more important, and for that matter wider, all the time. It was not, after all, the party faithful who poisoned the minds of an entire generation in this country on the subject of Stalin; it was the entirely well-meaning seekers after good, who swallowed the line whole and came back for more. (But you see, they have abolished the private ownership of the means of production, and thus ended centuries of exploitation of man by man. Why, nobody there accepts a tip—just fancy! And the hydro-electric dam at Dnepropetrovsk—it makes just oodles and oodles of electricity. And the collective farm is such a friendly institution.) And in our day it was not the Vietcong who persuaded the outside world that they were freedom-loving liberals—for one thing they were too busy exterminating those who dared to oppose them in the villages they had overrun—but the Mary McCarthys and the Dr Spocks, and one of the things they have in common is a curious form of paralysis, affecting the vocal cords and the typing fingers, which sets in abruptly on the attainment of power by those they have gushed and cooed over while they were on the way to attaining it.

In this respect, *The Guardian* and Mr Figueiredo are a cut above most, for at any rate they have admitted to being surprised and alarmed on discovering that murderers do commit murder, oppressors tend to oppress, and tyrants frequently tyrannize. Their tears of repentance are genuine and welcome; but they are

(Continued on page 7)

GREEK PHILOSOPHERS CONFIRMED

By James Burnham

In our May 1975 issue we had carried a very seminal article by the well known political analyst James Burnham entitled Two Alternatives to Democracy. We now feel privileged to carry a sequel to that article.

I SUGGEST that in our time it is more useful to classify the forms of government on the initial basis of a triple rather than dual distinction: *totalist/authoritarian/democratic* rather than *dictatorial/democratic*. I defined the triple distinction as follows:

"Democratic nations, within a range that varies from nation to nation, are politically, culturally, and intellectually pluralist, and have some sort of representative political institution (parliament, assembly, congress) chosen by popular vote through an electoral process to which opponents of the incumbent administration have access.

"Both authoritarian and totalist [=totalitarian] governments are dictatorships, and in both the ruling cadre exercises a political monopoly . . . The distinctive feature of a totalist regime is the integration of all aspects of life—economic, cultural, social, even personal—into the single power system. Under an authoritarian government, some aspects are exempt, . . . or partially exempt."

To which, further:

1. These, like all distinctions, are clearer in the abstract than in concretion. No actual regime could be 100 per cent totalist—men being ornery, there will always be some deviation from the totalist monolith. This means that the line between "totalist" and "authoritarian" can be blurred. At just what point does a spreading authoritarianism become totalist, or a loosening totalism become authoritarian? Is Libya totalist? Is Yugoslav Communism nontotalist? A 100 per cent democracy would be anarchy, and an anarchic society cannot actually exist. Every actual democracy will have authoritarian elements. Is Ceylon a democracy? Is Mexico authoritarian?

Then there are hybrid regimes hard to place on the scale. South Africa is within the democratic range so far as its white citizens are concerned. It is formidably authoritarian (though not quite totalist) in relation to its nonwhites. Such an amalgam is not without preced-

ent: South Africa's political structure is similar to the democracy of ancient Athens.

In close situations the designation may be arbitrary, but that does not destroy the usefulness of the distinction. China and the Soviet Union are totalist. Switzerland and Canada are democratic. Brazil and Peru are authoritarian. These are not semantic quibbles.

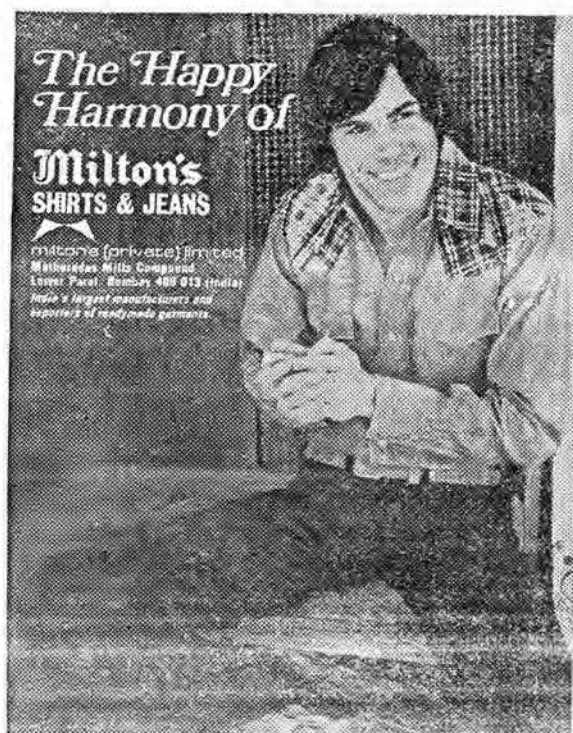
2. The triple distinction is independent of the Left-Right distinction. Totalist regimes can be Left (Soviet Union, China) or Right (Nazi Germany). Indeed, there have been totalist regimes to which the modern Left-Right category does not apply: theological regimes, for example, as in ancient Egypt, pre-Columbian Peru, and the Byzantine Empire.

Authoritarian regimes can also be Left (Peru today, Syria, most African nations, Burma, Chile a year ago) or Right (Brazil, Nicaragua, South Vietnam and South Korea, Spain, Chile today). So too democracies, though in their case it is nowadays mostly a question of degrees of Leftness. Switzerland, Belgium, West Germany, and the U.S. are, if not Right absolutely, at

(Continued from page 6)

of little comfort, and still less use, to the murdered, the oppressed and the tyrannized. Perhaps I may be permitted to suggest a New Year's resolution for some of our progressives; that they should in future try to find out what they are doing before they do it rather than after.

Courtesy: The Times



any rate Rightward of, say, Sweden, New Zealand, and Iceland.

3. The social composition of the groups holding power in modern authoritarian regimes varies widely. Sometimes it is the military (or a branch of the military, or an intellectualized—Nasserite—military cadre), and the military must always be included. Along with the military it can be the trade unions (Peronism), sectors of big business and banking (Brazil, South Korea, pre-Castro Cuba, pre-1974 Portugal), tribal communities (Africa), intellectuals and professionals (many of the Third World authoritarian regimes; in fact, most current authoritarian regimes and movements).

4. The prewar authoritarian regimes were nearly all Rightist, often incorporating the Church and big landowners along with the military and sectors of big business and finance in the ruling stratum. It was in this context that the still prevailing ideas and attitudes about authoritarianism were formed. This, plus mistaken analyses of Nazism and Peronism (partly implanted by the Communists), was the background of the liberal preference for finding the enemy on the Right. Liberalism is correlated with democracy. Communism notably aside—and Communism was not then an imminent threat in the Western democracies—liberalism's primary enemy was in truth on the Right.

But in this as in so much, liberalism is out of phase

with history. Although today's authoritarianism can come from either Right or Left, it has come more frequently, and is more threatening, from the Left. By directing its fire toward the enemy on the Right, liberalism leaves democracy exposed to envelopment from the Left.

5. In exercising their political monopoly, both Left and Right authoritarian regimes can be, and usually are, harsh and often brutal. Both have a tendency to extend their hold to other, nonpolitical spheres—a tendency, that is, toward totalism. However, this tendency is stronger in Left than in Right authoritarianism. The Right usually allows a greater measure of economic freedoms—especially the humble, basic consumer freedom. Moreover, there would seem to be a greater probability of Left authoritarianism's evolving into (Left) totalism than of Right authoritarianism's evolving into (Right) totalism. Powerful Left totalist regimes, promoting totalism, exist today; there are no Right totalist regimes nor signs of one. Leftist economic measures prepare a foundation for generalized statism. Nontotalist Left doctrine overlaps totalist (Communist) doctrine. Left authoritarian regimes—even some Left democratic regimes—are willing to accept totalists in the government.

6. The Greek philosophers are again confirmed in their conclusion that democracy's defects lead toward its replacement by despotism.

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A FACE-LIFT OPERATION

J. B. H. Wadia

I have been primarily a Hindi film maker for the last forty years and a seasoned absorber of the devastating attacks of my critics and detractors. Even so, just now I am beset upon by the spectre of *that* impending doom which P. G. Wodehouse sinisterly places on his bungling hero Bertram Wooster in many of his novels. The situation is much worse for me since there is no Jeeves by my side to bring me out of my predicament.

If I were to admit that Hindi films are cultural flops I would not only be damning myself but would also incur the pious wrath of my colleagues. They would certainly construe my stance as an act of disloyalty to the profession. On the other hand, if I were to claim that Hindi films are not cultural flops, it would be tantamount to what Winston Churchill once described as a terminological inexactitude. Many a reader will condemn such a statement as patently false and hypocritical.

The best I can do is to perform an act of schizophrenia, as it were—forget myself as a commercial film maker and remember only the incorrigible rationalist which I also happen to be, by dint of education. Somewhere André Malraux has wisely observed that in the court room of our conscience we only call witnesses for the defence. Even so, I shall do my best to weigh the pros and cons of the case as objectively as possible.

When we speak of downgrading Hindi films as cultural flops let us be clear about the postulated connection between the commercial film and cultural values. We have to be epistemological—go to the roots—in our approach to a given problem, so that we can remove the cobwebs of confusion creeping into our discussion.

Generic Term

"Film" is a generic term. If we use it in a vague sense, we run the risk of falling into a semantic trap; there are films and films—several genres such as the commercial and the non-commercial, the escapist and the purposeful, the educational and the instructional, the newsreel, the documentary and the art film and last but not least the so-called politically committed film, such as the well-known 'Nouvelle-Vague' film-maker Jean-Luc Goddard has made a fetish of producing. Each genre has its own particular role to play in the arena of cinematography. The world of films is like a vast sea on which all sorts of ships ply and voyage to their respective destinations. To deny the freedom of that sea to any particular film vehicle is to my mind an act of indiscretion. It smacks of an authoritarian approach ill-befitting the democratic way of life to which we subscribe. Even where the particular genre goes wrong we must remember the dictum of Jefferson

that an "Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is free to combat it."

As I have often said, the film is by far the most popular medium of communication in our pluralistic society and its structure has become so complex that no longer does it admit of water-tight compartments between its various categories. Overlappings occur intermittently among them. Even so, the common denominator is the potentiality of the film to make audiences interested in its presentation. However, it should not be overlooked that even though overlappings will occur, every genre has to remain faithful to its special attributes.

For example, the newsreel to be true to itself must not blatantly take sides. Its responsibility is to present news and not to propagate views. That it is far from blameless in our present set-up need not be dilated upon here. That is another story.

As to the documentary, the late John Grierson defined it some 35 years ago as "drama of the doorstep", a definition which has become an axiomatic truth. The documentary thus should not sacrifice reality at the altar of sensationalism—reality which must be distinguished from realism and especially socialist realism. Our documentaries have certainly taken big strides in the past 8 years. Even so, if they fall short of our expectations it is more due to bureaucratic controls than to the cadre of films makers in the Films Division.

But the point which I want to make is that the deficiency in cultural values is not an exclusive malaise of the Hindi film. With a little analysis it can be found elsewhere also.

Distortion

Some of our so-called New Wave Hindi films, for instance, suffer from a distortion of cultural values. Merely indulging in technical gimmickry in slavish imitation of American, West European, Japanese or communist films does not prevent a film from becoming a cultural flop. Though I admire the new movement in making Hindi films and their attempts to break away from the straight-jacket of the conventional formulae, I find the swing of the pendulum, as it were, resulting in mechanical stereotypes paraded as masterpieces. Let us not make a fetish of the off-beat films. I have recently read in a responsible American monthly that the ironic joke about the New Wave is that it has substituted one form of glamour for another. This may be a controversial statement. But let us maintain a sense of proportion, at least.

Now I come to the 64 thousand dollar question. Are

(Continued on page 10)

"SECULAR DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE"

Nitin G. Raut

THE Palestine Liberation Organisation has been harping on a "secular democratic Palestine State" since 1967. It would however be appropriate to deal with the question of Palestine before understanding the PLO's concept of "secular Palestine State". The Palestine question became a major international issue only after the Arabs suffered a shattering defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli six-day war. Historical evidence shows that the Arabs had never recognised Palestine as an independent State. They always regarded Palestine as Southern Syria. It may be recalled that the UN Partition Resolution of 1947, aiming to establish a separate and independent Jewish State and a Palestine Arab State, was rejected by the Arabs but accepted by the Jews. In the Arab-Israeli War following the declaration of Independence (14th May, 1948) by Israel, Egypt occupied the Gaza Strip and Jordan the West bank of the river Jordan, both territories earmarked by the Partition Resolution for the Palestine Arab State.

The question that arises is why during nineteen years of Arab rule in the Gaza Strip and on the West bank the identity of Palestine Arabs as a separate State never achieved any definite form or full expres-

sion. On the contrary, the Arabs during this period exploited the Palestinian refugee problem as propaganda against Israel and insisted that the return of the Palestinian Arabs should synchronise with the destruction of the State of Israel. The talk of coexistence between the Jews and the Arabs was blasphemous for the Arabs then and the State of Israel was considered to be "cancer in the Arab society". It is necessary to explain the shift from the original Arab stand of destroying Israel to "coexistence" with the Jewish people.

Military Debacle

The Palestinian Arabs had never been reconciled to the return of Jews in Diaspora to the Land of Israel. Having failed to stem the Jewish immigration, they talked of decimating the Jews. The military debacle of the Arabs in the Six Day War proved the inability of the Arab States to defeat Israel and Article 6 of the Palestine National Covenant, 1968 was the first indication of the change in the PLO strategy *vis a vis* Israel. The PLO no more spoke in terms of Jewish genocide but accepted Jews "who were living permanently in

A FACE-LIFT OPERATION—Cont'd from page 9

Hindi films cultural flops? My answer is yes—and no. This is not an equivocation but only a statement of fact. Truth is not always beautiful, it is often ugly. Unfortunately, it is ugly in the overall crop of recent Hindi films.

What is the reason for this defect? It is not my desire to find alibis for the Hindi film, even if there are quite a few. It is an inescapable attribute of commercial films all over the world that they have to be, primarily, entertaining. Most often the entertainment is of an escapist nature—except in totalitarian countries where the commercial film under governmental duress is committed to its political ideology.

While commenting on a writer, Hilaire Belloc once said, "His sins are scarlet but his books are read". Analogically I may be permitted to say that while the Hindi film maker's sins are many, his films are constantly seen. There is irony in the situation and also humour for those who care to find it. It is also true that now and then, it is in the field of the much-maligned commercial films that we come across themes of sociological import and episodes of cultural value. This phenomenon has cropped up year after year in the film world, in the last 55 years of its existence, almost everywhere including communist countries. It is this pioneering

work done by the commercial film makers which has gone unrequited and unsung. Even in India there were pathfinders, like the New Theatres of Calcutta, Prabhat of Poona and even a few forward-looking film makers in Bombay. It is not possible here to give even a cursory list. *Ipso facto* such films were bound to form a numerical minority. But they were there. They are there even today. To be objective in our outlook we must count the hits along with the misses.

Widening Gulf

It is not fair to blame totally the Hindi film-makers for the ills in the industry. In their own way, they too have produced Hindi films of cultural value all these years, though they have been few in number. Perhaps they could have done better in their own interests. The gulf between Hindi films of cultural value and films with exclusive focus on the gate money has widened. The ratio of Hindi films of cultural value or sociological import falls short as compared to, say, the U.S.A., West European Countries and perhaps, Japan. The time has come for the Hindi film maker to justify his existence on a higher sociological plane and voluntarily undergo a face-lift operation.

Palestine until the beginning of Zionist invasion" as Palestinians.

The immediate implication of Article 6 is that the Jews living in Palestine prior to 1917 would be accepted as Palestinians but the Jewish immigrants after 1917 should be repatriated to the countries of their origin. This would render more than half the present Jewish population of Israel stateless, and is a veiled proposition meant to reduce the Jews to a minority living under the Arab domination.

There is also a credibility gap between what the PLO preaches at international forums and the debates and discussions among its various constituents. These constituents are themselves at loggerheads on the concept of secular democracy and their approach to the Jews. Shafiq Al Hut, an influential PLO leader and head of its Beirut office, accepts the slogan of "secular democratic Palestine State" only to counter the claim that the Palestinian Arabs wish to throw the Jews into the sea, but not as "the ultimate strategy of the Palestine and Arab Liberation movement". Al Hut's fears are understandable because a Jewish-Arab secular Palestine would never become an Arab State. In his opinion the Jews should have no privilege to express democratic rights in the Palestine State. His views have broad support among the PLO elements. The democracy they conceive is not on the basis of 'one man, one vote'. The Jews at present outnumber the Palestinian Arabs and 'one man, one vote' democracy would give the Jews a majority. A Jewish dominated Palestine is not what the PLO would ever want.

Submission or Slow Death

The ultimate objective of the PLO is to designate the Jews to an inferior status without arousing the suspicion of the international community. Through its terror campaigns abroad and the slogan of "secular democratic Palestine State" it has successfully isolated Israel. It hopes that under international pressure Israel will either suffer a slow death or submit to their demands. It will thus achieve its twin objective of destroying Israel and establishing another Arab state. According to Yasser Arafat it is the flag of the Palestinian Arabs that will fly over Tel Aviv.

Israel recognises the existence of a Palestine problem but distinguishes it from the PLO which is not a duly elected and representative body of the Palestinians but was established in 1964 by the Arab League. As such it is a self-appointed body and serves as a roof organisation for the Arab guerilla gangs. According to the figures of the UNRWA only 600,000 out of 2.8 million Palestinians are in refugee camps. Most of them are absorbed in the Arab economies and enjoy the citizenship of the countries in which they live. The refugee problem is blown out of proportion and the PLO is exploiting this human misery only for political and propaganda purposes.

The role of the Soviet Union cannot be ignored. The Soviet Union has long nursed the ambition of dominating the Indian Ocean. With the Suez closed, it was a logistical nightmare for Soviet ships to use the tortuous route via the Cape of Good Hope. It thus suits Soviet global designs to keep the Middle East embroiled in an Arab-Israel conflict and have the Arabs on its side to dominate the Suez, so that its Black Sea fleet can have easy access to the Indian Ocean and the Gulf area.

National liberation movements do not become "reactionary" and "imperialist" by merely asserting the right of territorial sovereignty and national independence. To call Zionism synonymous with "imperialism" is a monstrous perversion of truth. Zionism symbolises the cherished desire of the Jewish people to return to the land of Israel in which they enjoyed self-rule for more than 1300 years. The Arabs have ruled the land for less than 450 years in all. The PLO's anti-Zionism is only a facade for anti-Semitism.

The slogan of "secular democratic Palestine State" may delude world opinion. The myopic leaders of the so-called "non-aligned" group and the Communist bloc, blinded by an irrational anti-Israel attitude, may lap it up. But for the Jews, after 2000 years of dispersion and exile, national independence is too precious to fall a prey to any blandishments of the PLO.

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Reviews

KIPLING

Kipling: The Glass, The Shadow and the Fire by Philip Mason (Harper & Row 1975. 8\$.95. 312 pages).

THE sub-title is intriguing. Let me explain it in Mason's own words:

"I wanted a phrase or series of images that would suggest something constraining or moulding the man into a shape not his own — as the social system of his day, and particularly his school and India, moulded Kipling — binding him within a surface that reflected back his immediate surroundings but beneath which something far more important was astir.... Then I remembered this, from a tale of Robert Louis Stevenson's, 'The Bottle Imp': 'And he opened a lock-fast place, and took out a round-bellied bottle with a long neck; the glass of it was white like milk, with changing rainbow colours in the grain. Withinsides, something obscurely moved, like a shadow and a fire.' If you took that bottle to the window and looked at that shining surface, you would see, coloured and distorted, the image of the window behind you and the room in which you stood and yet beneath the surface there would be the shadow and the fire. The metaphor must not be taken any further, because in Stevenson's story the imp in the bottle is very terrible indeed, while in Kipling it is what is below the surface that is best."

Mason believes that Kipling's true voice came from something within him which he himself never fully understood and this was the voice which was ready to understand those whom the world considered failures. Mason interprets the whole range of Kipling's work on the basis that he was a diversity of creatures. His books are full of violence, animosities, vindictiveness, revenges and retributions, but at the same time they are full of deep compassion and sympathy. This split personality Mason attributes to Kipling's early life and his inability to reconcile the disparate elements in his personality. A naturally sensitive and impressionable child had been exposed to a process of de-sensitization.

In this short review I cannot do justice to the deep understanding with which Mason unravels the various strands and influences in Kipling's life and the effect they had on his writing. Unhappiness, loneliness and insecurity in childhood and youth pursued him through life even after he became a celebrity, and led to an aggressive imperialism but also to a vivid awareness of the human condition. "To be divided is a weakness in a man of the world but it may be what makes an artist interesting. In Kipling's case, it became a strength; it was just because of that weakness and division in himself that in his old age he concerned himself so deeply with breaking strain and the disintegration of the personality."

Nor can I refer, except in passing, to Mason's detailed and perceptive review of Kipling's prose works, providing as it does a new insight into stories and novels with which we are familiar. I would rather concentrate on Kipling's relationship with India and Indians for this is what interests us most.

My first introduction to Kipling was through the gift from my father of the *Just So Stories*. I loved every one of them and by the time I read them to my little brother I knew practically all of them by heart. But by the time I was twelve and had read and been fascinated by *The Jungle Book*, politics intervened to prevent any further acquaintance with Kipling. Indians came to regard him as an anti-Indian, jingoistic Englishman whom no patriotic Indian could admire. He was dubbed a racist mainly because of a line in a verse: "Oh, East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet". But we ignored the later lines in the same poem:

"Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat;

But there is neither East nor West, Border nor Breed, nor Birth;

When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the Earth!"

It was not until quite recently, and mainly because of Nirad Choudhury that I became aware of another side to Kipling.

He was an authoritarian. His ideal was a society in which the governed obeyed incorrupt, conscientious and dedicated governors, selected on the basis of merit and a sense of responsibility. This led him to believe that white men, who are good at exercising authority, must rule over those brown and black men who are not. But, at the same time, the rights and customs of the governed must be scrupulously respected. The early stories and poems give full vent to these theories and in them Indians are, at times, described as feckless, superstitious and corrupt. In the milieu in which he found himself, as a young man in his early twenties, he *had* to describe them thus to win the approval of a public which took such views for granted. It must also be remembered that in these same early stories about India he also described the follies and weaknesses of British officials and their wives. Often the 'natives' who appear in these stories and poems are portrayed as worthier than the British they deal with.

Later, in maturity, whatever Kipling wrote of India reflected his love for the country and its people which had marked the first six years of his life. This phase is best exemplified in *Kim*, his last look at India, which Mason describes as spontaneous and free from self-consciousness. "It is written from deep in the personality and with love." Nirad Choudhury considers *Kim* to be "not only the finest novel in English with an

Indian theme but also one of the greatest of English novels in spite of the theme."

Mason explains the novel's appeal:

"It combines the scents and sounds and smells that Kipling had known and loved before he was six with the glimpses he had seen again as a young man. . . . But as a young man he had shied away; he dared not be thought to have gone native. Now he could give rein to his fancy and draw the India he loved; he could forget the squalor and depression, the intense heat, the continual sickness, all he had endured in that terrible hot weather when he felt he could bear the country no longer. Time had ironed out the unhappiness. This merciful oblivion was a common experience. Among those English who had spent most of their life in India, anyone who ever read the book at all would say: 'Ofcourse I love *Kim*.' And so they did; it pictured a happy India, as they liked to remember it, as they wished it to be."

The sanity and sweetness of *Kim* and the free play of imagination are also found in the animal stories and fables which are meant for children but the best of which are always written on two levels and because they come straight from the sub-conscious they have an immediate appeal to people of all ages. In following his fancy Kipling still made his points on political organisation. "Chaos is never far distant from Kipling's

political imagination and can only be kept at bay by discipline and leadership under the Law." Mason's approach should lead more Indians to read Kipling without prejudice. That would be a fitting reward for this excellent work.

MEHRA MASANI

PLAIN SPEAKING

Plain Speaking. An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman by Merle Miller. (Pub. by Victor Gollancz Ltd., London. Price £ 4.80.)

CLINON Rossiter the historian, in his book *The American Presidency* has written, "Harry S. Truman is a man whom history will delight to remember. Those very lapses from dignity that made him an object of scorn to millions of Republicans — the angry letters, testy press conferences, whistle stops, impossible sports shirts, and early-morning seminars on the streets of dozens of American cities — open his door to immortality. It is a rare American, even a rare Republican, who can be scornful about a man one hundred years dead, and our descendants will be chuckling over his Missouri wit and wisdom long after the "five percenters" have been buried and forgotten. They will read with admiration of the upset he brought off in 1948, with awe of the firing of General MacArthur, and

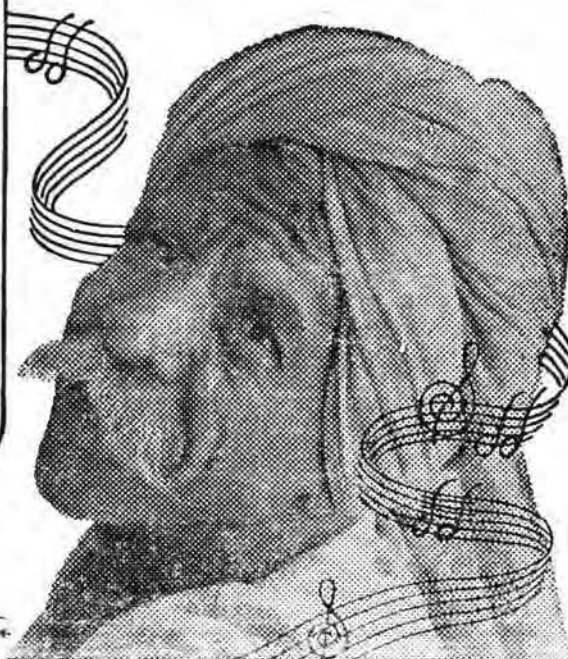
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with a sense of kinship of the way he remained more genuinely 'home folks' than any other President..... He was fascinating to watch, even when the sight, hurt, and he will be fascinating to read about. The historians can be expected to do their share to fix him securely in history, for he provides a classic study of one of their favourite themes: the President who grows in office."

Merle Miller's transcripts of taped conversations with Truman bear out the truth of these remarks. A large part of the book deals with the memories of people who knew Harry Truman when he was growing up, knew him as a farmer, as a captain in Battery D, as an unsuccessful haberdasher, and as a man who needed a job and although he had no special aptitude or taste for it, went into politics.

Harry S. Truman was born in Independence, Missouri, of middle class parents. Throughout his life he kept the touch of the earth with him. He was probably the most cultured President to live in the White House but he carried his learning as he did the burdens of his office, lightly. He was a voracious reader and he remembered everything he had read. An instance of this is given by Cabell Phillips in his book, *The Truman Presidency*. In 1951 during an interview with Hillman, Truman spoke about Alexander the Great who had, he said, made the mistake of overextending himself. "And then the people around him," Truman told Hillman, "made him think he was immortal, and he found that thirty-three quarts of wine was too much for any man, and it killed him at Babylon."

Hillman was puzzled over the reference to the thirty-three quarts of wine and asked the Library of Congress to check the reference. They could find no link, real or poetic, between Alexander and thirty-three quarts of wine. Hillman thought the President had mixed his metaphors. Some days later the librarian who had not given up the search, called to say that he had found the reference in the Rare Book Section. It was in an obscure and long out of print volume of the history of the Greeks.

Truman was a doer, not a talker and his conversations carry the stamp of a frank straightforward nature that detests cant, hypocrisy and money grubbing. The interviews trace his career from his youth and military service to his early involvement in politics, his election as presiding judge of his country, his running for the Senate, the 1940 Campaign, the Convention and the Campaign of 1944, the decision to bomb Hiroshima, the Marshall Plan, his clash with and dismissal of General MacArthur.

There is much plain speaking throughout the book ranging from witheringly accurate remarks about Eisenhower, MacArthur and Nixon to reflections on American politics and life in general. Merle Miller's 'anecdotes' however are ill-timed, unnecessary and smack of 'show-biz'.

Three things in my opinion, power, money and women in that order, are what most often contribute to the ruination of a man. You read your history and you will find out."

Richard Nixon never did.

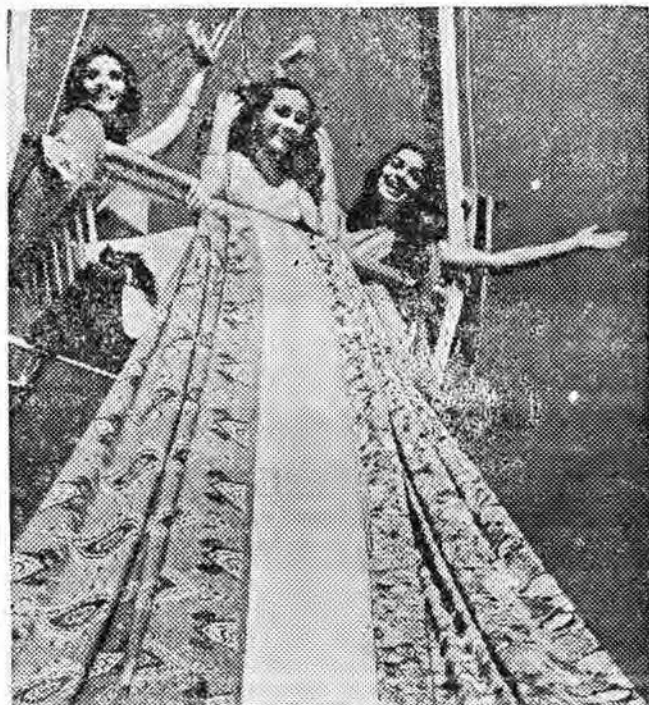
RUSI J. DARUWALA

BREAD AND PEACE

In My Way by Lord George Brown, (Penguins, Rs. 8).

THE vanity of some Indian readers might be pricked by the realization that India only rates one mention in Lord George-Brown's memoirs, *In My Way*. This omission is not the result of his habit of heavy drinking — to which, incidentally, he refers frankly. It just shows that India no longer holds a special place of importance in British affairs. Nevertheless, Indian readers will find much of interest in this behind-the-scenes narrative of the flamboyant British foreign minister.

For a start, he documents with feeling the circumstances which led to socialism first taking root in his mind. Two early incidents made a deep impression on his mind. Once, when his father was thrown out of job for leading a strike, he had to go every Friday to collect the unemployment allowance. It consisted of bread and treacle. Years later he writes, "This made me really



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want to change society. I swore then that I would do everything I could to see that people didn't have to take bags to the washhouse for scraps of food." The other incident occurred when his mother had to be urgently removed to hospital. As his father was unemployed, he could not get the certificate required for getting the ambulance. Ultimately the family managed, but the incident made George write, "That society had got to be changed and I was going to do everything I could to change it."

The atmosphere in the community where he lived was egalitarian. His father was a trade unionist and many trade union leaders were his friends. George-Brown was elected as Labour M.P. from Belper and was active in the agitation to replace Attlee by Bevin as Prime Minister. This agitation ended, of course, in a failure and earned George-Brown a bad name. A few days later, George-Brown was suddenly selected as Minister for Agriculture, in spite of the fact that he was young, he had raised a rebellion in the party and had no experience.

During Attlee's Prime Ministership there was some conflict between the Right and Left Wings of the Party. This split led to the resignation of three ministers. When the cabinet was reconstituted George-Brown was made the Minister for Public Works.

In 1951 when George-Brown was no longer a minister, and had no other source of income, he was faced with a choice. He could have once again entered the trade union field or taken a job somewhere; in both these cases he would have had to leave politics. Then the famous British newspaper magnate Cecil King offered him the job of advisor in his organisation. Relations with King's organisation proved troublesome. While in the Opposition George-Brown was in the Shadow Cabinet, handling the portfolio of Foreign Affairs; then in 1960 he was elected Deputy Leader of the Labour Party. When the party leader, Hugh Gaitskell died in 1963, George-Brown, much against his wishes, was forced to fight the elections for the leadership of the party. He was defeated by Harold Wilson, but he continued to be the Deputy Leader. The Department of Foreign Affairs was taken away from him. With the 1964 general elections fast approaching, he decided to concentrate on internal affairs, especially economic questions.

Labour got a majority of only four seats in the general election of 1964; George-Brown was deputy Prime Minister. In 1966, another election was called, George-Brown again became Deputy Prime Minister, but had serious differences of opinion with Harold Wilson, the Prime Minister, especially about devaluation. He offered his resignation, but many Party members persuaded him to withdraw it. Finally the Department of Economic Affairs, of which he was the chief, was closed down although many of his policies were con-

tinued. Next he was appointed Foreign Minister, but was not able to do much.

His contention was that Mr. Wilson did not observe the principle of joint cabinet responsibility. From the evidence given by Mr. Brown it seems that there was much substance in his case.

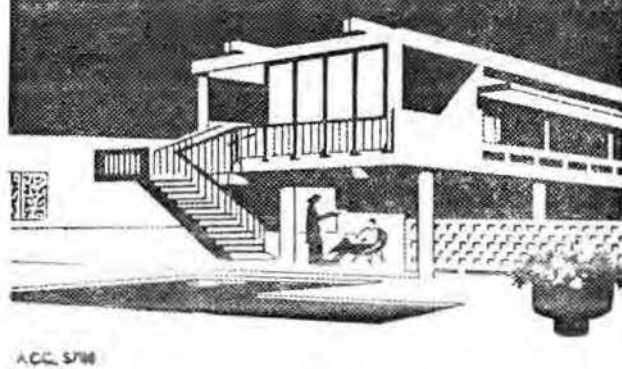
After his defeat in the general election of 1970, he became "Baron George-Brown" as he thought that was the only possible way that would enable him to participate in Parliament's working. Though George-Brown rose to such eminence he has not forgotten the people who influenced him and he provides neat pen-pictures of them. His descriptions encompass a whole variety of characters: his art teacher Thornton; Father Sankey who gave him religious values; the trade unionists he met when he was in his teens; his truck-driver father; Attlee, Nasser, Bevin, Kennedy, Khrushchev.

In India the ruling party blames bureaucracy for anything that goes wrong. If a plan is not fulfilled, if it is found to be wrong, if it is carried out inefficiently, bureaucracy is held responsible for it. George-Brown provides a salutary lesson — "Ideally a minister ought to be so good that he can't be misled by his officials. If he is misled, well, it may not be personally his fault, but he's got to carry the can."

T. G. JOSHI

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

—Tennyson.

In their flight from the dull reality of modern Soviet life, Russians resort either to books or to vodka.

—Vasily Betaki in *International Herald Tribune*,
October 9.

I am a woman, mother and wife. If that means I am a sex symbol, I am for it 100%.

—Sophia Loren in *Time*, October 27.

Count me in, please, among the bereaved by the loss of James Schlesinger.

—William Buckley in *International Herald Tribune*,
November 10

Franco seems to have believed that if dissidents were locked up the problems associated with them would vanish too.

—*The Economist*, November 1.

Without better people, there can be no better world.

—*The Economist*, November 8.

The Emergency has saved the country.

—Mr. S. A. Dange, *Times of India*, November 22.

I have fallen in love with all sorts of girls, and I fully intend to go on doing so.

—Prince Charles in *Observer*, November 16.

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It would not be out of place to say that Indira Gandhi is one of the greatest leaders of all times.

—Information and Broadcasting Minister
V. C. Shukla in *Indian Express*, November 20.

All American Presidents looked backward until Nixon. President Nixon looked forward. President Ford is just looking.

—A Chinese Communist official quoted in
Indian Express, December 5.

The U.S. system is: boom, you hire — slump, you fire.

—Philips President Hendrik van Riemsdijk in *Time*,
December 8.

Every time government interferes in industry it makes a mess of it, whether it be technical decisions as to development that should be made or companies that should be supported.

—Lord Beeching in *The Times*, December 15.

Durability, though invaluable in politics, is by no means all. What matters is the use that a political leader makes of his years in power, whether many or few.

—Inder Malhotra in *Times of India*, December 18.

Brezhnev is moving toward Mikhail Suslov (a veteran hardliner on the Politburo), and Ford is moving toward Ronald Reagan.

—*Time*, December 22.

India's problems will not be eliminated by any number of new constitutions or procedures as any system, good or bad, depends on the quality of the people who run it.

—*Himmat*, January 2.

If freedom to report and comment were a matter of importance only for journalists, then newspapers would hardly be justified in devoting much space to it. But since this freedom is inseparable from open government it concerns everybody who wants open government to continue or be extended.

—*The Guardian*, December 27.