

GOOD-BYE TO FEDERALISM

M. R. Masani

INDIA enters the year 1977 as a unitary state marking the end of a quarter century of federal government. It is perhaps high time the title of the Republic, the Union of India, is changed, and the Constitution brought in line with the realities. As far back as April 1976, in the light of the overthrow of the DMK Government in Tamil Nadu and the Congress (Opposition) Government in Gujarat, we had in an editorial note observed: "While this country may still be described as a Republic, for the time being at least it has ceased to be the Union of India. With the removal of the State governments in Tamil Nadu and Gujarat, the federal experiment has for the time being come to an end. It is of the essence of a federal structure that there should at any given time be governments in some States of a different political colour from that at the Centre."

The difference between what happened in Tamil Nadu and Gujarat on the one hand and what happened at the end of 1976 in Orissa is that, while last April the Union Government misused the powers of the President to remove State Governments of different political parties and colour, in December the State Government in Orissa belonging to the Congress Party itself was similarly scuttled by New Delhi. The fact that the same party is in office at both ends does not make it their 'internal' affair. It is now clear that not only can no State in India possess a government of a different political colour from that in Delhi but that even the Chief Minister of a State belonging to the Congress Party and supported by a majority of representatives of the people in the State Legislative Assembly has been reduced to the position of an obedient servant carrying out orders from Delhi.

In case there should be any doubt on this point, it is only necessary to recall that Mr. Antulay, Secretary of the AICC, is reported in the press to have called on December 17 1976, for "direct loyalty" by Congressmen and State Assemblymen to Mrs. Indira Gandhi and observed that loyalty is not divisible. Mr. Antulay went on to say: "It is because of the Prime Minister's prestige and leadership that those whom she sponsors as Congress candidates for Parliament and State Legislatures are extended unstinted support and are elected by the electorate.

If loyalty is extended to State leaders or through State leaders to the national leader, the Congress would again get ridden with State bossism thereby weakening the national fibre."

Mrs. Nandini Satpathy had, on December 12, already made her protest by regretting that "the basic fact of majority opinion in the Congress Legislature Party, without which democracy means nothing", had been side-tracked in the current crisis. Mrs. Satpathy was not wrong when she claimed she had said good-bye to her position at the behest of the Congress bosses and not because she had lost the support of the majority in the Legislature Party.

Once she stepped down, all pretence was thrown aside and, in a public statement issued on December 17, Congress leaders in Orissa appealed to the Prime Minister that she should "soon indicate her choice" as to who should become Chief Minister of Orissa. Can there be any doubt then that the right of the people of Orissa to choose their own government no longer exists?

This whole unconstitutional operation was accompanied by a blatant disregard of constitutional norms and basic proprieties. First, certain elements in New

STOP PRESS

The desolution of the Lok Sabha and the holding of General Elections were announced after this issue went to press. We shall comment on these developments next month.

Meanwhile, we publish on page nine an editorial article in the *Times* (London) of January 19 which is representative of informed comment abroad.

Delhi started their activities to lay the foundation for Mrs. Satpathy's exit and the suspension of the Orissa Government. A Minister of State in the Union Government shuttled between Delhi and Bhubaneswar. When the job had been thoroughly done, the Governor conveniently discovered that stable administration in Orissa had become difficult. When he reported this discovery of his to the President, the President in turn exceeded his constitutional powers under Article 356 of the Constitution to take the administration of the State into his own hands. This

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



For Bukovsky-A Happy New Year

A Correspondent cabling his newspaper from Zurich reported on December 18 how Valdimir Bukovsky, one of the bravest of Soviet dissidents, having spent the larger part of his adult life in prison and psychiatric wards, landed from an Aeroflot plane and emerged into freedom happy but dazed, with the brutal marks of handcuffs for years showing on his wrists. About the same time Luis Corvalan, top Soviet operator in Chile, sleek and well fed and well dressed, got on a plane to join his masters in Moscow.

This dramatic exchange of political prisoners marks a major defeat for the Soviet dictatorship. When President Pinochet of Chile first responded to Sakharov's suggestion for such an exchange, Moscow turned up its nose and declined to consider the offer. And indeed, Luis Corvalan, interviewed in prison by a Danish conservative newspaper *Berlingske Tidende* (that's what you call 'Fascism') was quoted as saying that he preferred to stay in prison rather than be party to the

exchange deal.

For the last few years, the international Communist propaganda machine has carried on a vicious campaign against the Chilean Government because of the overthrow of its pet, the Marxist Allende, and it therefore spurned the idea of doing business with the 'Fascist' regime. But evidently the temptation of getting its leading stooge in Chile back to safety was too strong to be resisted. So Moscow admitted a fact it had so far denied—that there are political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

The sense of guilt from which the Kremlin suffers for thus eating crow is, however, shown by the fact the Russian people have not been told that Corvalan was in their midst in exchange for Bukovsky.

Another way in which the Kremlin is seeking to avenge the humiliation which it has suffered in the eyes of the world is by taking revenge on others who are still in their clutches. *The Guardian* of 31st December, 1976, tells this sad story under the heading 'The Kremlin Takes Revenge'.

GOOD-BYE TO FEDERALISM (contd.)

was a violation of the Constitution because quite obviously the conditions postulated by the Constitution for the removal of a State Government by the President did not exist in Orissa.

Freedom First has no weakness for Communists and their fellow travellers. We were amused when, on 14th November, 1976, *New Age* warned of coming events by writing "Nandini better beware. May be more surprises are in store. Not all plots of destabilisation are hatched in Langley, Virginia, USA. Some are done right here". But that is not the issue here. The issue here is the violation of the Constitution, the jettisoning of the Federal principle, and the threat to the stability and unity of India created by these developments.

I recall Dr. Ambedkar telling us in the Constituent Assembly: "We resist the tendency to make it (the Centre) stronger. It cannot chew more than it can digest. Strength must be commensurate with its weight. It would be a folly to make it so strong that it may fall by its own weight."

In the course of a recent article in the *Indian Express* entitled "Development and Democracy," Mr. J. A. Naik, spelling out various political laws, wrote: "The third political law in this respect is that non-communist dictatorship lasts longer in smaller countries with homogeneous societies than in the larger countries with heterogeneous societies. Empires in India have fallen since ancient times when the rulers lost hold over the provinces. The British could rule much longer in India because of the democratic conditions of British rule at home, which helped a

change of governors and their policies in tune with the people's aspirations. Dictatorship in a vast country with diversity runs the risk of losing provinces for the country if it persists adamantly in its rule. Nigeria could retain Bifra at the cost of the lives of lakhs of people and the continuation of the dictatorship. Similar is the story of Ethiopia. The British had to leave India after the creation of Pakistan, Ayub's successor had to lose East Pakistan. This very sub-continent has been partitioned twice during the last thirty years because of foreign rule and dictatorship."

We end, as we began, by reiterating a warning given by us in April 1976: "As one of the Founding Fathers of the Constitution, your Editor shared the view almost unanimously taken by the Constituent Assembly of India that India, because of its size and the multiplicity of the ethnic, religious and linguistic elements of which the nation is constituted, needs a Federal structure and cannot be administered democratically as one unit. We took the view that if a unitary form of government had been imposed on the country, the forces that make for separation would have raised their head in the absence of a reasonable measure of autonomy for the States which are larger than most countries of the world. If this view held by the Constituent Assembly with the support of men like Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabh-bhai Patel was correct, it means that the current developments may well create conditions which in course of time will disrupt the unity of the country".

January 15, 1977

The members of the newly formed committee for release of Borisov have sent a cable to the Kremlin, the signatories to which are Lord Avebury, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Human Rights, Professor Henry Dick, former President of the Royal College of Psychiatrists, the violinist Yehudi Menuhin and the novelist Iris Muroch. The cable says: "British psychiatrists learn with horror of the shameful re-arrest and mistreatment of Vladimir Borisov in your hospital. . . . Unless this ceases, your names will be linked in history with the Nazis whose methods you have copied. Shame on you and your contemptible masters."

Any attempt to equate the two prisoners is of course ridiculous. One is a real hero and, like Solzenitsyn, emerges from that big prison called the Soviet Union vowing to carry on the fight for lakhs of the Russian prisoners who remain in Soviet jails. The other is a traitor to his country whose freedom has been bought by his Soviet masters.

In a news conference in Zurich on December 18, within hours of his release, Bukovsky announced that his life in the West would be dedicated to fighting for Human Rights in the Soviet Union. "My future in the West will depend first of all on making use of all the possibilities to help the remaining political prisoners in Russia," Mr. Bukovsky said: "I will put all my energy into this", speaking in Russian which was translated into English and German. "There is no freedom of opinion or belief in the Soviet Union."

"It is the first time the Soviet Government has officially recognized that it has political prisoners," he said. "It has never been normal practice to exchange one of one's own citizen for a foreigner. Now there is a precedent. We can only speculate as to whether this will become normal practice. In any case, it is a victory for everybody. This exchange brings forward the problem of political prisoners as a universal one. No one can call it an internal matter and describe other people's concern as interference. We have to take account of this. Until now the struggle has concentrated on some individuals who have been symbols. We have to prove that our concern should include every political prisoner, known or unknown. In my opinion, a political prisoner is a man convicted for acts inspired by his political, religious or national beliefs. If his actions are non-violent, he should be released unconditionally. In any event, every political prisoner must have his conscience defended against any attempts to reform it. For example, under Soviet law reform means hard labour, and restrictions on communication and general information. Just now, in Vladimir prison they are not allowed to receive books by mail, not even Soviet magazines. Letters they write home are confiscated."

"What effect did the 1975 Helsinki declaration have so far as Soviet political prisoners were concerned? He pointed out that they received no information on world events except from *Pravda* and the Soviet radio. His personal theory was that the authorities regarded the declaration as an instrument for unila-

teral disarmament on the part of the West. Concern for human rights within the Soviet Union was regarded as interference in domestic affairs. As soon as the Helsinki declaration was signed we noticed the regime in Vladimir worsen considerably. Foreign communist publications were no longer allowed. Even the *Unesco Courier* was no longer admitted."

That even the horrors through which he has passed have not destroyed Bukovsky's sense of humour was shown by the answer he gave a reporter who asked him what gift he would like to send to Mr. Brezhnev on his seventieth birthday. Bukovsky replied: "I would like to see Brezhnev exchanged for Pinochet." No compliment that to Brezhnev.

When I joined my fellow writers from the rest of the world last August in voting at the International PEN Congress in London for a resolution urging the release of Bukovsky, who was then hovering on the brink of death in a Soviet prison, little did we expect that, within four months, owing to the magnanimity and statesmanship of President Pinochet of Chile, he would be in a position to accept the offer of a home in England made to him by the British actor, David Markham.

Mr. Brezhnev, Beware

"MR. Brezhnev now has far more medals than even President Amin has managed to accommodate on his far more ample chest", wrote Hella Peck in the *Guardian* on December 20.

For the last few years the Soviet dictatorship had been edging its way back to the horrible days of Stalin with its cult of personality. Brezhnev's birthday provided an occasion for the official seal to be set on this retrograde process. Not only back to Stalin, but back to the Czars. In the olden days the Czars used to reward their favourites for valuable services rendered in the cause of tyranny by presenting them with a bejewelled sword. Brezhnev's birthday marked this reversion to Czarism by the presentation of a bejewelled sword to him for similar services.

The crowning act of reversion to Stalinism came, however, with the use of the word 'Vozhd', which means "beloved leader". Since Stalin's death, this dirty word had gone out of fashion in the Soviet

IN THIS ISSUE

Recent developments in Orissa are dealt with in an article by the Editor on the front page. Nitin Raut deals with the latest developments in the Lebanese crisis. There is a report on the proceedings of the 41st International P.E.N. Congress in London.

We are happy to publish a tribute to *Quest* magazine (which has had to cease publication because of a threat to its printers) which comes all the way from Australia.

There are reviews of Mehra Masani's definitive book on Radio Broadcasting in India and Ram Swaroop's book on Maoism.

Union because everyone knew what in reality that word meant. Now it has been revived by none other than Brezhnev's close associate and possible successor, Kirilenko.

But this need not mean that Brezhnev is going to have as long an innings as his predecessor Stalin. Speaking at the Kremlin Award Ceremony last October, Kirilenko had said: "Leonid Ilyich, we are glad that you are as you are and we all wish you, dear friend, good health and stay that way for years and years. . . . 70 years of life is not little, but then it is not much, either. It is good that, in our country, this age is considered only middle age."

Alas, a similar tribute had been paid earlier—with fatal results—on Khrushchev's seventieth birthday. Anastas Mikoyan, Khrushchev's close aide, had then said: "We are celebrating, today, the jubilee of a middle-aged man who is, as you can see for yourselves, at the peak of his strength and capabilities. . . . We feel, dear friend, that you are only half way through your life."

It was only six months later that Khrushchev was brutally ousted from his position and from public life on the grounds of his advanced age and deteriorating health. Mr. Brezhnev had better beware.

Rupee Countries Racket

IT is good to see reports emanating from New Delhi that, in response to a request made recently by Hungary and certain other East European countries, the rupee sources racket will be replaced by a 'more realistic' basis of exchange.

Since your Editor, along with Mr. N. Dandekar, had in the Lok Sabha throughout the 60's attacked what we described as "the rupee sources racket" as one which was against India's interests, we are naturally delighted that there is a possibility of this attempt at the distortion of the natural pattern of India's International Trade being abandoned, even though the initiative comes from the other side. The abuses of this system, including the notorious 'switch trade' by which the Soviets and some of their satellites sold goods obtained from us to other countries which gave them hard currency are well known.

It is to be hoped that soon we shall hear the last of this baleful phenomenon.

Uncle Ho's Tricks

THERE were many naive people throughout the world who declined to consider Ho Chin Minh and his Vietnam Worker's Party communist. Among these were to be found some eminent people in our country like Jawaharlal Nehru and Jayaprakash Narayan. No proof or documentation could convince them that Ho was not a nationalist but in fact a communist agent sent to Vietnam after years of training in Moscow.

But at last the pretence has been shed and the animal has come out in its true colours. The week long Congress of the Vietnam Worker's Party (Viet Cong) decided to announce its real nature and to

call itself the Communist Party of Vietnam. There is no need any more for pretence. The world had been successfully fooled, Kissinger had betrayed South Vietnam, the South had been conquered, and now at last the truth can be told with impunity.

It is amusing and sad that some of these stupid people who helped the Viet Cong to destroy the freedom of South Vietnam are now at last cured of their folly. Thus, leading anti-Vietnam war protesters of the 1960's including American poet Allen Ginsberg and folk singer Joan Baez are among those who have signed a petition presented to the Vietnamese observer to the United Nations which condemns the Communist regime "for gross abuses" of civil liberties, for suppressing free speech, and for filling prisons with civilians accused of nothing more than possession of certain religious and ideological beliefs. The Communists are accused of "grievous and systematic violations of human rights," including the detention of an estimated 30,000 Vietnamese in so-called "re-education" camps, the suppression of cultural and political expression, and the stifling of all non-violent dissent.

"The actions of your government", they said, "constitute a great disappointment to all those who expected not the bloodbath so eagerly predicted by the American White House, but rather an example of reconciliation built on tolerance."

All the ninety who have signed the petition were leaders of the anti-war movement whose rhetoric against the Communist regime is as strongly phrased as their misguided denunciations of U.S. efforts to prevent this disaster.

Although it is now too late for these misguided people to restore freedom to the people of South Vietnam, there is still a lesson to be learnt by those who readily acquit a man of being a communist till he declares himself to be one and those Governments who rush forward to give diplomatic recognition to this bandit regime.

Among these is Thailand, which seems to be learning this lesson. Mr. Samak Sundaravj, Home Minister of Thailand, told a news conference in Bangkok on December 8 that, according to them, Vietnam was planning to invade Thailand: "They are looking for a chance to invade us on D-Day They have planned to create trouble here by using Vietnamese refugees to fight amongst themselves and put the blame on Thailand", he said. "Then Vietnam will send its men to help the refugees. They have planned to send their forces into our country through Burma in the North, through Congmek near Laos and through Aranyaprathet near Cambodia".

It is to be hoped this discovery is in time to save Thailand.

International Prisoners of Conscience Year

AMNESTY International has called for the observance of the year 1977 as "International Prisoners of Conscience Year".

To mark the occasion, an appeal signed by numerous intellectuals, including some very influential per-

sons, appeared in the *London Times* on December 10, 1976. The signatories were so numerous that they filled a whole page of the *Times*. Among them were to be found the Archbishop of Canterbury, Yehudi Menuhin, the Chief Rabbi, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Rt. Hon. Jeremy Thorpe, M.P., the Rt. Hon. Sir Harold Wilson, M.P., Sir Keith Joseph, M.P., Dame Peggy Ashcroft, Prof. Ralph Dahrendorf and Prof. Harmander Singh.

The text of the statement issued by them reads as follows :

"On the occasion of International Prisoners of Conscience Year 1977 we, the undersigned, deeply concerned by continuing violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in many parts of the world, protest against political persecution, torture and murder as methods of governing.

In support of the work of Amnesty International, we call upon all governments to act for the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and for the immediate release of all Prisoners of Conscience."

A Strange Bureaucrat

"I just love work, I can sit and look at it for hours", had observed the British humourist Jerome K. Jerome. Bureaucrats by nature love work in that particular fashion, and Indian bureaucrats are no exception. Perhaps German bureaucrats too are not different, but at last an exception has emerged in the person of a woman, Frau Felicitas Strippgen, a 57-year old senior clerk in the West German Housing Ministry who filed a suit in the Labour Court complaining that she was being paid DM. 715 (around Rs. 2735) a week for doing nothing. Explaining her resentment at this beastly behaviour of her employers, the good lady complained: "I have put on thirty pounds because of idleness." "How would you like to sit in a small office day after day with nothing to do but look at a few newspapers?" she asked. We know of many office workers in India who would ask for nothing better.

Among the highlights of the trial was the production of an entry from her diary dated July 16, 1976: "Hooray. Two files have been placed on my desk." And then the sad P.S.: "It was a mistake. They were for someone else."

Unfortunately for Frau Felicitas, the Labour Court, which was also made up of bureaucrats, appeared to look on her as a blackleg or scab. The fight ended in a draw. The court did not rebuke the government for wasting the taxpayers' money, as it might have done, but it did tell the Ministry to give the lady at least "the minimum of work consistent with her pay scales".

We publish this in the hope that some bureaucrats (yes, we have some among our readers) will pluck up courage and file a similar suit in the hope that the Courts might give them redress. Or will such a suit also fall within the mischief of the 42nd Amendment?

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YOUR GUARANTEE OF GOODNESS

THE LEBANESE CRISIS

Nitin G. Raut

THE uneasy calm that has settled over the war-torn Lebanon is perhaps proverbially speaking a calm before the storm. The Lebanese civil war which has left a trail of bitterness and bloodshed is not the last, but in all probability the latest, and the mediation of the Arab League will bring only a grudging reconciliation of the battle weary Christians and Moslems.

The Lebanese civil war is not an isolated outburst but only one of the recurrent flare-ups of Christian-Moslem rivalry. It is a civil war set within the framework of the intercommunal Arab feuds and can be best understood if viewed in proper historical perspective.

The history of the Christian-Moslem rivalry dates back to the Crusades and in recent times to 1860 when the Lebanese Druze massacred Christian Maronites. Following the First World War, when Syria was given to France by the League of Nations as Mandated Territory, the Arabs revolted against the French rulers and in the process many Christians and Jews of southern Lebanon were massacred. As a result many Lebanese Christians emigrated to America and Brazil.

The 1958 Christian-Moslem conflict ended only when the U.S. marines on the request of the then President Camille Chamoun showed their flag on Lebanese shores.

The root of the Christian-Moslem rivalry in Lebanon lies in the feelings of the Moslems that they do not get their full share of the "national pie". It is not difficult to understand the facts. Until 1920, the Christians constituted a clear majority in what was the 'sunjak' of Lebanon. On September 1, 1920, the French High Commissioner ceded Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre and Balbek to the 'sunjak' to form a greater Lebanon. As a result the proportion of the Sunni Moslems in the population increased—so that together with the Druze and the Mutwallis they comprised nearly half of the population, with the Christians holding a slight majority, although the Sunni Moslem-Druze-Mutwalli bloc now clearly comprises more than half of the country's population.

Throughout its independence as a separate political entity, the Lebanon has always had a Chamber of Deputies with a total divisible by eleven, so that a ratio of six Christians to five Moslems has been strictly maintained.

This arrangement, which was embodied in the 1943 National Charter, worked fairly smoothly until the latter half of the fifties, when the pan-Arabism of the Nasserists and the Bathists managed to penetrate the non-Christian population. Now after one full scale civil war and numerous violent clashes, demands were made by self-styled "progressives" to replace the National Charter with what they termed as the "social contract" that would eliminate the system of distribu-

ting seats according to community and denominations.

The emergence of the PLO added a new dimension to the conflict. The presence of a large number of Palestinians and with some of them heavily armed has during the past two decades helped to exacerbate Lebanese communal denominational problem to the point of explosion.

After King Hussein of Jordan uprooted the PLO from his kingdom in 1970, the latter found a safe sanctuary in southern Lebanon to launch terrorist raids inside Israel, which attracted Israeli retaliatory action.

The PLO entrenched itself firmly in the Lebanon and created a 'State within a State' which once boasted as 'Fatahland' and even defied the Lebanese authorities to the resentment of many Lebanese.

In the latest civil war, the PLO inevitably threw its lot with the Lebanese 'Left' and the Moslem alliance who were sympathetic to the PLO and inclined to condone the PLO's terrorist activities. Characteristic of Arab politics, the Syrian intervention after initially backing the PLO switched over to the right-wing Christian forces.

The Syrian intervention again is not to save the Christians but to terminate the intercommunal Arab conflict which is weakening the joint Arab front against Israel. The Syrian intervention is within the overall framework of the pan-Arab strategy vis-a-vis Israel. President Assad of Syria was shrewd enough to realize that if the PLO was allowed to defeat the Maronite Christians, the latter's opposition would harden and would settle for nothing less than a Lebanese Christian State (a sentiment openly expressed by many Christian leaders) friendly to Israel. Such a prospect does not fit in with Arab strategy against Israel.

Moreover, outright victory of the PLO in Lebanon would have created a refugee problem for Israel, and the dominance of the PLO with its avowed aim to destroy Israel, would make Israel firm for her security and perhaps make her a party to the war. In such circumstances, Syria could not have aided the PLO against Israel without withdrawing its forces facing Israel on the Golan Heights. Strategically speaking, such a possibility was none too comforting to Syria. In the volatile Middle Eastern politics, a mere spark can ignite the entire sensitive Arab-Israel front. Assad calculated that it was better on his part to subdue the PLO at the cost of estrangement of the PLO and the Arabs, more so of the Rejection Front led by Libya and Iraq in the interest of pan-Arabism. A swing to radicalism in Lebanon would make Assad's plan of an Arab Federation of Syria, Lebanon and Jordan abortive—a plan toward which both King Hussein and the new President Elias Sarkis are inclined. Moreover a serious disruption of the Lebanese economy

INTERNATIONAL P.E.N. CONGRESS

—A REPORT

M. R. Masani

(The Editor attended the 41st International P.E.N. Congress in London from August 23 to 28, 1976, as Guest of Honour and also as official delegate of the P.E.N. All-India Centre.)

THERE was a large attendance from a great many countries of the world. The Polish delegates were not present as it appears that, at the last moment, one of them was denied his passport by the Polish Government and the others stayed back in protest. The various literary sessions were addressed by well known writers and the general level of presentation and discussion was quite high.

Naturally, my main participation was in the meetings of the Executive Committee which met on August 23, 25, 26 and 27. The Committee had a long and full agenda.

The election of Mr. Mario Vargao Llosa as President was unanimous. Unfortunately, he was not present but promised to attend the next meeting of the International Executives.

Mr. Peter Elstob presented the Secretary's Report.

WRITERS IN PRISON COMMITTEE

There was a discussion on the report of the Writers in Prison Committee of PEN. It was agreed that

national and regional centres should keep in touch with Mrs. Kathleen von Simson, who has been appointed "Corresponding Secretary" by the Committee at the London address of the PEN, in regard to developments concerning writers in prison in their country.

SOUTH AFRICAN CENTRE

There was an interesting discussion on the activities of this Centre. Wild charges of being supporters of apartheid and racialism had been flung at this Centre by black communist propagandists as also by some members of the Holland PEN Centre. The South African Centre had taken this campaign to heart and Mr. Gerald Gordon, Q.C., had come all the way from South Africa to defend the admirable record of the Centre in Cape Town of fighting apartheid and standing up for the values of the PEN. Mr Gordon made such a convincing statement that the Dutch participants quickly withdraw their charges and said they were satisfied.

LEBANESE CRISIS (contd.)

would adversely affect the Syrian economy.

If the Christian position is strengthened by Syrian intervention, the Christians know that they cannot press their advantage and decimate the PLO. Syria maintains an adequate army to foil such an attempt. The Christians are also aware that Syrian support cannot be counted on for ever and that, save Jordan, the other Arab States are overtly or tacitly against Syrian intervention and it would not be long before pressure mounts on Syria to withdraw its support for the Christians.

Damascus seems to be convinced that its intervention has prevented the breakup of the Arab front against Israel and has preserved Lebanese unity, and is in no mood to be dictated by the other Arab States on Lebanon.

So much for Lebanese unity with Syrian arms. But how long can Christian-Moslem unity be sustained by foreign arms. Herein lies the crux of the issue. Both sides are consolidating their territorial gains and setting up civil administration in their respective zones. The *de facto* partition of Lebanon is complete. Left alliance have already refused to surrender their arms to the Arab League peace-keeping force and the rightwing hardliners like Camille Chamoun have already declared that Christians would lay down their

arms only if the PLO-Left alliance do the same.

The Arab League peace efforts may be another exercise in futility. Both sides are adamant. The Moslems are not willing to concede the Christians the privileged position envisaged by the National Charter. On the other hand the Christians are equally reluctant to allow any changes in the Charter.

The stalemate on the fundamental issue is the consequence of the root cause of the conflict. The fate of Lebanon hangs precariously in the balance. Given a choice, the Christians would opt for a separate Christian State, but this is not what the Arab States would even countenance. Lebanese Federation of autonomous Christians and Muslim States would be tolerable, but how far the Moslem-Left alliance and the rejectionists like Libya and Iraq would accept such a solution as a way out of the tangle is a debatable issue.

This then is the choice for Lebanon. There is no third choice, save more bloodshed and more misery. Attempts to impose unity with a foreign army will be counterproductive and may not rule out another Christian-Moslem flare-up. After all, the sixteen month old civil war is not the first conflict and it may take more than mere ritualistic meetings of the Arab League to make sure it is the last.

RESOLUTIONS

Several resolutions were discussed. Many of them led to somewhat acrimonious discussion and controversy. One of these was a resolution moved on behalf of the American PEN Centre which ran as follows:

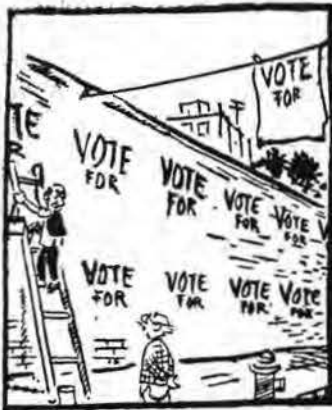
"Deeply concerned about the plight of writers in prison because of their ideas and writings in many countries, including Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Cambodia, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ghana, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Malawi, Malaysia, Morocco, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Romania, Singapore, South Africa, South Korea, Syria, Taiwan, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uruguay, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, the International P.E.N. appeals to the Government of the countries in question to release the imprisoned writers."

At the end of a rather long discussion, the resolution was carried with only the East German delegates voting against it and those from other Iron Curtain countries like Hungary and Rumania abstaining. The conclusion of this discussion was notable because of a statement made by Mr. Stephen Hermlin, one of the Vice-Presidents of the International PEN who had come all the way from East Germany. He got up to announce that he did not agree with the East German delegates and supported the US resolution. His statement was followed by prolonged applause as a tribute to the courage he had displayed.

There was a resolution from the French Centre urging the release of the Soviet writer, Vladimir Bukovsky, who was then hovering on the brink of death in a Soviet prison.

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Since it's all so sudden I am trying to save time for whoever stands; he just has to put his name.

—Courtesy: Times of India

NEXT CONGRESS

The 42nd Congress has been planned in Sydney, Australia, in December 1977. The chances are that the 42nd Congress may well be held in Sydney in 1977 but perhaps earlier than December.

There was controversy over a Conference that the Writers-in-Exile had planned in Hamburg, West Germany, in May 1977. Though this had been agreed on at an earlier meeting by the Executive Committee, the East German delegates sought to reopen the matter and objected to the plan on the ground that the Writers-in-Exile led by the well known Hungarian writer and humourist, George Mikes, were Cold Warriors and that the East German Centre would not therefore attend. Mr. George Mikes waived technicalities and agreed that the Committee could take a fresh decision on the subject and that he would abide by the majority view. This sporting offer was greatly appreciated in contrast to the insistence on breaking rules on the part of the East Germans. There was a very close vote when a roll call, country by country, was called. I cast our vote for the Writers-in-Exile holding the Conference in Hamburg.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY ARTHUR KOESTLER

The keynote address at the opening session, which was held in Queen Elizabeth Hall, was delivered by Arthur Koestler. The text of his address was published verbatim in the *London Times*. The address is entirely non-political and deals with that the relationship between the arts and sciences. This notwithstanding, the East German delegates rushed to the press in a protest which they later repeated in the International Executive. According to them, the PEN should not have asked Arthur Koestler to deliver this address because according to them, he is a "notorious cold warrior" and enjoys an unsavoury reputation. This calumny was satisfactorily dealt with by Sir Victor Pritchett from the Chair and by Stephen Spender.



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BOMBAY DYEING



INDIA'S ELECTIONS ARE WELCOME

MRS Gandhi's retort to any critics of her state of emergency in India has always been that she remained a believer in parliamentary democracy and that her postponement of elections was only temporary. The course of the emergency and the manner in which its edicts have been applied to Indian society suggested that Mrs Gandhi honestly believed what she said, but that in so far as she also believed—and constantly affirmed—that her choices were all made for the good of India, she was capable of deceiving herself about the real nature of political freedom. This may still be true. The fault may persist. But a welcome should be given none the less to yesterday's announcement that elections will be held in March.

The election may do little to "reaffirm the power of the people" — to borrow a phrase from Mrs Gandhi's left-wing rhetoric. It will be a long time before elections in India can do that. What it will do is to give to her government a standing that it has plainly lacked since the emergency was declared. There can be little doubt that Congress will be returned. What might be informative is to learn whether the claims made for the success of the emergency among the masses—peasants feeling that age-old burdens have been lifted from them, or urban money-users relishing a stable currency, an end to inflation and stable prices—are reflected in the majority. That should be enormous if the claims are true.

Rather more doubts hang over the promise also made in Mrs Gandhi's broadcast that the elections will be accompanied by a relaxation of the emergency. The details of this relaxation are awaited, though something was implied by Mrs Gandhi's appeal for political parties to eschew violence while putting all points of view. She believed that the health of the country, deemed to be so sick when the emergency was found to be necessary, was being nursed back to normal. The hospital analogy may seem somewhat disturbing. The nurse's goodwill, behind which stands

the doctor's firm and sole judgment, is not one that truly reflects the character of political freedom.

Certainly measures to free the Indian press from this fussy, desperately unimaginative, bureaucratic censorship will be watched with interest. (Outgoing messages from foreign correspondents were removed some time ago from censorship.) One recent example was the political unease in Congress over Mr Sanjay Gandhi's constant and outspoken criticism of the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India, until recently an active partner in Mrs. Gandhi's Government. While the allegiance still survives in name—anything else would be embarrassing with a government so well-disposed towards the Soviet Union—left-wing members of Congress have been protesting at Mr. Sanjay Gandhi's action. They resent his anti-communist and right-wing attitudes, coupled with the political power he has acquired as leader of the Congress youth. Such conflicts are not surprising; they are inherent in political life. But nothing of this could appear in the Indian press. The censors banned it completely. If India's political debate is to have any life at all this is the sort of dampener that will have to go.

Her tone implies that Mrs. Gandhi does not want to lose her grip on the country. It is in political life that a willingness to trust people must be revived. There could be far too strong an impulse to admit only the approved. This was illustrated by the opposition parties' readiness to disown violence and their desire two months ago for a dialogue as a body with Mrs. Gandhi. This was unacceptable, not for those political parties which Mrs. Gandhi sees as reflections of Congress—Communist and Socialist on the left and others on the right—but because the Hindu-rooted Jan Sangh was joined with them. Like it or not, the Jan Sangh has a larger mass base in northern India than any other of the opposition parties. How timid will Mrs. Gandhi's relaxation be?

—Editorial in the *Times*, January 19.

WORLD NEWS

CARTER'S SUPPORT FOR NATO

FULL support for the Nato alliance by the new United States Administration was promised yesterday by President-elect Jimmy Carter. He said in a message to foreign ministers of the alliance meeting in Brussels that Nato "lies at the heart of the partnership between North America and Western Europe". The message was read by Dr. Kissinger, making one of his last international appearances as Secretary of State.

—*The Times*, December 19.

MIHAJLOV ON HUNGER STRIKE

IMPRISONED dissident Mihajlo Mihajlov has gone on a "total hunger strike" to protest what he considers the lack of special rights for political prisoners in Yugoslavia, family sources said here yesterday.

The author, 42, serving a seven-year sentence on charges of spreading anti-state propaganda, told a family member who visited him that he had not accepted anything but water since December 6. In the last year, Mr Mihajlov has reportedly staged two hunger strikes to press for concessions.

—*International Herald Tribune*, December 21.

ADI AMIN OUTCLASSED

PRESIDENT Amin had better look to his epaulettes. Another African leader, also well known for his love of medals and titles, has outdone Uganda's boss by proclaiming himself Emperor. He is the ruler of the Central African Republic, who was Jean-Bedel Bokassa until his conversion to Islam in October. Now he is Emperor Salaheddin Ahmed Bokassa of the Central African Empire.

The coronation was not altogether unheralded. In 1972 Mr. Bokassa became president-for-life and two years later marshall of the republic... His delay in taking another title is thought to have been a gesture of respect for a more prominent African emperor, the late Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.

One of the first, and certainly the most fulsome, of the messages to Emperor Bokassa came from Field Marshal Amin. "Your Imperial Majesty and dear brother", it began. But President Amin is still ahead of his brother in one field. Uganda radio recently claimed that the Ugandan president has received pleas both from Scotsmen and from Hawaiians that he should become their king.

—*The Economist*, December 11.

AMALRIK IN U.S.A.

WRITER Andrei Amalrik, 38, making his first public appearance in the United States, offered President-elect Jimmy Carter a chance to "rehabilitate the presidency" by meeting him. Amalrik, who spent most of the past 10 years in Soviet prisons or in exile in Siberia, and his wife arrived in Amsterdam in July this year, forfeiting their Soviet citizenship. He is the author of the best-selling book *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* Amalrik was in New York to accept the human rights award from the International League for Human Rights. Noting that President Ford once refused to invite another famous Russian dissident, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, to the White House, Amalrik said that by meeting him, Carter had "an excellent opportunity to rehabilitate" the presidency. While in the United States, the writer will lecture at Columbia, Yale, Harvard and other universities.

—*International Herald Tribune*, December 11-12.

33 TROJAN HORSES AMONG LABOUR MPs

LABOUR MPs last night were assessing the latest allegations against the left wing by the Social Democratic Alliance (SDA), a rank-and-file organization within the party created to meet left wing growth in the constituencies.

It stated: "It remains our firm and considered opinion that a shift of fundamentally dangerous proportions has taken place on the left wing of our party in favour of intolerant Marxist totalitarianism".

The SDA set out precepts for membership of the Labour Party, which 33 Labour MPs had chosen to ignore. The precepts were: "They should, in our view, not write for, nor call for financial assistance for nor speak at the rallies of the Communist *Morning Star*; nor should they write for or support the Communist

publication, *Labour Monthly*; nor should they associate themselves with Communist front organizations like the World Peace Congress; nor should they associate themselves with Trotskyite and neo-Trotskyite organizations such as the Institute for Workers Control."

Those named are: Mr Wedgewood Benn, Mr Foot, Mr Orme, (all Cabinet ministers), Mr Alec Jones, Under-Secretary of State, Welsh Office, and backbenchers; Miss Joan Maynard, Mr Norman Atkinson (treasurer of the Labour Party) Mr Sidney Bidwell, Mrs Renee Short (Labour National Executive Committee member), Mrs Judith Hart (NEC member) Mr Russell Kerr, Mr Frank Allaun (NEC member), Miss Jo Richardson, Mr Douglass Hoyle, Mr Stanley Newens, Mr Roy Huges, Mr Eric Heffer (NEC member), Mrs Audrey Wise, Mr Julius Silverman, Mr Neil Kinnock, Mr Harry Selby, Mr John Mendelson, Mr William Wilson, Mr Thomas Swain, Mr Thomas Litterick, Mr James Lamond, Mr Richard Kelly, Dr Daniel Jones, Mr Edward Loyden, Mr Gwilym Roberts and Mr Ian Mikardo (NEC member).

Evidence of the NEC's friendship with totalitarianism is provided by its refusal to deal with Trotskyist "entryism" into the Labour Party, the newsletter says. Not only has a report, compiled by senior party officials documenting the extent of Trotskyist infiltration, been shelved by the NEC; it had also endorsed the appointment of Mr Andrew Bevan, an avowed Trotskyist, as Youth Officer of the Labour Party, the SDA states.

The NEC has associated itself with the Communist *Morning Star* newspaper in a lobby of Parliament (to be held today) directed against its own Government, the statement continues.

"The general secretary of our party, Mr Ron Hayward, has broken with the tradition of his office and has allowed himself to become overtly associated with totalitarian parties both at home and abroad.

"Not only has he taken the unprecedented step of visiting (on a party-to-party basis) some of the East European dictatorship party leaders, but he has also seen fit to pour praises upon the leaders and regimes of these tyrannies".

The newsletter asserts: "These examples of totalitarian tendencies within our national executive committee are alarming and distasteful. The NEC has also carried on a political campaign against the Government.

"Yet it is important to remember that our trade union bosses, through their *bloc* votes, control 18 seats (out of 29) on the NEC and consequently can change the composition of the NEC if they so wish. They evidently choose not to do so".

—*The Times*, November 17.

BRITISH ENVOY GETS NO CHANGE

Britain's Rhodesian negotiator Ivor Richard emerged tense and white-lipped from a 2½ hour talk with Rhodesian leader Ian Smith in Salisbury yesterday after what had evidently been a very difficult session, writes Martin Meredith.

The change from Richard's normally affable and relaxed demeanour was striking. It was obvious there had been far blunter speaking than occurred when they had met in Geneva during the first phase of the Rhodesia conference.

Smith, now on home ground, and with the pressure of hard-lone Rhodesia Front cabinet ministers heavy on him, is thought to have made it plain to Richard that he totally rejected the British proposals for an interim Rhodesian regime that would possibly include a British resident commissioner.

Our Foreign Staff write: Today, Richard flies into Pretoria for a crucial meeting with Prime Minister John Vorster. He will find the South African leader, who is holidaying at his Port Elizabeth seaside home, preoccupied with the threat of an Angola-style Communist attack on his country and in no mood to put fresh pressure on Ian Smith to accept African demands in order to achieve a Rhodesian settlement quickly.

Vorster said in a New Year radio and TV message to South Africans that "some delegates" at the Geneva conference had refused to negotiate within the framework of the original Kissinger proposals. This was why the settlement hopes had suffered a setback.

—Sunday Times, January 2.

GUERRILLAS MASSACRE 26 BLACKS

26 Black civilian workers on a Rhodesian tea estate in the eastern highlands have been massacred by nationalist guerrillas, according to an official at the estate. The official said that the estate labourers were lined up by the guerrillas and mown down by automatic weapon fire yesterday evening...

Reporting the killing of the 26 black tea estate workers, a Rhodesian military communique said that a group of guerrillas entered a tea estate in the eastern operational area and abducted a number of estate employees and their wives and children. After the men were separated from the women and children, the communique said, they were forced to walk some distance to a neighbouring tea estate.

They were then ordered to lie down and were shot. Seven others were wounded and were evacuated to hospital at Umtali later by the security forces. The communique said some members of the estate's labour force were still missing.

—The Times, December 21.

BLACK RULE NIGHTMARE

HENRY MILLER reports from Salisbury on the fourth anniversary of Rhodesia's growing war:

"An African I spoke to said he was born in South Africa but had lived in Rhodesia for 20 years.

He was planning to return with his South African born wife because he believed the advent of black rule would bring with it 'a nightmare' of factional violence in the struggle for supreme power and control of the 'new Zimbabwe'."

—The Guardian, December 6.

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

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Letters

SALUTE TO "QUEST"

We at *Meanjin* were very sad indeed to receive word of the closure of your magazine. We had heard, of course, of recent conditions obtaining in India; but your letter underlined them with a new urgency.

For this reason, we would like to publish that letter with the offending editorial in our forthcoming issue. Indeed I have taken the liberty of sending them off to the printers, with a prefatory note, since the deadline for our next issue is now upon us; I am sure you'll agree that the announcement and its implications demanded a prompt response.

My heart goes out to you. *Quest* was a brave journal, clear-sighted and high-minded; I thought that afresh with almost every issue, and reflected that you had to operate in a context many times more demanding than we have had to here in Australia both culturally and politically.

Meanjin salutes you, men and women of *Quest*. You were right to stick out your jaw, to decide that if you could not publish that editorial then perhaps it was not worthwhile publishing anything; and your last letter has a fine quality about it that flows from a full-bodied kindness as well as from a stoic resignation.

We are proud to publish it.
With all good wishes,

—J. H. DAVIDSON
EDITOR, *Meanjin*

University of Melbourne,
Australia.

EUTHANASIA

I do not agree with the expressions of Dr. F. P. Antia as mentioned in his letter in the December 1976 issue.

Every human being has a right to live in this world. Even an old man who is an incurable patient cannot be asked to die, just for the sake of not having any remedy to cure the ailment of the ageold patient. 'A human being comes into the world alone and goes alone'. As also the medical science do not give birth to a human being, then how can the medical science take the right to kill a man. Moreover, I say, that the medical practitioners are inefficient to cure the ailment, even the patients which are declared incurable by eminent doctors are cured by spiritual means. But the doctors don't believe in spirituality.

Let me come to the point, it will be good if the incurable patients are kept in the big hospitals which are attached with the medical colleges, where the students can study the diseases of the said patients with the help of experts and can find out the reason and remedy for such diseases. Which will help the entire medical world to prevent any kind of diseases by effective and timely check.

—R. R. PATIL

CONFUSION OF THOUGHT

Please allow me a few lines in your esteemed periodical.

Your recent editorial piece, 'Bread or Freedom?', was timely and thought-provoking. I am wholly in agreement with what you say.

As a matter of fact, the futile question as to whether the need of the day was Bread or Freedom, posed by our ruling clan time and again of late, featured prominently in the recent debate on amendments to our Constitution. Protagonists of the draconian changes to the Statute, in an attempt to plead their unjustifiable cause, repeatedly sought resort to clouding the real issue by crying out aloud, "What does the man on the street need—a loaf of bread or a whole chapter on Fundamental Rights?" As can be readily seen, such a question is fraught with grave fallacy, and it fails to carry even the slightest force, for, in the ultimate analysis, both, a loaf of bread and fundamental rights, are indispensable to man's survival and progress.

—K. S. VENKATESWARAN

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Reviews

BROADCASTING AND THE PEOPLE

—MEHRA MASANI

(National Book Trust, India, New Delhi Rs. 10.25)

MORE than ten years ago, G. C. Awasthy, in the first fairly comprehensive survey of broadcasting in independent India, noted with regret that none of the former Directors General of All India Radio had thought it worth while to write about the subject for the public. If the position had been filled solely on the basis of merit, Mehra Masani would have been head of AIR long before she retired as Deputy Director General. That, however, does not detract from the value of her book; it is by far the most knowledgeable, perceptive and stimulating on the subject so far. It raises questions that need to be closely examined and widely discussed, and provides not only the necessary information but also the correct frame of reference for a fruitful public debate.

The book was completed before the proclamation of the Emergency, but the author says that the issues she has raised are unaffected by what she calls "transient developments". Dr. S. Gopal, in a Foreword, says that the points raised "require consideration and decision when normalcy returns." This was written more than a year ago; it may be pointless to speculate on whether it would have been differently phrased today. In the changed context, Miss Masani's concern for a free and intelligent inquiry into the basic issues about broadcasting may seem to be of largely academic interest; but that is all the more the reason why the public needs to be constantly reminded of their relevance. The Government, too, cannot afford to ignore this relevance even if it rejects her major premises and conclusions on policy.

Whatever the aims the Government wants broadcasting to subserve, it cannot dispense with a coherent communication policy and the machinery for its execution. The AIR network is still inadequate; even more so, judging by the demand for radio receivers, is listening. The most important need is for a local service for rural areas, based on about 250 low-power medium-wave transmitters. Even in a single State, a centralized programme may be irrelevant to many; a regional station can hardly maintain meaningful communication with different local communities. Only a local station, which should also have its own news bulletins, can ensure public participation. Organizational problems may not seem insurmountable if some of the basic assumptions about centralized control are re-examined.

The authorities have never tired of talking about the potential of broadcasting for education and rural progress, but made no serious effort to assess the results achieved so far. Miss Masani does not consider

it surprising that school broadcasts on radio never caught on, or that the community listening scheme failed. The problem has not merely been poor maintenance of sets; there has also been a failure to identify, and then try to satisfy, specific needs. Still taller claims are now being made about what television can do. An exceedingly well reasoned analysis in the book shows that in Indian conditions radio is a more suitable medium than TV for such "informal education" as can be imparted by broadcasting; neither is particularly relevant to the regular system of teaching and learning.

The chapter on television gives an account, at once fascinating and disturbing of how policy uncertainties from the beginning were compounded by pressures to tailor communication needs to a favoured technology instead of technology being adapted to existing needs. A highly unsatisfactory balance between didactic aims and the demand for cheap entertainment persists. The only answer is to separate the two, leaving the urban middle class to finance its own service from advertising, and operating a predominantly rural service with a strong local accent and a large network of ground-based transmitters.

Miss Masani makes the most persuasive plea for decentralization in her comments on the AIR news services. One consequence of centralization is lack of specialized coverage for different areas and listener groups, a lack she also finds particularly regrettable in external broadcasts. News suffers from another form of centralization: it is handled by personnel belonging to a service which includes advertising, field publicity, Ministerial public relations, and so on. Inevitably, journalistic professionalism is the first casualty.

But centralization is not the only reason; nor news the only area where professionalism is lacking or discouraged. In general, the main concern is that the broadcasting schedules must somehow be observed, no matter what is broadcast or with what effect. If any thought is given to the latter, it is only to ensure that no controversy ensues. Whether there is any listening to a particular programme is seldom considered; "a bad programme is better than none", though even silence may be preferred to a controversial programme. The accepted task is to conform, not merely to safe tradition but—what is more important—to the dictates and unstated wishes of those in power. "This leads to a dual failure: firstly to perform a national service by encouraging debate and discussion on vital public issues, and secondly to make the Government's point of view acceptable and credible to listeners". Clearly the erosion of credibility does not seem to bother those who want to keep it under Government control, in fact as a Government department.

Any discussion on a broadcasting or communication policy for India must proceed from the fact that at present there is none. The Government treats the media under its control like other official agencies; as a result, even the results it wants are not achieved. "There is a good chance that AIR's broadcasts would carry greater weight if it were not regarded as a tool of the Government." But the Government cannot see this, let alone recognize and respect the distinction between the Government and the State, between the State and the people. While appointing the Chanda Committee, Mrs. Gandhi said that she was prepared for a radical structural change if the committee recommended it. But when the recommendation was made, it was turned down.

Broadcasting in India is not even the business of professional broadcasters under political control; it is run by and controlled through civil servants. Not unnaturally, it is unimaginative and unequal to increasingly complex professional needs; worst of all, it is ineffective. Miss Masani has indicated what should go into the making of a policy, and enunciated certain broad aims and principles. The issues involved should not be affected by "transient developments"; but they can be obscured. The book serves an immensely valuable purpose by presenting and analysing them with knowledge, intelligence and fearless clarity.

A MEDIA MAN

FOUNDATIONS OF MAOISM

—RAM SWARUP

Foreword: Gen. K. M. Cariappa

(Jyotina Prakashan, 7f, Kamala Nagar, Delhi, 110 007. Price Rs. 15/-)

MAOISM is a subject on which so much is written in India by our 'China experts' with so little knowledge of its background, strategy, tactics, zig-zags, deviations, detours, contradictory slogans and programmes (without losing its goal the world of revolution and world domination), its motivations, direction, its threat to our security, freedom, democracy and culture. Their writings are mainly based on the observations and comments of the 'China experts' in the western press who have more often than not gone wrong in their prophecy in the last three decades.

Ram Swarup's book 'Foundations of Maoism' is, however, a study in the depth of Mao's doctrines, its theory and practice, its strategy and tactics, its ethics, political warfare, theory of war, peace and revolution, its internal and external expressions, its ideological motivations and organisational weapons, its politics, economics and culture, and its plans, blueprints and programmes at home and abroad. This highly documented exposition of Maoism in action in terms of its theory and practice is a 'must' for all our 'China experts'. This book deals with two aspects of Maoism: Maoism in relation to China and Maoism in relation to the rest of the world in general and Asia in particular. The author holds that the worst victims of

Maoism are the people of China and that these helpless Chinese are therefore the potentialities of the countries which face that menace, Maoism.

As Ram Swarup rightly observes, Maoism is only a Chinese name for Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese context. "Its garb is Chinese, but its soul is Marxist. Maoism is Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism; Marxist in its world outlook; Leninist in its strategy and tactics of revolution, in its use of class-analysis for purposes of class war and its principles of party organisation; and Stalinist in its ruthlessness. Maoism is fraudulent, deceptive, ruthless, egoistic, totalitarian, poisonous and treacherous. Its doctrines and deeds are one. Its dialects are flexible and ethics amoral."

According to Mao, Communism in a country does not come about as a result of poverty of its people. "A communist revolution has to be pushed through by a cadre of professional revolutionaries indoctrinated in the thoughts of Marxism-Leninism and trained to the art of subversion. Poverty and sufferings of the people provide the objective conditions while subjective conditions are provided by an organised elite."

"Communism never goes to sleep or relaxes; it continues to act through ups and downs, and through thick and thin. It is always planning, preparing, organising and infiltrating. Communism never acts under a temporary provocation, seeking redress against an immediate injustice; on the other hand, it is a full-time occupation circulated to capture total power."

"A communist revolution has to be violent, and during each stage of revolution, it seeks alliances which are broken later on. The opportunistic slogans raised by communists have nothing to do with their beliefs and are meant only to fool and cheat the gullible public."

"Maoism seeks complete disintegration of the human personality. The intellectuals are brought to their

IS ANTI-COMMUNISM A MISTAKE?

Those who denounce the CIA as a new Gestapo, and clamour for its abolition, are some of them people of good intentions and liberal mind; some are conscious or unconscious tools of Soviet communism. Of course the CIA is anti-communist; so is the USA. Is anti-communism a crime? Is it even, faced with the nasty reality of communist-dominated life, a mistake? Mr. Cline estimates the strength of the communist bloc's intelligence forces as high as half a million people. Is it to anyone's advantage, save the communists, that the Americans should operate in the international arena without the backing of an adequate intelligence service?

—*The Economist*, December 18.

knees shown their place, dilated, vanquished and reduced to ignominy and self-abasement. Confessions are organised and extracted openly with mass participation."

"Hatred, fear, reward and punishment are so organised that people engage themselves in plucking thoughts out of each other's minds. The purpose of a confession is to humiliate a person in public to kill his pride and self-confidence. Since an independent, courageous and self-respecting intelligentsia is the life breath of freedom, bringing down its freedom into ridicule is the most important task of Maoism."

Ram Swarup has published in his book a massive list of the Chinese professors, scientists, biologists, physicists, chemists, geologists, doctors, veterinarians, engineers, agriculturists, writers, historians, educationists, philosophers, musicians, artists, dramatists, political scientists, economists and distinguished persons in varied fields and from different walks of life who were forced to make public confessions of the 'crimes' which they never committed.

"Aggression is indispensable to China's military cult and a necessary and organic part of Maoist ideology. Maoism cannot survive without military adventures abroad. It could be only restrained by counter strength. And if it could be frustrated in its outward imperialist expansion, its tyranny and brutal hold could be weakened at home too. China's threat is political and subversive. The two parts are effectively combined. Mao said, "Our strategy is one against ten and our tactics are ten against one." In other words, it means that if and when you are over-whelmingly strong, attack the enemy physically. But, if the enemy is strong physically, then infiltrate, deceive, hide your aims, organise and engineer strikes and revolts, create a fifth column, soften the enemy, start a guerilla warfare till you capture power. Aggression from without is dovetailed with subversion from within. The insurrectionary and subversive method is the most potent method in the Chinese armoury."

We in India have considered the menace of Mao's China only in terms of our border security. As Ram Swarup rightly says, a strategy of defence which is conceived only territorially is not sufficient to meet the Chinese threat to our security, freedom, democracy and culture.

We have never thought of maintaining buffer states or of a balance-of-power diplomacy or of any collective security measures with a view to preventing peripheral areas from falling into the hands of China which is posing a permanent menace to our security. We have also not thought of a counter-weapon to meet the Chinese ideological and subversive weapon or a counter strategy to meet her political warfare. "In China's political warfare, there are no visible frontiers, no identifiable enemies and no clang of guns. We have so far only recognised China's military threat. We have failed to recognise the aggressive aims of Maoism except when it threatens our frontiers."

"Unless we learn and develop the art of political warfare and conceive new outflanking ideas and strategy, we shall never be able to meet the Chinese ideological and military threat effectively. In Asia, only India is in a position to correct the power-balance in Asia and check the Chinese aggression."

Although Ram Swarup is fully aware of the Chinese threat to our security, freedom democracy and culture, he is all for honourable settlement of all our disputes with China, but warns against any phony agreement (which China, may negotiate only to lull us into complacency) without carefully studying her thoughts, inspirations and motivations, her world outlook doctrines, ideas, theories of war, peace and revolution, her plans and blueprints for Asia, her policies and programmes, her workings, mechanics and instrumentalities at home and abroad, and her morality.

Ram Swarup is right when he says that unlike the communist morality—which is ruthless and treacherous inspired and motivated by desire and passion for world domination—our morality is without a vision and an aim, and not inspired by any noble ideology.

—S. S. BANKESHWAR

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WITH MANY VOICES

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

—Tennyson

I have spent some of the happiest days of my political life in the Opposition. When in Government you have worry, trouble and disillusion. If you wish to be happy, get defeated.

—J. R. Jayewardene, Sri Lanka Opposition Leader, in *Himmat*, December 17.

The wings of the Labour Party hate each other far more than they hate the Tories.

—*Times*, November 12

I consider Muammar Gaddafi my son, but how can I believe anything he says when he never means anything he says?

—Anwar Sadat in the *Times*, November 29.

Air India, advertising for air hostesses in the *Times of India*, requires that they should possess "clear complexion, normal eyesight without glasses and even teeth."

—*Times*, November 30.

The press now reflects the dreams of the people.
—Mr. V. C. Shukla in *The Times of India*, December 11.

Everybody knows Swedes are beautiful, sexy and love to give Americans Nobel Prizes.

—Emmett Linquist in *Time*, November 29.

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I asked one dissident (in Poland) what compensation there was the troubles and risks he was to bring upon himself. He thought for a minute and replied : "It is an enormous relief to be able to speak the truth."

—Richard Davy in the *Times*, November 30.

Goethe is undoubtedly the greatest unread poet of the West, just as Tocqueville is the greatest unread analyst of American governmental principles.

—Russell Baker in *International Herald Tribune*, November 24.

Corruption is on the increase in the field of sanctioning of loans by nationalised banks.

—Om Mehta in *Indian Express*, November 9.

Yugoslavia is neither totalitarian nor is it an entirely free society.

—Milovan Djilas in *Himmat*, December 3.

The Old Congress is dead : long live the Youth Congress !

—Headline in *Blitz*, November 27.

They say there are three periods in life : youth, middle age, and "how well you look".

—Nelson Rockefeller in *International Herald Tribune*, December 17.

Michael Foot is a very nice and intelligent man, but his political ideas are enough to make Zurich bankers have second and kinder thoughts of the Italian lira.

—Colm Brogan in the *National Review*, July 9, 1976.

The rest of the democratic world could not, quite reasonably, give a damn about the future of Rhodesia-Zimbabwe, since the whole thing has become a stunning bore.

—James Cameron in *The Guardian*, December 13.

Where in the world have disciples of Marx—including those who started on the road to power as innocently as some of our native adherents—been able to impose their doctrinal will without resort to concentration camps, torture, censorship, the perversion of trade unionism as we know it, and the creation of a new privileged class at least as tyrannical as the one it replaced and harder to remove?

—David T. Llewellyn in the *Times*, December 23.