

TERRORISM ON THE HOME FRONT

M. R. Masani

There has been more than one press statement from New Delhi supporting the West German rescue of the hijacked hostages at Mogadishu Airport in Somalia; support has been given by India in the UN to fight international terrorism; and a statement has been put out from Delhi that "India's fight against international terrorism is going to be waged on several fronts". All this is excellent and estimable.

But is the fight against terrorism only to be carried on outside Indian frontiers? And is there no corresponding obligation to deal with terrorism on the soil of India with the same courage and determination? We ask this question because something approximate to hijacking and the holding of hostages to ransom is being practised on a wide scale in the factories and workshops of this country at the cost of the safety and dignity of managers and officers of industrial enterprises at the hands of hooligans who claim to represent the trade unions and of a fall in industrial production that India so desperately needs.

Manager Hi-jacked

Here, for instance, is a report in the *Times of India* of 28th October, 1977, from its staff correspondent in Kanpur:

"About 3,000 agitating workers of a cotton mill here yesterday virtually seized the mill and gheraoed the manager, demanding arrears of wages for the past one month. The manager, Mr. Agarwal, was allegedly stripped and beaten up with iron rods by the violent workers who did not allow the police to intervene.

The workers are said to be holding Mr. Agarwal to ransom near a tank close to the main boiler threatening to throw him into the boiler if the police intervene. The gherao, which began at 9 a.m. yesterday, has not been lifted till midnight.

Though Mr. Agarwal was bleeding, no medical aid could be provided to him because of the violent attitude of the workers who were armed with all sorts of weapons.

The District Magistrate and senior police officers reached the spot on hearing the report, but they are unable to do anything.

The Labour Minister, Mr. G. D. Bajpai, and the Minister for Industries, Mr. R. R. Rustogi, who are in town, are keeping a close watch on the situation."

There has been no later news about what happened to the hapless Mr. Agarwal, whether he succumbed to his injuries or whether ransom was paid to the labour hooligans in the way of wages, bonus, Diwali gratuity or what have you.

No Aberration

This, alas, is not an isolated incident, but is being duplicated in different forms throughout the country. It is no aberration but a deliberate pattern

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IN THE ISSUE

There is varied fare in this issue. From 'Terrorism On The Home Front', which is dealt with by the Editor, and the Delhi Declaration On Press Freedom, we travel with President Sadat to Jerusalem and listen to 'A Voice From Rhodesia'.

We publish an article by Ernest Van Den Haag on the fundamental issue of 'Justice And The Market'.

There are also reviews of Theatre, T.V. and a book.

CHANGING VALUES OF SOVIET YOUTH

M. Murlidhar

A peculiar dilemma hangs over the heads of the Soviet authorities. They developed trade contacts with the West to overcome slack in wheat production and to equip themselves with the latest technical know-how. But along with wheat and expert advice entered the "industrial culture", a purely western phenomenon.

Historical Russian tradition exhibits a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the West. Sometimes there was fascination for western philosophy and institutions and admiration for the western way of life — admiration to the point of blind imitation; sometimes a blatant hatred towards the west. Thus we notice Peter reforms and Stalinism. The compulsions of economic development have now made the Soviet authorities once again pursue the policy of detente.

It is a well known fact that industrialisation produces a culture of its own. Broadly speaking it encourages a spirit of competition, reduces the control of tradition, initiates new values and promotes growth of individualism — a foundation of democracy and a nightmare for the Communists. With industrialisation, urbanization follows. The joint family, a product of a agrarian community, gives way to the nuclear family.

The Soviet Union, which embarked on an ambitious plan of "Catching up With The West" is practically caught by the West, the Western Culture that is. Soviet Youth, under the influence of industrial culture, have developed certain values which run counter to Marxism.

In various research studies undertaken, the views of the Soviet Youth have been noted.

In one of the studies, the achievement of material well being was ranked as a major aspiration of 55 per cent of the respondents. The kind of jobs young people aspire to are not only those that are interesting and enjoyable but also lucrative.

For a simple question, prepared by Komsomol 'on the goals of the youth' most of the answers frankly revealed 'our goal is to acquire money. With money you can have luxury, prosperity, love and happiness.' The Soviet press has expressed great concern at the influence of "bourgeois ideology on Soviet youth". It also revealed the fact that most of the youth are in the habit of bargaining for higher wages, quitting a post and trying for better jobs. Thus instead of a communist culture of one for all and all for one, what we witness is the emergence of the irrepressible personality of the youth, to have their own way and to develop their individuality.

Pravda recently revealed its bitter disappointment that the youth who volunteer to spend a summer in the fields of Kuzakhsatan or working at a construction project in Siberia do so for material reasons, rather than a selfless desire to participate in the development of a socialist society. "I might buy a

new suit or pornography", would be the typical reply of a youth, when asked why he worked there?

Intimately linked to youth's great thirst for more consumer goods is the desire to pursue careers in lucrative professions, and a disdain for lowly, poorly paid jobs. This interest in professional career is not due solely to material considerations but to a mix of complex motives. Such careers assure "a greater status and prestige" — a typical western idea.

When graduates of the technical institutes at Leningrad were interviewed, four out of five wanted to go into research. The job at a 'lower' level like metal worker is considered to be an insult. *Izvestia* bitterly reported a true story of a brilliant boy working as a metal worker. His teacher, who met him after a long spell, expressed his unhappiness that one of his brilliant students is 'rotting' at a low level, while he had every ability to be an engineer. Where is the commitment to hard work and the 'respect' for the 'proletariat', the paper angrily asked.

Closely connected with the antipathy towards low jobs, is a contempt for rural life and rural folk. A survey in the smolensk region showed that the number of Komsomol members working on the state farms had been halved in a five-year period; on collective farms it is 58 per cent. The urban youth hate the dull village life. The city is the place where "you have night clubs, bars, entertainment. And of course you can make money. Then why 'rot' in a village?", was the reply of a youth.

The insistence on making Marxism a compulsory study even for science and maths students has not yielded expected results. Dr. Taufman, an eminent American scholar while in Moscow met a youth. After some conversation, the youth asked what were the subjects taught in the colleges of America. While enumerating the topics for arts students, the professor mentioned Marxism as one of the subjects. The student was taken aback and asked, "why do you bother about it? We spend our time in avoiding it." Generally newspapers report on increasing absentees for the classes on ideology courses at various institutions.

Here an important point is to be noted. Over the years, students have become sceptical, cynical and escapist. Yet they do not appear to have formed the party of 'dissent' in the Soviet Union. At any rate their role in that movement has not been sighted so far.

What we notice then is a gradual erosion of official ideology. Ideology has failed to satisfy the aspiring young men. The Marxian fabric is shallow within. Partly this is due to the influence of western culture. The authorities know it yet they cannot cry a halt to it, because they need western aid. Thus a dilemma hangs over the Kremlin.

DELHI DECLARATION ON PRESS FREEDOM

(The following declaration on Freedom of the Press in India was evolved by a group of Indian newspapermen in discussion in various parts of the country with a cross-section of journalists and others associated with the news media. These discussions were held under the auspices of the International Press Institute and the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung. The group also had the benefit of the views of four distinguished participants from Britain, the USA, Italy and France.)

This declaration was presented to the final meeting in Delhi on November 26, 1977, where Mr. L. C. Advani, the Minister for Information & Broadcasting was present, by the Editor of Freedom First Mr. M. R. Masani.)

1. FREEDOM OF THE PRESS is at the heart of all liberty. Where there is no free exchange of information and thought, no other liberty is secure. Freedom of the Press is one of the pillars of a free society and a means of extending the frontiers of liberty.
2. In a democracy, a free Press has an inalienable right to an adversary role. It should be free to criticise Authority at all levels in the general public interest and to function as a watchdog over the Government's handling of the problems of the people and the country. The Press should also be responsive to society as a whole and act as a channel of communication to purvey facts and give fair and considered information on all issues. A free Press should, above all, be conscious of its responsibility to present to the public news without fear or favour, or distortion, suppression or censorship.
3. Citizens should be able to publish and read newspapers and journals of their choice. The relationship between the management and the editor should be one of cooperation. Within a newspaper's broad policy framework, the editor should be left free to function without interference.
4. A free Press must enjoy the confidence of its readers. There is need for self-regulation by the Press and this is best achieved by a Press Council set up by the Press representing professional and lay opinion.
5. It is essential to have more than one news agency. News agencies should be competitive and free of Government control.
6. A free Press can be strangled through economic pressures. For instance, the Government has no right to fix advertisement rates for individual newspapers or to use Government advertising as a form of patronage or to canalise newsprint as supplies through a State monopoly.
7. The free flow of information entails not only a free Press but also free and competitive radio and television services which should be regulated by genuinely autonomous agencies.

SADAT: CONTRASTING ATTITUDES

(Three comments on President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem are to be found here — from Jayaprakash, Sheikh Abdullah and the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi.)

The contrast between the first two and the last is one between sincerity and courage on one side and opportunist equivocation masquerading as 'genuine non-alignment' on the other.)

COURAGEOUS ACT : JP

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan welcomed the 'courageous' act of President Sadat in responding to an invitation extended by the Israeli Prime Minister.

In a statement, Mr. Narayan said President Sadat had displayed outstanding courage in visiting Jerusalem in the cause of peace in response to the noble minded invitation extended by the Israeli Prime Minister. He said the meeting did credit to both the leaders.

He said whatever the political outcome of the meeting, the moral quality of the act by the two leaders deserved the applause and good wishes of all lovers of peace and humanity.

—*Indian Express*, November 21.

ABDULLAH PRAISES SADAT'S 'BOLD DECISION'

Srinagar, Nov. 22 — The Kashmir Chief Minister Sheikh Abdullah, has congratulated President Sadat

for his "bold decision" to visit Israel after 29 years of animosity.

—*Statesman* November 23,

FOREIGN MINISTRY IN A QUANDARY

Anwar Sadat's Israeli visit and its aftermath have left India's Foreign Ministry in a quandary. It is willing to compliment Sadat but afraid to hurt fellow Arabs, so much so that its first reaction was that the visit was a bold and welcome step.

US Ambassador Goheen rushed to the South Block and congratulated the Foreign Ministry, and Palkhivala conveyed the glad tidings to the State Department in Washington. Then the Ministry got cold feet with the result, on the second day, a spokesman told the press that the Government of India had nothing to say on the visit.

—*Blitz*, December 3.

JUSTICE AND THE MARKET

Ernest Van Den Haag

(Ernest van den Haag is Professor of Social Philosophy, New York University; lecturer in sociology and psychology, the New School for Social Research; and a practicing psychoanalyst. He is the author of *Political Violence and Civil Disobedience*, *The Jewish Mystique*, *Education as an Industry*, and *Passion and Social Constraint*. In addition, he has contributed chapters to well over a dozen books, and his articles and reviews have appeared in most major American quarterlies and journals.)

The economic system produces the pie which makes moral justice possible; the market system produces more of it, by far, than any other. By producing the pie, the economic system necessarily produces the moral problem of just distribution as well. Distributive justice concerns apportionment of the pie—a problem raised, and all too circumscribed, but not decided by producing the pie. No economic system as such can yield the moral justification required for its “distributive justice.” Thus, no amount of production engendered by the incentives of the market could morally justify the income distribution linked to it. The incentives for production, which the market criteria for distribution of income create, are independent of distributive justice. In the words of Friedrich A. Hayek:

...it is meaningless to describe the manner in which the market distributes the good things of this world among particular people as just or unjust....

Meaningless? Not quite. Irrelevant, yes. For the market provides incentives, not moral justice. These two are not the same (*pace* John Bates Clark, or Ayn Rand) unless the production of market value, economic merit, is simply defined as moral merit. Such a definition confuses the historical *de facto* (if you please, natural) conditions of generation—or of legal entitlement, or appropriation, or of actual possession—with their justification; it identifies what is to be justified with its moral justification. Even if historical conditions were shown to be not only advantageous, but also unavoidable they would not, therefore, become just. But history, though never avoided, is never unavoidable.

Whatever independent definition of “moral desert” is chosen, it is certainly not to be identified with “economic desert”; wherefore, the morally and the economically justified distribution may differ as well as coincide. A sexy movie actress, a shrewd promoter, a successful manager, or advertising man, or inventor, or oil discoverer are not morally superior to a faithful nurse or worker, to a courageous lifesaver or veteran, to a needy child, a great poet or philosopher. The former may earn much more for good enough economic reasons (what they offer has more market value), but not because they are regarded as morally more deserving than the latter who are less well paid. To argue otherwise, to regard the movie actress as necessarily more deserving than the nurse, is to identify the market value of the two activities with their moral value, or with that of the two persons. This identification of moral and eco-

nomic desert does not express what ordinary people, or, for that matter, philosophers, mean by either.

It is because they do not identify moral and economic value that people wish to link them. For the fact that on the market the services of the morally less deserving can be more valuable economically than those of the more deserving, outrages the sense of justice—although the very people outraged by it bring this result about by their willingness to pay more for the economically more valuable services; which is why those who render them get more, regardless of their moral desert. But people also want to change this result to make it reflect their sense of justice, at least in some degree.

Yet if only for the sake of efficiency, rewards must be distributed according to the market value of services. Critics, who have conflated their warranted moral objections to the moral injustice (better, the non-justice) of the market with objections to its efficiency in calling forth production, are surely wrong. A look at the alternatives is altogether persuasive here. Further, the socialist systems which aim directly at justice have not been notable so far for achieving more of it than market systems; and they certainly grant less, if any, freedom; they are also less efficient by far.

If resources are to be allocated to produce the total output valued most highly by the allocators (in a free market, ultimately, consumers) and if production is to be maximized, inequalities of income, status, and power are unavoidable. Work must be rewarded by income, and the incomes earned by each worker must depend on how much work he does, on his skill, and on the value placed on it. Ability, skill, the inclination, and the opportunity to work differ, as does the economic value of the work done, and, therefore, the reward. Market value depends on scarcity, on how much is available relative to demand. Scarcities differ. So do, therefore, the incomes earned for performing services. Wherefore, the social structure—the distribution of inequalities—arises independently of any moral criteria used to judge it.

Functional requirements and institutionalized historical traditions determine what personal qualities will help individuals to attain or to keep the social positions which require or allow them to perform specific services and to earn the incomes associated with them. Some qualities may be ignored (*e.g.*, physical size within the normal range); while other (*e.g.*, intelligence, managerial ability, ruthlessness, knowledge, docility, experience, imagination,

judgment, skin color, or family membership) are judged relevant to the attainment and to the retention of unequally rewarded positions. (Their relevance may be functional or traditional or both.) The qualities judged relevant are as unequally distributed among individuals as those which are not. Nature distributes its gifts unequally, granting more intelligence, health, ability, or beauty to some than to others. Ambitions differ, and so do the efforts individuals are willing to make to fulfill them. Society and chance, in turn, offer unequal opportunities to people to utilize their gifts and make efforts for advancement.

If legacies are neglected, and if the acquisition of property *vita natural durante* is treated as a skill or opportunity, the size and the distribution of social inequalities (of status, power, and income) reflect unequal innate gifts, different inclinations, unequal social opportunities, chance and, finally, different social rewards for the gifts granted by nature, the skills acquired and the services performed. As Christopher Jencks has lately demonstrated, inequalities of parental background or of educational opportunity play a very minor role in explaining the inequality of earnings in the U.S.—so minor that unknown factors (which Jencks summarizes as “luck”) and talent—seem responsible for most of it.

The Marxian Alternative

In Marx's time, origin—social class—played an overwhelming role in determining careers and earnings in Europe. It does not in the contemporary U.S. Still, could the Marxian scheme produce more justice in the U.S. if it were applied now? Would socialism, as a first step, at least reduce inequalities? Unlike many of his followers, Karl Marx did not rest his case on justice or equality. He thought those who did were moralistic Utopians, and he never ceased ridiculing their “verbal rubbish.” Nonetheless, it is because Marx tried to tie together moral and economic merit in his elaboration of the ideas of the classical economists that Marxism appeals to so many people. He separated economic merit (“value”) from price, and defined labour as the ultimate source of economic value. However, the definition is otiose: once economic value is separated from the actual market price, economic value can be no more than a metaphysical category, a synonym or disguise for moral value, which fails altogether to explain prices or distributions, and merely asserts a preference for redistribution. “Value” as defined by Marx attributes creation to workers (a quite arbitrary definitional imputation), and tells us that distribution is wrong (Marx would say contradictory). Marx strenuously denied the cryptomoral function of his definitions. He attempted to reduce moral to economic argument but succeeded only in collapsing the latter into the former.

Marx's socio-economic determinism predicted and advocated a reorganization of production and a change in the role of workers to which justice would

be incidental, since it “can never be higher than the economic structure of society,” i.e., has no independent status. Yet side by side with his usual diatribes against idealistic rhetoric about justice, in his *Critique of the Gotha Program* Marx explicitly adopts Louis Blanc's “from each according to his ability to each according to his needs” as an ideal of a higher communist (post-socialist) social organization. It is an ideal of justice which rejects equal distribution (advocated by some socialists) and distribution according to merit (advocated by others). Indeed, the ideal rejects justice altogether in favor of charity. Its possibility rests on three propositions.

(1) The ability to exercise the right to buy and sell is unevenly distributed in a “capitalist” market system, owing to private ownership of the means of production. Proletarians, who have nothing to sell but their labor, become wage slaves. Public ownership would free them; it would give them more and more equal power. They would have higher incomes and more to say about production and about their work.

Experience so far indicates that socialism is unlikely to bring about the desired equalization of the ability to exercise rights. Socialist societies with public ownership of means of production have not increased the freedom or power of workers. Nor their income. Workers actually are less free to bargain about wages and conditions with management than they are in capitalist societies. They are often less free to choose their work, and they are far more restricted by management identified with the government. One reason why they do not earn more, although public ownership eliminates private profits, is quite simple: even gross profits, under capitalism, are only a small percentage of payrolls. After deduction of what goes for taxes—nearly half in the U.S.—and for investment (which a socialist society would have to continue), there remains but the excess consumption expenditure (above the average) of profit recipients. Where it is not needed as an incentive, it would be available for redistribution. But the amount available would be too insignificant to make any difference to the great mass of workers or low income recipients. As for the inequalities of power linked to private ownership, they actually would be likely to increase with a public monopoly of means of production. Power holders would be government officials rather than private individuals—but they would probably have more rather than less power.

(2) Marx generously mistook innate differences in ability for differences in acquired skills which he attributed to unequal opportunities. However evidence since accumulated shows convincingly that many differences of ability and talent are inborn. (Ability, or its utilization, seems also to depend on infantile environments. But these too are nearly impossible to equalize.) Because abilities differ, equalization of the opportunity to acquire skills could only re-distribute social inequalities in accordance with innate or quasi-

innate differences. This might slightly increase efficiency, but it would not reduce inequalities.

(3) One might try to distribute income without regard to abilities or market values. Marx believed that a communist society ultimately would not have to reward services according to their economic (labor, or scarcity) value. He thought that those who render services, as well as those who do not, could — at least ultimately — receive incomes according to their needs. But it seems unlikely that distribution according to need (however defined and determined) could maximize the quantity and optimize the quality of production. Even a highly ascetic society, however technologically advanced, is unlikely to be satisfied by the production called forth without direct economic incentives.

Yet economic incentives necessarily lead to an unequal distribution in accordance not with need, but with market value. The moral criterion of need is independent of distributive incentives. It would separate monetary reward from allocation and from performance. Non-monetary rewards would be required to spur both. But none have come into view to effectively replace the monetary incentives now used in all industrial societies. Kibbutzim and communes have tried to do without, and in some cases they have succeeded. But only when the membership is small, homogenous, and bound together by a common ideology. Except in temporary states of exaltation, these conditions could not be reproduced in large societies — not even with an enforced totalitarian ideology. The Chinese are about to painfully learn as much.

Regardless of moral advantages or disadvantages, neither altruism nor compulsion appears an efficient enough alternative to economic incentives — despite marginal or occasional success. To be sure, if people were different, a different system could work. This frequent objection is not entitled to be taken seriously as long as no serious grounds are advanced to believe either that the future will offer effortless abundance, so that all goods could be free, like air (or at least like air was at one time), or that people in the future will be different enough to give efforts freely, independently of rewards.

Resentment of Intellectuals

Intellectuals and moralists all too often volubly resent the market, because through it people pay for economic, as though indifferent to moral value, which is left out in the cold; worse, they are. Since they do not feel at home in the market, intellectuals have designed socio-economic organization which would reward moral rather than economic values. But they are unlikely to succeed — although it is easy to mobilize dissatisfaction with market distribution. However, once the impersonal criterion of economic distribution by the market is abolished, it must be replaced by political (government) distribution. Political

distribution is most likely to reward political and, perhaps, managerial services, since it depends on political power, which is as independent of moral desert as the market is. We might be stuck with a distribution felt to be morally as irrelevant and arbitrary as that of the market, but which leaves us all poorer by providing more incentives for political than for economic services.

And less free. For the government can distribute income effectively only if it deprives individuals (or groups: corporations) of the right to produce and sell what buyers are willing to pay for. What is to be produced would depend upon government planners and, therefore, would be likely to serve them rather than consumers. Unable to choose what to produce or sell, at what price, and what to buy, we would have lost one aspect of freedom. To keep us bereft, of it, the government would have to deprive us of political freedom (civil rights) as well; as sole producer and employer, it would find it easy to do so. Shorn of all institutional defense, individual liberty could not survive long.

The Task Before Us

It is fairly clear then, that Marx and many others who resent the market, would lead or push us from the frying pan into the fire. Yet, although the fire is certain to be worse, the frying pan is still an uncomfortable place. No social system can endure unless people think it just and not merely efficient. And however much philosophers disagree, the popular sense of justice now demands further reduction, if not of wealth, at least of poverty. Because it does not satisfy the justice, our economic system has already lost, if not its usefulness, its moral authority.

If the sense of justice, of morality, cannot be satisfied through the market — and it cannot — it must be satisfied independently, for unless justice is served elsewhere in the social system, the market cannot last. Hence the distributive incentives, necessarily lead to social inequalities, must be reconciled with whatever moral objections to these inequalities are accepted. Such a reconciliation cannot ignore or assume away (as Marx did) what is to be reconciled to morality: the need for economic incentives leading to inequality based on non-moral criteria. Else social analysis is replaced by eschatological speculation. But moral sentiments cannot be ignored either.

Can sufficient redistribution occur, then, independently of the market to satisfy the sense of justice? Can such a redistribution obviate poverty without impairing the market which it must supplement? The answer now seems obvious: it is possible to supplement the market through fiscal measures so that without impairing incentives we can provide for those left miserable by nature, society or misfortune. One can argue about how much should and can be done; and by what means. But not about our ability to supplement market distribution with some degree of redistribution or about the need to do so.

A VOICE FROM RHODESIA

(The Swiss Press Review and News Report recently published a letter from a white Rhodesian which it found eloquent and expressive of the developments and pre-occupations of many people in that country. Since this is a point of view which is never presented to the readers of Indian newspapers and journals, we consider it worth while publishing it.)

I object to the ease with which certain foreign writers accept quite mistaken assumptions about Rhodesia. It is said, for instance, that the aim of the Anglo-American negotiating teams is to bring about a modern Zimbabwe, which will need the services of all its citizens. Perhaps — but how are they going about it?

By flagrantly favouring the so-called Patriotic Front against all others, despite the fact that it does not command popular support in Rhodesia (that support belongs to Bishop Muzorewa by a clear margin), they are attempting to impose a minority of suspect morality upon the (black) people of Rhodesia. Is that democracy?

The terms they are offering Mr. Smith are disgraceful, and of course he is refusing them. Don't let me be the only voice you hear on this issue. Stephen Hastings, the British MP, recently wrote on this subject in the *Daily Telegraph* (London) that the British proposals would destroy the confidence of the white farmer, demoralise the Civil Service and "invite a total and immediate collapse of law and order, followed by bloody tribal war".

He said the proposals risked the sacrifice of the cohesion of the country "at the risk of no matter what horror, in order to appease the men of violence and satisfy the frontline Presidents".

He went on: "How they (the British and Americans) will square the consequences with their collective consciences, I do not know."

"After the holocaust, when the Russians, East Germans and Czechs are picking over the ruins, I suppose they will say it was inevitable".

A cynical view? I might once have thought so myself, but now I feel the probability is on the side of the more cynical of the two possibilities I mention.

I would describe myself politically as a moderate, but being in the Civil Service, I have never played any part in politics directly.

At the age of 48, I am now facing ruin if the British plan is forced upon us. I will lose my job, and will get no compensation. I will probably be forced to leave the country, because I think the British solution will result in a racist tyranny — so I will lose my house and my savings too.

At my age, and with a Public Service background, I will not find it easy to get a decent job elsewhere. And I am under no illusions that anyone involved in forcing an unrealistic and irresponsible settlement upon us — whether the British or American Governments, or people like yourselves dispensing facile advice which does not work in practice — will have the slightest concern for the future well-being of myself, my wife and family, and others like us.

Personally, I would like to stay if I can do so. But look at what happened in Mocambique to those who

were told they were welcome to stay, and did so! Look at the same position in Angola. What about the policy of "Africanisation" which robs whites of their rights, hands over their businesses to Africans and forces them to stay until the new "owner" has learned how to run it! This has happened in Zambia, apart from other less civilised countries.....

Do I risk the life of my wife and family, in the hope that Robert Mugabe's terrorists will suddenly turn into peaceful law-abiding men who once burned 27 blacks to death (last week at Rushings) and murdered missionaries in cold blood (Musami Mission last February), but will never do so again?

Mr. Ivor Richard said he was "sure that sort of thing would not happen here". How sure? A vague hope will not restore the life of my wife if it proves unfounded.

THE ANSWER is to get a secure settlement between Ian Smith and Bishop Muzorewa, guaranteeing the rights and the futures of all — and having the support of the people of this country, black and white.

The British REJECT THIS — why??? Because they say the war will not stop unless the PF are involved.

But Government should belong not to those who act violently and wage a terrorist war to get it, but those whom the electorate want. Surely no sane person would argue that for example the Baader-Meinhof gang in Germany should not be left out of any political control of the country, merely because they are prepared to be very vicious in order to get it?

But the Patriotic Front know they can't win an election, so they refuse to have one. And the British support them in this.

They also hopelessly confuse the issue by involving five frontline states in the matter. Two of these are Mocambique and Angola, ruled by Marxist-orientated factions who are both distinct minorities, have never held elections, and would not win them if they did.

These are the people whose advice on introducing full democracy to Rhodesia Britain pretends is indispensable !!!

In any case, they are not Rhodesians, and should have no voice in deciding the future of this country — any more than Czechoslovakia or Spain should be entitled to pronounce on the internal affairs of your country.

Confronted with Britain's highly devious approach, the "white settlers" and more moderate elements of the black leadership within Rhodesia are now trying to agree among themselves. I think, they can do it, and I think they should do it.

For one thing, Britain leaves them no alternative.

WORLD NEWS

RUSSIA 60 YEARS ON

If Lenin were alive today in Switzerland and in an objective frame of mind he might well conclude that once again Russia is ripe for revolution. There is a ruling class, the Communist party, which has replaced the nobility and the Romanovs. The KGB has replaced the Tsar's secret policemen. The peasants work on collective farms instead of the landowners' estates. And in one way the Soviet Union, 60 today, is theoretically even the riper for revolution than was Tsarist Russia in 1917. The industrial proletariat, which Lenin always regarded as the seedbed of revolution, exists in Russia now and scarcely existed in Russia then. For it was feudalism, not capitalism, which Lenin and Trotsky conquered 60 years ago. All of which lends an ominous, if puzzling, overtone to Mr. Brezhnev's remark on Wednesday—"It is the Russian model that reveals to all countries something, and something highly significant, of their near and inevitable future."

An increasing number of non-Russian Communists believe that the Russian model tells them nothing; that the enemies that the Russian working class confronted in 1917 have no modern counterpart; that for Communists to model themselves on the men of 1917 is to live in a past that is beyond recall. One of them, Santiago Carrillo of Spain, was denied a hearing in Moscow last week. Which was only to be expected, in spite of Mr. Brezhnev's public praise of tolerance. "Our Party," he said, "like all other Marxist-Leninist parties, firmly adheres to the principles generally accepted in the Communist movement: equality, independence, non-interference in internal affairs, solidarity, and mutual support among the Communists of different countries." Thus spake the author of the Brezhnev doctrine which justified the invasion of Czechoslovakia. A threat to socialism in one country, he said in Warsaw in 1968 is a threat to the Socialist Commonwealth as a whole and becomes "the concern of all socialist countries."

— Editorial in the *Guardian*, November 7.

CARRILLO GIVES THE LIE TO TASS

From William Chislett
Madrid, Nov 7

The Spanish Communist Party today rejected a statement from Tass about the failure of Senor Carrillo, the party's leader, to speak at the Kremlin during the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution. Tass said it was because he arrived late, but the party maintained that he was invited to speak and then banned.

The Tass version, based on an interview with Mr. Victor Afasiev, the editor of *Pravda*, was yet another sign of the rift between Moscow and the Spanish "Eurocommunist" party. The Soviet news agency's statement was tantamount to calling Senor Carrillo a liar.

In its reply, the Spanish party limited itself to listing chronologically what happened. It said that Senor Carrillo and other members had originally told Moscow they would be able to go only for the end of the celebrations because of other commitments.

However, after a delegation from Moscow arrived, including the *Pravda* editor to tell the Spanish party that Senor Carrillo was invited to speak and that his presence was requested from the beginning, the party changed its timetable and agreed.

Senor Carrillo was then invited to prepare a speech last minute—and he handed it in to be translated on arrival in Moscow. The party had by then told Moscow that he would arrive late as he had to attend the congress of the Catalan Communist Party. The statement added that the Spanish knew the speech was translated but that Senor Carrillo was not called to speak.

It added that the offer made to Senor Carrillo to speak at another meeting or outside Moscow was "inconsiderate" and anyway his schedule did not permit staying any longer.

— *The Times*, November 8.

MARCHAIS LOSES LIBEL CASE

From Paul Webster
in Paris

The French Communist Party leader, Mr. Marchais, yesterday lost his libel case against two Right-wing magazine editors who claimed that he had deliberately gone to work in Nazi Germany during the war. A judge cleared the editors of *Minute* and *National Socialist* and said that there was no evidence that the documents they published to support the claim had been substantially altered.

The decision is a serious blow to the Communist Party leader, who has been trying for 20 years to clear his name of accusations that he willingly went to work at a German aircraft factory instead of being sentenced to forced labour.

The publication of documents by the two papers, which he said had been forged, gave him the chance to bring the matter into the open. Before giving his decision, the judge reproached Mr. Marchais for not producing documents which could prove that he had not gone willingly. This was a surprising omission on the part of a politician, he said.

— *The Guardian*, October 28.

VODKA-FOR-PEPSI

By Nancy Yoshihara

Los Angeles, Oct. 31.

The chairman and chief executive of Pepsico Inc. Mr. Kendall has said that he had just returned from the Soviet Union, where the second Pepsi plant was opened at Yevpatoria last week.

He told a meeting of the Los Angeles Society of Financial Analysis that three more of his soft drink

plants are planned for Tallinn, Moscow and Leningrad and that five others are under consideration.

The first Pepsi plant was built in Novorossiysk. Mr. Kendall said it "took him 10 minutes to persuade Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin to agree to a Vodka-for-Pepsi swap, but that a year was needed to negotiate the actual document.

Pepsico supplies the technology and equipment to produce Pepsi in the Soviet Union in exchange for Stolichnaya Vodka for the U.S. market.

"It is really true barter," Mr. Kendall said. "Every five years it balances out."

Gerald J. Fischer, Pepsico vice-president, corporate development, said Vodka sales are well over 100,000 cases a year. He added that each Pepsi plant in the Soviet Union has an actual capacity of 3 million cases.

Mr. Kendall recalled that Mr. Kosygin originally had wanted a litre-for-litre deal. "We thought he meant Vodka for Pepsi, but he was talking about Pepsi concentrate in exchange for Vodka."

—*Los Angeles Times*, November 1.

PEKING DEFENDS ITS ANTI-SOVIET POLICY

By John Gittings

China's anti-Soviet foreign policy — denounced by Mr. Brezhnev at Moscow's Diamond Jubilee celebrations — has been vigorously defended by Peking. The statement admits, though, that there are those in China who are critical of this anti-Russian stand.

The Soviet leader has described Peking's behaviour as amounting to a Chinese "alignment with the forces of reaction in the world arena" but told the Sino-Soviet dispute would last for ever.

This would be "a short-sighted policy" for Western countries to pursue. Mr. Brezhnev said in a passage of his speech which led to a walk-out by Peking's new ambassador in Moscow. Mr. Wan Yuping.

The Chinese insist that their policy of dividing the world into "Three Worlds" — with the United States and Soviet Union bracketed together in the "First World" — is based on Marx and Lenin and means that Soviet "social imperialism" is more dangerous than the less complicated "imperialism" of the US. The statement *concedes*: "In our country there are people who frantically oppose Chairman Mao's theory of the Three Worlds."

The article goes on to identify these critics with the dissidents "in no way represent the credited Gang of Four whom, it Chinese people." The use of the present tense indicates that a year after the Gang's downfall, some domestic critics of Chinese foreign policy are still at large.

The statement addresses itself to the various questions arising from China's new diplomacy, which involves seeking anti-first world allies in such unlike-

ly places as Chile and Iran. In the most coherent argument so far published by the Chinese press, Peking argues that the "Socialist camp," once led by the Soviet Union, has disappeared and that new international alignments must be chosen.

What does exist is the "Third World" (to which China belongs) of developing countries which is likely to form the "main force" fighting against imperialism.

Peking also supports alliance with the "Second World" of developed countries against the superpowers, and the article says that China would now approve of a "war of national independence" waged by a country of Eastern Europe against the Soviet Union.

—*The Guardian*, November 3.

VORSTER SCRAPS PASSBOOKS

From Ray Kennedy

Johannesburg, Nov. 3.

Blacks in South Africa were promised today that their hated passbooks, which prescribe where they may live and work, are to be scrapped. A statement issued after a meeting in Pretoria between Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister, and black homeland leaders said it had been agreed the passbooks should be replaced by travel and identity documents next year.

The new documents will be issued by the Bantustan governments which, in effect, means that the system of separate development will be reinforced. None the less, it is likely to come under fierce attack from ultra-conservative whites, particularly the Herstigte Nasionale Party, which will see the move as a further erosion of white domination.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the leader of four million Zulus, refused to attend the talks in Pretoria. He had described previous discussions with Mr. Vorster on the issue as "a farce".

It is not yet clear whether police will be empowered to arrest any African unable to produce his new identity document on demand. At present thousands of Africans are jailed every year for the technical offence of not having their passes on them.

Dr. Cedric Phatudi, the Lebowa homeland leader, said the ending of the passbook system meant the removal of one of the major "irritations" of the apartheid system.

It was also agreed that Africans employed in urban areas may now have their families living with them. It is not known, however, if this applies to the thousands of African women domestics who work and live as single women in white suburbs.

—*The Times*, November 4.

A SIGNIFICANT GESTURE

The excitement that has surrounded discussions of whether President Sadat of Egypt would address

the Israeli Knesset may seem out of proportion. After all, would Sadat in a Jerusalem podium count for as much as Israeli settlements on the West Bank of Jordan? Or could whatever response he might evoke from Israeli parliamentarians be weighed in the same scale as rockets from guerrillas in Lebanon?

It is certainly true that the issues that must be resolved if there is to be true peace in the Middle East are extremely complex — and all too numerous. The territories taken by Israel in 1967, including Old Jerusalem, a mecca for three major religions; the status of the Palestinians and who is to speak for them; specific relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors — all of these and more, are enough to provide verbal ammunition for months of exchanges in any conference. Even in Tunis, where only the Arabs have been meeting, there has been enough divergence on details to keep the delegates confused.

But Mr. Sadat's gesture may, in fact, go deeper than many of these intractable disputes. After all, while the question of the Israeli state goes far back into human history and the religions of many peoples, in international law the state was set up by the United Nations a little less than 30 years ago. And that decision was never accepted by the Arab states; the limitations it imposed have not been accepted by Israel.

The UN divided Palestine — the Palestine Liberation Organization insists the division is invalid and wishes to wipe out the state of Israel. The latter has made various adaptations to the limits in the face of Arab warfare, but many Israelis hold that Judea and Samaria must be added to Israel.

There have been many arguments as to how and why these acute divisions have arisen. But until they are resolved, until there is a broad Arab acceptance of the fact of Israel (which has seemed possible in many recent diplomatic discussions) and until the Israelis recognize that they do not have the last word in deciding their own boundaries (which has been less apparent in the mood of the Begin government) the specifics can only provide reasons—or excuses—for not coming to agreement.

Could a visit by the Egyptian President to Jerusalem bring the diplomacy back to basics? Not necessarily: Some Israelis say Sadat is using the gesture to obscure his rearming for another war; some Arabs fear that Israeli Prime Minister Begin is using it to divide the Arab states. But the Sadat-Begin rapprochement could concentrate attention on what really splits the Middle East, on the fundamental issues that have brought so much war; so much costly discord to a region that needs peace and cooperation if it is to survive. And that is why the gesture could be more important than a full-fledged conference. It would involve an Arab leader talking directly to Israelis for the first time since the wars began, and Israelis talking to that Arab.

—*International Herald Tribune*, November 16.

GRIGORENKO TO KEEP TRIP NONPOLITICAL

Moscow, Nov. 13 (WP)—Soviet dissident Pyotr Grigorenko said he will refrain from anti-Soviet comments while on a six-month trip to the United States in hopes of enhancing his chances of being allowed to reenter the Soviet Union when his U.S. visit ends.

Mr. Grigorenko, at a press conference Friday in his apartment, said he hoped that Soviet authorities will allow him back into the country after his U.S. trip.

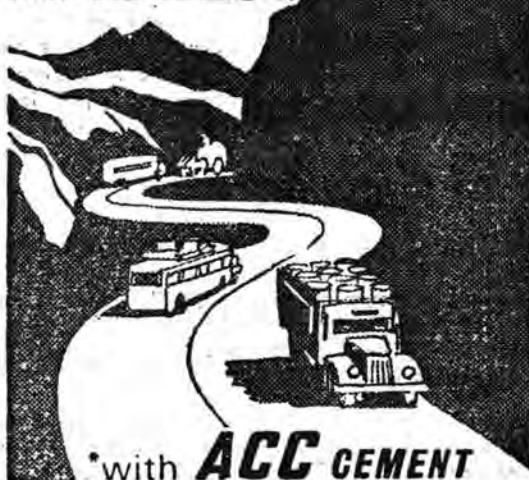
In a session that he called and that was clearly designed to place his trip in a medical, rather than political, context, the former Red Army general and his wife said they must make the journey solely for health reasons.

While saying that he is aware that there are "many excellent doctors" in the Soviet Union who could treat his condition adequately—Mr. Grigorenko needs a prostate operation—he said that because of possible complications arising from his age and health he wants to be near his stepson, Andrei, who emigrated to the United States in 1975 and now lives in Long Island City, N.Y.

Mr. Grigorenko, 70, has diabetes and a heart condition. He has been a prominent dissenter and government critic for more than a decade and a close ally of Andrei Sakharov in the strife between the Soviet state and human rights activists.

—*International Herald Tribune*, November 14.

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Theatre

A MUSICAL MAN-CHA

Take a story four hundred years old, steep it in a musical syrup, and you may be certain to have a gooey mess. Those who saw the cinematic version of "Man from La Mancha" would possibly have realised this, even though floating in the syrup, there were such delectable ingredients as Sophia Loren and Peter O'Toole. What then, one wondered, could have possessed the Theater Group, under the generally austere command of Alyque Padamsee, to venture into such an undertaking?

It was a question that one stopped asking the moment a drawbridge-like ladder swung ominously down from the roof of the theater, and placed in the forefront of the stage, in the middle of a pit in a dungeon of the Spanish Inquisition, in the centre of our imagination, a spark of flame, known variously in history, as Miguel Cervantes, Don Quixote, the famous knight who went off tilting at windmills — the Man from La Mancha!

The entire action takes place in a pit at the centre of which there is a raised platform. High up in the walls of the dungeon there are four small grated windows to let in the light, and from the middle of the roof, the only access to the pit, a ladder can be lowered on to the platform. On the right side a screen is used very sparingly to project the windmill sequences.

The set is therefore extremely simple. Most of the action has to take place in the imagination of the people, both the actors on the stage and of course, the audience. For the form of "La Mancha" is that of a play within a play, with Cervantes as the real life poet-playwright being thrown into the pit of ravenous criminals and wretches, and having to defend himself against them by the quick improvisations of his art. He uses as his stage the floor of the dungeon, as the actors the very criminals who held him at a knife's point. He is so successful that soon, the dungeons, the despair of the inmates of the prison, are left behind, and we are faced with the strange case of an aging Spanish gentleman named, Alonzo Quijana, who is filled with the peculiar notion that he is a knight riding out to set the world aright.

The even stranger thing about Senor Quijana is that in his metamorphoses as Don Quixote he has a way of imposing his will on others. First on the innkeeper who reluctantly dubs him a knight, then on the mule drivers, who in spite of their early derision at his odd ways, are overwhelmed by his spirited attack, and finally and most triumphantly on Aldonza, the whore at the Inn, who is transformed into the vision of his ideal lady Dulcinea. As for Sancho Panza, the unwilling sharer of his adventures, who sees life through a haze of proverbs, he is the commonest of all sceptics, Everyman, who wants to believe, but can trust only the evidence of his senses.

Yet Don Quixote's victory over the forces that be is short lived. In a final and brutal encounter with the "Knight of the Flashing Mirror", who holds a real

mirror before him, he is shown what he really is, an aging fool masquerading as a knight. Abruptly the quest is over for Don Quixote. The shock sends him to his death-bed as Senor Quijana again. And then, at this point, amazingly, incredibly, and perhaps, inevitably, Sancho Panza, assisted by Aldonza/Dulcinea persuades the dying Quijana that his dream of Don Quixote was not in vain and that his taking arms and riding out into the world to create his own reality is the only answer there is to the riddle placed in the mouth of Cervantes: "Life as it is? I have lived for nearly 50 years and I have life as it is. Pain, misery, hunger ... cruelty beyond belief. I have heard the voices of God's most glorious creatures and the moans from bundles of filth on the streets. I have been a soldier and a slave. I have seen my comrades fall in battle ... or die more slowly under the lash in Africa. I have held them in my arms at the final moment. These men who saw life as it is, yet they died despairing. No glory, no gallant last words ... only their eyes filled with confusion, whimpering the question: Why? I do not think they asked why they were dying, but why they had lived!"

The play, then, revolves around a triple series of illusions, the illusion created by Don Quixote, the illusion spun out by Cervantes, and the illusion played for our benefit by the Theater Group, and running through it all the question, "What is Reality?"

Reality! One fancies one hears the thin racking laughter of Cervantes, who died in penury, echoing through the centuries with his answer, "Reality is a mad knight tilting after windmills." Don Quixote would have been more serious, "To live life not as it is, but as it should be lived," he may have said solemnly. While the Director, if at all he would presume to answer such a question, would say, one supposes. "The play is the thing!"

"La Mancha", being after all a musical, does not seek to touch upon such questions except in passing, as one might, in creating a melody, touch upon the deeper chords to give it resonance. That it was able to raise them at all goes to the credit of the splendid production led by Noel Godin, in a truly inspired performance as Cervantes/Quixote. He was well assisted by the rest of the cast who were either excellent singers, or excellent actors, and sometimes both. A major part of the credit should perhaps go to the Music Director, Leon D'Souza, who with his team, created the special sound effects, weaving with music the illusion around Don Quixote, making credible the last scene, where the criminals with raised fists and soaring voices hail Cervantes as he climbs out of the pit, for having taught them "To Dream the Impossible Dream..."

But in the end it was perhaps the vision of Don Quixote that lingered. As we stumbled out of the theater, into the reality of flashing headlights and hooting taxis, a squat orange moon sat astride the Bombay skyline, with the inevitable palm tree etched across its surface. As we started, the leaves of the palm tree swept across the moon in a slow ponderous movement — unmistakably a windmill! The Man of La Mancha was on his quest again.

GEETA DOCTOR

TERRORISM ON THE HOME FRONT (Continued from page 1)

of intimidation and of violence adopted by a large number of so called labour leaders as a result of the supine and pussillanimous attitude of the Union Government in Delhi and some of the governments in the States. The feeling has gone around that one does not have to go through collective bargaining or even to go on strike but that goondaism and hooliganism are the methods that bear fruit in industrial relations in 1977.

Thus, Brakes India Limited of Madras, a TV Sundaram unit and one of the leading companies in the Automobile Engineering Industry in the country, had to declare a lockout on 13th October. In a full page statement in the *Indian Express* of 31st October, the management told a sad story of how this lockout had to take place. Here are a few extracts from their tale of woe:

"The ringleaders among them organised daily meetings of the men inside the factory, inciting them to continue the stay-in-strike and, with this encouragement, the workmen converted the factory into an arsenal by unauthorisedly utilising the Company's equipment and materials and manufactured dangerous weapons to threaten the supervisory staff and others.....

The deadly weapons included, in large numbers, swords and spears with sharpened edges of different sizes, iron rods and steel pipes of various sizes with and without handles, iron rods made into spears of different lengths and with sharp ends of different forms, long iron poles with knife ends, long knives made out of brake shoes, small knives made of files with handles, thick bamboo and wooden sticks, sharpened knives like blades, of different sizes, hoses with joints, handles and metal with spring ends, machine-belts and chains with griphand, cycle chains with and without handles, aluminium bars, electric cables of different sizes, and bulbs and bottles filled with acid.

On the 22nd July, emboldened by the possession of the dangerous weapons on a large and systematic scale, the workmen barricaded the factory roads and deflated the tyres of vehicles of supervisory personnel parked inside the factory to prevent the movement of vehicles. They posted armed workmen to guard all the gates and made it known that they would not allow the supervisory and managerial staff on duty to leave the factory at the end of their shift hours to go home. The movements of supervisory and senior personnel were restricted and they were subjected to all sorts of humiliation. Control of entry and exit to the factory was taken over by the workmen and it was only under the authority of their representatives' signed gate pass that exit was permitted.....

Thus the factory was under complete seizure by the workmen fully armed with dangerous

weapons. This situation was picturesquely described by one of the city newspapers as "Lock-out of Management".....

On the 13th October 1977, after coming into the factory as usual on the morning shift, a large number of workmen, incited and instigated by the leaders, struck work without justification and went out of the factory in a procession and joined a mob outside in stone throwing on the police and at buses bringing workmen to the neighbouring factories, in defiance of a prohibitory order. The police authorities were forced to use tear gas shells and resort to other appropriate action to contain the violence. Inside the factory, the supervisory and other senior personnel were abused, threatened and driven here and there and two of them were severely beaten up by an authorised representative. Taking advantage of the confused situation a big mob of outsiders as well as the Company's workmen rushed to the perimeter gates and entered the factory. While rushing into the factory, the mob indulged in throwing stones at the neighbouring factory and caused considerable damage.....

There was imminent risk to life and property, and the Company was left with no alternative but to declare a lockout of the workmen effective 11 a.m. on the 13th October 1977'.

Maharashtra

In case it is thought that other States are immune, here is a story told by Amar Dye Chem, which has a factory in Kalyan outside Bombay. Here again a lockout had to be declared on 2nd October. Here are some extracts from the sad tale of Amar Dye Chem as told in the *Indian Express* of 4th October

"On August 8, 1977 several workmen stopped near Gate No 1 the bus bringing the Officers to the factory and tried to force the Officers to get down.

On the same day, viz on August 8, 1977 A. Swamy, a worker belonging to the rival Union, was brutally assaulted outside the gate No. 2 and he had to be admitted in the hospital for treatment of serious injuries.

On August 11, 1977, violent demonstrations were held by about 400 workmen after entering the Administrative Building and they made an attempt to drag the Factory Manager out of his cabin.

On August 18, 1977 similar type of violent demonstrations were held throughout the factory giving threats to the Plant Managers and forcing them out of their cabins.

The Management was therefore constrained, as a precautionary measure, to give 14 days notice on August 12, 1977, of its intention to declare

a lock-out of its factory."

Industries having eminent leaders of the Janata Party at their head are by no means excluded from this reign of terror. The sad story of Mukund Iron & Steel Works is told by Mr. Viren Shah, MP, a member of the Executive Committee of the Janata Party, in the *Times of India* of November 8:

"On August 5, 1977, India's biggest electric steel furnace complex went cold due to illegal strike and other illegal activities on the part of the workmen. As a result, the Steel Plant, the heavy foundry and the machine building division had to shut down. The cessation of these operations has substantially curtailed the supply of vital steel product to many manufacturing units in Maharashtra and rest of India. Most of these are projects of National importance. Slowing down of production in these units and a worsening prospect of closure in some cases threaten thousands of jobs.....

What happened after the failure of negotiations is a sad story of a series of acts of indiscipline, go-slow, threats, assaults, obstruction to movement of materials, incidents of violence, shouting filthy abuses etc. paralysing the working of all departments.....

On August 5, 1977, the Administration Office of the Kalve plant was gheraoed and all entrances and exits blocked by physical force for ten hours from 3.30 p.m. to 1.30 a.m. The workers were being led by the Union President, Dr. Datta Samant, himself. The gathering crowd of workers could not be dispersed even by senior police officers commanding a large police force.

From that night onwards, a virtual state of siege was created by the workers around the Kalve plant, which included the staff colony where 81 families reside. For them, the water supply was disconnected, attempts were made to tamper with the telephone lines and essential supplies like milk, vegetables and foodstuffs were stopped, which included visits by a doctor. This happened despite a large police force camping at the factory gates.

The agitation grew worse and, on August 7, the car of the General Manager was stopped on the road by hundreds of workers. He and the Dy. General Manager and Personnel Manager were gheraoed for seven hours in the presence of the Collector, police officers, including the DSP, ADSP and a large posse of SRP and armed police.

The threats to life and property at Kalve loomed larger than ever and the management had no alternative but to declare a lockout on August 12, 1977".

Even Khadi Bhandars

The Khadi Bhandars have been a constructive feature of the Gandhian cause in this country. But,

according to the *Times of India* of 14th October, the Bombay Khadi Gramodyog Sangh announced its decision to close down permanently the Khadi Emporium at Dadabhai Naoroji Road and twelve other bhandars in Bombay because of the goondaism of its workers. Mr. Shantilal Shah, Vice-Chairman of the Sangh, himself an INTUC leader and former Labour Minister in the Bombay Government, said that Union workers had assaulted three officers of the Sangh.

The contagion has also spread from industry to trade. The Bombay Textile market, one of the biggest in the world, with a daily turnover of Rs. 5 crores, was brought to a standstill on the eve of Diwali by the goondaism of the gumasta union and insufficient police protection provided by the State Government, and cloth merchants of all the major wholesale and semi-wholesale markets in the city decided to shut down for an indefinite period. At a historic meeting of all the merchants, it was unanimously decided to keep the shops closed till "such conditions are guaranteed by the authorities when all the cloth markets and offices of the commission agents can function without any fear or interference and with full safety."

From cloth, the contagion spread further to drugs and in a few days time the 'Dawa Bazar' or medicine market was also paralysed. Hospitals and even private doctors could not get drugs due to obstruction from the trade union officers. Distress calls were received by chemists from several centres outside Bombay.

In a few days the situation became explosive, and there was rioting and violence in Lalbaug and other places. In Lalbaug, gumastas entered a cloth shop and dragged the proprietor to the road, and he was hit on the head with a stone. The police, who arrested the goondas, however released them later in the day.

All this has nothing to do with the legitimacy of trade unions and the right to collective bargaining, for which we have always stood. Our record for several decades will bear this out.

Mafia Rule

What is under discussion now is not trade unionism, but terrorism and Mafia rule, taking the form of hooliganism, violence, go-slow and illegal strikes, all of which are violations of the law of the land. To that extent, it is a problem of law and order.

In dealing with these developments during the last nine months, all parties have been equally guilty, whether it is the Janata Government in U.P. or the Congress Government in Bombay, or the ADMK Government in Madras.

There is need for a drastic change in the attitude towards these terrorists on the industrial front. A little bit of the spirit of Mogadishu and Entebbe needs to be applied to it. But have those in office the guts that are necessary for such emulation?

ZAKARIA COMES OFF SECOND BEST

(This amusing comment on a Book Review session on the Editor's "Bliss Was It In That Dawn" on T.V. on 24th November 1977 appeared in the Indian Express of November 28.)

I held my breath. It couldn't be far. Sooner or later Dr. Zakaria is bound to test Khushwant's patience beyond the point of endurance and then how!

But nothing happened. Khushwant was evidently mad at Herr Doktor and his long winding, albeit knowledgeable, questions thrown at Mr. Minoo Masani. But if you thought, like me, that Khushwant would finally leave his seat and sock one on Rafiq's snooter, I am sure you were as disappointed as I was.

The Book special issue of the Vibrations programme was notable for two things. First it proved that in a time-bound programme anyone who ignores the time factor does so not only on his own but the entire programme's peril. They were discussing Minoo Masani's autobiographical book and Dr. Rafiq Zakaria had come with his guns trained on Minoo. He had done his homework well and his inquisitorial queries were profusely studded with quotations from Masani and others.

However, in his enthusiasm to grill Masani, Zakaria forgot to keep track of time. He went on and on to the visible annoyance of Khushwant, the moderator, and Minoo the author. There came a time when Khushwant had to plead with Rafiq to let him ask at least one question. But to no avail. The programme ended almost on a note of confusion. The man who came out on top was Minoo Masani who took all questions in his stride, never showing impatience or nervousness; often smashing Zakaria's laboured questions with short, crisp replies.

Books

'EXPLOSION IN A SUBCONTINENT'

Edited by ROBIN BLACKBURN

(Penguin Books, 95 pp.)

THE human tragedy that preceded the birth of Bangladesh had its local and international repercussions. The map of the subcontinent was redrawn, the creation of Pakistan based on certain preconceived notions collapsed and once again proved how a spark in one corner of this globe can explode into conflagration with worldwide ramifications.

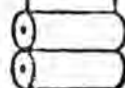
'Explosion in a subcontinent' is a well documented edition of a series of articles first published in 'The New Left Review'. It has a prejudiced view, as

the very name of the journal from which they are taken suggests to the irresistible tendency to bias.

It would be interesting to recollect that in 1970-71 the four major States of the subcontinent — India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Bangladesh registered unprecedented electoral triumphs for Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandarnaike, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. All the four enjoyed charismatic qualities, rode to power on the wave of popularism and demagoguery. But mass discontent set in, repression followed leading to authoritarianism and soon all were ousted. Mujib was butchered, Mrs. Gandhi was trounced at the hustings, Smt. Bandarnaike is also out of power and Mr. Bhutto's fate hangs, in the balance under the new Martial Law Administrators. This pattern of political development is not a historical accident but a cyclical process which will have to be faced by Mr. Morarji Desai and Jayawardene and the two Zias of Bangladesh and Pakistan so long as burning economic and social problems continue to plague this region.

The articles are written against the background of "the dramatic events of 1971" which "threw into sharp relief the underlying crises of the social order that dominates all four subcontinental states". But the real aim of the book is found in the Introduction by the editor Robin Blackburn when he says: "The only source of consolation to the beleaguered regimes of the subcontinent is the evident disarray of the leftwing parties

The meaning is not hard to digest: From the



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very inception a conscientious effort is made by the writer to convey that it is the failure of the Communists and communism that is responsible for the subcontinent's problems. In fact many of the writers have the wrong notion that only the CPI and the CPM offered a credible alternative to the Congress, when they are essentially regional parties.

Meghnad Desai's 'India: Emerging Contradiction of Slow Capitalist Development' analyses the problems of agriculture and the contradictions of the 'Green Revolution' with that of the rural proletariat which are at times couched in vague Communist terminologies.

For example he fails to explain how the "..... initiative of the masses for social change" can be brought about. Or, where the so called "mass revolutions" have succeeded, why they have degenerated into 'dictatorship over the proletariat instead of the much trumpeted 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. Such is the criticism of CPI's document "Unite to Defend the Motherland against China's Open Aggression". Not that this resolution has any credibility but instead of calling such opportunism 'a spade a spade' it is criticised as a drift from orthodox Communism.

'Politics and Society in Bengal' by Premen Addy explains the multifaceted aspects of Bengali life and culture and the volatile politics of this highly literate State. It gives the historical background and the transition of Bengali society from the Moghuls to the British and the post-Independence era. The role of Raja Ramohan Roy in the modernization of Bengal and the cause of economic penury and social stagnation of the Muslim society due to Islamic obscurantism come in for critical analysis. It must be admitted that Premen Addy differs from other writers by giving atleast a semblance of a balanced analysis.

Tariq Ali in analysing the 'Results and Prospects' of Pakistan and Bangladesh deals with the causes and implications of the emergence of Bangladesh. According to Tariq Ali, Indian intervention was not based on 'humanitarian ideals' but was to solve "the question of who held state power in Bangladesh", and create "a basis for defeating the Left in West Bengal."

Fred Halliday traces the history of Sri Lanka from the imperial domination and attributes, the suppression of youth insurrection to the international imperial conspiracy which includes Red China and the Soviet Union.

The book also contains five appendices like the Declaration of the Fourth International. The analysis and interpretation the book provides are highly biased and often get bogged in ideological semantics which border on propaganda. This is not surprising as Penguin publications are of late increasingly gaining a reputation from growing affinity with the New Left and the Communists.

A peculiar feature of this book is that it makes an attempt to deal with the problems of the Indian subcontinent exclusively through a 'leftist perspective'.

NITIN RAUT

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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

When I brush my hair, I think of nothing else but brushing my hair.

— David Loyd George quoted in *Parivar*.

Contests between virtuous fools and clever wicked men (and women) are usually decided in favour of the latter.

— Nihal Singh in the *Statesman*, October 11.

A Geneva settlement is like a tall mountain, full of crevices and sharp rocks. Therefore, you don't go to it in a straight line. You go through zigs and zags. You even go down a little bit, then you keep moving.

— Zbigniew Brezezinski in *Time*, October 17.

I said that I, Moshe Dayan, as an individual am not a coward. But as a Jew I am a very frightened man.

— Moshe Dayan quoted in *Time*, October 17.

I'd rather commit political suicide than hurt Israel.

— President Carter quoted in *Time*, October 17.

If any Palestinians try to go to Geneva without our approval, they will be assassinated.

— P.L.O. Official quoted in *Time*, October 17.

Maybe there will be peace if we do all that we are told to — but there will be no Israel.

— Moshe Dayan in *Time*, October 17.

When you strike at a king you must kill him.

— Ralph Waldo Emerson quoted in *Time*, October 17.

My job is to stop Britain from going red.

— Mrs. Thatcher quoted in *Times*, November 3.

The thing about Keith Joseph is, he is usually right.

— Mrs. Thatcher quoted in *Times*, November 3.

Unless we have a stronger civil sense among the people and officers, things like these and even worse may happen.

— Mr. Justice J. C. Shah quoted in the *Times of India*, November 4.

Not being a politician I kept my word.

— Field Marshal Manekshaw quoted in *Times of India*, November 11.

The future has waited long enough. If we do not grasp it, other hands will.

— Adlai Stevenson quoted in the *Economist*, October 22.

When they arrested my neighbour I did not protest. When they arrested the men and women in the opposite house I did not protest. And when they finally came for me, there was nobody left to protest.

— Pastor Niemoeller quoted in the *Times*, October 23.

The President may not have powers but there is a lot he can do.

— President Sanjiva Reddy quoted in the *Statesman*, November 13.

Those who do not study will always find the questions stiff.

— Jayaprakash Narayan quoted in the *Statesman*, November 14.

I often wonder at what temperature the Indian blood boils, if it boils at all.

— Nayantara Sahgal in the *Indian Express*, October 29.

By God, it is enjoyable being a minister.

— James Callaghan quoted in *The Sunday Times*, October 30.

Signature

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