

Founder : M. R. MASANI
Editor : NISSIM EZEKIEL

30th Year of Publication

freedom first

JANUARY 1983 Price: Rs. 2

359

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL IDEAS

UNO and UNESCO

NISSIM EZEKIEL

UNO and UNESCO now speak with two voices. One of these, the loud, persistent voice is used when the liberal democratic nations of the world fall short of their standards. The other, a soft conciliatory voice is used when the totalitarian dictatorships act in particular situations with even greater cruelty and ruthlessness than they normally do.

That human rights do not exist at all in the communist and non-communist nations with dictatorial governments is a cause of very little sustained concern in UNO and UNESCO. That violations of human rights take place in other nations, which have democratically elected governments and where freedom prevails in all its imperfections, creates an agitated demand for action.

UNESCO's Information Order is superficially an attempt to break the Western "monopoly" of news-gathering and news-dissemination. Considered as a whole, it is actually a measure to protect and extend government control of the media in countries where the media is critical of the government.

The Third World countries in UNO and UNESCO, including

India, systematically hide their own sins of omission and commission. They also engage in systematic, conspiratorial campaigns to expose as well as denounce the sins of the non-dictatorial countries. All of them want Jerusalem to be given to a proposed Palestinian State but they are not worried about the independence of Tibet.

The Third World nations want a redistribution of wealth on a global scale, but not **within** their own borders, from **their** rich to **their** poor. They are against American and British multi-national corporations but proud of their own. They denounce the culturally privileged through the voices of their own culturally privileged, who have done little or nothing for their illiterates and undereducated. Not a single Third World country has made a major successful effort in the field of education and for the decrease of mass poverty. Yet they repeatedly criticise "the West" for not opening their educational institutions more generously to the Third World, and for controlling immigration.

The new sea law treaty requires industrialised nations to share their technology with the underdeveloped world. What is the record of

the underdeveloped world in this matter of sharing techniques, resources or anything else? What is the record of the underdeveloped world's technological elite in relation to the needs of the underdeveloped world? In India alone, 60 to 70 per cent of our IIT products leave for one highly developed nation or other, soon after completing the course, **and never return.**

When it comes to preaching lessons in morality and generosity to the West, the Third World is very energetic. When it comes to attacking its own problems by the same standards of morality it is lethargic and corrupt.

The Third World never takes cognisance of the fact that UNESCO is infiltrated by Soviet agents, which means the KGB, that same institution of Russian Secret Police designed to aid the Soviet Government Rule by Terror. Will any Third World government speak out against that? Never.

The Third World countries ignore the complexities of open, pluralist, democratic, liberal societies which generate a wide variety of anti-open, anti-pluralist, anti-democratic and anti-liberal forces. Some of these are against industrialism,

science, mass media, modern education, and so on, of which they enjoy all the benefits.

In being critical of their own society and government, in rejecting the policies and values of their country, such people sometimes find totally false alternatives. They may end up as spies for the Soviet Union or supporters of the Non-aligned movement (including Cuban totalitarianism) or join Peace marches directed exclusively against Western armament policies, never against the armament policies of the Soviet Union and its satellites.

UNO and UNESCO gangs up voting for certain measures and against others, demanding peace, freedom, human rights, redistribution of wealth, democracy, uplift of the poor, liberation of the oppressed and so on. Those, it is claim-

ed, are the causes in which they believe.

Consider the composition of these gangs and you get a different picture. The Asian, African, Latin American and Middle-Eastern nations which speak in such exalted tones in UNO and UNESCO tyrannise over their people, as a rule. If they grant any democratic rights at all, they do so as part of a larger dictatorial strategy. Human rights they ignore. Freedom they fear and despise. Their real drive is for power based on fundamentalist ideologies, political and religious.

In few of these countries is there evidence of real, substantial human progress. If there is economic growth and social cohesion the price for it in suffering is enormous. If educational institutions are built up, they are founded on total

submission to authority and its ideology, whatever it may be. Housing, transport and other material assets are built largely by ignoring the human standards recommended to others (study, for example, the brutal treatment meted out to the labour force that built the Asiad Village.) Instead of the pragmatic objective spirit, UNO and UNESCO are now dominated by ideology and hypocrisy, the two being inter-dependent.

Finally, and above all, the Third World dare not face and give utterance to the truth about the communist and non-communist dictatorships. What they can effortlessly face and "courageously" give utterance to is the truth about the weaknesses and contradictions of the liberal democracies. This is the situation reflected today in the working of UNO and UNESCO.

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A VARIETY OF COMMENT

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

1. WHITHER JUDICIAL ACTIVISM?

Alexander Bickel, an American legal commentator, bemoaned not so long ago that "all too many federal judges have been induced to view themselves as holding roving commissions as problem-solvers, and as charged with a duty to act when majoritarian institutions do not."

Much the same sentiment was expressed by Justice Tulzapurkar of our Supreme Court in his lecture at the Symbiosis Institute in Poona last month, but the reaction that his remarks produced was as surprising as it was unprecedented.

Admittedly, the critics have a point when they say, as one prominent paper did, that "it is a matter for deep regret and concern that (sitting) judges of the Supreme Court have started writing and speaking against one another." Indeed, few things could be more damaging to the image of a strong and independent judiciary than the spectacle of constant slanging matches in public between judges of differing judicial philosophies.

However, one vital fact which has been conveniently relegated to the background in the present controversy is that no attempt has been made by any of those offended by Justice Tulzapurkar's conduct to examine the circumstances which compelled the learned judge to take the painful, if unusual, step of giving vent to his feelings in public. In fact, viewed in their proper perspective, the remarks themselves appear far less controversial than they have been made out to be.

Is it so difficult for any dispassionate observer of contemporary judicial trends to discern the infirmities that have characterised the Supreme Court's current approach to public interest litigation, which Justice Tulzapurkar has so painstakingly analysed in his lecture? Can anyone seriously disagree with the view, put forward by the learned judge, that the increasingly common tendency on the part of some members of the higher judiciary to hobnob with politicians in power, is hardly conducive to the effective administration of justice?

As for the references to Justice Bhagwati, which have been the subject of much adverse comment, it is a painful reminder of the amnesia gripping our citi-

zenry that Bhagwati's own shocking lapses (notably his infamous act of sending a fawning letter of congratulations to Mrs. Gandhi on her victory in the last general elections) have been so swiftly obliterated from the public mind. By drawing our attention to the declining standards of judicial behaviour, Justice Tulzapurkar has actually rendered a signal service for which he deserves our whole-hearted gratitude, not censure.

2. A VICTORY FOR THE CONSUMER

It is all of a piece with the prevailing trend of selectivity in the media coverage of popular events that the landmark judgment delivered by the Delhi High Court in the **Brand Names Case** has gone virtually unnoticed, despite its immense significance for the general public.

The case arose out of a Writ Petition filed by four leading pharmaceutical companies, challenging the constitutional validity of a Notification issued by the Central Government in January 1981 which sought to prohibit the sale by brand names of pharmaceutical preparations based on five important drugs, viz. analgin, aspirin, chlorpromazine, ferrous sulphate and piperazine. An attempt was also made by the Notification to compel manufacturers of any new drug having a single active ingredient to market such a drug by generic name only.

Not surprisingly, the Government advanced specious arguments to support the measure. It was urged, for instance, that generic prescribing would bring down the prices of drugs presently being marketed under brand names. Little did the proponents of the move realise, however, that in the current situation where the prices of not only all bulk drugs, but of each and every formulation are tightly controlled by the Government, the change-over to generic marketing would have little effect on prices.

In any case, the Delhi High Court had little difficulty in recognising the grave harm that lay beneath the Notification. Observing that the measure was patently discriminatory and arbitrary in character, the Court came to the conclusion that it constituted an unlawful interference on the petitioners' fundamental right to carry on trade or business and was therefore unconstitutional. Legal considerations apart, the judg-

ment deserves to be welcomed, more than anything else, for its uncompromising defence of the consumers' rights over capricious state action.

3. PEACE ACTIVISTS PERSECUTED

Peace and detente, we have been repeatedly told, constitute the corner-stones of Soviet foreign policy. In the fortnight immediately following Mr. Brezhnev's death, this profound truth was dinned into us with a fervour unsurpassed in recent years. Comrade after comrade waxed eloquent on how totally committed the late President was to promoting these "abiding" and "eternal" values even in the face of continued hostility from "imperialist quarters".

Unfortunately, like most Soviet claims, this one too is light-years away from the reality, as a recent report by Amnesty International indicates.

According to the report, several academicians and professionals who had got together to form an informal peace group earlier this year, have been subjected to a reign of terror by the Russian authorities over the past few months. One of them, Serger Batovrin, is reported to have been forcibly confined to a psychiatric hospital, on the grounds that his actions as a member of the group were "socially dangerous" and "induced by illness". Batovrin's wife is quoted as saying that he has been forced to take drugs four times a day and threatened with electric shock treatment.

Curiously enough, the members of the group—which has been christened "Group for the Establishment of Trust between the USSR and USA"—have consistently asserted that they do not regard themselves as "dissidents" and that their aims (to increase formal and informal contacts between the two super-powers) coincide with the professed policy objectives of the Soviet Government.

Reprisals have invariably followed each of the three press conferences held by the Group ever since it was formed in June last year. Members and supporters have been repeatedly summoned for interrogation, their flats have been cordoned off, visitors turned away, and they have been refused contact with foreign press correspondents. On the last occasion when the Group had planned to hold an exhibition of anti-war paintings after a press conference to mark the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, the State security forces barred the entrance to the venue of the proposed exhibition and confiscated the paintings. Batovrin's arrest came as a direct sequel to this episode.

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S. M. Joshi Speaks to FREEDOM FIRST

Sumant S Bankeshwar

Sumant Bankeshwar: Has ideology any place in a country's foreign policy, or should only national interests and pragmatism guide it?

S. M. JOSHI: You must first define what you mean by ideology, pragmatism and national interests.

There are two elements in an ideology: the moral element, which is meant for the development of an individual as a member of society, and the practical one which ensures his survival. For instance, your head may advise you to pursue your self-interest, but your heart may impel you quite otherwise. What is true of an individual is also true of a nation.

SSB: So it is a conflict between the head and the heart. Which should prevail—the head or the heart—when it is a question of defending, protecting and promoting our national interests?

SM: Yes, it is a conflict between the heart and the head. Genuine national interests are, of course, supreme, but not aggressive national interests. Whether ideology or pragmatism should prevail to defend our national interests depends upon the circumstances. However, our pragmatism should not be at the cost of truth and **dharma** in the broad sense of the term, or at the cost of some other nation. Similarly, our ideology should not be at the cost of our genuine national interests. In other words, our foreign policy should be based on an ideal mix of both ideology and pragmatism, but never at the cost of truth and **dharma**.

SSB: Is there a single non-aligned country today which is unanimously and universally recognised as such? The non-aligned countries find themselves today divided into two camps, one dependent upon the USSR and the other upon the USA, for their defence and economic development. Switzerland is an exception, but then it is not a non-aligned country at all; it is neutral. Don't you think that non-alignment has lost its original meaning?

SM: Yes, I agree with you that non-alignment has lost its original significance and that there is not a single genuinely non-aligned country. The reason is simple. All countries today are inter-dependent. The whole world has become one. The ideology behind the non-aligned movement in the beginning was that the countries which liberated themselves from the imperialists should not join the military blocs of any super power. The author of this concept of Non-alignment was not Pandit Nehru but Dr. Lohia when he was a foreign affairs Secretary of the AICC.

That phase of Non-alignment was over long ago. The second phase was that of Collective Security. That phase is also over now. The non-aligned countries,

having decided not to join the military blocs of any super power, have now unwittingly become the willing receivers of military aid from both the super powers, and are sucked into the spheres of influence of those powers.

SSB: What is most shocking and amazing is that the non-aligned countries prefer to remain non-aligned, even when one of its own members is a victim of aggression. For example, the non-aligned countries remained non-aligned when India was attacked by China! In fact, that should have been the end of the stupid and meaningless non-alignment movement. Your comments, please.

SM: You have misunderstood the very idea of Non-alignment. In the first place, the non-aligned countries do not form a bloc. Five non-aligned countries did sympathise with us when China committed aggression against us, but they were helpless. What could they do? That is why the Colombo proposals failed.

What did America do against Russia's massive invasion of Afghanistan? What did Russia or the Arab countries do against Israel's massive invasion of Lebanon? What did the free world do against the Russian invasion of Hungary or Czechoslovakia? All that the victims of aggression received was lip sympathy from their friends!

SSB: The super powers do not fight against each other except through their proxies on the soil of the non-aligned countries.

SM: You are perfectly right. The economy of the super powers and the developed countries depends upon their armament industries, and hence they have a vested interest in instigating wars among the developing countries, and testing the efficacy of their new and modern weapons on the soil of the non-aligned countries.

If the non-aligned countries haven't the wits to realise that they have become the suckers of the super powers and the developed countries and do not settle their disputes amicably, without the intervention of the super powers, they will have to thank themselves. It will not be long before they end up as satellites of the super powers. That is why I have always been campaigning for a dialogue with Pakistan and China to settle our disputes amicably without the intervention of the super powers. I have quarrelled with my friends on this issue. That was immediately after the Chinese forces withdrew from some parts of India when I advocated talks with China. Nothing is lost by having talks even with your enemies.

I am not a blind critic of Indiraji. I fully endorse

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today her opening a dialogue with Pakistan and China. I hope something fruitful will come out of the talks between Indiraji and President Zia. I endorse their decision to set up a Joint Commission. Our friendship with China or Pakistan should not be at the cost of our friendship with Soviet Russia or any other country.

SSB: Between two friendly countries, there is no need for a No-War Pact, and between two hostile countries, it is just meaningless. Either country can violate such a pact with impunity. Since aggression has yet to be defined by the United Nations, each can accuse the other of violating the pact.

SM: Pacts between two friendly countries, unlike pacts between two hostile countries, are necessary because pacts will bind them to work on certain agreed lines till at least contacts are established.

SSB: It is obvious that our sub-continent cannot be defended against Russian or Chinese aggression, unless India, Pakistan and Bangladesh stand united against foreign aggression. India, Pakistan and Bangladesh will cease to be independent nations and will end up as satellites of Russia or China, unless they stand united to defend our sub-continent.

SM: You are perfectly right. I would like to include even Ceylon, Burma and Nepal. We should form an association on the lines of EEC or ASEAN not only to defend ourselves against foreign aggression, but also to promote our mutual economic interests.

SSB: Japan and West Germany, which were the defeated nations in the last world war, are today more prosperous than Britain, a winner in that war. Is it because the former opted for free enterprise and the latter for the disastrous path of socialism? Virtually all the developed countries in the West have discarded Socialism as an outdated concept. They have all opted for an enlightened form of enterprise regulated and controlled by the state. Should we not, therefore, reconsider our version of socialism? Even our mutual friend, Shri H. V. Kamath, commenting on my article on Gandhian Socialism, said in his letter of 12th June, 1982 written to me from Coimbatore: "I have long held the view—even when I was in the PSP—that nationalisation is nothing but governmentalisation which, in effect, is bureaucratization. 'Socialism' like 'Gandhism' has now come to mean all things to all men. . . ."

SM: If Japan and West Germany, the defeated nations in the last world war, are today prosperous, it is because they are intelligent, patriotic and hard-working, and they received economic help in the form of Marshal aid. Their workers don't go on strike. When they want to protest against the management, they only put on their black bands, but still go on working. Their prosperity today has nothing to do with the free

enterprise doctrine they have adopted. They would have prospered equally well, if not better, had they opted for socialism. Is this possible in India? We are basically a lazy lot. What kind of people do we have in our country today? What is the quality of our life today? Have we not deteriorated and corrupted ourselves in the post-independence era? If Britain, the victorious country in the last world war, has become poorer than defeated countries like Germany or Japan, it is only because Britain lost all its colonies after the last world war, and not because it followed the socialist path.

SSB: Don't you think that religion belongs to the childhood of the human race? All sorts of crimes are committed today in the name of religion. Instead of uniting the people, religion has divided them. The place of religion has in fact been taken by science and technology. Don't you therefore think that science is the only hope for mankind? Don't you think that religion is a tremendous drag on the progress of any country or society?

SM: I don't agree with you. Even ideologies are not above leading to extremism in their name. Religion has a great role to play in humanising the people. I don't belittle the value of science and technology, but in the wrong hands, science and technology could dehumanise the people. Now look at the threat posed to mankind by nuclear weapons. Further, the old crude imperialism is replaced by technological imperialism. Look at the mess in our telephone service. An outdated technology was dumped on us, and we are paying the price for it.

SSB: But why the hell did we accept it? Nobody forced it on us.

SM: Because of corruption. Somebody in authority got a kickback for regularising it.

SSB: Now, may I have your comments on the present Akali agitation in Punjab and our government's decision to open a dialogue with the Akali leaders? If we concede all their unreasonable demands, don't you think that we shall be stirring up a hornet's nest and encouraging similar agitations in other states?

SM: No, I would not concede their unreasonable demands like a Vatican status for Amritsar, the right to have their own constitution or the right to appoint their own ambassadors abroad. All the same, we should concede their reasonable and just demands. What have we done in the case of Nagaland and Kashmir? We may be required to give a little more freedom and autonomy to our border and sensitive states. The Gandhi Peace Foundation asked Rajmohan Gandhi, Dr. Sushila Nayyar and myself to visit Punjab and see what we could do to restore peace there. We sent a report to Indiraji after meeting the leaders of the various factions of the Akali Dal. We were in

Punjab for 20 days in all, met different leaders and submitted our report to Indiraji. We said in our report that if we could solve the Nagaland problem by having a dialogue with the Naga leaders, and if we could go to Sheikh Abdullah after keeping him in prison for 20 years to restore peace in Kashmir, why not start a dialogue with the Akali leaders, concede their just and reasonable demands and restore peace in Punjab?

SSB: If we give more freedom and autonomy to our border and sensitive states and deny the same to other states, will this not amount to discrimination?

SM: Well, if we want to keep our country in one piece, we may be required to give more freedom and autonomy to our border and sensitive states. In fact, I feel that there is no harm in giving more freedom and autonomy to other states as well. It is very wrong to think that our Union Government will be weakened by giving more freedom and autonomy to our different states. Ours is not a Unitary state, but a Federal one. The concept of a Federal state will become a myth if we do not give more freedom and autonomy to all the states in our country by way of decentralisation of power. The main demand of the Akalis is that the riparian law should be operated, and it is a reasonable demand. If I tell the people of Karnataka or Andhra that you have better irrigation facilities and so I shall not give you Krishna water, will it be reasonable? The Andhras have 20% irrigated land while Maharashtra has only 7%. If I tell the Andhra people that I shall not give them Krishna water until 20% of our land comes under irrigation, would that be reasonable or just?

Sant Fatesingh had asked for a "Punjabi Sabha" not a Sikh state. But the Hindus were opposed to it and they were wrong! The Punjabi Hindus, whose mother tongue is Punjabi, declared that their mother tongue was Hindi, as they feared that in the Punjabi Subha state, they would become second class citizens. This caused a lot of mistrust between the Hindus and the Sikhs in Punjab. Our original mistake was in not granting Sant Fatesingh's demand for a Punjabi Subha state.

It is the Congress (I) government that is responsible for the present volatile situation in Punjab. It instigated the extremists among the Sikhs wherever there was non-Congress coalition ministry which included the Akalis. Every time the Akalis shared power with the Jan Sangh or the Janata Party, there was peace in Punjab. The need of the hour is to see that Punjab does not get alienated from India.

SSB: What you mean to say is that Punjab should not become our Bangladesh!

SM: Yes, you are perfectly right.

SSB: So what next?

SM: Indiraji has, however, realised her mistakes now and opened a dialogue with the liberal leaders of the Akali Dal. I wish her success. In no circumstances would I ever support any movement leading to the disintegration of our country, but I shall always support the just and reasonable demands of all our states for greater freedom and autonomy to keep India in one piece. I don't want Kashmir or Punjab to become our Bangladesh. The super powers just want to balkanize our country. Our entire country should stand to resist such attempts of the super powers. This is not a party issue, but a national one.

SSB: There is an increasing tendency among our political parties to choose their leaders by consensus instead of by election.

Election of a leader is democracy and selection of a leader by consensus to avoid election is the negation of democracy. Is not consensus a fraud and a sham, as it means the voice of a big brother and nothing else?

SM: Yes, you are right. It is a sham and a fraud so far as choosing leaders of our political parties by consensus is considered. In this respect, all political parties are equally guilty. But, on national issues, there should be a consensus.

SSB: All our political parties are today in disarray and in a pathetic condition. The ruling party is held together by just one person, Indiraji, and is bound to disintegrate after her departure from our political scene. In the circumstances, what will be the future of our democracy and our political scenario after the departure of our senior political leaders like Indiraji, Morarjibhai, Jagjivan Ram, Charan Singh and so on from our political scene?

SM: I am an optimist. It is always in a crisis that leaders are thrown up. Leaders like Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi and others came on our political scene in a crisis.

Gandhiji harnessed the services of Pandit Nehru, Subhaschandra Bose, Sardar Patel, J. P., Rajaji, Kamaraj, B. C. Roy, Maulana Azad, Prakasam and so on, although he had differences with each of them on some issues. He was in a sense unique. For men like him are born once in several centuries. In my opinion, he was the greatest man born after Christ in this world.

SSB: For the pre-independence politicians, politics meant total sacrifice in the cause of our freedom. But for our post-independence politicians politics is becoming a business, governed by power and the money quest.

SM: The pre-independence politicians belonged to the "DENA" Bank while the post-independence politicians belong to the "LENA" Bank. That is the main difference.

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The Hard Truths Of The Brezhnev Legacy

RAMA SWARUP

THE death of Leonid Brezhnev is already producing an assortment of favourable reminiscences, as well as hopeful expectations for the course of future U.S.-Soviet relations: we hear Jimmy Carter fondly recalling Brezhnev's fervent desire for world peace and Cyrus Vance stating that Brezhnev's greatest legacy is his arms control efforts.

Do these and other similar generally sympathetic comments about the Brezhnev era reflect the actual Soviet record under Brezhnev? This question is critical, for how it is answered will influence the U.S. approach to dealing with the USSR in the immediate post-Brezhnev era. The U.S. will be ill-served by romanticizing and distorting the Brezhnev legacy.

A pluralistic world was completely unacceptable to Brezhnev. The most dramatic demonstration of this is the "Brezhnev Doctrine" of 1968. Brezhnev used this to justify the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the suppression of Polish liberties in 1981. This is part of the Brezhnev legacy.

The Brezhnev legacy threatens the security of the free world. Just in the past decade, the Soviets have added 733 nuclear-capable missiles (land, sea and air) and have increased their warhead supply by over 4,000. Since SALT I and the start of the so-called detente era, when the strategic equation was supposed to be stabilized, the Soviets have added, among others: several hundred later model SS-11 rockets, over 800 SS-18s, SS-19s and SS-20s; over 50 nuclear subs with about 2,000 nuclear warheads; and over 150 Backfire intercontinental bombers.

Despite the well-publicized "Brezhnev freeze," in which he announced in March 1982 that the Soviets would stop further deployment of SS-20s targeted on Western Europe, deployment has continued.

The Soviets and their Warsaw Pact satellites have continued to increase what already was conventional weapon superiority over the West. In all, Brezhnev's Soviet Union is, at his death, spending roughly 40 per cent more on military outlay than is the United States. And Moscow is allocating roughly 12 to 15 per cent of its GNP to military spending; the U.S., even with current spending hikes, is only at about 6 per cent of GNP.

From 1971 to 1981, the USSR outspent the U.S. militarily by around \$400 billion. During the past decade, Brezhnev added 10,000 new heavy and medium tanks, 8,000 pieces of artillery and 765 combat aircraft. Just since Reagan took office, the Soviets have added 2,000 tanks, 1,350 fighters and fighter-bombers, and 4,500 fighting vehicles. This is

an unavoidable hard truth of the Brezhnev legacy.

Not only did Brezhnev snuff out budding liberty and pluralism in Eastern Europe, he also provided substantial aid to terrorists trying to disrupt Turkey's pro-democratic and pro-Western government, and has continued attempts to exploit Iran's instability. While Americans were being held hostage, Brezhnev continued to fan anti-American fervour in Iran.

In Asia, the Soviets financed and encouraged the North Vietnamese invasion of the South, in violation of the peace agreement of 1973, and also is financially underwriting the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia. The Soviets under Brezhnev continued to refuse to discuss the return to Japan of islands seized at the end of World War II; in contrast, the U.S. voluntarily returned Okinawa, won at the cost of bloody fighting, to Japan.

In the Middle East, the Soviets encouraged Nasser's blockade of Israel in 1967, which precipitated the Six-Day war, and subsequently supported the Arabs in the 1973 war. A Soviet-supported coup in 1978 in South Yemen has made that nation a protectorate of the Russian, and the Soviets have transferred large amounts of arms to both sides in the Iran-Iraq war, encouraging instability in that region.

In Africa, the Soviets under Brezhnev have aided the most radical and destabilizing groups, including the African National Congress and SWAPO. Moscow is aiding the Polisario guerrillas fighting against America's ally, Morocco. Further south, the Soviets brought the Cubans into Angola. Closer to the U.S., Brezhnev continually sought to violate the understanding ending the Cuban missile crisis by trying to expand the Soviet submarine base at Cienfuegos.

The Brezhnev legacy is pock-marked by Soviet treaty violations. Experts can cite continuing Soviet violations of the SALT I Treaty—supposedly a symbol of Brezhnev's commitment to arms control. Moscow trains and supports terrorists from the PLO to Libya to the attempted assassin of Pope John Paul II. The Brezhnev legacy is filled with unremitting domestic repression as well.

What then are the hard truths of the Brezhnev legacy? The answer: Unremitting efforts to gain advantage at the expense of the U.S. and the free world, and an unyielding hostility to pluralistic societies.

The hard truths, learned from painful experience, teach that the U.S. should continue to pressure the Soviets, forcing them to make difficult choices in terms of foreign involvements and the allocation of resources.

VINOBA BHAVE

MINOO MASANI

THERE could have been no more appropriate end to Acharya Vinoba Bhave's long life of service to the people of India than the manner of his dying. Vinobaji was the prophet of "voluntaryism", a term he had himself coined. He was vigorously opposed to centralization of power in the hands of government. He chose to die voluntarily, thus asserting the Right to Die with Dignity which is an inherent attribute of every human being. He surrendered or discarded his frail and tired body when he felt it was unable to co-operate with the soul which alone makes life meaningful. His passing away is, therefore, no occasion for grief. I would like to pay my humble tribute to his memory as much for the way he died as for the way he lived.

Voluntary euthanasia requires great courage and discipline. It was no accident that way back in 1940 Gandhiji had selected Vinobaji to be individual Satyagrahi No. 1 on the ground that he was the most disciplined man in India. That discipline Vinobaji showed at the end.

By his action, Vinobaji gave the lie direct to those who claim that voluntary euthanasia is alien to the Indian tradition and culture. On the contrary, Vinobaji's choice was in line with that of sages and saints like Dnyaneshwar and Tukaram and, in our own

times, V D Savarkar and Gopal Mandlik.

In this context it was shocking to learn from Press reports that a misguided man filed a petition in the Nagpur Bench of the Bombay High Court by which the Court was asked to give the medical authorities concerned directions to take "immediate steps" to prolong Vinobaji's life. The petitioner presumed to condemn the authorities and the doctors for acceding to the Acharya's wishes. The Court fixed November 18 for the hearing of the petition. Mercifully, Vinobaji passed away on November 15 and so the petition lapsed. But what is one to think of a move for a man of Vinobaji's eminence and maturity to be taken forcibly to a public hospital and forcibly subjected to nutrition and medication?

The petition was obviously illegal as every citizen of India has a right in his own home to take or desist from taking food, water or medication. What is more relevant is that the move lacked the basic decency of respecting the right of every human being to choose when and how to die. Vinobaji has provided an example which all those who wish can emulate.

Vinobaji and Jayaprakash Narayan were the last apostles of the Gandhian faith and with their passing away the era of Mahatma Gandhi may be said to have come to an end.

From "As I See It." Courtesy: *The Statesman*, Calcutta.

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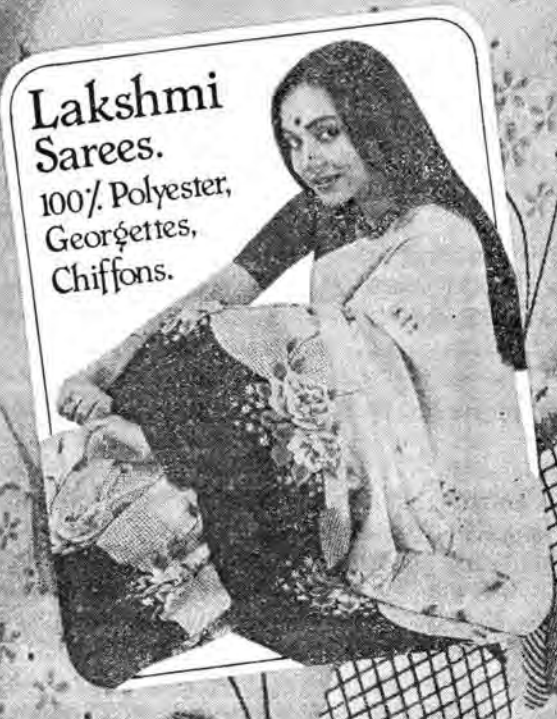
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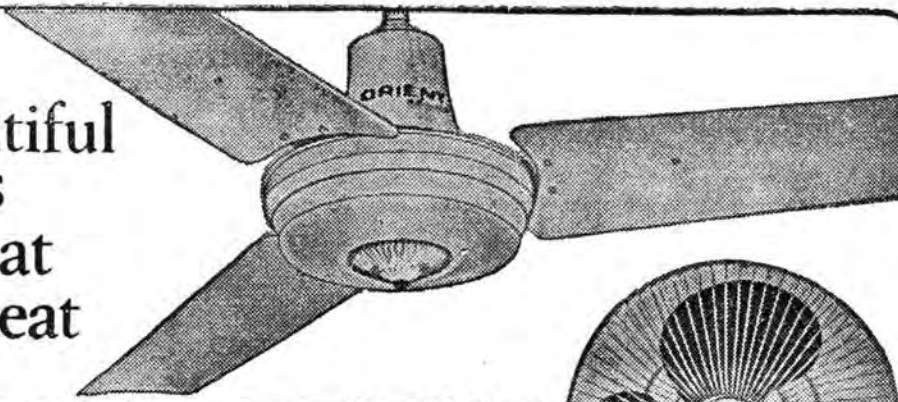
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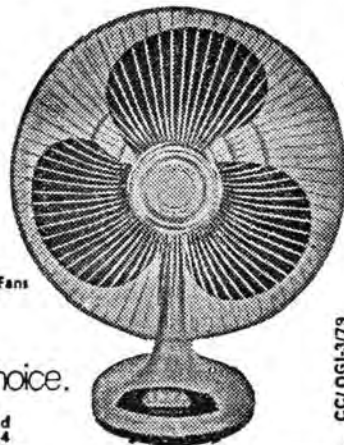


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THE LEBANON MASSACRE

NITIN G. RAUT

The massacre in the Chastille and Sabra Camps evoked the predictable condemnation of Israel even before its complicity could be proved. The international outcry is typical of the sickening hypocrisy in matters concerning the Middle East. The reaction was swift. The custodians of international morality and world conscience had passed their "judgement". Israel stood "convicted".

In fact, a couple of weeks prior to the massacre a bomb explosion killed the youthful Lebanese President-elect Bashir Jumayel along with many others. Who did it remains a mystery. But that apart, the reaction of the international community tended to condone the crime. None of those shrill cries for inquiries!

There can be no two opinions about the ghastly nature of the massacre. But for most countries to condemn Israel for it is irresponsible.

It is not to say that one has forgotten the My Lai massacre perpetrated in Vietnam by the U.S. troops. The Soviet Union has its occupation troops in almost every continent. In Afghanistan it would be naive to believe that the Soviet Union has been invited there and remains there on the good will of the Afghans. Some of the worst massacres of Afghans have taken place under the Soviet occupation.

We in India especially cannot forget the genocide perpetrated on the Bangladeshis by Pakistan in 1971. Countries like Jordan which have also joined the chorus against Israel should not forget that King Hussein's troops killed thousands of Palestinians in Jordan in 1970 for which the PLO dubbed him "The Butcher". And if reports are true, it was no less a person than the present Pakistan President General Zia, the Commander of the Pak army contingent stationed in Jordan, who was in charge of this operation!

Why were these countries not censured or sought to be expelled from the UNO and affiliates or inquiries instituted against the massacres? Obviously, they enjoy a political clout and patronage which makes all the difference. Do these nations enjoy the credibility to condemn Israel?

The PLO over the years, in its systematic terror campaign in different parts of the world, has killed thousands of people, and some of its factions have even shamelessly admitted the crimes. It is ironic that in spite of the recent PLO massacre of Christians in Lebanon and particularly in Damour, the PLO chief Yasser Arafat was welcomed to a meeting by the Pope.

The history of the Arab States itself has been full of *coup d'etats*, political assassinations, subversions and

massacres. That the Lebanon massacre should create consternation is a cruel irony. On the expulsion of the PLO from Beirut, the Bishop of Sidon said, "There is nothing new about Lebanese dying: A hundred thousand died in the civil war. With the PLO gone, perhaps we can think about living."

The PLO invasions of Lebanon beginning from 1975 is part of a gory history that does little credit to the PLO's image as an underdog in the West Asian situation. The gullibility of the Western nations in sympathising with the PLO has much to do with petrodollar politics.

It is a glowing tribute to the Israeli people that, stung by what had happened in the Chatilla and Sabra camps, there was an unprecedented public outcry cutting across all political lines. The Israeli Government was forced to appoint a Commission of Inquiry which itself speaks of the sense of justice and standards of civilization of the Israelis. The anguish of the Israelis has more credibility than the international outcry against them.

The condemnation of Israel only demonstrates the double standards now practiced by the international community, given a seal of legitimacy by the UNO.

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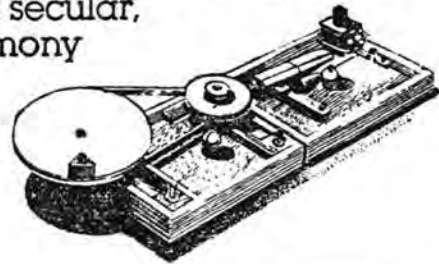
"There is so much in common between people in the same State, under the same flag and owing undivided allegiance to it ... that those who believe in India as a nation can have no minority or majority question. All are entitled to equal privileges, equal treatment

The state of our conception must be a secular, democratic state, having perfect harmony between different units."

— Mahatma Gandhi



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BOOK REVIEW

INDIAN DRAMA: Traditional Societies in Transition.
By M. Chalapathi Rao. New Delhi: Allied Publishers.
Pp 240. Rs. 60

The author is well known as the editor of the *National Herald* and a friend of the Nehru family. He has authored biographies, represented India at the United Nations and Unesco, served on the First Press Commission and occupied the Presidential chair, Indian Federation of Working Journalists.

Unfortunately, he does not write well, and he argues in broad generalities without providing much evidence of research or even reading. His book has no bibliography and no index. Most of the essays are very short, four to six pages, and skim over the surface of the subject as though dictated in a hurry to meet a deadline.

Mr. Chalapathi Rao claims in the Preface that the title of his book "was not suggested by Gunnar Myrdal's *Asian Drama*." He says that it had struck him as appropriate till he "discovered it was based on the Myrdal model." Considering how long the earlier book has been around, this is a rather damning confession. To make matters worse, he decided to be "imitative rather than choose another title," hoping his sub-title would make it "different from what Myrdal meant by drama." But the sub-title is a mere cliché.

And the whole book is an exercise in self-delusion: random thoughts on democracy, secularism, caste, population, mass media, science, foreign policy and so on, with hardly a single impressive insight. "The research of years has been absorbed, though much of it eschewed for the convenience of the general reader who likes to be served research with a light touch." Mr. Chalapathi Rao's stance of Chef in a popular café of ideas leads to superficiality rather than lightness. The latter calls for style, the ability to persuade without sacrificing profundity.

The essay on "Parliamentary Democracy" should do as an example of how a subject is treated by the author. He begins by telling us that it had its origin in Britain and also how it differs from direct democracy, the presidential system and collectivism. He adds that it is "supposed to be the safest and the most refined form of representative government."

A *Readers Digest* account follows of parliamentary democracy in Britain, for which, no doubt, much "research" was first done and then "eschewed". In India, it was introduced and made familiar, but without power "eloquence and ability were wasted..." Some praise of Nehru comes next. It seems he had "to face several general elections and he faced them successfully." Thank you for reminding us, Mr. Chalapathi Rao.

SHANKAR RAJ

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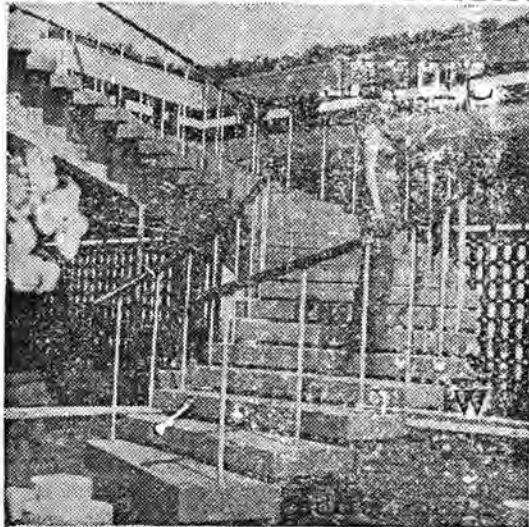
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WITH MANY VOICES

"Comrade Nowak, why weren't you at the last party meeting?"

Answer: "If I'd known it was the last one, I would certainly have gone."

—Conversation from Poland quoted in the *Economist*, October 23.

India has been called a functioning anarchy, but these days the anarchy is getting the better of the functioning.

—The *Economist*, October 23.

If people want a sense of purpose they should get it from their archbishops, not their politicians.

—Mr. Harold Macmillan quoted in the *Times*, November 18.

In an aristocratic society you bribe individuals, in a democracy you bribe classes. With an intelligentsia, you buy both class and individual.

—Gladstone quoted in the *Times*, November 17.

It has been said, and not only as a joke, that the Soviet Union is the only country in the world entirely surrounded by hostile communist states.

—Henry Kissinger quoted in the *Observer*, November 29.

I resigned after four premierships in the week I became 60: in Moscow that would be the age of a ministerial trainee.

—Sir Harold Wilson in the *Times*, November 12.

Israel has too much history and not enough geography.

—Israeli novelist Amos Oz quoted in the *Times* November 11.

Every profession has its temptations. In journalism the temptation is to play historian.

—Narayanan Balakrishnan in the *Herald Tribune*, November 3.

We old hands know there is always a Great Banana Skin in the Sky waiting to drop in the path of the unwary or over-confident politician.

—Alan Watkins in the *Observer*, November 7.

I cannot remember when I last bought a Rolls Royce.

—James Cameron in the *Guardian*, November 2.