

## 'A TIRED DOCUMENT FROM TIRED MEN'

S. V. Raju

THE terse Samachar report of a Press Conference in Bombay in the last week of May announcing the scheduled birth of a new party deserved better coverage than it got.

But one should be grateful to the Socialist weekly *Janata* which, in its issue of May 30, 1976, carries the full text of the resolution adopted by the Steering Committee which met in Bombay on May 22 and 23, 1976, and the policy and programme of the new Party. This enables us to understand better what is proposed and to offer comment. The editorial on the subject in that issue is by N. G. Goray, the Weekly's editor, who is also Chairman of the Steering Committee. We should therefore consider it to be authoritative and an additional point of reference.

In the first place, the new party is not the child of a merger of the existing democratic parties in Opposition. Initially, it will comprise of "elements" of the Congress(O), the Socialist Party, the Jan Sangh and the Bharatiya Lok Dal. This is made clear by Mr. Goray in his editorial. He hopes "that at the appropriate moment the decision to dissolve the old parties and join the new party will be taken by those who have the authority to do so." Therefore, for some time at least, the new Party will exist side by side with the parties which it hopes will dissolve themselves to enable their members to join the new Party. This, readers will agree, is not quite the same as a straightforward surgical operation. It is at best an extra heart that will start ticking (hopefully) to take over when the tired old hearts stop functioning. The members of the Steering Committee took this position as they did not wish to "present a *fait accompli* to the leaders of different parties who are still in jail." Understandable, but, in the view of this writer, not only unnecessary but likely to create problems in the way of the achievement of the objective the Steering Committee has in mind. Not everyone incarcerated has the breadth of vision required to give up "theoretical obsessions". Perhaps this is to some extent responsible for contradictions evident in the policy statement of the new Party, to which we shall refer later.

In other words, we would be justified in taking the position that the announcement should be treated as a preliminary step. As the announcement itself made it clear "some ground will have to be covered and wider consultations will have to take place before the Party's name, its constitution and its office bearers" could be decided upon. One also hopes that the policy statement is not the final word and that it too will be subjected to "wider consultations". Judging by the latest developments, there will fortunately be ample time for reconsideration.

In his letter to *Encounter* (*Freedom First* No. 283, June 1976), M. R. Masani has, in a different context, recalled the Russian proverb: "The yes-man is your enemy, but your friend will argue with you." It is in this spirit that one would like to discuss the proposed new Party's policy and programme.

There can be no two opinions, even among its opponents, of the desirability of a credible, viable, national alternative, to make parliamentary democracy meaningful, more so to prevent a minority government from continuing to govern thanks to the nature of our

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### IN THIS ISSUE

Mr S. V. Raju contributes a sympathetic but critical analysis of the draft programme of the proposed new party.

Soli Sorabji's book on *The Law of Censorship* which has just been published is reviewed by Mrs. Sujata Manohar. Readers of *Freedom First* will be particularly interested in this because the case which this journal fought successfully against arbitrary censorship figures prominently in the book.

Solzhenitsyn on Socialism, World News and a Letter to the Editor make up the rest of the issue.

# Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



## Soviet Bloc Gets Tough

**I**N its May issue, *Freedom First* carried on the front page a rather startling article from *Kultura*, the Polish Communist journal, spelling out a hard line to be adopted towards under-developed countries.

Though reams of paper have been used in the Indian press in expatiating on the clash at the Nairobi Conference between the advanced and the backward countries, not a word has appeared about the clash that also took place between the Communist bloc and the Third World. *Time* magazine, in its issue of June 7, has this to say on this subject: "For the first time, the developing countries also pressed the Communist nations of Eastern Europe for concessions. The East Bloc has always argued that colonial expansion was the cause of the Third World's poverty and that the Communist nations thus were under no obligation to make reparations. Unconvinced by this argument, the LDCs (Less Developed Countries) demanded more aid, better access to East Bloc markets and payment in hard currencies—but won no commitments from the Communist delegates."

So the *Kultura* thesis disclosed by *Freedom First* was not an academic one, and the Communist bloc's hard line is already at work.

## British Worker Approves Profits

**S**TUDENTS of the working class movement in any country know that the views of Trade Union leaders are one thing and those of the ordinary worker are altogether different. This truth is once again brought out by the results of a report on employees' attitude prepared by Market and Opinion Research and published by the Confederation of British Industry on May 12, 1976. According to the *London Times*, the report "appears to explode many of the myths about how employees see their employers and relegates to the realms of caricature the image of the bloody-minded British workman".

Among its significant findings, the report lists the following: fewer than one in 10 workers consider profit a dirty word and the overwhelming majority agree that companies need profits to plough back into the organization. Only 8 per cent of the sample agreed that profit was a dirty word, while 83 per cent disagreed with that statement. 93 per cent agreed that companies needed profits to plough back into the organization. 86 per cent said that it was important to them to live in a free enterprise society, and 89 per cent believed it was

fair of the company to pay dividends to its shareholders. 42 per cent of the workers agreed that they could do more work in their present job, while no less than 57 per cent of those in nationalised industries agreed with this statement.

It is to be hoped that the institution of postal ballots in British Trade Union elections will help to narrow the gulf between the thinking of the British worker and that of Messrs Hugh Scanlon and Scargill who falsely claim to represent him.

It should not be difficult to establish a similar gap between the views of the Indian worker and his "declassified intellectual" trade union leader in India today. This perhaps explains why the claims of the latter class could be deflated so easily and effectively by Government measures during the past year.

## College Drones

**I**T is well-known that among the many facets of socialism at work in Britain is the grant to a large number of worthless students of scholarships to go to University at the taxpayer's expense. It would appear that at least one of the many beneficiaries of this largesse has suffered from a bad conscience at this waste of public funds and the consequent mulcting of the income-tax payer.

Mr. Victor Robertson of West Ham, London, who had been given a scholarship at the London School of Economics for a degree course, decided that he should repay £ 5630 which he found was the cost of his three years at public expense. It is amusing and significant that Mr. Robertson chose to give the money back not to the Government, because it would have again wasted it, but to the widow of Sir John Ellerman, who was supposed to be the richest man in Britain until his death in July in 1973, when his estate was halved by estate duty. Mr. Robertson gave the money to Lady Ellerman, the widow of Sir John Ellerman, as an act of reparation for the injustice done to one of Britain's largest taxpayers.

Lady Ellerman, who accepted the money "as a heart warming gesture in these days when individuals often accept what comes their way through the State not as a privilege, but as a right", has however persuaded Mr. Robertson to donate the money instead to three charities, namely, the Royal National Institute for the Deaf, the National Association for Mental Health, and the British Home and Hospital for Incurables.

Mr. Robertson explains that he is not a rich man,

but he has made the money by working as a machine operator in an engineering factory in the United States. Conceding that his three years at LSE "were a complete waste" of public money, Mr. Robertson says that he wishes now that he had not studied economics but done an apprenticeship in the building trade.

An example for many young Indians at our Universities? Any takers?

### Laughable

**M**UTUAL compliments were, of course, in season at the meeting in Moscow between Mr. Brezhnev and Mrs. Gandhi. Diplomatic niceties need not be taken too literally, but there is one compliment Mr. Brezhnev paid to the Prime Minister and the Congress Party which should make even the Gods laugh.

Mr. Brezhnev told Mrs. Gandhi, according to message from Moscow carried in *Times of India* of June 9, that "experience had confirmed the foresight of the policy pursued by the Indian National Congress led by her—the policy aimed at industrialization, building of a self-sustained economy and the establishment of a strong public sector".

If there is one thing on which all economic experts are agreed, it is that the present parlous plight of this country and its economy is due to the policies of heavy industrialization at the cost of agriculture, wasteful expenditure on government enterprises and the pathetic attempt at autarchy which started with the disastrous Second Five Year Plan at the instance of that Communist fellow traveller, Professor Mahalanobis. It is only to be expected perhaps that our Soviet mentors, having sold us these wrong priorities, should now cynically compliment us on alleged results.

### Political Lemmings

**T**HE Spanish Cortes passed on June 9 a law lifting the 37 year old ban on political parties with the exception of the Communist Party, thus allowing the democratic parties to contest the General Elections to the Cortes next year.

The new Spanish Government appear very wisely to have learnt from the experience in Portugal, where the premature lifting of the ban on the Communists almost destroyed that country which escaped disaster only by the skin of its teeth. It also appeared to have been impressed by the view of ex-Premier Fanfani of Italy that the Christian Democrats in government may have been mistaken in not outlawing the Communist Party in that country. The Spanish Government have let it be known that, once the new democratic regime is firmly stabilised in place of the Franco dictatorship, the ban on the Communists could be reconsidered.

All this is eminently sensible, but, alas, the Socialist

and democratic parties in Spain have protested against the continued outlawing of the Communists in the interest of restoring democracy. Quite apart from the theoretical justification for outlawing communists and fascist parties which, by definition, are committed to the destruction of democracy, Spanish democrats should realise that they are the biggest beneficiaries of this ban. Like the lemming, a little rodent in the Arctic, which comes forward in droves to be massacred, these gentlemen seem to suffer from suicidal tendencies.

The Editor is reminded of his own innocent days as a socialist in the thirties when, in the company of Jayprakash Narayan, he called for the lifting of the ban on the CPI. The Spanish socialists and democrats appear to be still living in the thirties. It is good that there are wiser people in Spain to protect them and their country from their follies.

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# THIRD WORLD RACISM AT U.N.

Eldridge Cleaver

*(Rather than live in the sanctuary of authoritarian governments, the noted Black Panther leader and author of Soul on Ice, Eldridge Cleaver, decided to return to America and a California prison cell. He had jumped parole almost seven years earlier and visited several communist countries before settling in Algiers. Below is a column written by him from prison in which he defends Zionism and Israel, and, referring to his years spent in the Middle East, attacks the Arab bloc as being amongst the most racist of people and slave owners to this day. He says that "little so-called countries" — including "black African dictatorships" economically dependent on the Arabs — should not have a vote equal to the U.S. in the UN General Assembly.*

TWO aspects of the recent UN resolution labeling Zionism as racist both shocked and surprised me. Shocked because, of all the people in the world, the Jews have not only suffered particularly from racist persecution, they have done more than any other people in history to expose and condemn racism. Generations of Jewish social scientists and scholars have labored long and hard in every field of knowledge, from anthropology to psychology, to lay bare and refute all claims of racial inferiority and superiority. To condemn the Jewish survival doctrine of Zionism as racism is a travesty upon the truth.

Secondly, I am surprised that the Arabs would choose to establish a precedent condemning racism because it can so easily and righteously be turned against them. Having lived intimately for several years among the Arabs, I know them to be among the most racist people on earth. No one knows this better than black Africans living along the edges of the Sahara.

Once while travelling through Bamako, Mali, a cab driver flew into a rage when we asked him to take us to the Algerian embassy. When he learned that we actually lived in Algeria, he concluded that we were crazy.

"Man," he said irritably, "don't you know that the Arabs still have black slaves?"

He was right, although I didn't find out until later. Many Arab families, that can afford to, keep one or two black slaves to do their menial labor. Sometimes they own an entire family. I have seen such slaves with my own eyes. Once I pressed an Algerian official for an explanation of the status of these people, and he ended up describing a complicated form of indentured servitude. The conversation broke up when I told him that it was nothing but a hypocritical form of slavery.

I have the deepest sympathy for the Palestinian people in their search for justice, but I see no net gain for freedom and human dignity in the world if power blocs, because of their ability to underwrite sagging economies for a season, are able to ram through the UN resolutions repugnant to human reason and historical fact.

The combination of Communist dictatorships, theo-

cratic Arab dictatorships, and economically dependent black African dictatorships are basically united in their opposition to the democratic forces inside their own borders. This gives them a lot in common and lots of room and motivation to wheel and deal among themselves. But it is not a combination deserving of respect by people from countries enjoying democratic liberties and traditions of freedom. It is a combination that must be struggled against.

But it seems to me that the Western democracies, the United States above all, are so guilt-ridden because of their past history as colonizers that they now swallow, hook, line and sinker, every half-baked argument emanating from the wise men of the General Assembly.

I believe that the time has come to reexamine the credentials of all the members of the General Assembly. Why should all these little so-called countries with miniscule populations have a vote equal in weight to that of the United States? When such votes are cast in the reckless manner of the anti-Zionist resolution, it is time to sit up and take notice.

The so-called hardline adopted at the UN by Ambassador Moynihan seems too soft to me, and the support which he is getting in certain political circles is softer still. But the stakes in the struggle in the international arena are high. The General Assembly is no longer filled with Mahatma Gandhis pleading the case of the downtrodden, colonized masses. It is now a forum for crude, hired killers like Idi Amin Dada, the hatchet man of Uganda.

It may seem paradoxical that I write these words from a prison cell in California. I am certainly not a stranger to racism. I have personally experienced it in the ghettos and prison yards of America. But I have also personally shared the experience of thousands of men and women now languishing in the prisons of Communist and Third World countries. The cause of democracy and freedom can best be served when men and women speak out against the forces that seek to nullify them, even if this means speaking out from a prison cell.

Courtesy: Boston Herald American

# SOLZHENITSYN ON SOCIALISM

*In the course of his celebrated broadcast on the BBC to which we have referred earlier, Alexander Solzhenitsyn had something pertinent to say about socialism. Below is an extract in which the eminent exile describes how the decline of contemporary thought has been hastened by "the misty phantom of socialism".*

THE decline of contemporary thought has been hastened by the misty phantom of socialism. Socialism has created the illusion of quenching people's thirst for justice: socialism has lulled their conscience into thinking that the steamroller which is about to flatten them is a blessing in disguise, a salvation. And socialism, more than anything else, has caused public hypocrisy to thrive; it has enabled Europe to ignore the annihilation of sixty-six million people on its very borders. There is not even a single precise definition of socialism which is generally recognized: all we have is a sort of hazy shimmering concept of something good, something noble—so that two socialists talking to each other about socialism might just as well be talking about completely different things. And of course any new-style African dictator can call himself a socialist without fear of contradiction.

But socialism defies logic. You see, it is an emotional impulse, a kind of worldly religion, and nobody has the slightest need to study or even to read the teachings of its early prophets. Their books are judged by hearsay; their conclusions are accepted ready made. Socialism is defended with a passionate lack of reason; it is never analysed; it is proof against all criticism. Socialism—especially Marxist socialism—uses the neat device of declaring all serious criticism "outside the framework of possible discussion"; and one is required to accept 95 per cent of socialist doctrine as a "basis for discussion"—all that is left to argue about is the remaining 5 per cent.

There is another myth here, too, namely that socialism represents a sort of ultra-modern structure, an alternative to dying capitalism. And yet it existed ages and ages before any sort of capitalism.

My friend, Academician Igor Shafarevich, has shown in his extensive study of socialism that socialist *systems*—systems that is, which are being used today to lure us to some halcyon future—made up the greatest portion of the previous history of mankind—in the Ancient East, in China; and were to be repeated later in the bloody experiments of the Reformation. As for socialist *doctrines*, he has shown that they emerged far later but have still been with us for over 2,000 years; and that they originated not in an eruption of progressive thought as people think nowadays, but as a reaction—Plato's reaction against Athenian democracy, the Gnostics' reaction against Christianity—a reaction against the dynamic world of individualism and a return to the impersonal, stagnant system of antiquity. And if we follow the explosive sequence of socialist doctrines and social-

ist Utopias preached in Europe—by Thomas More, Campanella, Winstanley, Morelli, Deschamps, Baboeuf, Fourier, Marx and dozens of others—we cannot help shuddering as they openly proclaim certain features of that terrible form of society. It is about time we called upon right-minded socialists calmly and without prejudice to read, say, a dozen of the major works of the major prophets of European socialism and to ask themselves: is this *really* that social ideal for which they would be prepared to sacrifice the lives of countless others and even to sacrifice their own.

Socialism begins by making all men equal in material matters only (this of course requires compulsion: the advocates of all brands of socialism agree on this point). However, the logical progression towards so called "ideal" equality inevitably implies the use of force. Furthermore it means that the basic element of personality—those elements which display too much variety in terms of education, ability, thought and feeling—must themselves be levelled out. The English saying "my home is my castle" stands in the way of socialism. And again, there is that attractive-sounding formula "socialist democracy" which is about as meaningful as talking about "boiling ice"; for it is precisely democracy that the dragon (of socialism) is about to devour. And as democracy grows weaker and weaker, loses more and more ground in the two continents it partially covers, so the force of tyranny spreads throughout the globe.

Let me remind you that "forced labour" is part of the programme of all prophets of socialism, including the Communist manifesto. There is no need to think of the Gulag Archipelago as an Asiatic distortion of a noble idea. It is an irrevocable law.

Modern society is hypnotized by socialism. It is prevented by socialism from seeing the mortal dangers it is in. And one of the greatest dangers of all is that you have lost all sense of danger, you cannot even see where it is coming from as it moves swiftly towards you. But your society refused to heed our warning voices. I suppose we must admit, sad though it is, that experience cannot be transmitted: everyone must experience everything for himself.

Of course it is not just a question of Britain; it is not just a question of the West—it concerns all of us, in the East as well as in the West. We are all, each in his own way, bound together by a common fate, by the same bands of iron. And all of us are standing on the brink of a great historical cataclysm, a flood that

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# WORLD NEWS

## WORLD PRESS BODY WORRIED

**T**HE International Press Institute adjourned its twenty-fifth general assembly here lamenting the state of press freedom in the world and its own diminishing ability to do anything about it.

At its concluding session yesterday the assembly, made up of 245 editors and publishers from 33 countries, passed three resolutions. The first asked members to test the clauses on freedom of information in the Helsinki agreement; another urged stronger ties with organizations concerned with human rights, like Amnesty International; the third condemned restrictions of press freedom in India, The Philippines, Peru and Nigeria.

The last resolution also condemned the Indonesian and Australian Governments for "lack of positive action" to determine the facts surrounding the fate of five television journalists from Australia who were killed in Portuguese East Timor last October.

It also advocated effective international measures of protection for journalists on dangerous missions, and expressed its continued concern for the fate of journalists still missing in Indo-China . . .

Mr. Olof Wahlgren, of Sweden, was elected the new chairman of the institute.—Reuter.

—*The Times*, May 14.

## MOSCOW FEARS FREE SPEECH

**R**USSIA is waxing very cross with the BBC, not for the first time, but rather more pointedly than usual. A visit to Moscow and Leningrad by Sir Charles Curran, the BBC's Director General, which was to have begun tomorrow has been abruptly cancelled at short

notice by the Soviet Government. The immediate reason given was an interview with the Russian author Alexander Solzhenitsyn about his new book on Lenin, broadcast in the BBC's "Book Programme" on Tuesday. Moscow has, of course, just been celebrating the 106th anniversary of Lenin's birth. In the panegyrics, he was described, as usual, as "genius, revolutionary and thinker, the creator of our party and founder of the first socialist State in the world, the State of workers and peasants." How very irritating that the BBC should choose just this moment to air the views of another great Russian on the same subject, rather more objective views, many would think.

But the Solzhenitsyn interview was only the immediate excuse for cancelling Sir Charles's visit. The fact is that, in Moscow's view, the BBC is getting it all wrong all round. It "continues with cold war tactics and encourages libellous attacks against our country." An object of the Kremlin's special hatred (and, obviously, fear) is the BBC's external services, in particular the Russian-language service. Free speech and free discussion are the things Russia cannot afford, above all else, to allow across her frontiers if she can stop them. And, of course, she cannot stop them entirely, with all the jamming in the world. All in all, the latest attack is a great tribute to the BBC.

—Editorial in the *Daily Telegraph*, May 1.

## RHODESIA'S CENSORSHIP — 'ADMISSION OF DEFEAT'

**R**HODESIAN newspapers have reacted strongly to the new censorship laws imposed by Mr. Ian Smith's Government on Monday.

*The Chronicle* of Bulawayo said the "D notice" re-

SOLZHENITSYN—Continued from page 5

swallows up civilization and changes whole epochs. The present world situation is complicated still more by the fact that several hours have struck simultaneously on the clock of history. We have all got to face up to a crisis, not just a social crisis, not just a political crisis, not just a military crisis. And we must not only face up to this crisis but we must stand firm in this great upheaval—an upheaval similar to that which marked the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. Just as mankind once became aware of the intolerable and mistaken deviation of the late Middle Ages and recoiled in horror from it, so too must we take account of the disastrous deviation of the late Enlightenment. We have become hopelessly enmeshed in our slavish worship of all that is pleasant, all

that is comfortable, all that is material—we worship things, we worship products.

You imagine you see *danger* in other parts of the globe and hurl the arrows from your depleted quiver there. But the greatest danger of all is that you have lost the will to defend yourselves. . . .

We, the oppressed people of Russia, the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe, watch with anguish the tragic enfeeblement of Europe. We offer you the experience of our suffering; we would like you to accept it without having to pay the monstrous price of death and slavery that we have paid.

Will we ever succeed in shaking off this burden, in giving free rein to the Spirit that was breathed into us at birth, that Spirit that distinguishes us from the animal world?

gulations meant that the Government had admitted defeat in the psychological war being waged against Rhodesia. In a frontpage leading article today the newspaper said the admission was made in the section of regulations which said that a measure of control was necessary because of "intense psychological pressures on Rhodesia".

"The Government, it now seems, thinks the people are getting downhearted and must have their ears covered. Are the people frightened? They are not. Perhaps the Government is."

*The Chronicle* stated that the regulations were not designed to deprive the enemy of information, and said the new censorship put Rhodesia on a par with the anarchic black states to the north and with communist countries...

Mr. Michael Hartnack, President of the Rhodesian Guild of Journalists, said the regulations seemed to be the wrong weapon fired at the wrong target.

The Government had embarked upon a major change of policy toward the Rhodesian news media without prior consultation with those, who, while preserving their legitimate professional independence, had continually offered the hand of cooperation and whose loyalty was beyond question.

—*The Times*, April 28.

### BREZHNEV'S BULLDOG

HOW fitting that the main speaker at last week's celebration in Moscow of Lenin's birthday, a quasi-religious affair, should have been the head of the KGB, in direct line of succession from Lenin's Cheka. How perfectly in character that Mr Brezhnev (present, but silent, after a long absence from the public eye) should have seen nothing odd in allowing this secret police chief to speak for the Soviet people and to lay down the line on foreign policy.

One of the reassuring things about the Soviet leadership is that it can always be relied upon to expose itself in its true colours. Mr. Andreopov, as Ambassador to Budapest, presided over the treachery and butchery which marked the suppression of the Hungarian uprising of 1956. He did so well that he was recalled to Moscow to supervise, on behalf of the Central Committee, the stepping up of repressive policies in all the East European satellites. In recent years, as head of the KGB, he has been responsible, under Brezhnev, for the persecution of dissidents, Jews and others which has disgusted the West. This is the professional bully chosen to tell us that while Russia does not propose to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, it will be on the side of all those 'who choose to struggle against colonisers and repulse the attacks of foreign interventionists and mercenaries.'

—Editorial in *The Observer*, April 25.

### HARVEST DISASTER IN RUSSIA

THE Soviet leadership yesterday launched a campaign aimed at heading off a repetition of last year's grain harvest disaster. It led to food shortages and meatless days.

A Kremlin statement introduced a wide range of instructions and inducements. It authorised officials to draft students and schoolchildren, workers and clerks into gathering the harvest.

Ministries in the 15 republics were ordered to ensure that agricultural machinery was ready at least two weeks before harvest, to protect crops from fire and theft and to guarantee grain storage space.

#### Bonuses offered

But there were incentives. They included cash bonuses, free grain and low-priced fruit.

Last year's harvest was reduced by severe drought. But inefficient harvesting methods were partly responsible for the crop of about 140 million tons, which was two-thirds of the target.

As a result the Soviet Union spent heavily on importing grain. Despite this, food shortages were reported and restaurants and canteens in Moscow introduced a weekly "meatless day."

—*Daily Telegraph*, May 22.

### CONFIDENCE AND CONSCIENCE

WHEN a Government proposes some monstrous encroachment on individual freedom, or some blatant defiance of the traditions of those whom it governs, it will be well advised to start by attempting an atrocity even greater than that which it wishes to accomplish. It will then be able to retreat a few paces, acquire a reputation for good sense and compromise and blur the fundamental issue. This is exactly what Mr Healey has done in relation to the "snooping powers" which he is seeking to confer on the Inland Revenue in the Finance Bill.

The original suggestion that officials of the taxing authority should be able to invade private premises and seize and retain documents with a mandate only of a magistrate was assailed. Mr Healey has responded by proposing that they should be given only by circuit judges. The point is that they should not be given at all. One obvious objection is that these powers (and those which relate to the inspection of documents even when fraud is not suspected) not only could but almost certainly would be used to terrorise individual taxpayers who cannot afford professional advice. Another, which strikes at the roots of the British legal system, is that they involve an invasion of legal privilege—a client's right to absolute confidentiality in his relations with his legal advisers. Under the arrangements now intended, every detail of the preparations for a defence case against a charge of fraud in relation

to tax would be accessible to the prosecution; no reciprocal rights of access would be granted to the defence.

Protection against the enforced divulgence of confidential information is as sacred to the legal and accountancy professions as the secrecy of the confessional is to a priest, and in the case of lawyers this fact is at present recognised by law. This is the kind of issue on which honourable men are sometimes willing to defy the law.

—Editorial in the *Daily Telegraph*, May 26.

## GERMANS APPLAUD Mrs THATCHER David Shears in Hanover

MRS THATCHER stole the show at the German Christian Democratic party's congress in Hanover yesterday with a speech that brought delegates to their feet in a rare ovation. Socialism had gone too far, she said, and it was time to start "the long march back to freedom."

She also compared the "democratic clothes and soft voices" of Communist parties in Western Europe now with the Big Bad Wolf's disguise in the story of Little Red Riding Hood.

"We should be on watch for the teeth," she said in a speech full of short terse sentences which many Germans afterwards hailed as a masterpiece....

"Each year more of the decisions are made by the State and fewer by the individual," she said. "Each year the State takes more in tax and leaves less for the individual."

"If we go on like this we shall become a pocket-money society in which our earnings belong mainly to the State but where we are handed back a little each week for our personal use."

She won more plaudits with her insistence that *détente* must be a two-way street and that the West had made too many concessions to Russia.

The West must add deterrent and defence to *détente* if it was to make the world safe for its own values, she said.

—*Daily Telegraph*, May 26.

## SPANISH POLL UNDER OPEN ATTACK

SPAIN'S opposition alliance condemned the plans for a referendum on the Government's reform programme.

A note sent to correspondents in Madrid by the left-of-centre Democratic Coordination accused the Government of preparing to stage a "totally unacceptable" ballot.

It set out six conditions: the complete lifting of the ban on political parties; the recognition of the rights of association, expression, and assembly; freedom for trade unions to operate without restriction; access to the media; transfer of control over the electoral roll

## Acharya Kripalani's Petition Admitted

(From a Legal Correspondent)

ON June 22, Hon'ble Mr. Justice Kania of the Bombay High Court admitted a writ petition filed by Acharya J. B. Kripalani, Mr. N. G. Goray, Mr. S. M. Joshi and Mrs. Kumud Karkera challenging the decision of the censor in prohibiting the publication of a news item relating to a resolution passed on 20 and 21st March 1976 by some political and Sarvodaya workers who had met to review the developments that had taken place in the country after the Declaration of Emergency on 26th June 1975. The participants had availed themselves of the advice and guidance of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan and, in the statement issued by them, had resolved to set up a Steering Committee to draw up a policy and programme for a single unified democratic opposition party.

The Respondent, Mr. Binod N. Rao, had by his letter dated 23rd March written to the fourth petitioner (Mrs. Kumud Karkera, Editor of *Janwani Weekly*) to kill the entire story and to ensure that no part of the statement or the fact of the statement was itself published.

It was argued on behalf of the petitioners that it was a basic element of a democracy that the statements and policies of opposition parties be brought before the public to enable the parties to exercise their legitimate function and that publication of such statements and policies was essential even in an Emergency. It was further contended that this was an aspect of the right to dissent which had been recognised as a legitimate function even in an Emergency.

It was contended on behalf of the censor that, in view of the decision of the Supreme Court in the *Habeas Corpus* matter, the present petition was not maintainable.

The learned judge admitted the petition and issued a Rule to the Respondent but, in view of the important questions arising about the maintainability of this petition, referred the case to a Division Bench.

Mr. Soli Sorabji, with Mr. S. N. Parikh and Mr. A. Hidayatullah, appeared for the petitioners instructed by D. H. Nanavati & Co. Mr. M. R. Paranjpe, with Mr. J. G. Sawant, appeared for the respondent.

from the Government authorities to political parties; and an amnesty for political exiles and prisoners.

The opposition is clearly worried at the prospect of a national vote being taken while it is prevented from campaigning. A substantial "Yes" could severely weaken the left-wing parties by appearing to give the Cabinet a popular mandate.

—*The Guardian*, June 3.

## Reviews

### THE "FREEDOM FIRST" CASE

*Law of Press Censorship in India:* Soli J. Sorabjee.  
(N. M. Tripathi Pvt. Ltd. Price Rs. 35/-.)

**F**REEDOM of speech and expression and a free press are vital to democracy. Encroachments on this freedom in a democracy can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and for limited periods. Restrictions on a free press therefore require close scrutiny. With the Declaration of Emergency on 26th June 1975 an order was passed imposing censorship on the Press under Rule 48 of the Defence of India Rules, 1971. The ambit of this order and the scope and validity of the guidelines issued by the Chief Censor are discussed by an eminent senior lawyer, Soli J. Sorabjee, in his book *Law of Press Censorship in India*. The author himself appeared in two out of three writ petitions filed in Bombay and Gujarat High Courts challenging the orders passed by the censor prohibiting publication of certain articles and reports. As such he has made a deep study of the subject on which he writes.

The best part of the book consists of extracts from the judgments delivered by the Bombay High Court in the case of M. R. Masani vs. Binod Rao and of Y. D. Lokurkar vs. Binod Rao, as also a judgment of the Gujarat High Court in the "Bhooniputra" case.

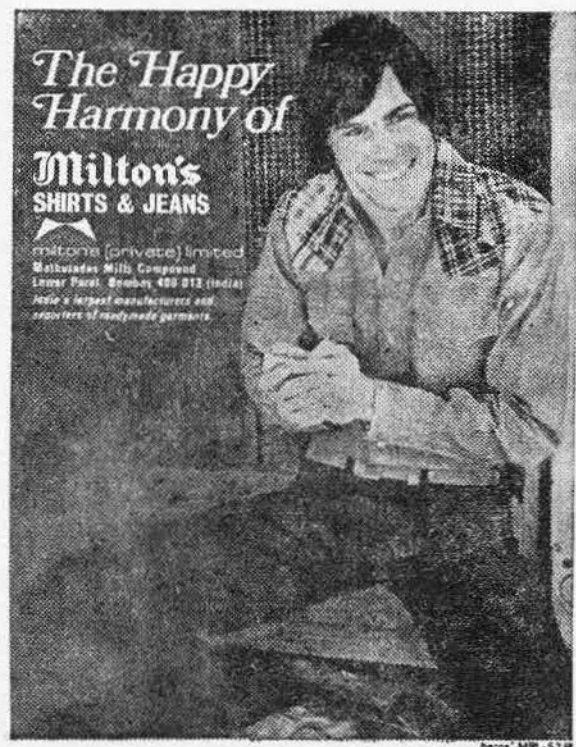
Of these, Mr. Masani's Petition is of special interest to the readers of this periodical since it challenged censorship orders banning publication of eleven items in the August 1975 issue of *Freedom First*. These items were:

- (1) an article by Mr V. M. Tarkunde headed "Scope of the Pre-Censorship Order,"
- (2) Reproduction of a report appearing in the "Financial Express" regarding admission by the Madras High Court of a writ petition filed by the weekly "Swarajya" challenging the order of the Censor,
- (3) News Report from "Indian Express" headed "Aides Brand Nasser Dictator and Communist,"
- (4) News Report from the "Times of India" headed "Policeman's duty to Disobey Sadistic Orders" based on an Amnesty International meeting report,
- (5) Publication of a resolution passed by the Bar Council of Maharashtra headed "Revoke the Emergency,"
- (6) A quotation from Senator Church,
- (7) Reproduction of material from Swiss Press Review and News Report,
- (8) An article headed "Jai Jaywardene",
- (9) An extract from a letter to the Editor by Mr. P. Kodanda Rao to be published under the heading "Swiss Constitution for India",

- (10) An open letter to the U.S. Ambassador Mr. William Saxbe from Mr. S. Gopalakrishnan, and
- (11) Reproduction of a quotation of Mr. Justice Nain, Chairman of Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Commission and a retired Judge of the Bombay High Court.

The Petition of Mr. Lokurkar, a veteran journalist, challenged the order of the Censor banning publication of two articles — one an article headed "Pre-censorship, Nature, Scope and Extent". The second article was a reproduction of a portion of Mr. Soli Sorabjee's article entitled "Emergency Situation and Courts" which was allowed to be published by the Poona Censor in a leading Marathi Daily "Sakal". Both these petitions contended that the items which were banned did not come within the ambit of the censorship law. Their contention was upheld by the High Court. Apart from items (1) and (8) in Mr. Masani's petition, the remaining nine items were held to be wrongly banned.

In the course of so deciding, the High Court fully analysed the Defence of India Rules relating to Censorship and the Censorship Order passed thereunder. In a memorable judgment, Mr. Justice Madon says; "There is another important factor which the censor must also bear in mind. The Press is not only an instrument of disseminating information but it is also a powerful medium of moulding public opinion by propaganda. True democracy can only thrive in a free clearing-house of competing ideologies and philosophies —



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political, economical and social — and in this the Press has an important role to play. The day this clearing-house closes down would toll the death-knell of democracy. It is not the function of the censor acting under the Censorship Order to make all newspapers and periodicals trim their sails to one wind or to tow along in a single file or to speak in chorus with one voice. It is not for him to exercise his statutory powers to force public opinion in a single mould or to turn the Press into an instrument of brain-washing the public. Under the Censorship Order the censor is appointed the nurse-maid of democracy and not its grave-digger. Dissent from the opinions and views held by the majority and criticism and disapproval of measures initiated by a party in power make for a healthy political climate, and it is not for the censor to inject into this lifelessness of forced conformity. . . .

"Yet another thing which the censor must bear in mind is Section 3S of the said Act. Under that section every authority or person acting in pursuance of the said Act is to interfere with the ordinary avocations of life and the enjoyment of property as little as may be consonant with the purpose of ensuring the public safety and interest and the defence of India and civil defence and the internal security."

A general ground of objection to all banned items was that they constituted a "prejudicial act" as defined under Rule 36(6)(e) of Defence of India Rules. Under this Rule, a "Prejudicial Act" *inter alia* means any act which is "intended or is likely (e) to bring into hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection towards the Government established by law in India". Comparing this definition with the definition of "Sedition" under the Penal Code, the judgment says:

"This is not made an offence in order to minister to the wounded vanity of Government, but because where Government and the law ceased to be obeyed because no respect is felt any longer for them, only anarchy can follow. Public disorder, or the reasonable anticipation or likelihood of public disorder, is thus the gist of the offence. The acts or words complained of must either incite to disorder or must be such as to satisfy reasonable men that that is their intention or tendency."

Apart from reproducing major portions of these three judgments, the author has also annexed the texts of all the relevant Acts and orders pertaining to Press Censorship. As such, the book will prove a boon to all those who wish to refer to the law on the subject. It also provides easy access to High Court Judgments for all those who are not used to plodding through law reports.

Unfortunately a major portion of the book consists of these reprints of laws and judgments. The author's contribution is only in the form of an Introduction and a Commentary. These barely do justice to the subject matter of the book. One would have appreciated a critical analysis of the law on the subject and its com-

parison with the law of censorship during emergencies in other countries which enjoy freedom of speech and expression. Censorship raises ticklish problems. Imposition of pre-censorship may stifle dissent. A total absence of censorship may be difficult in an emergency. What should be the extent of freedom of the Press? Is it only circumscribed by the law of libel and sedition? Under what circumstances, if any, can precensorship be imposed? How can it be reconciled with a free society? To what extent can courts check an abuse of this power of censorship? The book has steered clear of these thorny questions and confined itself to a bare recital of the existing censorship legislation as interpreted in the three judgments.

In spite of this limitation, the book will provide easy access to the present censorship laws. It is beautifully produced and reasonably priced.

SUJATA MANOHAR

#### WORLD OF HUNGER: A STRATEGY FOR SURVIVAL

JONATHAN POWER & ANNE-MARIE HOLENSTEIN

(Maurice Temple Smith Ltd., London £ 1.95)

**T**HIS book is about hunger, an age-old subject that has been with us since the serpent tempted Adam and Eve to pluck the apple . . . . It is an attempt to come to grips with the fundamental factors involved in putting the curse of famine and hunger behind us once and for all."

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deep into the commonly accepted theories advocated for augmenting the availability of food. Although they paint on a worldwide canvas, their principal concern is the Third World, which is the scene of widespread hunger today. India, Pakistan and Bungla Desh figure prominently in their assessment of this scene.

The main thrust of the authors' thesis is that the food distress the world faces today arises not so much out of shortfalls in production vis-a-vis demand, as out of its mal-distribution — on a national as well as international scale.

The basic cause of world hunger, according to the authors, is the selfish greed of the rich countries, which appropriate to themselves as much as 2,000 lbs per capita of cereals, leaving a bare inadequate 400 lbs per head for the Third World countries. This causes a state of chronic over-consumption by the wealthy countries and chronic under-consumption by the poorer countries. The increasing dependence of the poor countries on fertilisers makes their position all the more pitiable in the context of the oil crisis — regardless of whether they import fertilisers or crude as feed stock for making them. Besides the wealthy countries must indulge in the luxury of using fertilisers to nourish their lawns, parks and golf courses, which in U.S.A. and U.K. alone, according to the authors, mount up to a quantity capable of producing enough foodgrains to feed 150 million people.

### *Population Explosion*

The population explosion of course intensifies the problem. With the rate of increase at 2.5 per cent, the population of developing countries will double every 28 years, compared with an increase of 1 per cent in Europe and America, which would take 70 years for a similar increase. India, which was the first to adopt Family Planning as its official policy, has rightly taken the next logical step by planning appropriate legislation towards making the policy effective.

Hunger may take two forms: (1) under-nourishment i.e. sheer lack of calories, normally needed at 2,700 per adult, and (2) mal-nourishment, i.e. lack of protein at 0.57 grammes per Kilo of body weight, even more for children and teen-agers, who are in the growing stage. Both can be equally damaging.

The authors estimate the total world population with insufficient protein or energy supply in 1970 at 388 million excluding those in centrally planned economies (this writer feels though that this would be the number in India alone). They estimate that the total food shortage for all the under-fed people would be met by adding 250 calories per person per day. The solution the authors suggest repeatedly is better distribution of food on a world-wide basis regardless of national frontiers. But is this a practicable solution? Has the world become so altruistic and selfless as to be able to adopt it, when the authors themselves admit; "Household

studies have shown that working adults keep the largest share of available food for themselves"? If preservation of life and selfishness is the dominant life-style even as between parents and their own children, how can the authors expect complete altruism to prevail as between disparate family groups, countries and even continents? Is it not most likely that until a World Government is established those who produce more will claim also the right to consume the bulk of the fruits of their labour?

Although the authors acknowledge that U.S.A. PL-480 brought to Third World countries substantial relief from the most urgent food problems and provided work programmes for infrastructural development projects, in their view it encouraged these countries to rely on the U.S.A. and neglect their own agriculture. But one of the reasons the authors adduce for this neglect is not at all convincing. "In most cases an improvement in production would mean structural changes which will jeopardise the privileged of their own influential upper class". Indeed this is not the only opportunity the authors have taken to press home their predilection that a class war its continuously being waged in all developing countries.

### *Back to Gandhi*

What is the way out of this complex conundrums of food shortage, over population, migration to cities and squalid living therein? The authors seem to agree whole-heartedly with the prophetic mature vision of Mahatma Gandhi — go to the villages, develop the countryside — "not the countryside of the land-owners, the estate and the latifundia, but that of the small independent farmer". They urge that if the present bottlenecks obstructing the economy of peasant proprietorship are removed, such as archaic land tenures, lack of credit and extension services, unproductive techniques and shortage of water and fertilisers, an annual 5 per cent growth rate in agricultural production would not only outstrip easily the 2.5 per cent population increase, but provide even a comfortable surplus as insurance against lean years.

But can this happen in a country as heavily populated as India, with its dry scanty rainfall core extending practically over the entire length of the country from Tamil Nadu to Punjab? They admit that in India with all that sturdy peasant agriculture can do "there would still be 20 to 25 million landless farmers". For them the authors again advocate the same remedy as the Mahatma did, namely economic activity supporting agriculture, and small-scale labour intensive local industry.

### *Green Revolution*

The authors have dissected in depth the Green Revolution as it is operating today. In their opinion, it is

in favour of the large landowner by reason of the principal resources he can command such as mechanisation, credit, pesticides HYV seeds, dominating rural agriculture to an increasing extent, resulting in pushing the small farmer down to the status of land-less labour. Therefore they advocate facilities to be extended to, and a modern technology specifically to be developed for, peasant proprietors — holders of between 2 and 10 hectares. A potential area of research they rightly suggest is to find ways and means whereby plants can fix nitrogen direct from the atmosphere, thus reducing or eliminating the need for fertilisers. On this some work has already been done with success.

This writer must admit his inability either to support or to counter the arguments against the Green Revolution (GR). This can best be done by one who has adequate experience of its operation. The least that can be said is that in the general atmosphere of euphoria that prevails over the GR, the authors' observations bring some sobering thoughts. Is GR a God which has failed? We in India, having adopted land ceilings to create an agricultural community of sturdy peasant proprietors, should make every effort towards making them not only survive, but even prosper. The need of

the hour would be to evolve an advanced farming technology which is peculiarly suited to the institution of peasant proprietorship.

The book introduces several fresh slants on the problems of development economics and jolts violently many accepted theories. It should provoke some hard thinking on the part of those responsible for agricultural policies; certainly so in India, both at the Centre and State levels.

The book is well documented and the facts and figures cited are from unquestioned authoritative sources, such as the U.N., F.A.O. World Bank and Development Forum. But for reference purposes this writer found difficulty in handling the book, as all the acknowledgments are referred to only in the last six pages at the end; so constant turning over to these pages becomes necessary. There are no paragraph numbers nor topic headings in the chapters, one of which run up to 34 pages, nor are the skeletal "contents" very revealing. No index is provided. In the next edition, let us hope, these points would be taken care of. This writer feels though that nobody in the profession of development economics can afford to miss this book.

FREDOON ANTIA

## Just Out

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## Letter

### "SOCIALIST" REPUBLIC?

If the State must, at all times, exert to reduce poverty and the inequalities of wealth, is it not enough to make this a "directive principle of policy" in the Constitution? Why has India to call herself a "Socialist" Republic, as proposed by the Swaran Singh Committee, in order to advertise the resolve to the world?

In fact, the proposal would be an obstacle to political maturity. Socialism means different things to different people. To some it is only a stepping stone to acquisition by the State of total control over a citizen's life. At the other extreme, there are people who, though they do not regard themselves as socialists have more "socialism" in their thinking than can be traced in the protestations of several slogan-mongers.

The use of an imprecise word like "socialism" in the title will not, therefore, contribute to social understanding. On the contrary, it will divert citizens' attention from the fact that society is interested primarily in specific ideas and deeds — and not in names and labels.

Another subtle influence will also be at work. Persons who call themselves socialists will tend to be looked upon as *superior* citizens. They will acquire a measure of respectability even without their having explained what they mean by socialism.

In a recent publication entitled "Character — A Talk to Young People", there is a story illustrating "conformity by force" which will doubtless be of interest to your readers in the present context. It runs as follows:

A society takes the majority vote, and decides to call itself a capitalist society. But it doesn't stop there. It decides that nobody can be anybody if he is not ready to call himself a capitalist. He must call the ruling Capitalist Party's pet notions his pet notions. He can't set up a Club for examining alternatives to capitalism. He can't try being a non-capitalist even as an experiment, for if he tried that, he would not be allowed to mix with other people.

Substitute "socialist" for "capitalist" in the above story and one sees what is to be feared. I do not suggest that the Swaran proposal *must* land India into this disaster, but it will certainly make conformity by force a little easier to come about.

P. L. MAYEKAR

### HOBSON'S CHOICE

Prague, June 17. — Czechoslovakia will hold a general election with Communist Party candidates only on October 22 and 23.

—*The Times*, June 18.

## A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

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## A TIRED DOCUMENT—Continued from page 1

electoral system. It is the splintered opposition and the British electoral system that have since Independence enabled the Treasury Benches to be occupied by those who have received less than 50 per cent of the total votes cast in each successive election.

The Steering Committee's resolution would appear to give the impression that the country's problems began only after the Proclamation of the Emergency. And it took nine months after the declaration of the Emergency, for the participants to decide that the establishment of "a single democratic national alternative" had become "urgent and imperative".

*The Background*

To my mind, the slide down began soon after the General Elections of 1967, in which the Opposition had scored significant gains. Not only did Opposition parties fail to read the electorate's verdict clearly, but on the other hand were hell bent on making hay while the sun shone. The Emergency was to a certain extent the logical outcome of irresponsible opposition behaviour. This must be clearly understood as it is very relevant. For 1967 will for the future historian of democratic politics in India mark a watershed. The Emergency is the result and not the cause of the present situation.

Secondly, to many, among them Rajaji, Morarji Desai, Kripalani, Masani and others, this sense of urgency in regard to the need for an early emergence of a National Democratic alternative was felt in the years 1969-70. They had read correctly the sign on the wall and understood the direction in which the country was heading. The AICC(O) Resolution of June 28, 1970, a much better drafted document than the present pedestrian effort, was a direct outcome of this sense of urgency. They almost made it. But as close followers of Indian politics are doubtless aware, the move was scuttled on January 3, 1971, by a "demolition squad" of Socialists (as *Patriot* of January 4, 1971 described them).

It is heartening therefore to read Mr. Goray write in his editorial:

"But this (a unified opposition) had become impossible because of the *theoretical obsessions* (emphasis mine) from which all our opposition parties suffered." Rather unfair to blame *all* parties with "theoretical obsession"! But let it pass. The realisation that this was a bottleneck is in itself a welcome development though the price that has had to be paid for some to come to this realisation is rather high.

I can almost hear some friends reading this article muttering: "This is all past history. Why does he have to rake all this up? Don't we all make mistakes?" Of course we do. And the path of wisdom lies in learning from them; even speaking about them; admitting that they were mistakes, and having done so, starting on a clean slate.

*Hastily Assembled*

Does the policy statement as published in *Janata* convince one that this is so? My own view is — only partly so. The document gives the unhappy impression of being a hastily assembled essay seeking to accommodate the major bees in the bonnet of the parties who are being persuaded to dissolve their identities. It does not give an impression of the emergence of a *new* party but a conglomeration of the old ones. One could be forgiven if one were to feel that it is a tired document from tired men.

The Policy statement sets out ten immediate tasks — 'points' being the word currently in favour, one could even describe them as the Ten Point Tasks! These ten points are well made, pragmatic and totally acceptable to any liberty loving democrat. The first four are really immediate in the sense that they seek to do away with many Acts and Ordinances that have eroded and deprived the citizens of Fundamental Freedoms and civil liberties. The fifth and the sixth seek to set up National Commissions, one to examine (they say 'evaluate') the Constitution so far "and to make recommendations for its amendment with a view to fulfilling effectively the basic objectives." There can be no objection to this provided the meaning of the term amendment is understood correctly. The word amendment derives from the Latin word *emendare* — meaning to correct a defect or modify something for the better. "In the history of Indian planning it is not the Constitution which seems to have functioned as a brake on the country's rapid economic development but the Indian bureaucracy which Jawaharlal Nehru once described as India's 'administrative jungle'. Political instability and the wrangling among politicians, the politics of agitation which have led to hundreds of man days being lost in factories and workshops every year, the tortuous system of licenses and quotas which, in a scarcity economy, must necessarily accentuate corruption, the inefficiency in the rank and file of the bureaucracy... high taxation... traditional attitudes and ways of life — these are the factors which have been a drag on the country's economic development. The Constitution is now being made a scapegoat for the failures of planning". (*Fundamental Rights and the Citizen*: pp. 11 Ed. S. P. Aiyar and S. V. Raju). It would be advisable for the new party therefore to move with great circumspection in this matter. Much also would depend on the composition of the National Commission appointed for the purpose.

The other National Commission to go into the question of electoral reforms is both necessary and welcome.

The remaining three points deal with efficiency and honesty in administration.

## Patchwork

One wishes the statement had stopped there. But it does not. And that is a pity. For, from here on, one perceives the patchwork formulations. The very first sentence after the 10 points talks of building "an egalitarian democratic fabric". It is followed a little later by setting down as a basic objective of the party the "Establishment of an egalitarian society and self-reliant economy by peaceful means." This is spelt out from (a) to (g). (a) talks of putting an end to social and economic inequalities, exploitation and oppression. How does one put an end to economic inequality? One hopes the members of the Steering Committee believe by providing opportunities for the less fortunate to grow and not by pulling down those with means which is what it has now come to mean. Then (e) talks of "establishing a ratio of 1:10 between the minimum and the maximum (expendable) income in the country. How does one establish such a ratio and by what means is it hoped to be achieved especially when the document talks elsewhere of striving for "maximum production"?

The document gives pride of place to agriculture and rural development. This is as it should be, but platitudinous statements could easily have been avoided. The part dealing with industry in the urban areas does indeed present a series of contortions to accommodate various shades of opinion from those who put primacy on consumer goods production to those who would bar certain areas from large scale units.

## 'Total Plan'?

Despite the performance and 'achievements' of the Second, Third and Fourth Five Year Plans, the policy statement threatens to make it a "total plan covering all the various departments of national life and *not merely economic*"! What do they mean? Is it an improved version of the Gosplan that is envisaged?

Was all this really necessary? Would it not have met the needs of the situation if the august members of the Steering Committee had confined themselves to the first ten points and in regard to the rest left it to experts to provide position papers?

And then there is the issue of constitutionalism. This writer has had numerous opportunities to hear Rajaji admonish members of the Swatantra Party impatient to resort to the streets or to satyagraha. Peaceful processions seeking to present or focus a point of view are perfectly legitimate and entirely consistent with constitutional behaviour. But not *Gheraos* and *Bundhs*. As for *satyagraha* it is the ultimate weapon to be used as the last resort and always to be peaceful. The objective must have the national good in mind, not some side issue that serves some sectarian, communal or linguistic interest. This is what Gandhiji taught and that is what it should be. It is hoped that the policy statement

as it finally emerges will place adequate emphasis on this.

This, it is claimed, is a *new* party. And from a new party one justifiably expects fresh ideas. Preparing long, often unreadable statements of policies are in my view not only tiresome but quite unnecessary and rather outmoded. What percentage of the population has the time or the inclination to read them? In an age of specialisation was it necessary for politicians who are not industrialists to prescribe for industry or for those who have never seen a farming operation, let alone farmed themselves, to pass judgements on details of agricultural and rural development? India abounds in experts. And a fresh approach would have been to take a broad position relating to basic freedoms and the thrust in administration and leave the rest to be worked out by specialised groups appointed for the purpose. In other words, having underlined the Party's determination to uphold certain values, it could have, for the rest, sought pragmatic solutions from people who have no ideological or political vested interests.

In the context of Indian diversity, any party or group that seeks to spell out its position on numerous issues is bound to exclude a whole lot of people who, while in agreement on certain basic issues, might differ on details. And this will inevitably lead to re-fragmentation in the not too distant future.

I have essayed a critique of the programme of the proposed new Party. Whether the strategy behind the move, which envisages a free election under present conditions, is a realistic one is yet another question.



## WITH MANY VOICES

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

—Tennyson.

He who bears no evil, and sees no evil, is not doing his duty.

—Motto displayed in the room of a Superintendent of Police quoted in the *Statesman*, May 2.

The original name of the firm was Marx and Engels: Socialism, Wholesale, Retail and for Export. Later, when new partners joined (Marxist-Leninism, Marxist-Leninist-Stalinism, Troskyism) Engels disappeared from the letter-heading.

—A.J.P. Taylor in the *Observer*, April 25.

His (Masani's) philosophy today is a melange of Senator Henry Jackson, Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Willy Brandt on international affairs and Mahatma Gandhi on village development.

—Jonathan Power in *International Herald Tribune*, March 26.

Are they (British industrialists) too timid, too idle or too selfish to speak up?

—G. Rippon in *Daily Telegraph*, May 1.

The love of liberty is the love of others, the love of power is the love of ourselves.

—Old saying quoted in *Democratic World*, May 2.

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The word intellectual suggests straight away,  
A man who's untrue to his wife.

—W. H. Auden quoted in *Democratic World*,  
May 2.

People are interested in only three things; who sleeps  
with whom, who is paid how much, and who is doing  
what job.

—Malcolm Muggeridge quoted in the  
*Observer*, May 8.

Bang home the great issue of Liberalism v. Bureaucratic Socialism.

—Jo Grimond in the *Observer*, May 23.

The bulldozer does not recognise history; nor does it  
respect human sentiments.

—Vijay in *New Age*, May 23.

What makes the Carter-Brown contest piquant is  
that both believe they have a "hot line" to the Almighty.

—Henry Brandon in *Sunday Times*, May 16.

If you want to produce a Communist, send him to  
Paris: if it is a capitalist you want, send him to Moscow.

—African student quoted in *The Statesman*,  
May 26.

Radical feminists regard Sigmund Freud as the  
ultimate male chauvinist and with some reason.

—*Time*, May 24.

Rank in the Russian Navy means a great deal financially. A full captain's pay at £202 a month is more than 40 times greater than that of many ratings — on average £4.70 monthly.

—Naval Correspondent in *Daily Telegraph*,  
June 2.

The Third World must feed itself and this will not be  
done by suggesting that Americans eat too much.

—Daniel Moynihan in *Time*, January 26.

Students should be socialist, secular.

—Nurul Hasan, Education Minister, in  
*Times of India*, June 6.