

freedom first

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A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL IDEAS

THE PEACE-MONGERS

NISSIM EZEKIEL

EVERY Western plan for the strengthening of defence arrangements, including the manufacture of chemical and nuclear weapons, is criticised for contradicting Western peace efforts. "You are talking peace," says the world, "and provoking war."

No similar criticism troubles the Soviet Union. In the first place, it does not announce its plans and face the subsequent debate. It announces, periodically, the state of its armed forces (after the facts have been guessed at by foreign observers through various direct and indirect means).

That the Soviet Union also talks peace while not only preparing for war but also engaging in war whenever necessary upsets almost nobody, relatively speaking.

To attack American and West European war preparations is part of the campaign for world peace. To attack the Soviet Union's war preparations is to be a "cold war warrior", objectively a supporter of "Imperialism."

In criticising American and West European military policies, one has hundreds of American and

West European dissenters to quote from. Their voices are heard all over the world, and the impression is created that they speak for the majority against the Establishment. In criticising the Soviet Union's military policies one can quote only a few Russian and East European dissenters, in jail or underground in their blessed land of birth, or exiles.

The Soviet and East European Establishment have silenced their entire population without incurring that "moral abhorrence" which Western military policy is supposed to evoke.

For 13 years the Americans had stopped manufacturing chemical weapons. And what about the Soviet Union? Surely there is little or no evidence, surely not, that Soviet chemical stockpiles have increased or have been used in Laos, Kampuchea and Afghanistan. Surely, the Americans have enough to deter the Soviets, say these peaceful voices.

In my view, that kind of stance and argument are not contributions to peace. They are either naive or cunning. The basic difference between the West and the Soviet

Union in the making of political and military decisions is ignored by our peace-mongers, as they may be called. Their claims of adherence to the principles of "co-existence" or detente must be tested against their utter blindness to the Soviet totalitarian system and its ideological ambitions.

The Kremlin continues building up its military strength, including the nuclear. No pact, no negotiations for one, no declaration of arms control or non-interference in the affairs of sovereign nations, no peace offer or agreement regarding human rights makes the slightest difference. Those who expect it are deluding themselves.

Every peace move by the Soviet Union is part of its war plan. Unless this gruesome fact is recognised, no analysis of the East-West permanent crisis has the slightest validity. The fundamental strategy of the Soviet Union is that Western Society must change on Soviet lines, and eventually function under Soviet hegemony, with local communist parties and "Friends of the Soviet Union" as tools.

This goal cannot be achieved without Soviet military and nuclear superiority. Western attempts to cope with this situation cannot be understood outside that context.

A VARIETY OF COMMENT

K. S. VENKATESWARAN

1. INTELLECTUAL PREDISPOSITION

IT is one of the sad ironies of our time that in the prevailing climate of widespread hostility to market economics, the most strident critics are those who ought to be particularly aware of the horrors of statism, viz. the intelligentsia. From time to time, scholars and others have attempted, with varying degrees of lack of success, to examine and explain the causative factors which so predispose the intellectual against the free market.

One recent collection of essays, published under the aegis of the conservative American think-tank, the Heritage Foundation, addresses this important question, albeit from a refreshingly different angle. Realising that "ostrichlike, economists tend to ignore the non-rational sources of hostility to the market system," the contributors, seven eminent men, seek to explore the difficult terrain of emotional and psychological attitudes which condition the anti-market responses of the intellectual.

Those in India whose efforts at propagating the freedom philosophy have been a series of unmitigated failures, will find a kindred soul in Professor Peter Bauer who, in a brilliant analysis, tears to shreds the specious arguments canvassed by self-seeking apologists for state intervention in the less-developed countries such as our own.

"The preponderance of opponents of the market in academic contacts between the West and the Third World has promoted not only the notion that comprehensive central planning or a socialised economy are indispensable for development, but also the idea that such policies promote or even imply social and economic equality. . . . The opponents of the market have also travestied the history of pre-revolutionary Russia, and the subsequent history and present conditions in the Soviet Union. They also consistently transmit to the Third World those theoretical developments of contemporary economic analysis which emphasise imperfections of the market system. Unfortunately, they never examine the costs and consequences of alternatives to the market system, alternatives which are always presented in idealised form."

A truer assessment of the situation in India, at any rate, is hard to come by.

2. THE HAYFLICK CASE

TO us in India, accustomed to the frequent skirmishes between scientists and the government, the case of Leonard Hayflick, which became something of a *cause celebre* in the United States not so long ago, may not hold much surprise. But the case is interesting, all the same, if only because it demonstrates strikingly the marked divergence in the attitudes of the American scientific community and our own, when it comes to taking on as formidable an opponent as the government.

It all started in 1962 when Hayflick, a microbiologist at the Wistar Institute in Philadelphia, developed two lines of cells from human embryonic lung tissue called WI-38 and WI-26, which provided the basis for Hayflick's discovery that human foetal cells go through about 50 doublings before dying out. Being the first normal human cells to be established in culture, their value in vaccine production and research was inestimable.

When Hayflick left the Wistar Institute in 1968 for Stanford University, he took the cells with him, but the National Institute of Health (NIH) swiftly intervened to claim the cells as its property on the ground that they were developed under an NIH contract. A government investigation ensued, followed by seizure of some remaining cells and the publication of two reports which discussed, *inter alia*, Hayflick's commercial dealings with the cells.

Far from taking it lying down, Hayflick hotly contested the NIH claim and filed a suit alleging that his rights under the Privacy Act were violated by the publication of the damaging reports before he had submitted his rebuttal, and claiming title to all the remaining cells. The NIH countersued claiming that the cells belonged to the government.

The bitter controversy came to an end only late last year when an out-of-court settlement was arrived at between the parties which provided that while the NIH could keep the 19 ampoules of cells which have been in its possession since 1975, Hayflick could retain the money he received from cell sales, totalling \$90,000. Hayflick was also allowed to retain the 16 ampoules that the NIH gave him later for a research project.

One of the noteworthy features of the episode was the reaction of several scientists in the U.S. who perceived it as "a case where the government marched unhindered into a private laboratory and publicised what it pleased with no peer review or outside verification." Can one ever imagine a similar candid reaction from the Indian scientific establishment to the blatant government interference in scientific institutions in this country?

3. POLISH PERSECUTION

IN what is believed to be the severest sentence passed by the Polish authorities in recent months for violation of martial law, Ewa Kubasiewicz, a member of the independent trade union outfit Solidarity, was ordered to suffer imprisonment for 10 years and loss of civil rights for 5 years.

Ewa's "crime", according to an official Polish news agency, consisted of her organising and leading a strike in a part of the collective of the Higher Maritime College in Gdynia during the pendency of martial law. An accompanying charge accused her of compiling and distributing literature that was "liable to provoke public unrest or disturbances". The sentence, not surprisingly, came as a sequel to summary proceedings before a naval court, without any right of appeal.

LETTER

INVITATION TO A PLAY

Dear Sir,

The Society For The Right To Die With Dignity has just completed one year of its existence.

In its effort to educate public opinion on the issues involved in regard to Voluntary Euthanasia, the Society will be sponsoring the production of an excellent English play entitled *Whose Life Is It Anyway?* The play is being produced by Hosi Vasunia Productions and will be directed by Mr. Vijay Crishna. The first shows will be at 7 p.m. on Saturday 3rd July and Sunday 4th July. The booking for seats will open at Rhythm House from 23rd June onwards.

As the performance promises to be an intellectual treat, may I cordially invite readers of **Freedom First** in Bombay to book their seats and enjoy the play.

Yours truly,
M. R. MASANI
Chairman

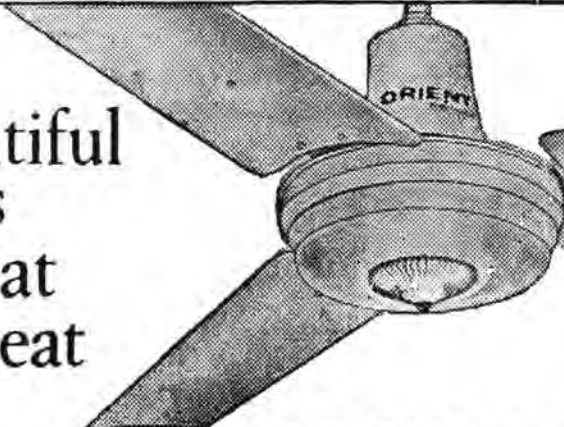
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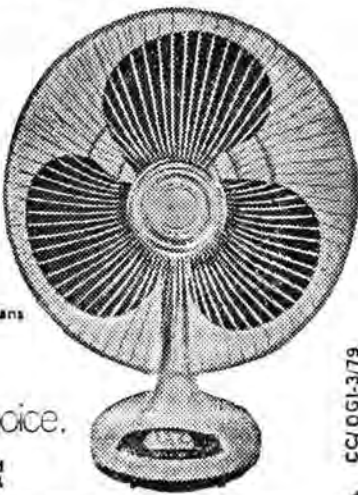
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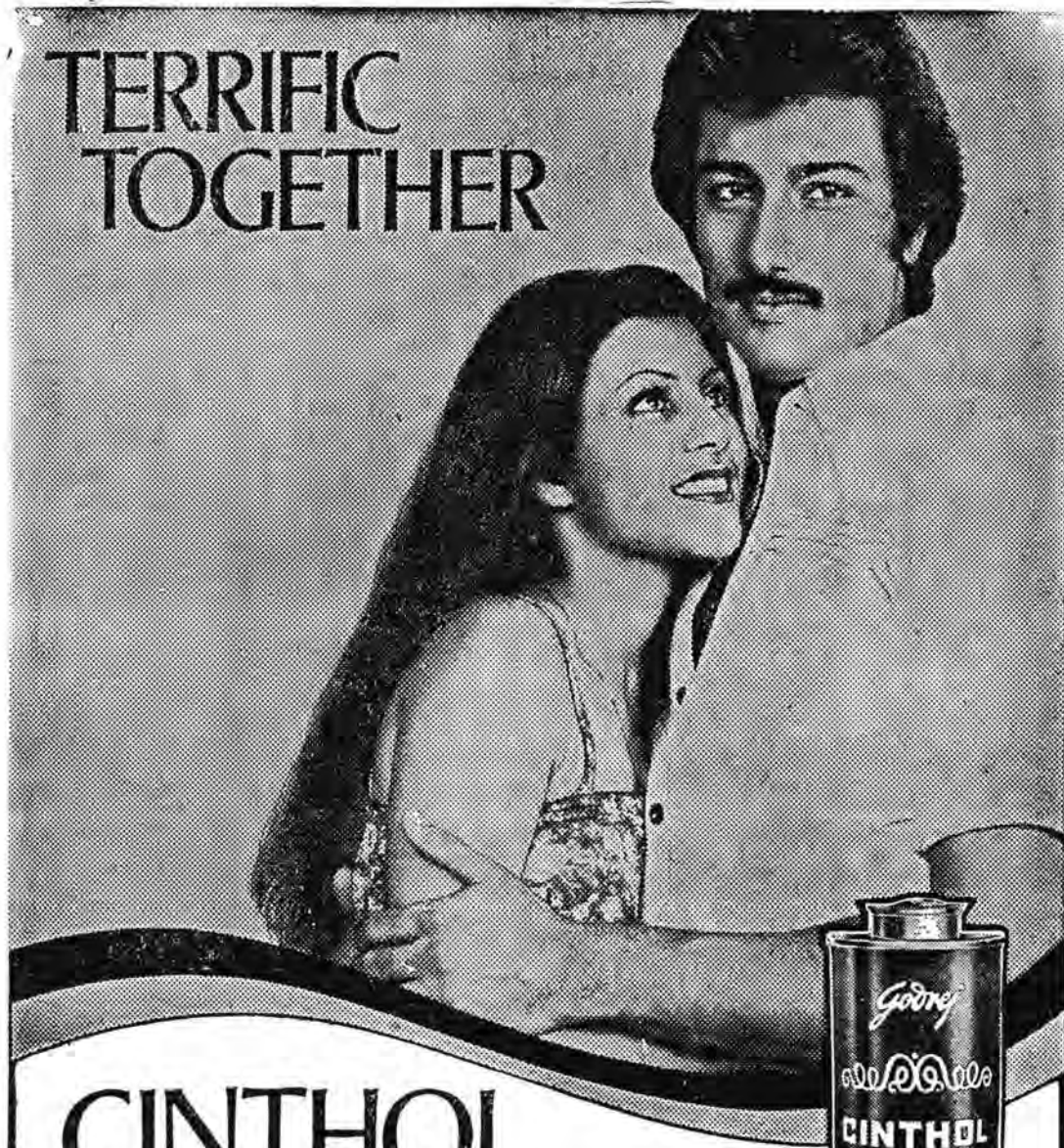
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FREEDOM FIRST

SIKKIM — THROUGH OTHER EYES

M. R. MASANI

THE other day I received a letter from a regular reader of **Freedom First**, who happens to be living in another Asian country. That letter contained, along with praise for **Freedom First**, a challenge which was posed in the following words:

"I have now read twice the two lead articles in the January **Freedom First**, No. 348, Nissim Ezekiel's brilliant editorial "Lies About Poland," and "Betrayal of Poland" by Mr. P. N. Lekhi. Both magnificent, forthright, dauntless, moving pieces of writing. I am glad—very glad indeed—that such ringing blows were struck for Poland, and my only wish, if I may be granted a wish, is that these valiant, intrepid warriors would bring their forces to bear in the cause of Sikkim, the tiny, defenceless kingdom that has vanished under the heel of imperialism, not Russian but Indian."

How are we in **Freedom First** who have stood for the freedom of all countries without exception to respond to this challenge?

But first let me quote a few extracts from the letter I have received as they stem from deep conviction and anguish:

"In 1975, before I had ever had any thought of visiting Sikkim, I followed the events leading up to annexation by India very closely because I could see no justification for the takeover, the abolishment of sovereignty of the tiny nation of 300,000 people, the rude levelling of their Chogyal, whose dynasty was 340 years old, to the rank of commoner, and the subsequent house arrest to which he was confined. I saw no reason whatsoever for India to resort to the same brand of imperialism that Nehru and others spent years in prison trying to fight, in their struggle to wrest India's independence from Britain. And now, more than ever after having visited Sikkim three times, I see absolutely no reason for India's presence there."

"You have in this whole sordid story of political annexation of a sovereign state a perfect example of the double standard that has come to be popularly associated with India in the eyes of the world. Everyone from Mahatma Gandhi to Indira Gandhi loathes imperialism in any form, except of course where India herself can employ it with impunity on tiny neighbouring states."

A pretty angry indictment which I for one do not feel like contradicting.

When Sikkim was taken over by India in the seventies, I felt quite disgusted. Not being in Parliament then, I had no opportunity to voice my protest, but I was glad when Mr. Morarji Desai, Prime Minister of India some years later, admitted that he could not justify the taking over of Sikkim. Unfortunately, he did not feel strong enough to undo the mischief.

Long before the occupation of Sikkim, I had noticed the double standards observed by most of our compatriots on the issue of imperialism. Whether it was in regard to our persecution of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah or our Government's activities in Nagaland there was only one prominent Indian who acted like a real anti-imperialist and that was my good friend Jayprakash Narayan. In regard to Kashmir, he formed the India-Pakistan Conciliation Group which still exists in New Delhi with Mrs. Malati Singh as convener. I readily joined that group.

In so far as Nagaland is concerned, I supported JP's efforts, which finally succeeded in bringing about a cease-fire between the Indian Army and the army of the Nagaland "Republic". I was able, during my visit to Nagaland as a member of the Parliamentary delegation sent there by Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, to do my bit in helping Mr. Shastri and his Government to bring about a better awareness in Parliament about the case of the Naga people.

But, alas! the names of Indian public men who have stood up against the imperialism of their own country are few and far between. Most of us who have declaimed against British imperialism, French imperialism in Algeria, American imperialism in Latin America and Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe and Afghanistan are unable to apply the same yardstick to our own country. We can see the mote in the other man's eye, but not the beam in our own.

So we can say to our reader overseas: "You are right to be angry and we as a nation must, we feel, plead guilty to your charge, but all we can say is that we in **Freedom First** have never lowered our flag and that our record, whether on Kashmir or Nagaland, is one of which we have no reason to be ashamed. We thank you for having given us an opportunity to speak up for the people of Sikkim."

HOW THE SOVIETS GAIN

RAMA SWARUP

IN Moscow, Pravda railed against Britain's "gunboat diplomacy" and called Alexander Haig a "messenger for British neo-colonists." In Buenos Aires, the Soviet Ambassador talked about grain purchases and maybe even an arms' deal. From Gibraltar down through the South Atlantic, Soviet spy ships and aircraft dogged the British fleet. And finally Ronald Reagan's patience with the Soviets snapped. "I'd like to see them butt out," he declared testily.

Leopoldo Galtieri's right-wing regime and Leonid Brezhnev's geriatric Politburo were clearly using each other to maximum advantage. It was hard to see how they could stick together for long, but with few foreign friends in the Falklands dispute, the anti-Communist Argentines seemed altogether open-minded about Moscow. "We will have to take the support from those who offer it. If that help comes from the Soviets, that does not frighten me," said one influential Argentine military officer.

So far, in fact, the Falklands crisis has been a Marx-send to the Soviet Union. A British fleet on station in the South Atlantic could not help NATO defend Europe. A debacle in the southern hemisphere would probably unseat Margaret Thatcher, a tough anti-Communist who has been vociferous in criticising Soviet actions in Afghanistan and Poland.

The hot Falklands fall-out has also given Moscow an opportunity to weaken the support of Argentina and some other Latin American states for Reagan's East-West showdown in Central America.

Grain: Relations between Buenos Aires and Moscow have been improving steadily since the Argentines broke President Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet embargo in 1980. The Soviet Union is now Argentina's largest customer. In 1982, an estimated 80 per cent of Argentine grain and oil-seed exports will be shipped to the U.S.S.R., up from 75 per cent in 1981. Under a separate five-year accord, the Soviets will also buy between 60,000 and 100,000 tons of boneless Argentine beef a year.

British officials charge angrily that in recent weeks

Moscow has agreed to send the Argentines \$500 million in oil equipment between now and 1985. More ominously, the Soviets will supply 220 pounds of enriched uranium and 1 ton of reactor-coolant heavy water for Argentina's ambitious nuclear programme.

Since the Argentine regime refuses to comply with international nuclear safeguards, the United States has been withholding uranium from Argentina. Buenos Aires officials say imported uranium is needed for energy, but Washington fears that friendly Soviet help could add to Argentina's potential for developing nuclear weapons.

A few very practical considerations still put limits on how far the new Soviet-Argentine partnership can develop. The Soviet Union can support Argentina's grab of the Falklands only at the expense of encouraging Japan to chafe even harder over the Kuril Islands. (Moscow took the Kurils at Yalta, and Tokyo is still trying to get some of them back).

Galtieri must also take care. The Soviets have no investments in Argentina, while American-owned businesses have a book value of \$1.85 billion. Argentina wants U.S. arms, and Buenos Aires sources say the Reagan Administration has signalled its willingness to sell Galtieri jet fighters and anti-submarine planes. But Congress is not likely to approve such a deal while Argentina is tussling with America's best ally.

Along with these U.S. connections, the Argentines have an informal arrangement with South Africa that gives them access to naval intelligence from a sophisticated listening post on the Cape of Good Hope called Silvermine, and provides for other forms of military co-operation. The South Africans will hardly play along with Argentina if they believe Galtieri is moving too dangerously toward the Soviet Union.

Even so, the longer the Falklands dust-up goes on, the more the Soviets stand to benefit. Says one glum Western diplomat in Buenos Aires: "So far, they are the only winners in this crisis. Everyone else winds up with egg on his face."

Why Salvador is not Reagan's Poland

GORDON BROOK-SHEPHERD

POLAND and El Salvador—the principal headaches, respectively, of the Soviet Union and the United States—have touched off a game of ideological “Yah-boo,” with Moscow accusing Washington of doing far worse things in Central America than anything the Kremlin has been up to in Central Europe. The Russians are, of course, far from being the only critics of President Reagan's bid to shoot the bolts against Communist-aided guerrilla subversion at his rickety back door. Left-wing and liberal voices throughout the West are loud in moral condemnation.

Even in America itself, many Right-wingers, including some of the President's own advisers, doubt whether, morals apart, the campaign to prop up the Salvadoran junta of Jose Napoleon Duarte can ever succeed, short of total American commitment on the dreaded Vietnam pattern. That problem is in the lap of the gods, or, more immediately, on the plate of Lt.-General Wallace H. Nutting, head of the Panama based US Southern Command in charge of the El Salvador operation.

Meanwhile, it is in the Cold War context that significant damage to America's case is being caused. If the Soviet propagandists get away with portraying the

United States as the true aggressively imperialist Power of the age, they will repeat the political victory which the Kremlin scored a generation ago over Hungary, when it substituted world concern over the Suez landing for earlier outrage over the massacres in Budapest.

In some respects, the Kremlin's diversionary tactics are even easier to employ today. The parallels between the Polish and the Salvadoran situations look quite close at first glance. Both super-Powers seem engaged in the same struggle to ward off a challenge to their defensive glacis. Both are employing similar techniques, using the national armies and police forces to fight their battles for them, but guiding the struggle through their own civil and military advisers—officially admitted to exist by America; formally disavowed by Russia.

On the surface, the Brezhnev Doctrine of preserving the Socialist camp by force seems the mirror image of Reagan's application of the Monroe Doctrine to keep malicious outside hands away from the American continent.

The reality, of course, is very different. In super-Power terms it centres above all on one contrast. The

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West has never poured in tanks and weapons to help. Solidarity overthrow the Communist regime in Warsaw. Nor, despite the Kremlin's comically desperate attempts to present Poland's 10 million rebellious sons of the spanner as 10 million dupes or agents of the CIA, has America contributed one single *agent provocateur* to the Polish ferment.

The West as a whole has honoured its part of the bargain struck by the Helsinki Pact: acceptance of Europe's post-war boundaries and, by inference, the extension of Russia's continental empire. (Needless to say, the Soviet Union has not honoured its counterpledge: to extend human liberties behind the Curtain and increase contacts across it.)

Compare this scrupulously observed armistice on Russia's European approaches with the offensive launched by the Soviet Union and her surrogates against America's southern flank: a stream of arms funnelled through Cuba to the guerrillas, with Cuban, Czech and East German advisers all helping actively in the struggle. It may well be true that Salvador's guerrillas are fighting as much against economic misery and gross inequality as they are for Marxism. But Solidarity has an even better case in human rights, and the most that the West has done to help that case has been a mixture of hard words and soft sanctions.

The contrast is even greater if one compares Salvador with Afghanistan, which is on the Soviet Union's sensitive South Asian Moslem glacis. After engineering a Marxist coup in Kabul, the Russians got themselves into a local political tangle similar to the mess which the White House slid into with its protégés in Salvador. The Americans are at least trying, against the brutal clamour of civil war, to resolve the issue by the ballot box, however restricted this month's elections may turn out to be.

The Russians tried to settle their difficulties in Kabul with tanks, helicopter, gun-ships and an occupation army of 90,000 men. Whatever the inadequacies and frustrations of America's policy in El Salvador, nobody in the West should be conned into regarding them as aggression against the peace-loving Communist fold.

It is for this ideological reason—and, more practically, to maintain the absolute priority of the Atlantic alliance—that, over Salvador as over other issues, Mrs. Thatcher and Lord Carrington have gone well out in front of their European allies in support of American policy. Our decision (alone among America's Nato allies) to send two distinguished observers to the Salvador elections echoes and amplifies the lead we took

in following earlier White House calls for everything from a boycott of the Moscow Olympics to economic sanctions over Poland and the adoption of Trident Two. In these matters, to recall de Gaulle's famous reproach, Tory Britain is still "opting for the open sea" while striving at the same time these days to be a good Continental.

The balancing act is bound to lead to some weakness on the landward side. It is no coincidence that, over the past six months, President Mitterrand has restored the Paris-Bonn axis to almost the same special strength it was endowed with by his predecessor, Giscard d'Estaing.

Significant, also, that last week, M. Mitterrand became the first European Head of State to visit Israel. He now embodies in his own person his own version of that ill-fated "European initiative" which Lord Carrington laboured so hard to get off the ground last year on behalf of the whole Community.

Britain's emphatic pro-American stance (combined with the eternal wrangle over Common Market budgets) has thus opened an inviting gap in the shifting pattern of Western European politics. Like nature, France seems to abhor a vacuum. She also seems to be just as good at filling it.

—The Sunday Telegraph

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE TRUTH ABOUT AFGHANISTAN. Documents, Facts, Eyewitness Reports. Novosti Publishing House, Moscow. Pages 202.

THE purpose of this book is to justify Russia's presence in Afghanistan. Most of the ideas are churned out in a highly repetitive style, presumably to produce a hypnotic effect. The hollow phrases are not likely to convince anyone except those already committed to communism and the Soviet Union.

The Introduction talks of "progress" since the fall of the Daoud dictatorship in April 1978. Tired old clichés are trotted out about "progress". The People's Democratic Party is supposed to be successfully pursuing a policy "in keeping with the vital interests of workers, peasants, nomads, the intelligentsia and all the patriotic sections and groups of the country's sixteen million population." This is apparently so in the teeth of opposition from domestic reactionary forces, foreign intervention, *et al.*

Everything is "successful", and no task impossible. Among the wonders performed is agrarian reform. "Over 30,000 peasants who had little or no land have already received plots." What of the people who owned the plots? How and when were they murdered? The human tragedy is unimportant for the "building of a truly free, democratic and just society."

The book is nothing more than a series of reports and statements most of which contradict one another. The first paragraph of Brezhnev's speech to the 26th C.P.S.U. Congress demonstrates this. The language and tone imply that Afghanistan had taken the initiative, and Russia is merely giving a helping hand. But two paragraphs later Brezhnev states that the Soviet contingent will be withdrawn "with the agreement of the Afghan government". If it is merely military aid how can there be an agreement for "withdrawal"?

Two lines later, the conditions of withdrawal are clearly spelt out. "Dependable guarantees are required that there will be no intervention. Such is the fundamental position of the Soviet Union and it adheres to it firmly." This is not the self-effacing friend-in-need of the first paragraph.

A substantial part of the book is made up of excerpts from newspapers, radio broadcasts and statements from individuals. Most of the quotations are from Soviet-based newspapers and their evidence can

therefore be discounted. There is an incredible news item from Blitz in which the C.I.A. is accused of manipulating the murder of the American Ambassador to Afghanistan to discredit the Taraki government!

The propaganda is slanted to make one believe that Islam is thriving; that in the Amin regime Mullahs were persecuted and killed but now there is understanding and fraternity. The book ends with a statement by Khodji Mirza Abdullo Kalonzoda, the Chief Mullah of Tajikistan, Representative of the Holy Board of Moslems of Soviet Central Asia and Kazukhstan in Tejikistan:

"Those who know well the Holy Koran and the laws of the Moslem Shariat will understand without any difficulty that the revolutionary changes which are now taking place in Afghanistan do not contradict with the teaching of Islam."

Numerous absurd photographs are used to fill up this slender volume. For example, two toothy females grin at the reader. They are supposed to be women at a knit-wear factory. In another picture, a middle-aged peasant is being shown how to read, and the caption says "A great deal is being done to abolish illiteracy."

There are no "documents", no "facts" and no convincing "eye-witness reports". The book does nothing to vindicate Russia's presence in Afghanistan; paradoxically, it arouses anger for the destruction of an innocent nation and for the paranoia of a super-power.

Finally, the book lacks even the artfulness of convincing propaganda, and is merely an exercise in boredom.

HAVOVI ANKLESARIA

REPORT ON AFGHANISTAN. Compiled by Asian Lawyers' Legal Inquiry Committee, Lawyers' Association For Democracy, New Delhi.

THE Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. P. N. Lekhi, senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of India, has done an excellent job of exposing all the ugly features of the Russian occupation of Afghanistan. The Committee met in New Delhi from 1st to 3rd December 1981, and went minutely into the details of the evidence at their command.

The Committee members included distinguished lawyers from India and other Asian countries. They were: Mr. Arawyn Cooneretne, Q. C. Attorney-at-law

Supreme Court of Sri Lanka, Mr. H. K. Abdul Hye, Vice-President, National Bar Association, Bangladesh, Mr. Anek Srisanit, Executive Member, Thai Bar Association, Thailand, and Indian Members Mr. I. M. Bhardwaj, Mr. Chirag-ud-din Qureshi, Mr. Arun Jetley, all three leading lawyers of the Supreme Court of India. Mr. Y. K. Mathur, another distinguished member of the Supreme Court Bar, acted as Member-Secretary.

The Report traces the history of Afghanistan, and proves beyond any shadow of doubt that Russians had always aspired to be the most dominant influence in Afghanistan.

The 1964 Constitution defined Afghanistan as a constitutional monarchy, its king to be an Afghan national, a Muslim, and a follower of the Hanafi School of Islam. Members of the royal family were barred from participating in political parties and from major Government posts. It provided bicameral Parliament (Shura), the upper house consisting of 87 members, one-third appointed by the King for a five-year term, one-third elected, i.e. one each from the 29 provinces for a four-year term, and one-third elected from amongst the members of the provincial councils for three years.

The upper house was called Meshrano Jirga. The lower house consisted of 215 members, elected for a four year term by universal adult suffrage. The lower house was called Wolessi Jirga. It is evident from this fact that there was a democratic set-up under the monarch, King Zahir Shah.

When the King was overthrown by his own brother-in-law and cousin Sardar Mohamed Daoud in 1973, the latter declared Afghanistan a Republic and became its constitutional President. Thus democratic traditions were maintained.

When the communists took over under Mr. Noor Mohamed Tarakki by ruthlessly killing President Daoud and all the members of his family the democratic fabric of the country was destroyed. There was a keen contest between the Khalq and Parcham factions of the Communist Party of Afghanistan. As a result, Mr. Tarakki was killed and Mr. Hafizullah Amin took over.

Mr. Amin was probably not convenient to the Russians, and was assassinated. Babrek Karmel came in with the Russian troops. Nobody invited them. They came on their own and imposed themselves on the Afghan people.

ADAM ADIL

THE INDIA OF OUR DREAMS. Editor: M. V. Kamath. IBH Publishing Company, Bombay, Rs. 25. Pp 19 + 226.

JOURNALISTS are generally critics of public affairs, not in the sense of being out only to condemn but as those who look at both sides of a question. By doing that, they perform a very useful and essential public function. They should be acclaimed for it, instead of being blamed. Sometimes they may even take upon themselves the role of pathfinders for the general public.

This book belongs to the latter category. A number of journalists have joined together to draw a picture of the "The India of Our Dreams". They belong to different schools of thought and work for a variety of journals. Ordinarily, there is nothing to unite them except their common feeling for the country of their birth, and their desire to see it triumph over its present difficulties.

There is no doubt in their minds about the ultimate triumph, and yet the remedies that they suggest are not the same.

It is remarkable that not one of the writers has suggested the withdrawal of liberties or the tightening of strings. They all stand for expansion of freedom and for the decentralisation of power. Some have expressed in strong terms their resentment against the recent tendency to concentrate power.

Five prominent journalists have contributed to the volume. In addition, there is a common piece by several economists putting forward their collective point of view.

V. B. KARNIK

NATION IN SEARCH OF ROLE ?

"India is seen as a poor and faraway corner of a lost empire. Indians abroad are the people who run late-night grocery shops; at home they are the object of oxfam charity. . . . For more than 20 years, India has been a nation in search of a role."

—*The Economist*, March 27, 1982.

FREEDOM FIRST

MAY DAY MESSAGE

of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

ON previous occasions, in its May Day Message, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) sometimes particularly emphasized the content of one of the concepts of its motto "Bread, Peace and Freedom".

Now the ICFTU has 130 affiliated organisations in 91 countries on five continents with a total of 85 million members. Compared with the other Internationals, it has the biggest membership figure in both the Western industrialised countries and in the developing countries. Without any doubt, it is therefore justified in highlighting the interdependence of the three ideas contained in the ICFTU motto and their relevance precisely at this time, on the eve of 1 May 1982.

Man conquers space but lets millions of people die illiterate.

Man produces frightening quantities of nuclear warheads and other sophisticated weapon systems but lets millions of people on earth starve to death.

Man successfully develops remedies for the most obstinate diseases but lets millions of people slide into the demoralizing state of unemployment and poverty.

Man looks on when elevated personalities hold conferences and summit meetings, whilst thousands of people in East and West are arrested, tortured and murdered for expressing unacceptable opinions.

Is the world in which Man lives still human? Or is this world already so multinationalised and governed by financial interests that any faith in justice and a better future is futile?

The ICFTU does not think so. It is determined to contribute, together with others, to changing this world for the better.

In this connection, the ICFTU advocates a new international economic and social order. This must lead to the elimination of the glaring inequalities in development and living standards which exist in and between individual countries, regions and continents. The afflictions of hunger, malnutrition, ill health and inhuman living conditions must be eradicated as a matter of urgency.

The ICFTU has called on the political leaders of the North and South to support the Brandt Commission's proposals concerning an urgent special programme costing US \$4 thousand million per year, in order to help the countries which are hardest hit by food shortages. The whole world economy would benefit from a large-scale transfer of resources to the poorest countries.

The leaders of the free trade unions in all parts of

the world concern themselves with safeguarding existing jobs and creating new ones. Unemployment is no counterweight to inflation. Instead of practising protectionism, the same fundamental labour standards must be observed everywhere. The ICFTU is resolutely combating international managements and those representatives of international institutions who want to make use of the current international economic crisis to permanently whittle away the workers' acquired social rights.

Since martial law was declared in Poland, the word "freedom" is on everyone's lips. The ICFTU vigorously condemns the Communist politico-military dictatorship's action. It demands the immediate release of all Solidarnosc members and the observance of freedom of association and trade union rights, as laid down in the conventions adopted by the International Labour Organisation which were also ratified by Poland.

In many other Communist countries, the workers are also deprived of the right to independent representation. There, whoever has the courage to support free trade unions is persecuted or shut away in psychiatric institutes.

But the ICFTU and all its affiliated organisations are also aware of the fact that it is not only in the East that trade union rights and freedom are trampled underfoot.

In Turkey, 52 leading trade unionists risk being condemned to death because of their trade union activities, in the name of a politico-military dictatorship whose ideological orientation is completely different from that of Poland.

In South and Central America, not a week goes by without one or more trade unionists "disappearing" or being imprisoned or murdered.

Apartheid in South Africa is an utterly abominable system, in the name of which very many trade unionists have already lost not only their freedom but also their lives.

These are just a few examples of current, critical situations. The numerous representations, actions and complaints by the ICFTU and its affiliates in the past have often led to releases of prisoners or the restoration of an acceptable situation.

Unfortunately, one can very often observe that nowadays attempts are even being made in democratic countries to restrict the workers' freedom of action. It is therefore absolutely essential to defend these rights more categorically than ever.

In November last year, at an enlarged Executive

Board Meeting, the ICFTU adopted proposals for a trade union policy aiming at peace, security and disarmament.

"Disarm or die" was the main message of the representatives of millions of free trade unionists throughout the world.

In a unanimously adopted appeal, the issues of unemployment, hunger, poverty and oppression were linked to peace and it was shown that defence requirements do not justify the arms race. At the same time, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, States must "refrain . . . from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state".

The ICFTU rejects the myth that nuclear weapons are only for defence and declares that their deterrent effect is outweighed by the threat to security. The idea of a limited nuclear war is a fatal illusion. The ICFTU condemns reliance on nuclear weapons and the build-up of conventional arms and points out that one can be used as a pretext for the other.

The ICFTU urgently calls on governments to disarm or life on earth will be obliterated. It therefore appeals to the governments concerned:

- to abandon the illusion that they can achieve security through increasing nuclear and conventional forces;

- to immediately resume negotiations leading to effective disarmament measures under international control;

- to take and implement confidence-building measures;

- to fully enforce existing treaties, particularly on non-proliferation of nuclear arms;

- to commit themselves to promoting détente between East and West, and solving conflicts through negotiation and agreement in order, in the immediate future,

- to agree on the withdrawal and termination of production of SS 20 missiles by the USSR, and the abandonment of the production and deployment by the USA and its allies of Cruise and Pershing II missiles and the production of enhanced radiation (neutron) weapons.

On May Day, millions of organised workers take part in rallies in all parts of the world in order to show their solidarity with the ICFTU demands: **Bread, Peace and Freedom for everyone.**

Only strong trade unions, united in a strong International, can ensure success in the long run.

Long live May Day!

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GLIMPSES OF OUR WORLD TODAY

1. NORTH KOREA

Seoul: North Korea is holding at least 105,000 political prisoners in labour camps in which many have died of exhaustion or malnutrition, and those trying to escape have been shot, South Korean intelligence officials said yesterday.

The officials, who specialise in monitoring North Korean developments, said that the figure was based on "scientifically reliable information," including reports by defectors from the Communist North. Most of the prisoners were being held without trial.

Some of the prisoners in the eight isolation camps scattered around the country are reported to be former high-ranking North Korean officials. Life in the camps, which are closely guarded and surrounded by barbed wire fences, two of them electrified, is "totally outside civilisation" according to the defectors.

No internees were known to have returned to normal society after entering the camps, where work includes the mining of coal and other minerals, logging, land reclamation and other hard labour. Some had died of exhaustion, malnutrition, or disease and those trying to escape had been shot.

Information about the camps, of which the largest, with about 27,000 prisoners was said to be in Onsong county near the border with the Soviet Union and China, was first disclosed by Mr. Kim Yong Jun, an intelligence agent who defected to Seoul in January.

It was later corroborated by two other northerners, Mr. Shin Yong-Man, who gave himself up to the Tokyo police in March, 1977 after being sent from the North as spy, and Mr. Kang Hyong Sun, a former officer of the Northern Security Ministry, who defected to the South in July 1979, the officials said.

The Guardian, 13-4-82.

2. POLAND

Two leading Solidarity advisers, Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, have smuggled political "testaments" out of the prison. Copies of both papers have reached *The Observer* from Bialoleka jail near Warsaw where both men are held with most of Solidarity executives.

Kuron, Poland's best known opposition intellectual during the Seventies, is concerned that martial law and growing repression will end in a Polish bloodbath. Most of his seven-page document seeks ways of

forcing the Jaruzelski military regime into compromise with society.

He warns: "Violence breeds violence. Those with little patience and even less mental balance will resort to the means which cut both ways: terrorism. Terror ushers in further terror, and its growth cannot be halted by terror. He who sows the wind shall reap the whirlwind."

He argues that the Soviet empire is dying, but not as fast as Polish self-restraint. "This explosive tension could become a conflagration at any time." Appeals against "some types of resistance" will be heeded only if a more effective way of solving Poland's problem can be found.

But martial law has blocked the way to peaceful solutions. Therefore martial law must end, either "by the authorities coming to terms with the nation or by the nation abolishing the authorities. The latter will lead us into direct confrontation with Soviet military power."

The question is how to get the military regime to submit to compromise, before it is too late. Kuron claims: "The resistance movement, well organised and widely based, is the only hope for Poles. Only such a movement can be party to a compromise and only such a movement can hope to quell terrorism."

The resistance, seen by Kuron as non-armed, would "exert continuous pressure on those in power who might possibly support moves towards compromise. The final means . . . will be general strike."

The resistance movement must take decisive action before a "national revolt" erupts and brings Soviet intervention. On the one hand, "the movement's leaders must prepare the nation for the most far-reaching concessions in seeking a compromise with the rulers." On the other hand the resistance must somehow shock the regime into concessions by a "common demonstration."

The Observer, 18-4-82

3. AMERICA

This is the emerging new isolationism. Its elements are roughly there: (1) Don't rock the boat on the Yalta system; (2) No matter what moves the Russians make, do business as usual with them, including the export of high technology to perfect their armaments; (3) Shut your eyes and don't make any noise about Soviet expansionism. It is simply the harvest of popular revolutions in Central America or wherever, against poverty, landlordism, or repressive

regimes, and therefore justified by historical forces; (4) Attack the American response to these revolutions, even when U.S. security is at stake, and even when the geo-political impact may be as close to the U.S. as Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador. Russia's response to threats to its security are understandable.

America's are reactionary, imperialist and outrageous.

Max Lerner: *The New Republic*, 10 March 1982

4. RUSSIA

Clean-cut Communist vigilants dressed in sober suits, are being encouraged to swoop down on parks, discotheques, and factories, and round up all the young people dressed in Western jeans and T-shirts to persuade them that their sartorial style is threatening the fabric of socialism.

That is how two towns in the Ukraine are combating the craze for Western clothing now sweeping the country. The authorities increasingly regard the craze as an insidious attempt to subvert the hearts and minds of Soviet youth.

A doctor of history explained to readers of the youth newspaper, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, today that the raiding parties should be tactful, but should try to shame people into understanding the harm they did by wearing T-shirts decorated with Western slogans and symbols. Some of the slogans, he said, were openly hostile to socialism.

"It often happens that people simply don't understand the meaning of this or that symbol," he added, "The eradication of Western symbols is a serious matter. This is part of the education of young people to ideological maturity, political understanding, and artistic and aesthetic culture."

He called for an intensified war against the jeans culture.

The Times, 16 Jan. 1982

5. CUBA AND ARGENTINA

On the fact of it, Castro's regime in Cuba and Galtieri's military junta seem to be an uncombinable pair—and it is in fact true that up to the end of March of this year they were anything but friendly. Cuba's support for the extreme left guerrillas in Argentina, the Montoneros, was the main reason for the tension. On April 10th, however, Mario Firmenich, the leader of the Montoneros, called on his followers from his Cuban exile for full support for the invasion of the Falkland Islands.

The opposing attitudes of Cuba and Argentina to the problems of Central America have also contributed to the tension between the two. A few

months ago this even led to the recall of ambassadors from Havana and Buenos Aires. As late as March 26th—only a week before the Falklands invasion—the Cuban press was accusing Argentina of "intervention and corruption" in Nicaragua.

Within a few days, however, Cuba effectively wiped out the past. On April 11th, the Cuban ambassador, Emilio Aragones, was back in Buenos Aires promising the full support of Cuba for the Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands. A few days later, the Argentine ambassador to Cuba, Ragueel Vasquez, was back at his post in Havana, and his long absence from Cuba was described as a holiday.

It is in fact true that there are certain similarities between these two regimes. Neither are interested in human rights. Both of them take a totally undemocratic view of their political opponents and have the same intolerant attitude towards internal dissent. World public opinion was particularly confussed on Cuba in 1980, the year in which the attitude of the regime led to a massive emigration of refugees to the United States.

Argentina also has a bad record with regard to the imprisonment of political opponents and general repression. It is true that the succession of military regime which have been inflicted upon Argentina in recent years have imprisoned mostly Communist and extreme leftists caught in the struggle against the guerrilla offensive. But democratic opponents of the regime have also been imprisoned during these times. According to estimates made at the beginning of this year, at least 800 people were then in prison in Argentina on political grounds and without trial.

Swiss Press Review and News Report, 10 May 1982

6. INDIA

The capital's Tihar jail has been the subject of much controversy in the past few years. During the Emergency, it witnessed the detention and torture of political prisoners. Much was written about the living conditions in the jail, but very little was done to improve the state of the jail.

A two-day stay in Tihar recently, by one who had spent the entire Emergency in jail, revealed a very interesting comparison of jail conditions.

The arrogance of the jail officials and their indifference towards either the living conditions of the prisoners, or towards a more reformatory atmosphere in the prison, was the same as before. A prisoner could be slapped at will or an indication to a convict officer to set him right would result in the convict officer assaulting the prisoner with his officer's belt.

The over-crowding in the jail was evident from the fact that there was no room for us in the main

jail and we had to be lodged in the Camp Jail. In fact the semi-constructed hospital of the Camp Jail was also put to use for lodging prisoners.

The beddings provided were inadequate to protect oneself in the Delhi winter, and the cold water baths left many of my co-prisoners with a bad cold. The quality of food was indigestible. Three chappatis in the morning and another three in the afternoon with dal poured on the chappatis was the complete diet. Utensils were available only for a few prisoners and most of us had meals without the utensils.

About thirty people on an average had to use one toilet and none of the toilets had running water inside. The toilets would stink and being attached to the main barracks, the barracks would also stink. A number of prisoners preferred the open verandah, despite the cold weather, rather than sleep inside the stinking barracks. The winter rain which coincided with our stay in jail flooded the barracks as a result of which most of us could not sleep, since the beddings were completely drenched in water.

There was an attempt by one officer of the jail administration to put the blame on another. M. S. Rittu, the earliest victimised Deputy Superintendent, was the officer-in-charge of the Camp Jail. In order to embarrass him and let him face the prisoners, proper supplies would not be made available to the Camp Jail.

The doctors refused to visit the jail wards and also abstained from the Jail hospital on the ground that they wanted security to visit the wards. The prisoners who were ill had to go without medical attention.

The food in the Tihar jail was much worse than what we got during the Emergency as detenus. The conditions were more unhygienic. Medical aid was absent. The jail officials were from the civil service and were complete amateurs at jail administration.

But for those who could buy their comfort, all was available. Prisoners admitted that drugs and alcohol were in free supply. Young undertrials were being subjected to sodomy. Separate mini-kitchens were being run by the senior prisoners.

Nothing much had changed in the jail except a few reforms brought about by the Supreme Court. No prisoner was to be seen in bar-fetters. There was no handcuffing. A complaint box addressed to the District Judge was installed in every ward. But no prisoner knew if the District Judge had ever visited the jail

PUCI Bulletin, Feb. 82
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WITH MANY VOICES

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

—TENNYSON

Reagan could afford to lose General Galtieri, but he might not recover from the loss of Mrs. Thatcher.

—*The Times*, London, April 14.

Middle age is, when you are faced with temptations, you choose the one that will get you home by 9 p.m.

—President Reagan quoted in *Presidential Anecdotes* by Paul Boller (OUP).

For a lady, Mrs. Thatcher has handled herself very well—for a lady.

But it is not a woman's job to tackle the war situation we are threatened with.

—Letter from Ann Gunn to the *Nottingham Evening Post*.

Look at the Right wing of the Gaullist Party and the Left wing of the Socialists — and you see the same xenophobia, the same hatred of European solidarity, the same yen for isolationism and Albanian-style state supremacy.

—Jean-Francois Revel in *Encounter*, June 1981.

Socialism is better than capitalism, but capitalism is better than medievalism, small production, and a bureaucracy connected with the dispersed character of the small producers.

—Lenin at Party Congress on 20th April, 1921.

We must adapt or die.

—Prime Minister P. W. Botha of South Africa in *The Economist*, March 27.

The taxpayers' money moves from the poor in the rich world to the rich in the poor world.

—*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

America is the only country in history which has gone from barbarism to decadence without an intervening period of civilisation.

—Bernard Shaw quoted in *Encounter*, June 1981.