

MARCH 1974

EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

THE PANTHERS WE DESERVE

Arvind A. Deshpande

*"Make no more heroes of God,
Only elevate the race".*

ROBERT BROWNING

EVERY country gets the panthers it deserves. Indian Liberals should welcome the emergence of the Dalit Panther Movement as a hopeful countervailing force in our anarchic democracy.

Let me straight away state the reasons for such an unhesitating stand. They are:

(a) For the first time in independent India we have a movement which is founded on ethical and cultural principles as against a host of movements based on parochial, regional or narrow economic considerations.

(b) After a long spell, i.e., after the emergence of the Congress Socialists in the thirties, here is a movement in which the youth, and more significantly, intellectual activists have taken the initiative.

(c) Finally, because the movement is not sustained by any single ideology and is not formed round any one outstanding individual (which would have made it a prisoner to such identity for all time). It seems capable of combining rational liberalism, the Gandhian technique of moral coercion and radical modernism to provide a basis for a new type of social action. Its poll boycott call was typically Gandhian in technique and is a potentially hopeful sign for the democratic process in our country.

One fervently hopes that the Panthers will always bear in mind that their real strength is their fundamentally ethical appeal and that they will not mistake violence, in deed or word, for strength. If they do not make this discrimination between violence and strength, it will not be long before the standard pattern of Calcutta is repeated in Bombay, namely scurring fights between young people with a vague background of something idealistic, a hazy admiration for mutually exclusive great personalities (Buddha, Shivaji, Dr. Ambedkar & Marx in this case), an emotion shared by a large number of people representing some kind of transformation of the original element of idealism by the catalytic action of frustration followed by an eager-

ness of opportunist leaders to capitalise on this widely shared sense of frustration resulting in mindless violence and finally *emptiness* and a return to square one.

The age-old torture

No liberal Indian or Hindu for that matter will deny that the practice of untouchability is not only sinister but inhuman and immoral. We have all been shocked to find in our midst a large section of people who being "untouchables" have suffered discriminations unthinkable in any civilised society. That is why saints and social reformers from Ram Mohan Roy to Gandhi fought for the abolition of untouchability. The framers

(Continued on page 14)

'A COUNTRY WITHOUT A MAN'

So the gangsters in the Kremlin have done it at last. In the face of global obloquy, they have arrested and deported Solzhenitsyn. Academician Sakharov has rightly described it as an "insult to the whole world".

There can be no doubt about the blazing anger this act will kindle in the hearts of lovers of freedom throughout the world. A thought will also be given to those contemptible people who, whether in Delhi or elsewhere, call the men in the Kremlin their friends.

As its own little token of solidarity with Solzhenitsyn *Freedom First* will in its April issue publish extracts from Solzhenitsyn's writings so that his voice reaches our readers and the facts which the Kremlin seeks to suppress get known.

The banishment of Solzhenitsyn abroad as a stateless person after his being stripped of his nationality was not altogether unforeseen. If this should happen, it was aptly said, "Solzhenitsyn will not become a man without a country; Russia will become a country without a man".

Between You & Me and The Lamp Post



Brickbats and Bouquets

WHILE Bombay escaped a bandh on 11th February as a result of Mr. Dange's successful blackmail of the Maharashtra Government in extorting concessions for the striking textile mill workers, Ahmedabad has had more than its share of civic commotion.

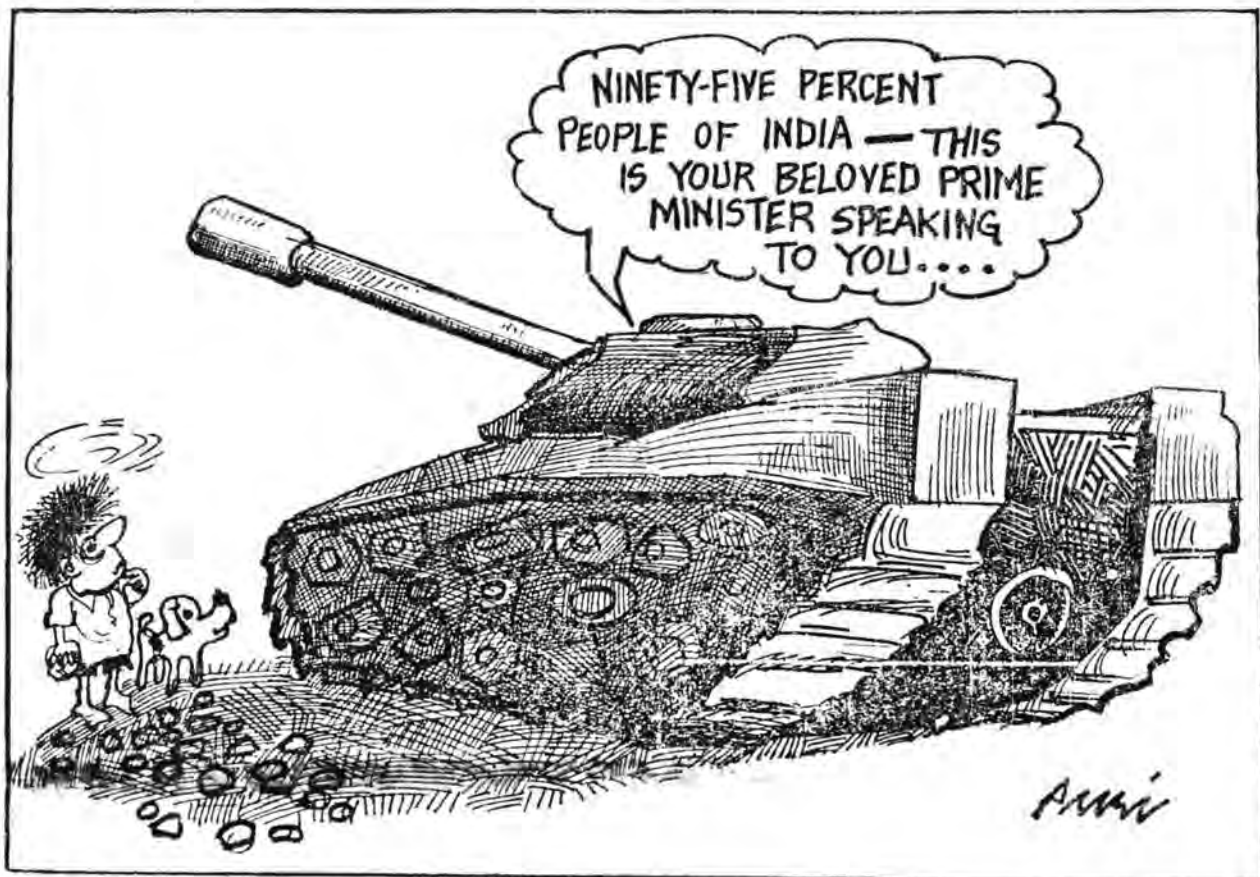
Commenting on the belated calling in of the Army, *Everyman's*, the Delhi journal, wrote that it "only proves a point that needed no proving: that the army can shoot better (in the sense of shooting more accurately) than the police or the SRP." That is surely not the main point that emerges from the developments in Ahmedabad.

What is much more to the point is the manner in which the people welcomed the presence of the troops on the scene. While, on one hand, ministers and members of the ruling party were unable to move about in public due to fear of assault, the Army on the other hand received a warm welcome from the citizens.

Writing in *The Times of India* of 8th February, Inder Sawhny said: "The rapport between the army and the public gains in strength with each passing day. The refrain 'welcome jawans, they are our brothers; we don't want bullets but bread; bullets are meant only for hoarders and ministers' soon swells into a crescendo. Jawans are garlanded; *aartis* are performed."

In the squares the crowds shouted: "Do not go away after two days but take over permanently and rule us well". It got so bad that the Army Commander had to go on AIR to request "the city's population to desist from garlanding the jawans, for this interfered with the performance of their duty."

Nor can it be said that these feelings are confined to Gujarat alone. Dr. D. V. Nadkarni wrote to the newspapers from Dharwar as a Maharashtrian appealing to the Maharashtra State Government "to follow Ahmedabad's example and call in the military as a precautionary measure". He may have well added that, while in Gujarat the Army was called in after the damage



Courtesy: STIR

was done, it would be a far more sensible thing to have troops patrolling as a preventive measure before and not after the mischief is done.

Are all these pointers to the shape of things to come?

The Bombay By-Election

IN the welter of confused comment on the result of the Parliamentary by-election in Bombay Central constituency in January, the "nigger in the woodpile" got safely obscured. The real reason why the Communist candidate, Mrs. Roza Deshpande, won was undoubtedly the presence of Trojan Horses in the ruling party. When they found that their own candidate had no chance of winning and that Dr. Vasant Pandit—an excellent citizen—was heading for victory, these "gentlemen", if they can be called by that name, swung their support to their own secret comrade of the Communist Party. The slip showed clearly in the statement made by the Vice-President of the BPCC, Mr. T. Godiwalla, a life-long Communist, who in a statement to the press voiced great jubilation: "I am happy that the Jana Sangh has not won. The people have voted against high prices. They are still in favour of the Left Wing. They would like the Congress to cooperate with the Leftist forces. The people would be happy if the Fascist forces are routed".

A Staff Reporter of the *Sunday Standard* on 21st January wrote that one of the factions into which the BPCC had split believed "that one of the office-bearers had actually worked in such a way as to ensure the success of the CPI candidate, Mrs. Roza Deshpande, and should be held responsible for the discomfiture of the BPCC."

Commenting on this, an Editorial in *The Statesman* of 17th January said: "Some of the 'progressive' leaders of the BPCC have interpreted Mrs. Deshpande's election as the defeat of the obscurantist forces. The implications are obvious." So they are, so they are.

Opposition 'Language'

IN the course of an interview granted to Mrs. Promilla Kalhan of the *Hindustan Times* late last year, Mrs. Indira Gandhi complained about the language used by the opposition. She said: "The sort of things they say are not said in other places. There is hardly a country where such things are tolerated."

Obviously, the Prime Minister, because of the heavy burdens she carries, has no time to read the foreign press and learn of the things that are said by citizens and politicians abroad about the heads of their own States. It may be useful to quote a few epithets here to help her catch up with her home-work.

Let us start with Britain where it might be imagined that strong language is at a discount and to be avoided. Take, for instance, Mr. Minister Edward

Short, Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, who called Prime Minister Edward Heath "a rigid pig-headed man" and "a latter-day Nero playing his organ while Britain burns." Mr. Short said that the Prime Minister had lost his senses and called on his colleagues "the Carrs, the Whitelaws, the Josephs to knock some sense into him before we are all ruined."

Going one step better, Mr. Anthony Benn, Labour's Shadow Secretary for Industry, said: "The Prime Minister is a very dangerous man. This country will be brought to its knees unless the British people can bring the Prime Minister to his senses before he can inflict any more damage to us all." Even Mr. Heath's fellow Tory, Mr. Enoch Powell, questioned the "mental and emotional stability of the head of the Government." Much earlier, Mr. Aneurin Bevan had said of Mr. Winston Churchill and the Conservative Party: "So far as I am concerned, they are lower than vermin."

In America, of course, President Nixon's opponents have not hesitated to question his honesty and character in a manner in which no one has ventured to do in this country in so far as the Prime Minister is concerned. Mr. Stewart Alsop, until recently an ardent supporter of Nixon, wrote recently in his column in *Newsweek*, "to a quite astonishing extent, Richard Nixon can also be an ass, and that is his downfall".

The Prime Minister had better not put ideas into the minds of the Opposition leaders by making comparisons with countries abroad. The result might be exactly the reverse of what she intends.

Mercy Killing

AMONG the saddest examples of Man's inhumanity to Man is the way in which old, decrepit and incurably afflicted people are denied the right to put an end to their agonies and are kept alive forcibly under the slogan of the "sacredness of human life". There are numerous victims of this taboo who linger on for years on end, pleading and praying for death

IN THIS ISSUE

What should be the liberal attitude towards the Dalit Panthers who have surfaced recently? Arvind Deshpande suggests a welcome but with a caveat.

From the Panthers to the students Geeta Doctor tells the story of the recent siege at Rajabai Tower.

The Indian brand of socialism is discussed by Lt. Col. H. R. Pasricha.

Reviews of books and a film complete the issue.

but denied the sovereign grace which every horse and dog in those conditions is accorded.

It is good to know that, on 14th December last, the Lok Sabha gave permission to Mr. M. C. Daga, a Congress MP, to introduce a Bill on Mercy Killing. It provides for a person completely invalid, bedridden and afflicted by an incurable disease to be put to sleep if he so desires. Mr. Daga quite rightly claims that this would relieve thousands of sufferers in India. The Lok Sabha too deserves congratulation, along with Mr. Daga, for having given leave to introduce the Bill by 71 votes to 15. It is to be hoped that, like the law for the legalising of abortion, this will prove to be a pioneering piece of legislation.

'The Empress in Decline'

ONE wonders whether those who have professed to see a Congress-Communist cleavage developing and wishfully believed that the Prime Minister was drifting away from her Communist allies have taken note of the two latest straws in the wind. One of these is the Prime Minister's appeal on February 9 to voters to vote for Communist candidates during the elections in UP and Orissa on the ground that "the domestic and foreign policies of that party are the same as those of the Congress". The other is the appointment of Mr. K. D. Malaviya as Cabinet Minister for Steel and Mines in the place rendered vacant by the demise of Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam. Like the signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty earlier, this appointment marks a further step down the slippery slope of satellitism to the Soviet Dictatorship. Malaviya, as evidenced by his public conduct and frequent movement between Delhi and Moscow and his winning of the Lenin Prize — which is given only to the faithful—a year back is par excellence Moscow's man. His appointment means, if anything, a slap in the face of all those who had looked forward to more pragmatic and less Marxist policies at the Centre. It symbolises the process which has led the *London Economist* in its issue of January 26 to describe the Prime Minister as "The Empress in Decline".

The decline is moral as well as political. Mr. Malaviya was removed from the Cabinet in 1963 by Prime Minister Nehru, despite their personal bonds, as a consequence of an enquiry conducted by Justice S. K. Das of the Supreme Court who had found him guilty on two charges of financial impropriety involved in his relations with a Calcutta businessman, Mr. Serajuddin, who has now passed away. In an attempt at placating Moscow by a suitable replacement to Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam, the Prime Minister has thrown all considerations of decency and public morality to the winds.

The four Opposition Parties who have demanded that the report of Mr. Justice Das finding Mr. Malaviya

guilty should be made public are flapping their wings in the air. They will get no change.

Disgrace Abounding

SINCE public memory is short, it would be worthwhile while quoting from Mr. Noorani's book, *Ministers' Misconduct*, which is a painstaking study of corruption in India:

"In 1956, Mohammed Serajuddin was the managing partner of Messrs. Serajuddin and Co., a firm of mine owners operating in Orissa. Serajuddin's financial contributions to the Congress Party were fairly well-known. In 1956 the business premises, offices and residences of Serajuddin and some of his colleagues were searched in connection with the charge of evasion of Income Tax and customs duty, and the authorities thus came to acquire his private papers and account books which contained entries showing payments and gifts to some Central Ministers. *Anand Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta in its issue of 6 February 1963 broke the news.

"Dwivedy lost no time in demanding an investigation of the charges. The Prime Minister's reaction was no less quick. He sought from Dwivedy details about the charges. Dwivedy replied on 26 February 1963 demanding an inquiry. All that Nehru could tell the Lok Sabha immediately was that he had asked for a report and after finding the truth would take necessary action. Shortly after this, K. D. Malaviya, the Union Minister for Mines and Fuel, admitted to the Congress Parliamentary Party's executive that he had recommended to Serajuddin the Congress candidate who fought the Assembly election in 1957 from the Basti Constituency in U.P., which was comprised in Malaviya's own parliamentary constituency, for a financial contribution of Rs. 10,000 and that these Rs. 10,000 had been received. This confession stunned the listeners and soon became public property.

"Speaking in the Lok Sabha on 11 April, 1963, on the demands for grants to the Ministry of Mines and Fuel, Mr. Hem Barua reminded the House that as late as 25th February of that year, Malaviya had "forwarded" an application from Messrs. Serajuddin and Co. to the Commerce and Industry Ministry for a Rs. 2 crore licence to be given to them to import machinery for the Oil and Natural Gas Commission on a private barter deal from Czechoslovakia against manganese ore from the firm.....

When Members of Parliament tried to ascertain the truth in the Lok Sabha in April 1963, Mr. Manubhai Shah, then Minister of International Trade, told members that the firm owned by Mr. Serajuddin was not allowed to import machinery for the ONGC in return for manganese ore because the Company was "under a cloud".

"The question which people asked," Mr. Noorani

continues, "was: Why did Malaviya forward the application of such a firm to the Commerce and Industry Ministry? 'Was not the forwarding of such an application tantamount to a recommendation?' they asked. There were persistent demands for an inquiry about the whole affair in Parliament and outside and it was clear that the demand could no longer be denied. Nehru, however, adopted a strange course. He referred the papers to C. K. Daphtary, the Attorney General, who advised a full inquiry. But instead of setting up a regular Commission of Inquiry, Nehru chose to have a quasi-judicial inquiry by a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court, Justice S. K. Das. It was a grossly improper procedure and it was most unfortunate that Nehru should have suggested and the Judge should have accepted such an assignment.

"On 7th May 1963, Nehru reported to the Lok Sabha the result of the Attorney General's examination and his own decision to have a private inquiry. Nehru was quite categorical: 'There is going to be no judicial inquiry as such. This matter essentially is a matter for the Prime Minister to decide on the advice of some eminent persons. It will naturally be a quasi-judicial inquiry because there is a Supreme Court Judge. It is not a normal judicial inquiry. It is not that with judicial procedures and all that. It will be up to him to decide of course.' As Nehru put it, it was to be 'a private unobtrusive inquiry without any fuss. Whatever recommendations the Judge gives will be sent to me.'

This was, no doubt, to spare Malaviya the embarrassment of a thorough public inquiry.

"Nehru announced the result of this inquiry in a statement to the Lok Sabha on the 17th August 1963. Nehru revealed that of the six findings four were in favour of Malaviya and two were not. He conceded that his acceptance of Malaviya's resignation 'was certainly partly conditioned by Justice Das's Report obviously'. Yet, he went out of his way to say that 'I am not personally convinced that Shri Malaviya has done anything which casts a reflection on his impartiality and integrity.' Nehru refused to make this report public on various grounds. Dwivedy challenged Nehru to contradict him when he said that the Judge wanted only four or five paragraphs containing personal remarks not to be released. Nehru, however, stuck to his decision not to publish the report on the ground that with the omission the report would become 'truncated and pointless'.

"Eight years later, when Sarjoo Prasad Commission of Inquiry, which was probing into the charges against Harekrushna Mahtab in respect of Mahtab's dealing with Serajuddin, asked the Union Home Ministry to send a copy of the report, the Ministry first said that the report was a secret document, and later that it was untraceable. The Malaviya-Serajuddin affair left everyone convinced that when it came to his favourites Nehru would strain every nerve to avert a thorough inquiry."

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Geeta Doctor

"THEY'LL never attack us here," said the Librarian with a complacent smile. "All the gates have been locked. We're like a fort."

"A fort!" At the word, the vast vaulted interior of the University Library dissolved and re-organised itself into a sombre, stony stronghold. I had always thought of it as a church with its dark sweeping ceiling in panelled wood, its stained glass windows filtering the light into a mellow tranquil and the slow ritualistic manner in which the Librarian and her altar boys distributed the literary artifacts stored there. Now I realised that a church could also be regarded as a fort.

The enemy advanced in waves across a strip of yellow desert known as the Oval Maidan. "Undergraduates" said someone wistfully, "if only I were in the B.A. I would join them." There was nothing however quite so benign about them as they came nearer yelling "Hail Hail Topel!" as their war-cry and exploding crackers. Battalion after disorganised battalion, in terylene pants and discordant t-shirts, marched to the Vice-Chancellor's office, while inside the ribbed cage of the library, we felt as remote and hidden from such mundane passions as though we were sitting in learned contemplation inside the belly of a whale.

When the attack started, therefore, it took us by surprise. The enemy had suddenly decided to change its tactics and renew the offensive from this, the soft unprotected underside of the University, where the Library stood, with its scaleable walls and its delicate wrought iron gates, manned by only a pair of constables. As the first volley of shouts rammed through the gothic windows, pens raised their heads in annoyance and then watched in alarm as the scene outside darkened and thronged, with waving tentacles of hands and heads. A Nun who had been serenely inspecting the number of souls in the index swiftly made the sign of the cross, while the statues guarding each end of the Library stared with stony expressions which clearly revealed that they were not amused. The Hon. Henry Fawcett for example, a massive marble of a man, who presided over two equally massive tomes of the United States Catalogue seemed with his stern gaze to be crying, "Away, with those wretches to the dungeons!" while Sir George Birdwood, a gentler soul examining with his bronze fingers a delicate statuette of Tara, seemed to mutter, "These bloody natives are getting quite out of hand."

Defence

It was then that the Librarian made her remark about the fort, which far from being reassuring, only emphasized the fact that if they could not get in, we

could not get out either. This was when we started looking around, assessing the suitability of the place to withstand an assault. The walls were excellent, made of solid stone, with turrets, outer passages, stone escarpments on which stood facsimiles of departed worthies who would serve well as the first line of defence. The doors were massive monoliths of timber kept open by bronze stoppers in the form of lions—just what we needed to keep out the hordes, except that it seemed doubtful whether anyone could lift the stoppers let alone shut the doors. The Library attendants tied into their billowing white garments designed in the pre-button era, seemed to be as ancient as their apparel and did not appear to be men of action. The Police we hoped would take care of that, though from the manner in which they were containing the enemy at the gates, they did not seem men of action either, for they kept brushing the students off the gates in the tired ineffectual manner of a person swatting flies. We did however have one good advantage over the enemy, and that was our height, the Library was high up on the first floor, built in the days when the designers seemed to have envisaged the possibility of just such an attack. In dire extremity, the windows, narrow apertures in the stone walls, could be manned by three of four persons and we could pelt the mob with the heavy ammunition of encyclopaedias and catalogues that were so neatly and conveniently stacked in cupboards in between the windows. Of course it seemed unlikely that the Librarian, whose brain had been programmed to ration out only two books at a time, would ever be able to condone such activities, but one can never tell how people behave in times of stress.

The routine series of actions that followed are of course common knowledge, digested in the next day's headlines along with the morning coffee, . . . students throwing stones, students breaking windows, the authorities giving in to the students, the students withdrawing their agitation. What actually happened is that having stormed the University, the leadership ran out of ideas. So, the moderates decided that they had had enough and walked home, the activists contended themselves by deflating tires and breaking windows while the sub-anthropoids reverted to form and swung happily from trees and statues.

It was some time before the melee dispersed. Not wanting to be incarcerated indefinitely inside, I hurriedly made my way to a secret passage at the back, hoping that I could get out unnoticed. But just as I turned the corner, a rebel accosted me with a desperate look in his eyes, "Where is the men's water room?" he queried. I shook my head and fled.

ON UNDERSTANDING TOTALITARIANISM

A. H. Doctor

TODAY with so much being written and said about "totalitarian" states and systems a clarification and even a defense of the concept has become necessary. Many scholars have labelled the term "totalitarianism" as misleading, out of date, politically loaded and used with improper motives. Herbert Spiro thinks it is a "cold war" term and argues that the features claimed for totalitarian systems are also found in the USA. Herbert Marcuse holding a similar view speaks of the "repressive tolerance" of the USA and of the "non-terroristic economic-technical co-ordination which operates through the manipulation of needs by vested interests". Benjamin Barber speaks of how individuals in "free societies can be victimised by private monopolies beyond the pale of public regulation and adds, "Indeed, because the state is politically controllable and its activities are visible, its threats to personal liberty are, in some ways, less pernicious than those emanating from unrecognised influence..."

Leonard Schapiro's "Totalitarianisms" — (Pall Mall, London), is a very timely publication exposing not only the fallacies in the above arguments but also contributing towards better understanding by providing a lucid re-statement and defense of the concept.

"Sham"

No amount of finding vague similarities between western democracies and the Soviet system (like "invisible pressures and interests foster an ideology in the United States as all pervasive as Soviet ideology" as Marcuse does) can gloss over certain very obvious differences. First, in the western democracies no means exist to exclude other ideologies or criticism of the official one. Secondly, citizens in the USA can appeal to independent courts if denied their rights and liberties which the law entitles them to. In contrast the Soviet citizen has no legal means of any kind to enforce the rights and liberties which his "sham" constitution guarantees. Thirdly, even though powerful business houses can force destitution on thousands, how can this be compared to the Soviet ruling elite which keeps such complete control over the employment of every citizen that it can, at any time it desires, render any citizen a destitute; and be it noted, that unlike democracies, denial of employment in the USSR means being forced to take up lower level and less suitable work like a teacher being forced to drive tram-cars as actually occurred in Czechoslovakia.

One example will illustrate the striking differences in the two systems. In 1971 scientist, Zhores Medvedev was forcibly detained in a lunatic asylum and it never

became clear to the victim and those near to him who the particular authority was that set in motion the detention which even in terms of the vague provisions of Soviet law was illegal. Since the case so graphically illustrates the difference between "totalitarian systems" and "democratic systems" (a difference glossed over by the rhetoric of Marcuse and others) it is worthwhile quoting at some length, Schapiro's comments on the case. "Dr. Medvedev could neither recover his liberty through the courts, nor seek redress by action after the event, since neither remedy is provided for in Soviet law. In this particular case each of the separate 'authorities' at the local level to which appeals were made by the brother, wife, and influential friends of the detained man was evasive, incapable of action, and covered up its own servile incompetence by lying and trickery—the KGB, the Ministry of Health, the medical bodies, the party, and the local Soviet. Release was obtained as a result of over two weeks of agitation and pressure by courageous individuals, both inside and outside the USSR, and at all levels."

Schapiro's contribution towards the understanding of the concept lies not only in defending it against its critics but also in presenting an extremely clear and simple exposition by outlining what he calls its contours and detailing its instruments. To establish the salient features or contours of the concept, Schapiro undertakes a detailed examination of three prototypes—all belonging to our age, viz. Nazism under Hitler, Fascism under Mussolini and Communism under Stalin. The outlines presented by Schapiro should prove an eye-opener to citizens of all democratic countries and are particularly relevant to citizens of the underdeveloped economies keen on retaining a democratic system.

The first feature or contour that strikes the scholar or observer of the totalitarian systems is the unique position and role of "the leader". The leader in such systems tries to elevate himself to the position of an indispensable agent through developing a personality cult and through adroit propaganda. To bolster the leader's image as invincible and infallible, opponents are terrorised and silenced, decisions are taken in advance (by decree and ordinances) and unanimity is simulated by a combination of "terror, intrigue and showmanship". Often the leader comes to power by using the party but after coming to power tries to destroy (as Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin succeeded) the institutional nature of the party (that is, a group having a political life of its own) and convert it into a band of obedient followers. In fact the leader endeavours to destroy any rival institution whether it

be his own or an opposition party, bureaucracy, army, or even the judiciary.

Contempt

The subjugation of the legal order is the next contour or feature of totalitarian systems. All the three leaders studied by Schapiro—Hitler, Mussolini Marx and even Lenin — had an overwhelming contempt for lawyers. The Bolsheviks on their coming to power swept law, bench and bar away. Usually totalitarian leaders to get around the legal order replace the word "laws" by such other words as "the Führer's will" (Hitler), "Supreme interest of the party", "History", or "Higher Law" (like the Soviet "Higher Law of the Revolution").

Allied with the desire to subjugate the legal order, is the desire for control over private morality. Lenin told the Young Communists in 1920: "We recognise nothing private. Our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. . . . We do not believe in eternal morality." This desire results in control over education and requires a strict censorship. But as Stalin insisted, not only should people stay silent, with regard to what the State (leader) did not approve, they should actually say or write required things in the approved form.

The remaining two features of totalitarian systems are mobilization of the masses on the side of the leader and acquiring mass legitimacy. To harry the population on his side the leader often claims that the nation is pursuing some great and noble aim, to which all effort must be constantly devoted and that this aim is being frustrated by internal and external enemies who must be destroyed. This mobilization enables the leader to terrorise those not in agreement with him and also entails complete control over private property traditionally regarded as one of the main safeguards of the individual against the encroachments of the government. Once complete control over employment is acquired (through the control of all property), this control becomes an effective substitute for physical terror.

What distinguishes modern totalitarian systems from older tyrannies, monarchies and aristocracies is their claim to derive their legitimacy from the mass of the people. This is true of all the three prototypes studied by Schapiro. Thus in the Soviet case great care is taken to preserve mass democracy as the symbol of legitimacy. Soviet elections thus play a symbolic role, as does the Supreme Soviet (the legislature).

Pillars

In addition to these five contours or characteristics of the totalitarian system, Schapiro speaks of the three main instruments through which the leader seeks to maintain himself in power. The ideology, the party

and the army and police are the "three distinctive pillars upon which the Leader's rule is based."

Ideology comprises roughly of all those ideas and beliefs which a nation/leader consciously or unconsciously inculcates in the citizens by a whole variety of means. And, according to Schapiro, it was from Marx that ideology "derived its somewhat tarnished image as a deceptive (or self-deceptive) even hypocritical set of ideas which really served self-interest while purporting to express ideals". The value of the social doctrine propounded by the leader need not and often does not lie in its truth, but in the fact that it becomes a driving force through being accepted as a myth. Its function is to strengthen the legitimacy of the leader's rule, to justify and exalt the leader or the revolution he has brought about, and to neutralise by ideological justification the serious moral revulsion against the atrocities and brutalities perpetuated by the leader. For this purpose it becomes essential for the leader to maintain "a monopoly of the official ideology" by keeping out rival ideologies and also "to enforce a vacuum" which means "keeping out both arguments and factual information which could in any way challenge the official ideology".

Subordinate

Finally, the leader in the totalitarian system finds it necessary to reduce the party from its position as an independent institution to a subservient body of disciplined followers. Stalin for instance completely destroyed whatever little institutional character the Communist Party had in Lenin's time and individual members were plainly and manifestly dependent on the Leader's continuing favour. Equally vital is it for the leader to have complete and effective control over the police and the army for these are the enforcement arms of the leader's policies. In fact, the logic of the totalitarian system cannot stop with control over only these instruments. Since the essence of the system is to allow no rival institution that can challenge the leader's power and authority, it becomes essential to subordinate the church, the trade union, in brief, society.

Schapiro's exposition of the concept is a must for every student of political science and for anybody interested in contemporary government and desirous of knowing the real and inside working of the so called "people's democracies". A good and very worthwhile follow-up exercise for the citizens of underdeveloped economies where democracy is still young would be to examine the working of their own political system to see if it exhibits any of the traces of the totalitarian system so that, being armed with the knowledge of what constitutes a totalitarian system and given due vigilance, the continuance of democracy may be ensured.

BLESSINGS OF INDIAN SOCIALISM

H. R. Pasricha

INDIAN socialism, as now practised, is a very esoteric faith not unlike mysticism. The apostles of the faith have, very cleverly and probably intentionally, kept it shrouded in mystery refusing to enlighten even the novitiates, let alone the general public. At some stage, the novitiates learn the inner truth of the faith, but more from example than precept.

The common man may, therefore, be forgiven if he comes to attach several and different meanings to the faith—each one according to his need. In fact, it has come to mean many things to different people and different things to many people. In general, the people have become convinced that the heaven of socialism can be easily attained by means of nationalisation. Limits of nationalisation have never been clearly delineated for the obvious reason that there need be no limits at all, and also; because this nebulous state of affairs suits the apostles eminently. It keeps the owners of filthy lucre on tenterhooks, in fear and anxiety about the future. At the time of elections, it enables the apostles to squeeze money out of the money-bags—black money which they have enabled and encouraged them to accumulate by an ingeniously designed system of controls. That, however, is only a bye-product of socialism.

To simplify matters, it could be stated that if the element of social welfare (which an intelligent capitalist should accept and welcome) is syphoned off from socialism, then the residue is Nationalisation and State Capitalism, or, vice-versa, socialism minus nationalisation and state capitalism is social welfare. The concept of social welfare, in this context, is broad and includes social justice, rule of law, freedom of speech and ownership of property. Not by bread alone... (St. Mathew, 4.4.) What good are ample wages to a worker if he cannot buy property by judicious saving? And who would like to trade freedom for bread alone? However, recondite truth may lie in the fact that the apostles do not envisage the right of the worker to ask for more than a living wage.

Socialism—a Nirvana?

The common man in India has been encouraged vicariously to believe that socialism is the ultimate remedy, the panacea, for all his misfortunes. Whenever that ill-founded faith shows signs of flagging, recourse is had to a fresh act of nationalisation to boost his faith and morale. The same trick is equally handy for an emerging apostle to project himself or herself as a new Messiah. The common man, riddled with ancient superstitions, has blind faith in miracles which

enables him to weave fancy, rose-coloured dreams of easy money through expropriation of the wealthy against whom he has a perpetual grudge. Enervated by a taxing climate of humid heat, he has detested work through centuries and looked for sinecures to spend his days in effortless ease and comfort, emulating the rich who abhor physical exertion and regard it the privilege of the underdog. Little wonder, the worker—industrial, urban and rural—embraces the esoteric faith with relief and glee without insisting on any definition. It was the long awaited miracle, his innermost heart's desire, which was to usher in a labour millenium. It was to mean plentitude for him and his ever-increasing brood (which he hates to limit) with the minimum of effort. Therefore, the slogan: Maximum wage for minimum work.

The apostles, as well as the union leader, have deliberately desisted from explaining to the worker that work is necessary for his own welfare as for that of the capitalist. The union leader is a new and burgeoning class which has grown up under the aegis and encouragement of the apostles. He has matured to the deep conviction that scruples of any kind are old-fashioned, reactionary shiboliths which must be swept away. They have no place in a progressive creed like socialism. He has learnt and practises with consummate skill the art of squeezing money out of the industrialist by threatening a strike or actually staging one. The industrialist, upto all kind of sly tricks himself, pays such hush money willingly. Quite often he keeps the union leader satisfied with a regular monthly present. On the positive side, it must be acknowledged, that trade-union work has provided a new channel of employment to that sector of our population which would be unemployable on any criterion of worth or merit.

During elections, the trade union leaders are of great help. They turn out their cohorts to undertake certain jobs which the others are unwilling to do on grounds of old-fashioned ideas of rectitude. For example, the cohorts have been known to simplify and abbreviate the arduous work of electoral officers by stamping all the ballot-papers even before a single voter has arrived at the booth. This thoughtful labour of love helps the apostles win elections.

The spell of socialism is very widespread. Even the capitalist accepts his ultimate fate stoically because it is going to affect the whole class. What is common is just common place. The bourgeoisie swears by it bell, book and candle, and agitates daily for more and more nationalisation. Witness how strongly it agitated for the nationalisation of banks. Actually, this particular class has been hardest hit by the crushing burdens of advanc-

ing socialism. Depreciation of the value of the rupee and rising cost of living have played hell with him, but he is too dense to connect his increasing misery and penury (despite rising emoluments) with the socialistic policies of the apostles. Inflation to him is but a word; its impact on the middle class in a poor country not clear. He is lulled into complacency by the apostles "inflation is world-wide phenomenon and, therefore, inescapable. The rising cost of living stems from the disgraceful activities of hoarders and black-market-eers."

Similarly, the bourgeoisie has not connected progressive socialist policies with rampant corruption and deterioration of moral standards. The crushing burden of making two ends meet drives girls of this class on to the streets. The apostles now openly declare that corruption has become the way of life in this country and we have to learn to live with it, the implication being that fault lies with those who complain of it instead of adjusting themselves to this gift of socialism.

For every ill that assails Indian economy, the socialist has an eminently appropriate, corrective remedy. Insufficient grain production, for example. Compulsory acquirement and take over of the wholesale grain trade. Crack-brained schemes of land reform and lowering of land ceiling which diminish incentives to produce more. The noble aim is to provide land for the landless whose increasing tribe would soon so divide the land holdings as to reduce individual holdings to the size of postage stamps. It is immaterial if such fragmentation of holdings would lead to a steep fall of agricultural produce. After all, there are the capitalist countries to fall back upon. The godhead of socialism has had to do it and Bhai, Bhai China too. So we would be following in their distinguished footsteps. Emulation of the progressive people is admirable, is it not?

Postage Stamp Holdings

Russia, for example, took over all land from the farmer leaving only postage-stamp size holdings with them, didn't it? And what good job they have made of the picayune holdings — producing more proportionately from them than the big state farms. Why should our people not be able to get along with postage-stamp holdings? Curmudgeons keep wailing that these policies only create more problems for the next generation. Always to be bound by thoughts of the future is a typically reactionary outlook, probably, a relic of the ancient Hindu pre-occupation with the next world. And why, in the name of Heaven above, should the next generation not have a few problems bequeathed to it. It is healthy to have problems to solve. Didn't the present generation have plenty of them?

All this has something to do with the widely held conviction by the socialists in particular, and Indians generally, that they are extraordinary people, versatile geniuses specially gifted to solve all problems of all

kinds. The less knowledge and experience they have the stronger the abovementioned convictions. Most nations of the world have special aptitudes, a penchant, a special genius built into their national character. Given a small undertaking commercial or industrial an American would build it into a multinational affair. The British have perseverance and doggedness. In the midst of the worst possible misfortune, business as usual is their motto. Little wonder Hitler remarked in exasperation, "The British do not know when they are defeated". The Indian has a genius too, but of a twisted kind. Give him a running concern and he would mess it up in no time — result of his efforts to display his organisational originality. The most outstanding example of this great genius of the Indian is the state of affairs in which the country finds itself after a brief period of two and a half decades. The Government is doing its very best to make the Marxian prediction come true: in a true socialist society, the government must wither away.

There is not just a whiff of Weimar in Britain.
There is a smell of Argentina.

—The Economist, February 9.

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SOLIDARITY WITH SOLZHENITSYN

Indian Writers' Protest

THE P.E.N. All India Centre at its Annual General Meeting on February 18 adopted unanimously the following resolution:

"This 40th Annual General Meeting of the P.E.N. All-India Centre deplores the recent expulsion of the Nobel Prize-winner, the distinguished novelist ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN, from his country and his being stripped of his natural citizenship;

that it does so solely out of a devoted regard for the fundamental value of the freedom of creative expression and intellectual inquiry, to which such actions of governments are detrimental;

that this Meeting extends its sympathy to Mr. SOLZHENITSYN as to a fellow writer in misfortune, and hopes that he will nevertheless find inspiration and opportunity for creative fulfilment."

It was decided to forward this resolution to Mr. Solzhenitsyn, Chairman Podgorny and to the Press.

STATEMENT ABOUT OWNERSHIP AND OTHER PARTICULARS OF FREEDOM FIRST

Form IV (See Rule 8)

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1st March 1974

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Reviews

LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS

Veran Jivan: by Kamalashankar Pandya; (K. P. Sanman Samittee; Butala & Co.; Baroda 1. pp. 500; Rs. 20/-).

HOW should a person born in 1904, educated at the Gujarat Vidyapeeth — a national institute founded by Gandhi — who spent the prime of his life in the freedom movement in both British and 'Native' India, feel when he lives in free India? Surely, he feels and bound to feel after a quarter of century of freedom, that this life was and is spent in the wilderness. The dreams, ideals, hopes, everything for which the freedom-fighters and men in public life stood seem to be in shambles. Shri Kamalashankar Pandya, a freedom-fighter to the core and a man of public life in essence, in his autobiography leaves the reader pensive and unhappy at the end of the book.

Born in 1904 in a typical Brahmin family, Mr. K. turns to be an atheist, fighting through his life against all Hindu traditions, customs and rituals. Even though the parental expectation was to make him, as usual, an 'I.A.S.', he enters Gujarat Vidyapeeth, comes out as a 'Snatak' graduate, a total misfit for the usual channels of employment. The Vidyapeeth almost brain-washed him to enter public life and fight for the public interests. He makes Panchmahals—a backward and border district of Gujarat—his field of operation.

His studies and deliberations in prison convert him to a 'socialist'. In public life he aligns himself with the socialist group in the Congress, fights against even Gandhi and Sardar in Gujarat, then a citadel of Indian National Congress. He struggles to give the Congress a socialist slant. However, his Gandhian conscience always guides him to be loyal to the Congress, throughout he insists on sincerity of purpose, unity of public and private life, cent per cent integrity, honesty in the use of public money, voluntary poverty, sacrifice of personal and family life, an unshakable faith in education of the masses, and avoidance of all personal image-building publicity.

With these qualities to offer, when freedom arrives, he finds himself a misfit even in public life. Nehru becomes a grand 'commissar', J. P. and Ashoka Mehta aspire to be leaders of an alternative to the Congress. Lohia resorts to militant socialism, Masani organises the Swatantra Party! Kamalashankar leaves public life.

Later, like Gandhi, he starts building educational institutions in Panchmahals and Baroda. Crossing all political barriers he helps a number of public causes including the 'Lokshahi Suraksha Samittee', a council for defending Democracy, and becomes its Secretary at the time of the 1967 elections. Yet by 1971 the Defenders of Democracy, to his dismay, walk over to 'Nai Roashni'. He finds himself alone, a tired and forsaken defender of his own conscience! He ruminates

over the past, and gives us an autobiography, 'A Life In The Wilderness'.

Essentially, Kamalashankar, though in the rough and tumble of public life, is a teacher, and a Gandhian teacher, who wanted to build people, stand by truth and causes, rejecting all posts, positions, parties and publicity. His autobiography provides a rich source of data about public life in Gujarat. He has secured a permanent place in biographical literature in the Gujarati language.

RAMESH M. BHATT

A WELCOME JOURNAL

THE first issue of the new bi-monthly called *Asian Affairs — An American Review* was published in September-October 1973. It is edited by Mr. William Henderson and published by Crane, Russak & Co., Inc., New York, for the American-Asian Education Exchange, Inc. The first issue contains 56 pages and is priced at \$ 2 per copy.

This journal deals essentially with countries of Asia with special attention to policy questions and more so American policy towards them. It contains articles by qualified writers who are either professors of long and high standing or advisors attached to various institutions. The result is that the articles are in the form of miniature theses—very informative to those who have academic interests, journalists and also people involved in Asian Politics and business.

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Film

THE FRENCH CONNECTION

THE French Connection" is a detached and elusive film. A tight paced, totally absorbing plot completely rivets the audience as two narcotics agents get wind of a huge heroin shipment from France and track the biggest potential drug bust of their careers through modern day New York City. The portrayal of the city is realistic and the subject of drug dealing controversial, giving ample opportunity for a moral or sociological message, but the film refrains from comment.

A basic assumption of "The French Connection" is that dealing in drugs is bad. Scenes of sleazy bars and sick motiveless junkies contrasted with the *House Beautiful* decors of suave drug financiers, underscores the fact that heroin dealers make money from the misery of others. The audience accepts this point of view and immediately sympathizes with the police against the drug dealers. This sympathy gets them involved in a tighter and tenser series of cops and robbers pursuits; serious sophisticated Keystone Cops chases.

Since the bulk of the audience are neither drug dealers nor narcotics agents, this emotional empathy with the police is ironic. When it comes to regard for the safety of private citizens, the police are as careless as the crooks. Doyle nearly mows down a woman pushing a baby carriage, while he chases a pusher through New York City. Friends of Doyle, driving his car, are brutally murdered by mistake.

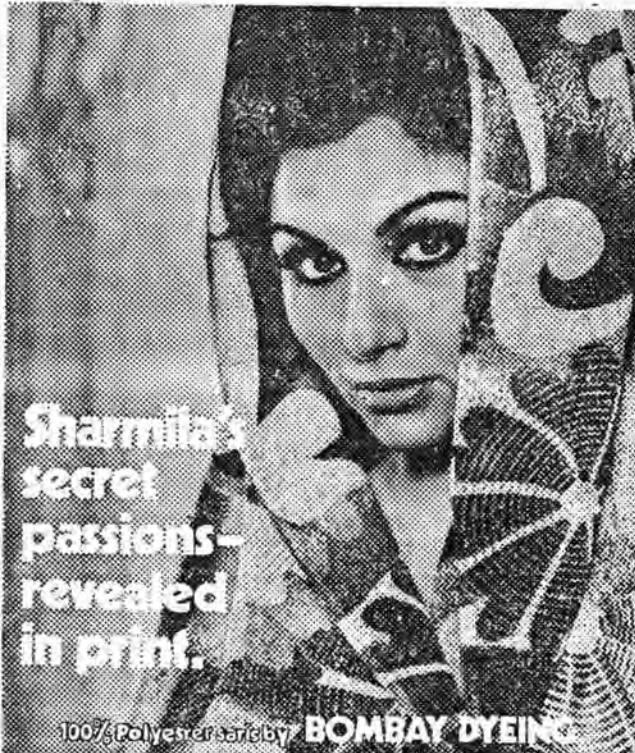
Popeye Doyle becomes totally obsessed with the chase. Part of the detachment of the film lies in the fact that Doyle never states his reasons for being so intent on catching the criminals. Neither he nor his partner speak a word about possible promotion as a result of success. The only professional motivation seems to be a fear of being put back onto routine police duty, unpleasant, but hardly a source of monomania. And Doyle does not have any particular stated moral repugnance towards heroin dealing or its tragic effects on users.

One possible source of Doyle's determination to catch the drug dealers, especially the patrician *bon vivant* French master crook, played by Fernando Rey, could be class resentment. One scene contrasts an elegant five course meal enjoyed by the drug dealer in a comfortable restaurant, with the cup of bad coffee and greasy hamburger being eaten, in the cold, by Doyle and his partner. The inexpensive police chevrolet dogs the classy Lincoln continental that the dealers drive, like a mongrel snapping at the heels of a thorough bred race horse. However, though aware of the disparities, Doyle and his colleagues seem to accept them and state no determination to catch the criminals to settle any socio-economic score.

The only thing which ultimately motivates Doyle and his partner is a sheer animal desire to attain a goal. Police work to Doyle is a game in which there is one object, to catch the criminal. Nothing matters but that goal. Comfort, and private life are sacrificed by the police. Violence is an acceptable means to that end and those who are uninvolved are fair targets. Indeed, a self conscious soul searching into the implications of what is happening is also totally irrelevant to the goal of catching the drug dealers.

This is ultimately why the film proves so paradoxical. The audience become players in the game of catch-the-criminal. The audience has no time to ask itself why. Possible answers and implications are implicit, but never spelled out. Maybe that is why the movie is such a good one. The script writer, Earnest Sudyman and the director William Shielkin have the good sense to show a totally sideless story and let us come to a few of our own conclusions, while entertaining us thoroughly.

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THE PANTHERS—Continued from page 1

of our constitution also provided for laws which would make the untouchables first class citizens and rehabilitate them. But even today no-one can deny that the age old prejudices still continue. This is because untouchability is only a part of the wider phenomenon of caste. A. C. Mayer pointed out that it is only a more severe form of the concept of pollution which runs right through ritual regulations. Caste is still very central to Indian life. It is, as Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan very often asserts, the biggest political party in India.

To complicate matters further, special privileges and reservations have in many cases created a vested interest in backwardness and have produced bitter resentment, for economic reasons, among the so-called caste Hindus. Even the so-called "Untouchables" have their own hierarchy. In such a complicated social system where a caste or sub-caste organises various kinds of anarchy and where the lines are drawn often ethnically and culturally and not economically, the only solution would appear to be, if all other things were normal, a movement to restore self-respect and pride among the so-called untouchables. There is no substitute for self-respect, pride and dignity. After all, why should it be really important for the so-called Harijan to be called a high caste Hindu? If we were not in a chaotic and anarchic situation the best course one could have suggested to the so-called untouchables would be to stop thinking in terms of special favours and reservation of jobs, and be proud and try to get the respect and attention of others on merit and not through the condescension of so-called high caste people. Like the followers of the late Martin Luther King, they could have been advised to sing "We shall overcome". But in a situation where social injustice has been compounded by economic hardship and political opportunism nothing except militant non-violence or anarchic ideological violence may seem to succeed.

The Constitution of India guarantees equality, justice and freedom to the untouchables. But whatever the leaders in Delhi said or did, the politicians at the grass root levels understood it perfectly well that the Harijans only constituted a vote bank which could be purchased by granting offices to a few members of the community. Even otherwise, democratisation of any traditional and conservative society must initially lead to a greater conservatism of the leadership too. The role of the caste in our electoral politics is an example of this. To the extent any leadership moulds or controls, this initial traditionalisation of a democratic polity, it can be called successful. The simple fact in India is that the leaders have only followed and not led the masses where caste and community considerations were in question. One can only be amazed and shocked at the fury of retaliation against political or social dissent. If filing a nomination or opposing the

official candidate in a Panchayat election can lead to retaliation such as parading naked in the streets the womenfolk of the untouchable community, it means that that society is still utterly tribal in its subconscious existence or one which strongly suffers from a feeling of insecurity. When will we be civilised enough to be self-assured?

It is against this background that the rise of the Dalit Panthers must be viewed. The movement is hardly two years old and has hit the headlines in the newspapers only recently. The first stir was created when a Marathi Weekly published from Poona carried an article by the Dalit writer, Mr. Raja Dhale. On the occasion of the silver jubilee of Independence, he wrote a piece in which he said that this was a 'Black Independence Day' for the oppressed people and we were living in a society where a greater punishment is meted out for insulting the national flag, which he called a "piece of cloth", than for dishonouring or torturing a living human being. He was referring to one or two incidents of such torture in some villages of Maharashtra. From then on, the Young Panthers made all kinds of provocative statements about religion, about the gods and about the social system. One suspects that they did this deliberately in order to provoke a stuporous society.

A pamphlet recently published in Marathi by their General Secretary, Mr. J. N. Pawar, tries to explain the movement. It is made up of highly dedicated, intense core of educated youths. What began as a literary movement has now become a social action programme for the uplift of the entire community of the oppressed. They seem to have taken inspiration from the Black Panthers Movement of some Negroes in the United States.

It has been remarked that the movement only reflects a lot of passion without a programme. Going through the material that is available, one is inclined to conclude that there is a lot of confusion in their thinking but it is equally true that the present situation calls for a real combination of rational liberalism, militant non-violence and social activism.

Buddhu or Marx?

A section of the Panthers led by the well-known poet, Mr. Dhasal, has unfortunately turned to Marx for inspiration. This explains their attempt to link caste exploitation to socio-economic forces and also their declaration that they want an all round revolution and want to rule the entire country because they do not wish to aim at individuals but at the system itself. Their declaration goes on to say that a mere change of heart or liberal education will not end injustice or exploitation. Perhaps this section does not realise that ideological violence is no solution to the crisis of demo-

cracy; it can only aggravate the iniquities of the existing system without leaving scope for reform or even protest within the system itself. And then what is the new system that the Panthers want? And who will run it? Won't dedicated *individuals* be their agents? Obviously the Panthers have not had time to ponder over these conflicting statements. The Panthers also acknowledge that they owe their inspiration to the Buddha and Dr. Ambedkar, and yet a section also calls itself Marxist. Dr. Ambedkar was absolutely convinced that Marxism did not provide any guidance to a complicated social system. In fact, he went so far as to state that you can never be a follower of the Buddha and Marx at the same time.

Even so, one need not over-emphasize or give importance to the Marxist fringe among the Panthers. The most significant action which the Panthers recently took and which made them overnight a political movement of significance was the boycott of parliamentary elections recently held in Bombay. Those who are naturally worried about the communist influence on the Panthers would do well to notice that the boycott of elections was a typical Gandhian method of dealing with the problem. If they were pro-communist, the Panthers could have asked their community to vote for Mrs. Roza Deshpande, the Communist candidate.

One finds an explanation for this in their pamphlet where they clearly state that they may be in a minority but they would continue to fight for a real democracy. They go on to assert that holding periodical elections does not constitute democracy. In fact, and who would disagree, elections have been reduced to a costly farce. They assert that their fight is not only for the untouchables but the word Dalit means oppressed and it connotes both social and economic exploitation and it includes all scheduled castes and tribes, landless labour, small farmers and all the exploited minorities. Anyone who is oppressed, irrespective of his or her religion, is a Dalit. They claim that there are Muslims and Christians in their ranks. A discussion with the writers who started this movement, reveals that their consciousness transcends the usual barriers of religion, caste and nationality.

It would be wrong to try and understand the movement within the usual shackling stereotypes. Perhaps this is the beginning of taking us out of the usual historic consciousness which only makes us think in stereotypes and makes us label people accordingly.

One must also welcome this movement which is essentially a new type of social action meant to combat entrenched evils like casteism, hypocrisy, obscurantism and corruption. It could and should be a movement of militant non-violence except in terms of provocative speeches. It should also be welcome because after a long time, that is, after the emergence of the Congress Socialists in the thirties, a breed of intellectual-activists is coming to the fore in the political and social field.

The divorce of activism or action from the intellect had in the last few years reduced us to one of the most conformist of peoples and made both the intellectuals and politicians boneless wonders.

The weak links

The two weakest links in the movement appear to me to be (a) its economic thinking and (b) confusion about who are its real allies. If they continue to speak with different views, there is a possibility of their being divided and absorbed by the so-called "leftist" parties. It should by now be clear that the final confrontation can only be between those *who believe* in caste or communalism and those *who do not*. It is clear that those who do not must come from all castes, communities and religions. If the Panthers in their passion make it a civil war between the oppressed and the "establishment" on the basis of caste and money, then the battle is as good as lost. A Movement started by robust intellectual activists should not use such jargon as saying "that all revolutionary parties and all real leftist parties are their friends and all landlords, capitalists, money lenders and their stooges and parties indulging in communal politics and the Government, which protects and supports all these interests, are their enemies." It is bad enough that those who have tried to bring modernity and an element of sanity in our social life have received the worst of both worlds. They are disliked by their own people for obvious reasons and are now in the process of being rejected by those for whom they are willing to antagonise their own kith and kin. If the Dalit Panthers think they have no use for such liberal-minded supporters from other castes and would like to walk into the nets cast by professional leftists they will only end up as another band of romantics and starry-eyed idealists. In spite of all confusion apparent in their action or thought so far, one does, however, feel optimistic about their future. This will depend as much on the support they get from liberal and modernist elements in our society and what is asked of them as upon what the Panthers do and say in the next few years.

"We, the Arabs, wish you a Happy New Year," the first sentence of a full-page advertisement that the Government of Saudi Arabia placed in a number of American newspapers last week.

—The Economist January 12

WITH MANY VOICES

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

The American people have a right to know whether or not their President is a liar.

—George Meany in *Time*, February 4.

When making concessions in a supercharged atmosphere, make them two days before they become inevitable, and give 10% more than asked. The response to such unexpected generosity is amazing.

—Henry Kissinger quoted in *Time*,
February 4.

The almighty dollar, top beast of the economic jungle, has returned to suzerainty.

—*The Economist*, January 12.

He (a Tory Prime Minister) nailed his trousers to the mast and could not climb down.

—Lord Atlee quoted in *The Economist*,
January 12.

In Bombay city, wide sections of the population, the well-to-do and the not-so-well-to-do, are 'thrilling' to the fact that the Prime Minister was denied entry.

—Romesh Thappar in *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 26.

The Indira wave has frozen below zero.

—S. K. Patil in *The Indian Express*, February 8.

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The make-belief theorising of the ruling party has never been so removed from the reality that is India today.

—Romesh Thappar in *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 26.

Every third Congress MLA in the state (UP) happens to be a defector.

—M. R. in *Economic and Political Weekly*,
January 26.

Sri Lanka is a classic example of the problems that can be created by mixing politics with economics.

—Asutosh Rais in *Democratic World*,
January 31.

How long does the Central government intend to let small groups of organised workers hold the country to ransom?

—Editorial in *The Times of India*, February 7.

If foodgrain shops are looted, how can people get more foodgrains?

—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in
The Times of India, February 7.

The Communists believe in turning out human beings as shoes are turned out from a factory.

—Abdul Hasan Ali Nadwi in *The Statesman*,
February 4.

For many the only commitment that matters at the moment is a commitment to the next meal.

—NJN in *The Statesman*, February 4.

Garibi Hatao in fact is no commitment at all since no one believes that poverty should not be banished.

—NJN in *The Statesman*, February 4.

Revolution feeds not on somebody's subversion or propaganda but on realities, on the unbearable conditions in which people have to live.

—Leonid Brezhnev quoted in *Time*,
February 11.

We can go through the whole of Homer or the Bible without encountering a verse about GNP.

—Maurice Zinkin in *Opinion*, January 29