

C. R.: "BHISHMA OF INDIAN POLITICS"

H. M. Patel

I consider it a privilege to associate myself with this function which has been organised to honour the memory of one of the Titans of our freedom movement — who held a dominant position in our public life in both pre-independence and post-independence eras for well over six decades. Rajaji did not have what in journalistic parlance is described as a mass political base. But through his sheer intellectual prowess, he strode the Indian political scene as a Colossus right upto his death at the ripe old age of 94. Retaining his mental alertness till the very end, he was deeply immersed in public affairs and continued to offer his wise counsel and advice on problems of significance to the nation. He was heard with respect despite the fact that he had no 'political troops' behind him. His razor sharp intellect and moral ascendancy more than made up for the lack of substantial political following of the conventional variety.

While alive, Rajaji was rightly described as the Bhishma of Indian politics. Yet how I wish like Bhishma, he had been given the right to choose the time of his death. I am sure if he had been endowed with such a right, denied to ordinary mortals, he would have chosen to live upto the day in March last year when the monopoly of power enjoyed by a political party for over 30 years was ended and another party more deeply anchored in the political beliefs and values of Mahatma Gandhi took over. These were the values which has been the lode Star of Rajaji's own long political career and which he had ceaselessly striven to propagate through his speeches and writings for nearly 60 years whether in office or out of it. In particular, in the last two decades of his public life, Rajaji fought with messianic zeal for ending monopoly and concentration of power of different kinds and sought to build up public opinion against the creeping tyranny of the ubiquitous State. Rajaji foresaw that with its powerful armoury of controls and regulations, the State was increasingly becoming authoritarian in outlook and

behaviour and posed a threat to the liberty of the people. It is a pity that he did not live to see the fruition of the campaign which he had launched against monopoly of political power. He was denied the addition to his long list of achievements one of being also a *Satayush*.

It is difficult to do justice in a short pre-dinner speech to the multi-faceted achievements of a versatile genius like Rajaji. Dr. Johnson said of Goldsmith that there was nothing which he touched but did not adorn. These words can perhaps be applied with greater force to Rajaji, who distinguished himself as a politician, administrator, statesman, philosopher, social reformer and a man of letters. He interested himself even in the nuclear disarmament programme and undertook, at considerable risk to his health when he was over 80 years old, a special mission to President Kennedy. It was his catholicity of outlook and his outstanding performance in varied fields that enabled him to carve out a unique position for himself even amongst the galaxy of stars that shone so brilliantly in our political firmament during the Gandhian era. He was amongst those closest to Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji himself called

(Continued on page 10)

IN THIS ISSUE

We feel privileged to carry on the front page in this issue the text of a speech recently delivered by the Finance Minister, Mr. H. M. Patel. This issue also carries the text of an open letter from the Editor to the Finance Minister on the kind of budget India needs.

There are also interesting reviews by V. B. Karnik and Geeta Doctor and three letters to the Editor.

THE TOTALITARIAN TEMPTATION

Raymond Fletcher

(In view of the temptation that the fragility of Indian democracy under current conditions presents to authoritarian and totalitarian trends, we publish below an abridged version of an article by a Labour Member of the British House of Commons which is reproduced from the London TIMES).

"A general election", I pointed out exactly seven years ago in *Encounter*, "is neither a debate nor a campaign, though it is invariably described by participants and reporters as though it were a combination of both."

"It is a process akin to self-medication, in which a society clumsily diagnoses what is wrong with itself and rejects those political practitioners who have failed to cure it. An election is a rejection. The only votes cast with any degree of enthusiasm are those that are cast against a party."

I would re-phrase this a little differently today, but it is still close enough to the truth for Mr Callaghan to bear it in mind whenever he thinks about the election that must come sometime during the next 18 months.

The less he actually thinks about it, of course, the less he has to fear. Clement Attlee managed to hold and increase the Labour vote throughout his leadership of the party largely because he read no newspapers except this one, no periodicals except the *Spectator* and paid no attention whatever to public opinion polls.

Mr. Callaghan just has to continue being what he is and doing what he has already done in order to reduce both the desire to sack him and the number of votes necessary to do it. How he has worked himself into what Napoleon regarded as the tactically crucial "central position" has been commented on so much by others that nothing more needs saying by me.

The fact that he does occupy it, however, presents Mrs. Thatcher with more problems than any of her predecessors, despite the fact that the country is now in a more conservative mood than at any time in the last decade.

But a mood has to be magnified into a somewhat angry desire to turn out and vote before it becomes a factor in politics; and the methods the Tories have chosen to produce this magnification are not working yet and are unlikely to work in October.

While democracy is a system worth working — and even dying for — since that personal freedom which is its most important byproduct is the source of our civilization, the process of democracy are rarely inspiring. Stirring up fear among the electors is a vulgar business, no matter who engages in it, but it is a legitimate political tactic; and there is nothing particularly unethical in the Tory decision to scare the country into voting *not* against Mr. Callaghan but against the red-in-too'h-and-claw socialists who may succeed him when Mrs. Audrey Callaghan finally decides that Jim is needed down on the farm.

But who are the present generation of what Shaw once called "turnip ghosts"? The trade union leaders who were destined, according to the horror-film scripts once written for Tory propagandists, to bull-doze Parliament into the ground and erect a Supreme Soviet on the rubble, have revealed themselves as what they always were — men trained for the business of collective bargaining who want to get back to it. The tiny-trots (who would have horrified Trotsky himself) have, like all parasitic organisms, merely killed off the organizations into which they have penetrated...

In the political arena itself, where are the savage lions who will be at our throats the moment friendly old Jim is no longer there to restrain them? That they exist, I do not deny. There are a few members of the Parliamentary Labour Party with whom I would not go into Kew Gardens, let alone any jungle.

Wherein, to put it simply, lies the totalitarian threat except in a list of notorious names? The totalitarian temptation is always there, whatever the colour of the government in power. It exists in all democracies. President Nixon yielded to it. Mrs. Gandhi yielded to it.

FORM IV

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J. R. PATEL
Publisher

Dated Feb. 28, 1978

SET THE PEOPLE FREE

An Open Letter To The Finance Minister

My dear H. M.,

The Union Budget that you will introduce on 28th February will be an important one as it will at last reveal to the country whether the Janata Government has a clear perspective of what has been wrong with our economy for the last two and a half decades and how matters can be put right.

In contrast to other countries in Asia which have been making rapid strides to prosperity and a higher standard of living for their people such as Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan, our own country, despite some gains, has by and large stagnated and the standard of living of the people has not perceptibly risen since Independence. What is worse, during the past two years with a population growth of two per cent per annum, the per capita income has recorded an absolute fall.

Our friend Nani Palkhivala had, in the speeches he made commenting on the Budgets of your various predecessors, repeatedly urged the need for undertaking a 'U Turn' in our budgeting policies. It is because I feel it is high time that such a 'U Turn' is now executed by you that I venture in all friendship to make this plea. Your last Budget was by way of being only an interim one and it was widely appreciated that you had come on the scene much too late for it to show the impress of your own hand. At that time, high hopes had been expressed that your second budget would be cut out of very different cloth.

Let me now try to indicate what in my view are the country's crying needs in so far as they relate to financial or taxation proposals.

The first and most desperate need of the hour is the lowering of the rates of taxation, both direct and indirect. The rates of direct taxation are exorbitant and they have long since passed the point at which the law of diminishing returns operates. Not only are these imposts oppressive, but they are also counter-productive because they compel even normally honest citizens to avoid and even evade taxation. Prof. Parkinson has explained this process in his book *'The Law and the Profits'*. Tax evasion has unfortunately become a massive phenomenon, as was appreciated by the Wanchoo Committee in their Report in 1972. While the tax evaders have been escaping tax from year to year owing to the feeble and lax collection system, the honest-to-God middle classes with fixed incomes are being cruelly overtaxed. It has been estimated by a dissenting member of the Wanchoo Committee that income on which tax was not paid in 1968-69 was of the order of Rs. 2,800 crores.

The effect of relief in the rate of direct taxes would be to free a self-employed entrepreneur or

professional man from resorting to evasion and encourage him to invest his savings in his own business or vocation. Every rupee that is allowed to fructify in the pocket of the citizen is likely to be more productively used than it would be if appropriated by Government.

In the early 70's and particularly in the budget for 1974-75, certain cuts were made in the maximum rates of income tax and this, as was to be expected, was rewarded by a sharp rise in actual yield. Unfortunately, that healthy trend was reversed in your budget last year. It needs to be revived again, not only in order to give instant relief and stimulate investment but also to give hope to those who would like to save and invest provided they are no longer punished as they have been for doing so. In this connection the exemption from Capital Gains Tax to those who invested from sales proceeds which would normally have borne tax was a step in the right direction. The case for such a measure is strengthened by the effect of the ruinous chemistry of inflation acting on a "progressive" system of income tax — devaluing fixed value deductions while the tax-payer floats into a higher tax bracket.

Counter-productive trends have also been at work in regard to indirect taxation. There were only fifteen items which were subject to Central Excise duties in 1951. The number of those items has now shot up to 133, accounting for not less than 52 per cent of the total tax revenue. Alongside of this there has been a corresponding increase in other levies such as the sales tax levied by the States. These imposts on the needs and comforts of life fall particularly heavily on those sections of the people who can bear them least. Here again, excessive excise duties have become a major source of corruption in the corporate sector where many firms find it necessary to understate their actual production.

The way to redress the balance between direct and indirect taxation is not to raise the rate of direct taxes but to lower the burden of indirect taxation on industry, which should lead immediately to a much-needed rise in the gross profits of the industry concerned. Since a Reserve Bank study of company finance shows that between 61 and 63 per cent of all additional profits come back to Government by way of corporate taxation, this would also mean a bonanza to the public exchequer.

The cumulative effect of excessive direct and indirect taxation has been to bring down to unacceptable levels the margin of profit in industry, thereby discouraging much needed investment and expansion. Professor P. R. Bramananda recently drew attention to this in his inaugural address to the Indian Economic Association. Alongside of

the fall in the level of profits there has been a rise in what is called the "hurdle rate", namely, the rate of return on investment that has to be anticipated to persuade the potential investor to invest.

It is hardly surprising that, in the light of all this, entrepreneurship is drying up and initiative and enterprise are at a discount. The net effect of two decades of budgeting of this nature has been to depress profits and investment, dry up savings, increase consumption, create unemployment and let loose inflation. These trends can be reversed by a drastic cut in the rates of direct and indirect taxation. These should apply not only to such necessities as sugar and matches but also cold storage equipment, air conditioners, and motor cars, none of which can any longer be called luxuries in the 20th century. The L. K. Jha Committee has already pointed out the urgent need to remove all taxes on imports, whether they are cement, steel or fertilisers. That however would be only a small beginning.

We shall be told that such drastic reduction in taxes whether direct or indirect would involve a drop in revenue. This apprehension is somewhat questionable. Has it not been demonstrated by President Kennedy and others that a cut in the rates of taxation can result in an increase in the actual revenues or that, in other words, a small slice of a large cake is bigger than a large slice of a small cake? Assuming however that you will have to budget for lower revenues this will have to be balanced by a drastic cut in unproductive civil expenditure. We now have in government offices a bloated class of under-paid and under-employed clerks and functionaries. No country can prosper if it has to carry the burden of an army of unproductive parasites. Your predecessors talked of the need for such a drastic cut in civil expenditure but a lack of courage prevented them from implementing their budget speeches. A drastic cut in unproductive expenditure will not only facilitate tax reduction but also ensure an avoidance of deficit finance and the resulting monetary inflation.

In case it is pointed to you that all this is "politically inadvisable", surely the answer to such a plea is that it is certainly even more "politically inadvisable" for your Government to allow the present drift to continue and to show that it is not prepared to grapple with the country's basic economic problems.

It may not be altogether irrelevant to point out that, according to the *London Times Business News* of January 16, 1978, a meeting between senior Bank of England officials and a panel of top economists came to the conclusion that in order to boost the British economy, tax cuts amounting to £2,000 million need to be made in the Budget that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is going to introduce within the next few weeks.

It was good to read that, in your speech in Surat, where you addressed the Southern Gujarat

Chamber of Commerce and Industry on January 20, you quite rightly deplored the way in which businessmen have got used to cultivating their "licensed gardens" and observed that "development behind a protective wall for decades seems to have atrophied the capacity of businessmen to take risks". This evil was described by Rajaji, with whom you and I had the privilege to work closely for a decade, as the creation of "private monopolies" and he quite rightly called for an end to what he described as "permit-quota-licence-raj". Is it not high time that all controls, including those on foreign exchange, should now be lifted and the Indian people set free from the straitjacket of an over-controlled economy?

As you are aware, the "German miracle" was brought about by a policy courageously introduced by Ludwig Erhard of lifting all controls overnight in defiance of the Allied Commanders then in control of West Germany. "Let the men and the money loose and they will make the country strong", he urged, and the whole world watched the result with admiration.

Our political democracy, which involves an election every five years to Parliament and State Assemblies, needs to be supplemented by economic democracy which consists of the ballot of the market place where people cast their votes not once every five years but every day as they go about their daily business of saving and investing their money or spending it. The restoration of a free market needs to be accompanied by the restoration of free collective bargaining in the sphere of our currently bedevilled Industrial Relations.

All this can only be made possible by the Government's withdrawal from territory which should never have been taken away from the citizens of this country. That is what decentralisation of power means.

The people of India have tremendous intelligence and vitality. Once they are freed from the trammels of red tape and excessive controls, I for one have no doubt they will go places and raise their standard of life. The task before the Janata Government is to set the people free in the economic sphere as they have already done at the political level. Your Budget could be the first step in that noble pursuit.

I realise that, as a member of a conglomerate Government, you may not be entirely the master of the nation's exchequer, but you can yet do a great deal to give a lead to your colleagues in the government and the country as a whole.

Hoping to be forgiven for this public plea which I have felt it necessary to make,

Yours sincerely,

MINOO MASANI

February 15:

Courtesy: Indian Express

AMONG SADAT'S WORRIES

Victor Perry

ONE of the least noticed motives for President Sadat's peace initiative with Israel is the concern in the Egyptian leadership with rising Soviet-backed radical influence in Africa.

Over the past two years the Egyptians have watched with growing worry as the Russians and their Cuban proxies turned Africa into the principal world arena of radical incursion, in many ways bypassing the Middle East conflict.

Egypt, and other moderate African and Arab countries such as Morocco, Senegal and Saudi Arabia, have been troubled by the U. S. role — or, rather, lack of a role — in countering this radical trend. As one Egyptian diplomat put it recently, "The United States has, since Angola, countered with little more than inspired rhetoric. The Russians aren't impressed."

Over the past 30 years Egypt has filled the roles both of primary Arab power in the Middle East and mentor for many of Africa's newborn nations. As the radical threat in Africa moved closer to vital Egyptian interests, however, Egypt has found itself obliged to choose to which of these two "fronts" it would devote its limited military and strategic resources.

Thus it came about that the Egyptians were faced with the possibility of making peace with Israel — a country which was never perceived as constituting a threat to primary Egyptian interests — in order to freely deal with much more basic strategic challenges in Africa:

Growing Soviet influence on the Horn of Africa — first Somalia, now Ethiopia — and in Uganda, and the Libyan threat to the Sudan, all endanger the sources of the Nile, Egypt's lifeline. The Egyptian Roz el Yusuf accused Ethiopia last summer of threatening to cut off the main source of the Nile. The Shaba invasion last spring — a natural extension of the radical entrenchment in Angola — was interpreted by Egypt as a potential danger to the sources of the Nile on Zaire's northeast border.

The Soviet strategic role on the Horn of Africa is also viewed by the Egyptians within the context of their concern over the Bab el Mandeb Strait at the entrance to the Red Sea. The result has been a growing Egyptian preoccupation with the cause of "unification of the Nile Valley" — a primary strategic objective back in the days before Nasser's pan-Arabism.....

The recent Egyptian preoccupation with events in Africa first found practical expression last spring, when Sadat dispatched an air force team to help the Mobutu regime in Zaire fend off the Shaba invasion. During his spring visit to the United States, Sadat justified his arms requests on the basis of the Soviet threat to Africa, while War Minister Gamasy has

spoken several times recently of Egypt's "missions" in Africa.

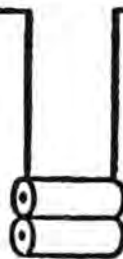
During the past six months, Egypt and Saudi Arabia have funneled arms and made promises of aid and support, to Somalia — in a successful attempt to woo it away from Moscow. By last summer Egypt was mounting a border campaign against Libya — in part as a warning to Qadhafi to tone down his African adventurism.

Senior Egyptian officials confirm — privately — that these events, and the prospect of more to come in the African arena, probably played a not inconsiderable role in Sadat's thinking when he decided on his peace initiative in the Middle East.

As recently as Dec. 18, the Egyptian parliament noted that "the infiltration of external [i.e. pro-Soviet] forces into Africa threatens security and places a heavy commitment on Egypt."

Black African moderates in countries like Kenya and Zaire, faced with growing external radical threats, can only be thankful for increased Egyptian interest in their fate. They are, however, somewhat concerned lest Egyptian support, like the aid proffered by Qadhafi and the Saudis, be conditioned on their acceptance of Islamization programs in their countries.

— Courtesy: *International Herald Tribune*,



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WHY SMALL BUSINESS?

Jo Grimond

The growth of bureaucracy in Britain if left unchecked will kill independent business.

That was the strong message of former Liberal Party leader Jo Grimond at a meeting last week.

This "bureaucratic attitude" suggests that everyone should be subordinated to an organisation or union, and should do what the officials of that organisation or union told them.

Mr. Grimond, speaking at the annual luncheon of The Association of Independent Business, condemned "the bureaucratic attitude" for its love of monopoly and its dislike of competition.

"It also demands that as far as possible everything should be centralised," said Mr. Grimond.

Since the war, the growth of bureaucracy has beggared Britain, was mainly responsible for inflation and has contributed very greatly to unemployment, said Mr. Grimond.

Mr. Grimond said that now there are some signs of people trying to stop the growth of bureaucracy: "It is still regarded by many people as inevitable but at least there are some voices raised in protest."

He said that although some people at least recognised "the futility of the bureaucratic school their attitude towards it was "extremely alarming".

"The acceptance of decay is the opium of nations. And it is becoming widely accepted in Britain....."

What Britain needs, argued Mr. Grimond, is, first, to produce more saleable goods and produce them—more—cheaply—and efficiently—and, secondly, to waste less of our resources in unproductive expen-

diture.

"A country which can shrug off the suggestion that there are 8,000 unnecessary officials at the heart of British Rail deserves to sink", said Mr. Grimond.

Coming to the main part of his hard-hitting speech, Mr. Grimond put forward three propositions.

- 1 THAT there is nothing like competition to keep business efficient,
- 2 THAT therefore big business should not be allowed to create a monopoly, particularly should they not be allowed to stop new entry into their trades as the nationalised industries do,
- 3 THAT if you want to build up a lively and satisfying economy, create employment and curb inflation you must encourage new and small business.....

Trying to cure unemployment by over-manning repeats the follies of the Poor Law which paid men to dig holes and fill them up again.

"Over-manning too is a direct cause of inefficiency. The bigger the unnecessary staff the more time they waste on internal muddles, pushing around of paper and the confusion of committees."

Government subsidies though useful tended to go to the wrong people. They often direct resources from more useful investment. They in turn require bureaucrats to administer them.

It would be far better to remove some of the handicaps under which small business suffer.

— Courtesy: *The Free Nation*

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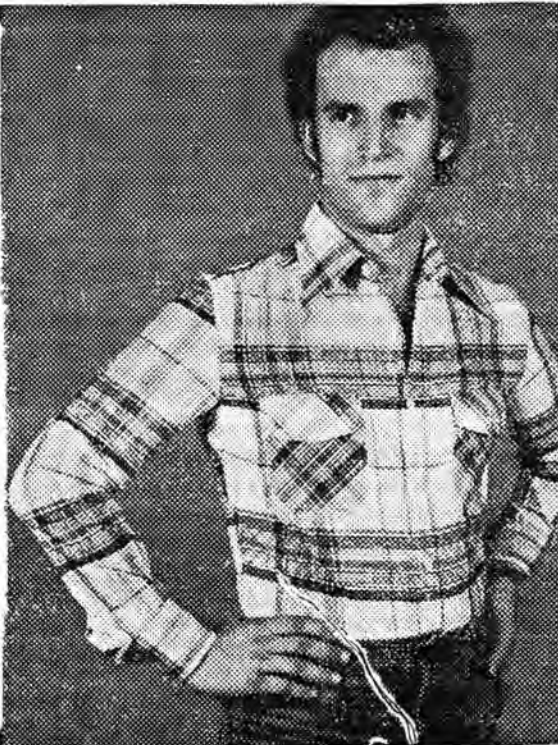
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WORLD NEWS

IVORY COAST MODEL

From Charles Hargrove
Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast

For years, President Houphouët-Boigny had been telling M Giscard D'Estaing: "What I am, what I think, one cannot really understand without coming to my village, to Yamoussoukro."

The French President in his speech last Friday at the magnificent modern marble and gilt town hall completed just in time for his visit, rightly said that he felt "the emotion of a man who enters a place where the secret of a nation is enshrined."

"The secret of Yamoussoukro", he went on, "is that of the 'village: the base and foundation of the social reality and personality of Africa..... the village, which remains your point of reference, where you come to meditate whenever great issues arise for the future of your people'."

This "village" is in fact an imposing town, with huge straight avenues, brightly lit at night, leading nowhere for the time being, and fine public buildings sprung almost overnight from the surrounding jungle. But the spirit, as the President explained to me, is and must remain that of a village.

At 73, President Houphouët-Boigny, widely described as the "old Sage of Africa", gives an impression, as a French colleague aptly put it, of "impassioned serenity".

"I am a peasant", he said. "The people and nation we have become, we have done so as peasants. My main concern is that my people should remain a nation of farmers and break loose from the itch of town life. For many years to come, the prosperity of the Ivory Coast will rest principally, as it does now, on agriculture."

"Our aristocracy is landed", he went on. "I myself keep a plot of land; and I go and till the soil from time to time with my own hands. So does my sister who is 76."

"I told a group of university graduates recently: 'Go and get a piece of land. There is enough for everyone in this country. Then you will not be cut off from your roots, from the base.' My greatest satisfaction is that the advice has been widely followed....."

"By giving the Ivory Coast peasant the facilities of the town-water, light, drainage, dispensaries, schools, cinemas and so on — I hope to keep them on the land. Yamoussoukro is a symbol and an example; a link and a crossroads between the Ashantis in the east from Ghana, and the aborigines in the west; between the forest and the bush; between modernism and tradition. Here is the land of my family. Here I can make experiments which will be a model for the nation."

What succeeded here, thanks to mechanization, could succeed in the less fertile bush, thanks to mechanization, and it will keep on the land young Ivorians.

"We, the people of developing countries, cannot always appeal to international organisations for help if within our own frontiers we do nothing about the poorer regions. In the Ivory Coast, the peasant of the south has been called upon to make many sacrifices for the north. The resources of the National Cocoa Fund provide the money for the development of the north. What I am trying to do is to turn the north into a granary for the Ivory Coast, and perhaps, for Africa" he said.

He wanted to create dozens of Yamoussoukros throughout the country. "Peasants living in an urbanized, not urban, context — that is where the future lies for the Ivory Coast."

He explained something of the spirit of Yamoussoukro. "It is based on a natural form of collectivism which has nothing to do with Marxism. In the traditional billage, when someone needs a hut, the whole village helps build it. But when it is completed, it belongs to the man who lives in it. We apply the same principle to the whole country, the principle of solidarity and private property."

The Ivory Coast was the country with the boldest social policy. It built more schools and more hospitals than countries which claimed allegiance to another ideology. Education was free, so was medical care. The peasants received everywhere the same price for their produce. Others would call it socialism, he called it solidarity.

He turned naturally from that to the wider world scene. "The development of Africa is linked to stability and security", he asserted. "Who threatens us? Russia. Western Europe cannot even ensure its own security. How could we Africans alone?"

Waxing philosophical, he added: "In Europe, reason kills the heart. What we Africans can give to Europe is the discovery of a new form of human relationship."

—Times, January 17.

VIRGINITY VALUED AT £ 4,660

From Mario Modiano
Athens, Jan 20

The Greeks are outraged that the court here, abiding by the Civil Code in force, continue to put a price tag on virginity. The latest price quoted was 350,000 drachmas (£ 4,660).

This sum was awarded by the Athens appeals court as damages to the parents of a school-girl of 16 who was seduced by her foreign language teacher.

The court ruled that the girl had been induced to surrender her chastity and engage repeatedly in sexual intercourse, by false promises of matrimony.

The man, who is already serving a prison term for the penal aspects of the matter, was ordered by the court to pay this indemnity because, in the court's estimation, this is the sum that the plaintiff would eventually have to add to her dowry "in order to compensate a man of her own economic and social standing for the loss of her virginity".

Under the Civil Code dowries are obligatory. The parents of the bride have to produce a dowry of cash and/or real estate, commensurate with the father's financial and social station.

Article 921 of the code stipulates that "if by means of false promises or threats or abuse of authority a woman's honour is defiled through carnal intercourse, the indemnity due to her amounts to the sum required for her matrimonial rehabilitation."

Greek jurists and women's organisations protested against this "humiliating anachronism" and called for a prompt revision of the Code.

An official for the Women's Federation of Greece said today. "The violation of personal dignity cannot be evaluated in cash. Laws that provide indemnities to compensate for the loss of a woman's 'honour' simply confirm the discrimination of the sexes."

Mr. Demetrios Tsevas, deputy prosecutor at the appeal court, who is also president of the Society for the Protection of Minors, told an interviewer that Greek laws relating to the protection of minors were 40 to 50 years old.

"They are completely anachronistic", he said, "I have repeatedly recommended that there should be a drastic revision".

— *Times*, January 21.

BUKOVSKY CRITICAL OF WEST

New York, Dec. 19.

Vladimir Bukovsky, the exiled Soviet dissident, criticized Western nations and the U. S. administration today for softening their stand on human rights.

He said at a press conference and luncheon speech that it was "a wonderful thing" when President Carter opened his term by speaking out for human rights. But he said the campaign had subsequently been "played down because of pressure from such Western nation as France and from groups within the United States".

The luncheon was sponsored by the New York City Central Labor Council.

— *International Herald Tribune*, December 21.

CARRILLO EXPOSED

By Miguel Acoca

Madrid, Jan 18.

The image of Communist party leader Santiago Carrillo as a tolerant anti-Soviet Eurocommunist champion is suddenly losing its gloss here because of a best-selling Spanish book charging Mr Carrillo with ruthless Stalinist domination of the party when it was a persecuted underground organization conspiring to topple Franco.

There is no doubt that Mr. Carrillo and the party's leadership..... have been shaken by the allegations in the acidly critical "Autobiography of Federico Sanchez", by Spanish novelist and screenwriter Jorge Semprun, who was ousted by Mr. Carrillo in 1964 from the party's executive committee...

Until Mr. Semprun's book hit the best-seller list, it was as if neither Mr. Carrillo nor the Spanish Communist party had a past closely linked to the

Soviet Union. The party's role in the 1936-39 civil war was buried — and so was its liquidation of other leftist forces during the conflict and its fealty to Stalin.

Mr. Semprun's intensely emotional attack on Mr. Carrillo, the party and Stalin opens wounds, memories and a history that most Spanish Communists would like to forget.....

What gives Mr. Semprun's book force is that he is no ordinary writer. He wrote the screenplay for "Z" and other award-winning leftist movies. He writes in Spanish as well as French and his novels have won prizes in Spain and in France. But for years — particularly in the 1950's — he entered and left Spain, where he headed the Communist underground, as Federico Sanchez, his party identity.....

What appears to hurt the Communist party's chiefs most is Mr. Semprun's accusation that Mr Carrillo made Mr. Grimau the top Communist leader in Spain. Mr. Grimau was captured by Franco's police and executed in 1963 despite pleas for clemency from all over the world. He became a martyr to world leftists.

Mr. Semprun recalls that he had warned Mr. Carrillo that Mr. Grimau was unfit for the task because Mr. Grimau was careless and took too many risks. But what spelled death for Mr. Grimau, says Mr. Semprun, was that he had worked for the police of the republic that Franco defeated in the civil war.

The author said in a telephone interview from Paris that he considers himself "a freelance Communist" and "hopes that his book will help to open the party to democratic leadership and debate....."

For Mr. Semprun — as well as for other intellectual Communists who left the Spanish party in the 1960s — Mr. Carrillo represents the Stalinist tradition that puts the party above all.

— *International Herald Tribune*, January 19.

COCA-COLA HELPS EGYPT

New York, Nov. 20.

The Coca-Cola Co. has agreed to underwrite an archaeological expedition in Egypt to save tombs of the pharaohs.

The project, called the Theban expedition, will study burial monuments in the Valley of the Kings on the west bank of the Nile River at the site of the ancient Egyptian city of Thebes.

The expedition will be run by the Brooklyn Museum and is expected to cost Coca-Cola between \$ 360,000 and \$ 40,000. The leaders of the expedition, James Manning and Richard Fazzini of the Brooklyn Museum, said that "the project is a race against the ravages of time".

They said that hundreds of monuments in the burial ground known as the Theban necropolis, are endangered by flash floods and huge movements of rock. Paintings and reliefs on the walls of the tombs, also are being eroded by salt, they added. The burial area was built between 3,000 and 4,500 years ago.

Coca-Cola has been blacklisted for about 10 years by most Arab countries because it granted a bottling franchise to an Israeli group in 1965. William Pruett, Coca-Cola's vice-president for public relations said that the decision to underwrite the Theban expedition was not connected with the boycott.

"The only link is that it happened to coincide in time when we have an interest in Egypt", he said, adding that the Egyptian government already wants to remove Coca-Cola from the blacklist.

In September, Coca-Cola announced that it had signed an agreement to develop and manage citrus groves in a 15,000 acre area near Ismailia in a joint venture with Egyptian companies.

— *International Herald Tribune*, November 21.

PROTESTING MINER DECLARED INSANE

Moscow, Dec. 21.

A former coal miner who organized a group of workers to protest corruption and hazardous job conditions was reported yesterday to have been seized by the police and placed in a psychiatric hospital. Other members of his group were said to have been picked up by the authorities and held for short periods since they conducted a news conference three weeks ago with U.S. correspondents.

The miner, Vladimir Klebanov, 45, was apparently arrested Monday, taken to a Moscow police station and then committed to Moscow's Psychiatric Hospital No. 7, according to Alexander Podrabinek, who heads a dissident group monitoring psychiatric abuses.

Mr. Podrabinek said that it was a hospital for transients, and he assumed that Mr. Klebanov would be transferred out of the capital. The miner has already spent a total of 4½ years in mental institutions because of his protests.

Dissent by ordinary workers is highly unusual in the Soviet Union. The vast majority of human-rights activists are well-educated-scientists and writers who have little contact with or understanding of the working class and whose activity has failed to deal with workers' grievances relating to living standards, food shortages and the like.....

In fact, neither Mr. Klebanov nor several other workers who gathered in a Moscow apartment three weeks ago to talk to reporters seemed to share the views of the human-rights activists. They were not trying to change the Soviet system, but were simply outraged at what they say as injustices.

Mr. Klebanov had been a shift foreman in a coal mine in which he had worked for 16 years, he said. The men were forced to work 12 hour shifts instead of 6 to meet the production plans, and as a result their fatigue caused accidents. In his mine alone, 12 to 15 persons were killed a year and 600 to 700 were injured, he said. Yet officials tried to keep the casualties secret and refused to eliminate the causes, he claimed.

His protests resulted in his being dismissed and then committed to mental institutions, a common

fate of those who complain, he said.

Among other workers in his group were a waitress in Volgoxgrael restaurant who said she was dismissed for complaining about her superiors stealing crockery, an engineer from Yerevan who was scolded and downgraded for reporting funds paid for work never done, a locksmith from Moscow who asked for a raise and was dismissed when he persisted...

The workers said they had met while pursuing their claims in the reception rooms of the Central Committee of the Communist party, the Supreme Soviet and the prosecutor's office. They said that 100 or more persons are in those rooms every day with similar grievances.

By the end of last month, Mr. Klebanov had collected the signatures of 38 workers from 24 cities on an open letter denouncing "the groundless repressions" and "the plundering of people's dignity, the measures of terror used in an attempt to frighten honest citizens."

— *International Herald Tribune*, December 22.

INDIA STANDS WITH RUSSIA?

From Simon Winchester
in New Delhi

India's efforts to impress President Carter — who arrives here on Sunday — with a new policy of "genuine non-alignment" have suffered somewhat with the emergence of a fresh dispute about the Indian Ocean atoll of Diego Garcia.

After the Soviet Union's attacks on the continuing US build-up on the islands, India has now let it be known that it supports the Soviet position — that the United States should immediately halt construction of the new runway on Diego Garcia as proof of its intentions to reduce its military presence in the ocean.

Normally, India's position would cause neither surprise, nor criticism. On the eve of Mr. Carter's arrival here for a state visit, some Americans might regard it as a little less than tactful that the Indian Government is now openly taking the Soviet side in the dispute.

Officials in the external Affairs Ministry shy away from being quoted on the matter, but ministry sources here make it clear that the "basic Indian view" — as one source put it — "that there should be no bases at all in the ocean must be made crystal clear."

It remains to be seen whether this perhaps unfortunate coincidence of Soviet and Indian views will prompt any suspicions among the visiting Americans. Certainly recent press comment in the US has been openly sceptical of the "genuine non-alignment" professed by Mr. Desai's Government here — a recent story in the Washington Post was headlined "Delhi warms to US but clings to ties with Moscow" — and there is little doubt that the suspicions that followed the 1971 Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty have still not evaporated.

— *Guardian*, December 29.

C. R. "BHISHMA OF INDIAN POLITICS" (Continued from page 1)

Rajaji his conscience keeper. Rajaji derived strength and inspiration from Gandhian thought and in turn imparted strength and momentum to the Gandhian movement. He carried the message of Gandhiji to the nook and corner of the then composite State of Madras and gave concrete shape to the Gandhian ideas through vigorous pursuit of programmes like temple entry for Harijans, removal of untouchability, promotion of Khadi and village industries and prohibition. Rajaji had to face considerable opposition including at times social ostracism in pushing through these programmes in the thirties. He was among the hard core of Gandhians of pre-independence era who sought to bring an ethical approach to bear upon political affairs. They demonstrated through their personal conduct and public policies that politics divorced from ethics was something totally alien to Indian traditions.

Dharma

In the post-independence era too, Rajaji spoke and wrote with great fervour in favour of the continuing relevance of moral values in public life and the need to attach equal importance to means and ends. It was his firm commitment to moral values that gave Rajaji his great stature in our public life despite his lack of a mass political base and sustained him on those occasions when he momentarily drifted away from the main stream of the national political life and had to part company even from his closest colleagues and friends. Even the worst of his critics conceded that none of his actions was motivated by considerations of personal advancement or ambition. He never espoused the cause of a special group or the privileged few. He was never a lobbyist. The only lobby for which he fought and was prepared to go into political wilderness, if need be, was what he considered to be national interest.

Throughout the freedom struggle and the immediate post-independence era when he occupied many positions of influence and power in administration and, even more so, later when he functioned almost as a one man opposition to the Government of the day, Rajaji gave evidence of the courage of his convictions. When he was convinced that a particular course of action was right, he would adhere to it whatever be the consequence, including severance of relations with those near and dear to him in public life. He was a true and dedicated disciple of Gandhiji and yet did not hesitate to voice his dissent when he felt strongly about any particular matter. We all know how in 1942, when the feelings against the British were running high and the call for "Quit India" was gathering momentum, Rajaji came forward with his formula for acceptance of partition of India in principle with a view to exerting pressure

on the British for transfer of power. This line of thought which he advocated with vigour in various forums in the next two-three years when his other colleagues were imprisoned brought him considerable, though unmerited, unpopularity. He was in political wilderness for quite some time but no one questioned the sincerity of purpose underlying the formula which he proposed for bringing about immediate transfer of power from British to Indian hands.

Administrator

As an administrator who held high office both in his own State and at the Centre, Rajaji displayed ability, vision and administrative acumen which have now become legendary. Like Sardar Patel, he recognised the valuable contribution which Civil Servants could make in assisting in the formulation of sound policies and in their effective implementation. As Chief Minister of Madras during 1937-39, Rajaji won the esteem of the civilians who had earlier entertained grave misgivings about the ability of Indian political leaders in administration. Rajaji drew a close distinction between policy making which was the prerogative of the politician and the administration of law, rules and regulations which fell in the province of permanent civil servants. Having given the civil servants full opportunity for expressing their views, he would take decisions assuming full responsibility for them and ensure that they were scrupulously carried out. He never left the civil servants in doubt on who was running the show. He could lay down a clear line of policy, if necessary, in defiance of conventional wisdom as he did when he removed all controls on foodgrains in Madras in 1952. At the same time, he gave full protection to the civil servant against political interference and unfair and unjust attacks based on political and personal prejudices. He thus set norms for the conduct both of the politician and the civil servant which, had they been followed by those who succeeded him, would have averted the type of situation which the country has witnessed in the last few years. We would not have had aberrations of the kind which we noticed during the Emergency.

Man Important

Rajaji's political philosophy was a judicious blend, if one may say so, of Upanishadic wisdom and British liberalism. For him, man as an individual was all important. He was concerned with man's dignity, his freedom and his right to realise his full potential. Rajaji, therefore, set his face against the omniscient and omnipotent State presuming to know everything and seeking to dictate in detail to the

individual what he should do and what he should not do. It was his conviction that the all pervasive modern State of the kind which the Congress Party was seeking to build in the deceptive name of socialism and economic growth would lead to the erosion of individual freedom, liberty and human dignity.

It was that conviction that led him to part company from his friends of long standing and establish a new party when he was nearly 80 years old. He was fully aware that in a country where the vast majority of the people were steeped in poverty and illiteracy and could easily be led astray by promise of utopia, his emphasis on individual initiative and freedom would not appeal to the masses or pave the way for capturing political power. It was not political power which he was seeking but political education of the masses. He set about the task of educating the people against the evil consequences of an all-embracing State which in his own pithy language he described as the "permit, licence and quota Raj". As he said in his quiet but fine language "the permit-licence-administration must be replaced if we want this country of ours — which has become a cramped prison house — to be restored to its condition of freedom where everyone will have fair play and where honest and diligent men have not to cringe before arrogant and ignorant officials or seek the favour of go-betweens for reaching Ministers".

Evil of Controls

He did not minimise the importance of the task which he had undertaken and characterised it as the second struggle for freedom. The persistence and vigour with which he sought to expose the evils of a regime riddled with controls and licences — particularly through his weekly articles in *Swarajya* — had an impact even on those who were politically opposed to him. The rationale of controls and regulations came to be widely questioned. One did not have to agree with Rajaji wholly to recognise the basic validity of the main thrust of his arguments. It came slowly to be realised that controls and licences could not by themselves usher in socialism or even improve the chances of success of the small man in his eternal struggle against the powerful. On the contrary, it became clear that the system only bred corruption and led to the perpetuation of a political and economic oligarchy.

Rajaji could carry on his crusade against the growing power of the State without being dubbed the champion of big business because his public life was an open book and his integrity was unassailable. He was against gigantism whether in the public or the private sector. He attacked in forthright language the emerging alliance between Government

and industry which could only result in the exploitation of the poor. He stood for decentralisation of power and initiative in economic and political matters. He believed in a genuine federal system which would leave the State Governments ample power and resources to enable them to discharge the responsibilities in all fields assigned to them under the Constitution. Many of the ideas which he propounded in the last fifteen to twenty years of his life are reflected in some measure in the manifesto of the party now in power in the Centre and in most of the States.

Writer

Any assessment of Rajaji's life and work will be incomplete if it is confined to his role as a politician and as an elder statesman. Long after all the events of the recent past have become part of history, Rajaji's achievements as a writer both in his own language and in English will endure as monuments to his scholarship, his catholicity of interest and his immense persuasive skills. He is acknowledged as a great writer in Tamil of the present century. He cultivated a simple but captivating style which appealed to the common people and the sophisticated alike. His articles, short stories and commentaries on contemporary affairs run into several volumes. His Tamil versions of Ramayana and Mahabharata which have also been rendered into English will last as long as the original classics themselves. Through these writings he made the younger generation aware of their rich cultural heritage and tried to instil in them the basic ethical values without which no nation can hope to survive.

Rajaji never encouraged the people around him to create any kind of memorial for him nor even celebrate his birthdays. I understand that he kept his date of birth a closely guarded secret for a long time. I am not therefore sure how Rajaji would have reacted to the concept of a Foundation named after him. But I feel that we would be justified in ignoring the grand old man's wishes in this matter. We and the succeeding generation need to keep reminding ourselves of the ideas and ideals which he sought to put forward before his countrymen in his life time. He was a teacher all through his life propounding human and moral values which are of lasting significance. I hope that the Foundation will promote systematic study of Rajaji's ideas and teachings so that these may continue to influence the minds of our people and enable them to build an India as envisaged by him — an India in which people would be free, fearless and self-reliant.

(TEXT OF SPEECH DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF THE SUBSCRIPTION DINNER ORGANISED BY THE RAJAJI FOUNDATION IN BOMBAY ON SUNDAY, JANUARY 22, 1978.)

Letters

POLITICAL COMMENTS BY JUDGES

The Chief Justice of India, Mr. M. H. Beg, did not exactly distinguish himself when he made an unequivocal attempt the other day at justifying his judgment in the monumental habeas corpus case, while inaugurating a Seminar at Nagpur. Inevitably, this unprecedented act of his has stirred some ripples in legal circles, and not without reason.

For one thing, the whole exercise is regrettable in so far as it betrays scant respect for judicial ethics and propriety. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Beg's descent into a public platform, with its attendant political overtones, does not amount to vitiating the well-settled convention that judges, as a rule, ought to be restrained in their comments outside court. The proverbial aloofness of a judge has been, over the ages, accepted as one of the indispensable prerequisites of an independent judiciary the world over, and it should certainly be a matter of deep concern to all right-thinking citizens when an unabashed attempt is made at diluting the essence of this commendable principle.

In this context, it would be instructive to recall the observations made not very long ago by Mr. Beg's predecessor, Mr. A. N. Ray. Admitting an appeal of twenty advocates of Haryana against a judgment of the Punjab and Haryana High Court in a contempt case on April 19, 1976, Chief Justice Ray (as he then was) observed: "it is necessary to state here that if any judge addresses a public meeting on political problems or controversies, the judge exposes himself to discussion by public. The reason is that the judge travels from his judicial work and descends into the arena of politics and parties. The judge cannot in such a case take shelter behind his office if the public discusses and criticizes the views expressed by him. The reason is obvious. It is not part of the duty of a judge nor is it a duty in discharge of office of a judge to go and address a meeting on political matters to redress grievances of the people."

The pronouncements of the Law Commission in this respect are even more admirable. In 1958 the Commission made the following observations: "It has to be realised that if the public is to believe that justice is being impartially administered, judges cannot rub shoulders with one and all in a manner which any other person may do. Their public activities and even their pronouncements outside have to be consistent with the isolation which their office demands." Pregnant with meaning as these words are, their relevance can never be overrated.

— K. S. VENKATESWARAN

TERROR AT HOME

With his customary forthrightness Mr. M. R. Masani has described the desperate state of industrial terrorism that now grips the Country, making

a mockery of human dignity and individual freedom, whilst deeply eroding our economy by the loss of millions of man-hours. The most frightening aspect of this is the supine attitude of policemen on duty who stand by and watch as though they are merely spectators rather than guardians of the law. It is not their fault — they have clear directions from their political bosses in the government. "Don't interfere!" This is all the more surprising with evidence of the power of the ballot box still so recent.

No government, Centre or State, can sacrifice the primal responsibility of safeguarding individual freedom and dignity in the interests of political expediency and hope to retain the confidence of the People. That quiet nonentity, The Common Man, is watching critically from his corner, and when election time comes around, he will cast his vote unerringly once again. Let those who sit in the Halls of Power evading this basic responsibility be warned.

COL. C. L. PROUDFOOT
(RETD.),

TIPS FOR ASPIRING CANDIDATES

If you fail to get a Janata ticket, apply for the Reddy Congress, if you fail, try for the India Congress, and if you fail here too, try for any damn party which has got a reasonable chance of winning the election. If you fail in your attempts to get any party ticket, start your own party and declare yourself as its president and go on issuing lofty statements on every subject under the sun, and if you are a talented speaker, go on lecturing people on socialism, democracy, freedom of press, independence of the judiciary and shed tears for the miseries of the weaker sections of our people (it does not matter even if you stay in an air-conditioned flat at Malabar Hill). Visit a few slums, identify yourself with the poorest people and have your lunch and dinner in their hutments. Create a lot of noise in the press. Nobody, and certainly not the press, is going to take notice of your statements or views; but if you issue lofty statements on these issues and act according to my advice, as the President of your newly started party, the press is bound to give wide coverage for your statements provided you have got enough money to entertain the press reporters. Build yourself up in the press, create an impression that you are a power to reckon with, and then negotiate with either the Janata or Reddy Congress or Indira Congress, and demand a reasonable number of tickets (don't demand too many tickets, and, that is where both Shri S. K. Patil and Shri Hanumanthai failed miserably). I wish both of them had consulted me for tips (I had recently been to the United States to learn the art of securing the party tickets for worthless candidates who have got plenty of money and political ambitions). My trip to the United States in 1975 and the course I undertook cost me only Rs. 15,000. All the candidates who have failed to get any party

Reviews

THE HORROR IN CAMBODIA

Peace With Horror

John Barron and Anothony Paul,
(Hodder and Stoughton, London, £ 4.95.)

What happened in Cambodia after the communist take-over in April 1975 is a heartrending tale of unmitigated horror and cruelty. To the unsuspecting people who were looking forward to peace and stability after the end of a four-year war, the Communists brought largescale death, destruction and disease through their insane decision to evacuate the cities and towns. The decision was imposed upon the people without any notice or warning and without any arrangement to provide them alternative accommodation. The people were simply turned out on the streets with whatever they had on them with the military police constantly pushing them further and further away from cities. In this evacuation of cities not even patients in hospitals were spared. They were thrown out in the condition that they were with their relatives abandoning them to die on roads or carrying them on their shoulders and backs to die in many cases after a couple of days. In this forced and disorderly movement of masses, children were separated from mothers and families were broken up. Thousands died of disease and starvation and thousands were executed by military men for one reason or another and in many cases without any reason. About a million Cambodians are estimated to have perished in this horrible reign of terror that the Communists let loose after winning the war.

No news was allowed to go out of what was happening in Phnom Penh, Battambang and other cities of the country. But the flow of refugees could not be altogether checked. It is they who gave the world some inkling of what had happened and was happening. Based on those reports some newspapers published a few scrappy accounts. But

(Continued from page 12)

tickets are requested to contact me if they intend to contest the next elections, parliamentary assembly or corporation. My charges are reasonable; my fee depends upon the constituency in which you are contesting, your opponents and the issues involved in the constituency you are contesting. I am the only person in India who has specialised in this particular art and I dare to make this statement without any fear of contradiction. In fact, my friends have advised me to start a special institution to educate our aspiring politicians. They have promised me all help, but their only condition is that I should work only as a paid employee on a salary of Rs. 3,000 p.m. ! They want to exploit my newly acquired talents and mint money!

SHEILA SUMANT

the story of the horror remained largely untold. This book is for the first time telling that untold story. It is based on accounts painstakingly collected from refugees in refugee camps in Thailand and from some in Paris and Washington. Names of persons, refugees and others, who gave information about various happenings are given in notes to chapters and strenuous efforts were made to check and cross-check the information that was obtained. The two authors are skilled and experienced newsgatherers and they have made every effort to see that the picture that they present is fully authenticated.

The Communists inflicted these horrors upon the people because they wanted to reconstruct a New Cambodia. As an American diplomat quoted in the book has pointed out, "the Communists had committed themselves to 'total social evolution' and had determined that all belonging too the past 'was anathema and must be destroyed'." Destruction of the past was their objective and they thought it could be brought about best by "unplanned, random scattering of the people" in which for months "3,000,000 and 4,000,000 people marched and wandered chaotically through the countryside toward nowhere". Largescale evacuation of cities was taken in hand because the Communists thought that it "eradicated traditional patterns of life, detached the people from their past and largely reduced them to the same level, to one disoriented, malleable mass". It is only out of a "disoriented, malleable mass" that they can build a society of their design.

The communist capture of power in Cambodia took place, as usual, through the tactic of united front and coalition government. Prince Sihanouk was paraded as the figure head as long as it was necessary. As soon as the purpose was achieved he was thrown away as an unnecessary encumbrance. Once in power, the Communists had no use for the Prince as well as the old civilisation of Cambodia. They established a new authority, the *Angka Loeu*, the Organisation on High. The *Angka Loeu* ordered the evacuation of the cities as well as all the horrors that followed. The book tells in crisp and telling words the unvarnished story of those horrors.

V. B. KARNIK

VERY SECRET INTELLIGENCE

Secret Intelligence in the 20th Century

Constantine Fitzgibbon

(Hart Davies MacGibbon £ 6.95)

The perfect spy never comes in from the cold, he simply disappears leaving just a trace of cyphers in the air. This may be one reason why in spite of the tremendous popularity and exposure given to the Spy myth, which provides one of the most glamorous 'outsider' figures of our time, the reality comes as a chill blast to remind us that in this game there are no winners only losers and the sport never ends but goes on all the time. Though there are

no records, it is a sport which started when Prometheus first went and stole a brand of fire from the Gods. For this daring transfer of technology the Gods sent down their own secret agent in the form of Pandora whose successes in the line are too well known to bear repetition.

Constantine Fitzgibbon does not exactly begin his book from this point, but his canvas is wide enough and vast enough to be somewhat forbidding to the casual reader. He brings to his exploration of the contribution made by secret intelligence to the course of events in the 20th century the massive background of information of a historian, as well as the evaluative skill of a socio-political critic. Even with this, the subject is an elusive one to describe, since there are no records, nobody is prepared to talk about such matters, least of all the enemy, and there is even a danger in revealing past successes for fear of giving the game away. In fact secret intelligence becomes even more secret in peace time than perhaps during war, when its application is immediate and limited to certain practical ends.

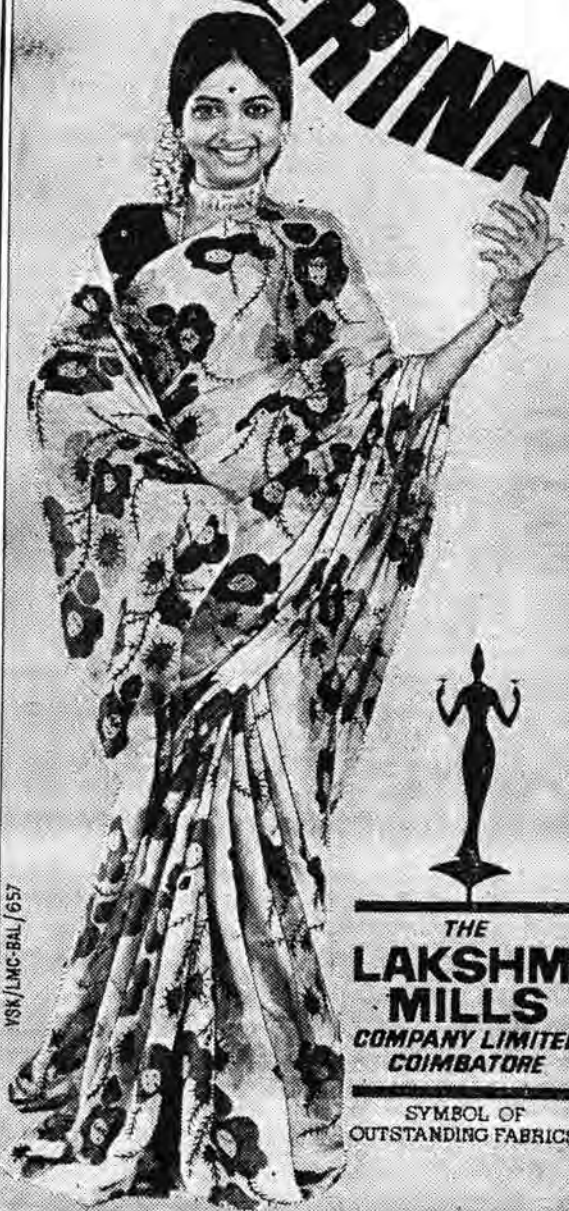
The book is most interesting when it reveals the more deadly and insidious propaganda that is resorted to during peace time. The Vietnam war, for example, which is described as part of the Third World War, came to an end in the May of 1975 not so much because the Americans were defeated on the battlefields of Indo-China, but because their will to continue a war which they had begun to believe was immoral and senseless, was destroyed by the protests and resistance to it in America. The war was lost on the home front. The author underlines the fact that the series of skirmishes in Korea, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Middle East are not unrelated but a continuation of the undeclared state of confrontation that exists between the Western powers, as exemplified by the United States and the Communist powers represented by the Soviet Union. "It has, he notes, been essentially an intelligence war more so than any that has preceded it. And the rules for this new type of war have been laid down largely by the Soviets."

"Totalitarian countries can use naked power", says *Time* magazine, quoting a deputy director of the CIA, "an open society has to depend on its wits." In this game of wits, the psychological aspect is seldom emphasized and it is this that Fitzgibbon brings out admirably, particularly in his analysis of the kind of tactics that are used in peace time. An open society tolerates, and is in theory, strengthened by criticism presented to it, but such criticism can be subverted by enemies of such a society so that it becomes negative and self destroying. This can be seen in the growth of the drug culture and the corresponding use of violence for violence' sake that is becoming a pastime for the youth in some of the most affluent countries of the West. This multiple loss of faith in religion, in social institutions, in democracy and all the other norms of Western society, could well be, argues the book, part of a deeper plot to turn this particular society against itself.

It is in this context that Fitzgibbon provides a commentary on the ambivalence displayed by the

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

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United States about secret intelligence. It is an attitude which earlier contributed to the Pearl Harbour debacle and which persists today in the debate on how to limit the powers of the CIA without making it totally ineffectual. It raises the problem of whether in dealing with totalitarian regimes it is all right to use totalitarian methods. The monstrous growth of the CIA, particularly during the Nixon era, shows the danger inherent in such an organization when it turns its attention not just on the enemy but on those it seeks to protect. Yet with the rapid growth of nuclear weaponry it is obvious that secret intelligence can no longer be regarded as a luxury but as a vital defence for the safeguard of the free world.

The profession has not been misnamed, for more than anything else intelligence consists of a battle of wits in which both speed and skill are required in the making of codes and the breaking of them, in anticipating the movements of the enemy and leading him on to misinterpret one's own. One of the greatest advantages that the British possessed during the II World War, was in their breaking the code of the unbreakable Engima machine, by a group of officers, mathematicians and chess wizards at the out of the way village of Bletchley. The story,

which was completely blacked out for the first thirty five years after the war, was revealed in the book by F. W. Winterbotham, "The Ultra Secret". If anything the Ultra incident shows that it was not enough to break a code, but more than half the work lay in the ability in using the information without alerting the enemy to this fact.

While Fitzgibbon's re-telling of the "Ultra" and other such incidents which have surfaced in fictional forms elsewhere and putting them in their proper perspective is excellent, one feels a little reluctant to accept his final description of the world as divided clearly between the good guys (the West) and the bad guys, in this case, the Russians. Though he may be perfectly right in thinking that the world is sliding from an undeclared Third World War into a Fourth World War, which will be a nuclear free for all, it is surely better to work towards a situation where this will not be necessary. Perhaps one of the ways to do this would be to break down the rigid distinctions between "us" and "them" and "good" and "bad", an eventuality that Fitzgibbon describes as "global political paranoia".

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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

Never have more 'liberated' people become more subject to more tyrannies in the name of achieving more freedom.....

— Harold R. Isaacs quoted in *International Herald Tribune*, January 17.

Mrs. Gandhi has split Congress; may be Janata will split, too, after Desai. Then the words 'law and order' could work wonders for any carpet-bagger after power.

— Gavin Young in the *Observer*, January 15.

Man staggers through life yapped at by his reason, pulled and shoved by his appetites, whispered to by his fears, beckoned by hopes. Small wonder that what he craves most is self-forgetting.

— Eric Hoffer quoted in the *International Herald Tribune*, January 16.

The hysteria of the race relations industry.
— Lord Hailsham quoted in the *Times*, January 14.

I am a rocket in orbit and my critics are dwarfs crawling on the earth.

— President Anwar Sadat quoted in the *Economist*, January 21.

It is unusual for a turkey to vote in favour of Christmas.

— A Liberal MP quoted in *Guardian*, December 15.

Africans in Rhodesia are capitalists without capital.

— A Rhodesian quoted in *Guardian*, December 29.

I am not seeking new principles for this party but new relevance.

— Mr. David Steel quoted in the *Observer*, January 22.

The collective pledge by Janata MPs at Gandhi Samadhi on that beautiful morning in March 1977 now seems a cruel joke.

— *Democratic World*, December 18.

It's nice to be important. But it's more important to be nice.

— A poster in Madras quoted in *Guardian*, January 21.

In the Rhodesian war there are more blacks than whites fighting against an organization whose supposed aim is to "liberate" blacks from white domination.

— *Time*, December 21.

In Moscow, Human Rights Day was celebrated by placing 20 dissidents under house arrest, cutting off their telephones, and threatening to break up a silent demonstration in Pushkin Square.

— William F. Buckley Jr. in *International Herald Tribune*, December 22.

Signature

FREEDOM FIRST,

C/o Democratic Research Service
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