

freedom first

252

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL IDEAS

MAY 1973

EDITOR: M. R. MASANI

THE DANGEROUS YEARS

M. R. Masani

WHAT is the outlook for our troubled country during the Seventies? Are things really beyond repair? Must we resign ourselves to the horrible prospect of the country going down the drain and ending up in the gutter of communism or the ditch of chaos? Many people, including some educated and thoughtful ones, tell me that this is the conclusion to which they have come. All they can, therefore, do is to shrug their shoulders and sit back to await the inevitable doom.

I must confess that I find this attitude somewhat shocking. Even if things were as hopeless as they imagine, it is one's duty to try and reverse these trends and save the country from disaster by redoubling one's efforts.

As it happens, however, all is *not* lost. So long as one does not take an extremely short-term view, there is every ground for hope. Let us consider for a few moments the trends with which we are likely to be faced in the coming years. On the one hand, there is undoubtedly what has been described as "a revolution of rising expectations" which is common to this country along with many others. People who docilely accepted their lot are no longer prepared to do so and are now demanding a fair deal. They want our country to progress alongside the more progressive countries of the world and to give them a better life and they are not likely to put up with excuses or alibis for very long. On the other hand, there are the economic trends of increasing population, increasing unemployment, rising prices and diminishing food supplies, all of which add up to a stagnant if not a declining standard of life. With the present government, which is sick with ideology and engaged in a headlong rush to transform our pluralistic and democratic society into a monopolist and Marxist one, there is little chance of these counter-productive policies being jettisoned or reversed. This means that India is heading for a veritable economic collapse. These will be dangerous years.

Imagine for a moment the spiritual and moral im-

plications of such a disaster—the effect on the maintenance of law and order, on our democratic Constitution, on the Rule of Law, on religion, on moral standards and on our national character. Somebody has described this as the prospect of starved children growing into "a nation of mediocrities".

It is said even the worm turns, and I see no reason to believe that the Indian worm will be an exception to the rule. There is a limit beyond which flesh and blood will not stand deprivation and misery, particularly when it can be demonstrated to be avoidable.

That this is so in our case is obvious from the fact that many other countries of Asia have, during the years since World War II, made tremendous advance and have given their people a richer and happier life. Our Governments, since Independence, have fallen prey to the fashionable nonsense about developing countries being "different" and requiring a departure from the rules of human nature and the science of

IN MEMORIAM

Freedom First pays its tribute to the memory of Prabhavati Devi, a great little woman of intrepid courage and deep dedication to Gandhiji's thinking. It extends its sympathy to Jayaprakash Narayan. The Editor joins in mourning the loss of an old friend.

economics. The fact is that all countries—even the most advanced—are developing, with only rare exceptions like India and Burma. The real distinction is between well managed countries and badly managed countries like ours. One has only to mention Japan, Taiwan, Malaysia, South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore, as examples of the contrast. While they have carried out pragmatic and intelligent economic policies, we in India have not.

Far, therefore, from it being true, as Prime Minister Indira Gandhi claimed at Patiala on March 23, that

"the only alternative to the Congress is chaos", the fact is that the inevitable outcome of the continuance of the Congress regime is chaos. Already the breakdown of law and order is visible and the Armed Forces are being brought in to suppress internal disorder on a scale which the British rulers in India had never found necessary. Whether they know it or not, those in charge of the country's affairs are riding the Marxist dogma which has failed egregiously to work or deliver the goods in a single known example. Their feats recall a little ditty written about such futile efforts:

"A fact without a theory
Is like a ship without a sail,
Is like a boat without a rudder,
Is like a kite without a tail.
A fact without a figure
Is a tragic final act,
But one thing worse
In this universe
Is a theory without a fact."

It is true that the Socialist Establishment appears, for the moment, to have managed to pass the buck for its own mistakes and crimes to scapegoats for their failures. But how long will this effort succeed? How long will the cult of personality and a charismatic leader blind the people to the realities?

History's Answer

The answer is provided by history which has shown that there is a limit beyond which such figures are unable to continue for long.

Suddenly the picture changes and the very people who had supported them turn on them and rend them. From being beloved leaders, their names and memories become the object of contempt and disgust.

As a student of history, I see no reason to doubt that, if present policies and trends continue, a similar situation would develop in our country. It is to be hoped that, before this happens, a certain measure of wisdom may dawn on those in office and they may yet draw back from the brink. Unfortunately, current indications, such as the take-over of wholesale trade in foodgrains, and talk of the Government monopolising the import of all consumer goods and even of books, give little ground for such hope.

When and how a change will come over the scene I do not know. Anyone's guess is as good as mine and one hears a lot of guesses being made these days. Not being a determinist like the Marxists, I would not venture to suggest any time scale. Nor, indeed, can one tell whether it will be for the better or for the worse.

It is not only Liberals, who would like to see India get back to the middle of the road, who desire and

work for a change. There are also the Maoists, or Naxalites as we call them in our country. They too can be expected to make a bid for power when the present Socialist Establishment crumbles as a result of its own failure. Their defeat and our success can by no means be taken for granted and a great deal will depend on the dedication and zest with which those who believe in a free society, whatever the party they may belong to, work during the next few years. Assuming, however, that the good sense of the Indian people, the Civil Services, the Armed Forces and the other elements in our society prevails, would a more pragmatic, middle-of-the-road Government be able to do anything to solve the country's basic problems? That question has been put by some doubting and faint-hearted friends, and I think it is necessary to answer it.

An Alternative Scenario

Let us imagine for a moment a sudden outburst of sanity in New Delhi or, since that is not very likely, an act of will on the part of the Indian people to

(Continued on page 14)

IN THIS ISSUE

In the lead article the Editor shares with readers his assessment of the outlook the next few years hold for our troubled and badly administered country. On page 4 the reader will find a report of the Editor's Inaugural Address to the National Convention of the Swatantra Party which shows that he has not hesitated to "turn the searchlight inwards" and condemn opportunism and demoralisation when they raise their head within his own party.

Former *Freedom First* Staffer Vrunda Moghe computes the cost of holding on to the POWs and notes the discrepancy between her total and the official one.

On page 9 we carry extracts from Bertram Wolfe's talk "Some Reflections on the Origins and Nature of Totalitarianism" delivered at the Conference of The Western Slavic Association at the University of Portland in Oregon.

In our April issue we brought attention to a report by the International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights which revealed that a million persons are incarcerated presently in a thousand forced labour camp in the USSR. On page 7 David Rees of the Forum World Features examines the report.

Geeta Doctor reviews Arthur Koestler's *The Call-Girls*.

POWs -- THE ECONOMICS OF DETENTION

Vrunda Moghe

SIMPLE arithmetic has never been a strong point of our politicians in power. Commenting on the expenditure incurred for the maintenance of Pakistan POWs, Mr. V. C. Shukla placed the amount at 13 crores until January 1973 (*Times of India*, Lok Sabha Questions, March 16, 1973). Even if we are to calculate on the basis of Rs. 5 a day, which is the cost of feeding one prisoner, and if we assume the total number of prisoners to be roughly a lakh, the cost per day will amount to Rs. 5 lakhs. For thirteen months the cost will be Rs. 19.5 crores. This appears to be a figure somewhat higher than that estimated by Mr. Shukla in his statement, which is also remarkable in that it does not apparently find it necessary to include some other items on the bill.

Assuming the existence of fifty POW camps (2,000 prisoners each), the POWs captured number to over a lakh out of which about 23,000 are 'civilians'. These so called 'civilians' also include para-military forces such as the East Pakistan Rifles. According to the Geneva Convention 'civilians' are referred to as 'followers' who in turn, from the correct army point of view are considered to be 'menial staff' and hence are expected to be given only the lowest allowance. In India however, they are being treated as 'civilians under protective custody' (CPUC) and are therefore being given some extra privileges. The prisoners are entitled to the same status as they had in their army under the Act of The Army of the detaining power. These prisoners, besides having the privileges of the same status or rank are also entitled to: same food as given to the armed forces of the detaining country; clothing and equipment; medical treatment; maintenance allowance as per their ranks—officers JCOs, sergeants etc.

It is an accepted fact that every prisoner will try to escape either into his country or to a third country which is bound to return him to his own country, as for example in the case of the two officers who escaped to Nepal in February 1972 and who were returned to Pakistan. During the attempted escape, if the prisoner is challenged by the Protection Force and it is difficult to apprehend him, he is generally shot at, with an object to 'maim' him and not generally to kill him. Any such incident has to be enquired into, both by the International Red Cross (IRC) and also the detaining country. For such an attempted escape the prisoner may be awarded either solitary confinement for seven days or a cut in his ration scale.

Besides this, another responsibility is the welfare of the prisoners. We have to see that proper delivery

of mail is made, radio facilities including music, news and radio messages to be sent by the POWs themselves are provided, light activities like music competitions or plays are regularly held and that they are allowed enough indoor and outdoor games. They have also to be provided with newspapers, periodicals, books and above all given facilities for religious worship. The object is to ensure that the prisoners are kept busy from sunrise to about 9 p.m. after which they are locked in their cages.

Hidden

The Protection Force on its part, has to guard the campus, check the barbed wire fences (every camp having three lines of barbed wire), carry out roll-calls, surprise calls, regular checks of their cages to find if any gold, currency or lethal weapons or any tools are hidden anywhere. The Force is also provided with emergency generators which can be brought into operation within 30 seconds of the circuit failure. The guarding power has to use minimum possible force.

The electric power consumed by heavy floodlights and searchlights is tremendous. There are approximately 1,000 electric points—the lights burn for about 12 hours per day and the expenditure per camp is about Rs. 1000 per day and the total spent so far would be around one crore and eighty lakh rupees.

Up to date about 1,400 severely wounded prisoners have been returned. The amount spent on medical treatment for them can be put aside for the present, but what of the remaining ones? There are families who have been kept as prisoners (and the population increases there too) with a lot of small children necessitating more medical expenditure.

The cost of documentation and mail of the POWs (with all the forms and photographs required by the rules of the Geneva Convention) can be calculated to at least Rs. 25 lakhs. Moreover it would seem that the Indian army is being used for the wrong purposes. Even the services of the CRP are being utilised—so much so that besides their normal pay, facilities like field concessions, transport, food, have to be given.

According to the Geneva Convention the POWs cannot be detained for more than three to four months. Even while accepting the fact that Bangla Desh is not a signatory of the said Convention is it not a farce that the trials are pending for over a year now? Why then should India hold the trump card for the Pak recognition of Bangla Desh? It is time we should consider whether the heavy expenditure on the POWs justifies the alienation of world opinion and the threat of violence to our diplomatic missions.

The Weekly Mail

Incorporating The Spectator 1836, The Madras Times 1860

SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1973

12 PAGES

MADRAS

MASANI INDICTS ORISSA SWATANTRA PARTY

Link-Up with Patnaik in Toppling Game Deplored

MODY ACCUSES CONGRESS OF DESTROYING CONSTITUTION

By A Staff Reporter

MADRAS, Apr. 14.

MR M. R. MASANI, former President and one of the founders of the Swatantra Party, this afternoon castigated the Orissa leadership of the party for aligning with Mr Biju Patnaik in a toppling operation.

INAUGURATING the two-day session of the Sixth National Convention of the Swatantra Party at Rajaji Nagar here, Mr. Masani regretted that the SVD disease had now "infected our camp in Orissa."

He asked his partymen to "think afresh and boldly and, if necessary, jettison any dogmas and other intellectual baggage that may weigh the party down in order to play its role effectively against follies and mistakes of the socialist establishment."

Mr. Piloo Mody, President of the party, said the democratic fabric of India was wearing thin and accused the ruling party of "violating the laws of the land" and even "destroying the Constitution".

Mr. Masani said: "We shall have to be prepared to show that we are more radical than the members of the socialist establishment who cling to the dead wood of Marxist dogma and mistake bureaucratic State Capitalism for socialism."

Brushing aside "meaningless labels like right and left," he asked the partymen to work well with all

those who had a genuine concern for poor and a burning passion for social justice.

To the party critics who think that the party had no future, Mr. Masani told them not to take a short-term view. Public opinion is changeable and even fickle. Stating that the party principles had a future he said the role of the party in future was not to join hands with others in groupings in an effort to get into office.

"What is our role? Is it whether by hook or by crook to win the next elections? My own answer is that for us to join in efforts such as those recently started by Mr. Biju Patnaik is counter-productive". The Swatantra Party would have to beware of false starts of nature.

Turning to international affairs, Mr. Masani warned against overcommitment of the country to the Soviet Union. Unless this trend was reversed and the country returned to a relatively balanced role with the three Super Powers, the risk of the country's involvement in needless international controversies would increase.

COFFEE, FREUD AND ME

Geeta Doctor

I WAS not feeling particularly Freudian when I went to the Birthday Party. In fact the only thing I did feel was out of breath after dashing up four flights of stairs to be in time for the 7 p.m. deadline. "Any persons arriving after 7 p.m. will not be allowed to enter" the spectators were warned in advance but this was unnecessary as everyone sat in their places like well-behaved school children much before 7 p.m. and it took a good ten minutes even after that time for the play to start.

I must frankly admit to being a very suggestible person so that when the programme indicated that we were about to witness a Comedy of Menace I immediately began to feel threatened. We sat in a seedy looking drawing room stacked against the length of the room in two neat rows. Four lights hung down from the ceiling giving a faintly clinical aura to the proceedings. I sat in a valley between two mountainous men, one of whom leaned forward to rumble, 'I believe they expect audience participation' while the other maintained a massive wall of silence and only occasionally stretched out his padded paws and slowly cracked his knuckles one by one. A very Pinteresque companion I thought.

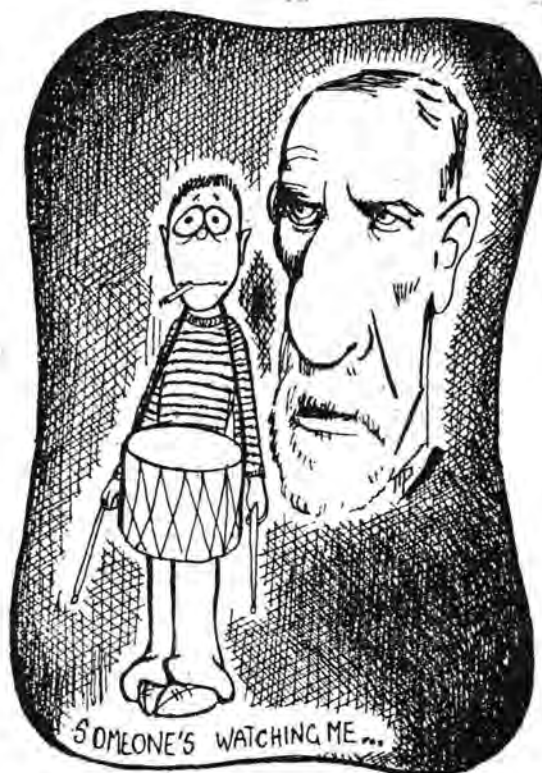
The play started very quietly, very deliberately. Three bells rang somewhere, a girl came in to remove a notice which said 'Coffee and discussion later' and this was followed by a noiseless shutting of the many doors to the room and a slight lowering of the lights. The director coiled himself into one of the corners and though he was barely perceptible still managed to convey a 'Big Brother is watching you' feeling. Who was watching who? The Comedy had begun. Two girls giggled as Stanley lurched into the room and wondered, "Is he mad or wot?" while another gentleman found the atmosphere so claustrophobic that he abruptly walked across the stage and out of the room to the surprise of all concerned.

These can typify two possible reactions to a play by Harold Pinter. They are not unlike the attitude of people who stare at abstract art and plaintively ask "But what does it mean?" or those who dismiss it with the sweeping statement "All this modern art is rubbish." There are some people however who would like to qualify their feelings a little more explicitly and it is probably for these that discussions were held over a cup of coffee after the play.

Unfortunately at the particular performance that I attended, a cup of coffee did not provide sufficient inducement to stay for the majority of the audience, most of whom, either assailed by the pangs of hunger or the disconcerting thought of being put through

some sort of a comprehension test, vanished quickly down the stairs.

Those who remained nursed their coffee in what they hoped was an intellectual manner and stared expectantly at the director who had metamorphosed by then into a genial schoolmaster trying to elicit a response from his none too bright students. What could have helped to make the discussions easier was to have made some attempt to break the ice at an earlier stage and create a slightly more intimate atmosphere amongst the audience. Naturally not everyone feels inclined to venture an opinion and hence run the risk of making a fool of himself in the company of utter strangers.



Sketch by Manjula Padmanabhan

However at this point I had not yet reckoned with Freud. The worthy gentleman's name was scarcely mentioned when everyone relaxed and happily started hunting for Freudian symbols in the play. Such is the fortuitous quality about the man that anyone can mention his name without sounding foolish. For it conveys a note of absolute authority and complete vagueness so that anybody can say a certain thing is

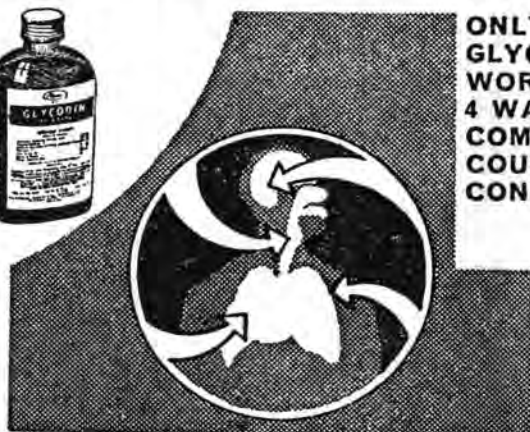
Freudian without specifying why it should be so, and not a soul will dare raise an objection. Hence we were able to account for the dark dingy room that Stanley occupied, the candle on his birthday cake, the drum on which he beats out his despair, the cigarette which was put into his mouth at the end, as being very Freudian. Having settled the minor details it was a trifling matter to diagnose Stanley's problem as a typical Oedipus complex with Meg as the 'mother-figure' with whom he has a 'love-hate' relationship which destroys his capacity for any normal involvement with a girl as evidenced by his attitude to Lulu, the nubile girl next door. Naturally in this context Goldberg becomes the dreaded 'father-figure' who drags Stanley out by the scruff of his neck and makes a man out of him. The whole problem was quite easily done by applying Freud's instant formula for all problems.

At this juncture a mild looking man announced that he was inclined to take a more Jungian view than a Freudian view but luckily he did not feel inclined to enlighten us further and we did not have to spend any more time diving into uneasy psychological depths. Another gentleman claimed that the play gave him a greater awareness of life's problems while someone behind me muttered that he had all along been under the impression that poor Stanley was a drug addict who was being pursued by two Mafia-type gangsters for having let down the organization. I, on the other hand, was equally convinced that the sinister figures of Goldberg and McCann represented at different times the messengers of death who had come to drag Stanley to his doom and were also externalizations of his subconscious urges. And the movements of the whole play fitted so easily into this pattern that I could not but feel a sense of irritation against the Freudian fiend and the Mafia maniac.

All of which goes to show that there can be no one clear cut interpretation to a play by Pinter. He has a tendency to confront the viewer with words, characters and actions which do not establish an absolute identity in themselves until the spectator decides to supply the missing links, so that in theory there can be as many interpretations as there are spectators. It is this shiftingness in the attitude of the audience which contributes to the complex compelling quality of the play and to this extent the discussions were not only a novel idea but were also essential for a fuller appreciation of the play.

Of the Theater Group's interpretation one can only once again remark at the ingenuity and versatility of this Group's approach to a play. Though one can appropriate blame (as for example on Meg's performance, which at such close quarters appeared too stagey) or praise for the Mephistophelian malevolence of Goldberg's portrayal, the general impression was of having participated in a highly diverting, highly original experience.

Say "GOODBYE, COUGH!" with **GLYCODIN**



**ONLY
GLYCODIN
WORKS
4 WAYS FOR
COMPLETE
COUGH
CONTROL**

**GLYCODIN
TERP VASAKA**

**THE TRUSTED,
LARGEST-SELLING
HOUSEHOLD REMEDY
FOR COUGHS**

everest/1019/ACW

*Discerning
men
the world
over
choose*

Raymond's ...

Because **Raymond's** have perfected the *a la mode* look, that soft comfortable and luxurious feel which is naturally wool. They also offer *Tenool* — a superb mixture of Polyester Fibre and wool. *Tenool* has the best of both. And *Knitting wool*, too — in a variety of lovely shades, making trend-setting knitteds. All **Raymond's** products are moth-proof — treated by the Dielmoth process.

Raymond gets around... in the best circles everywhere



**A J. K. PRODUCT
Manufactured by:
THE RAYMOND WOOLLEN
MILLS LTD., Bombay 1.**



SOVIET FORCED LABOUR CAMPS

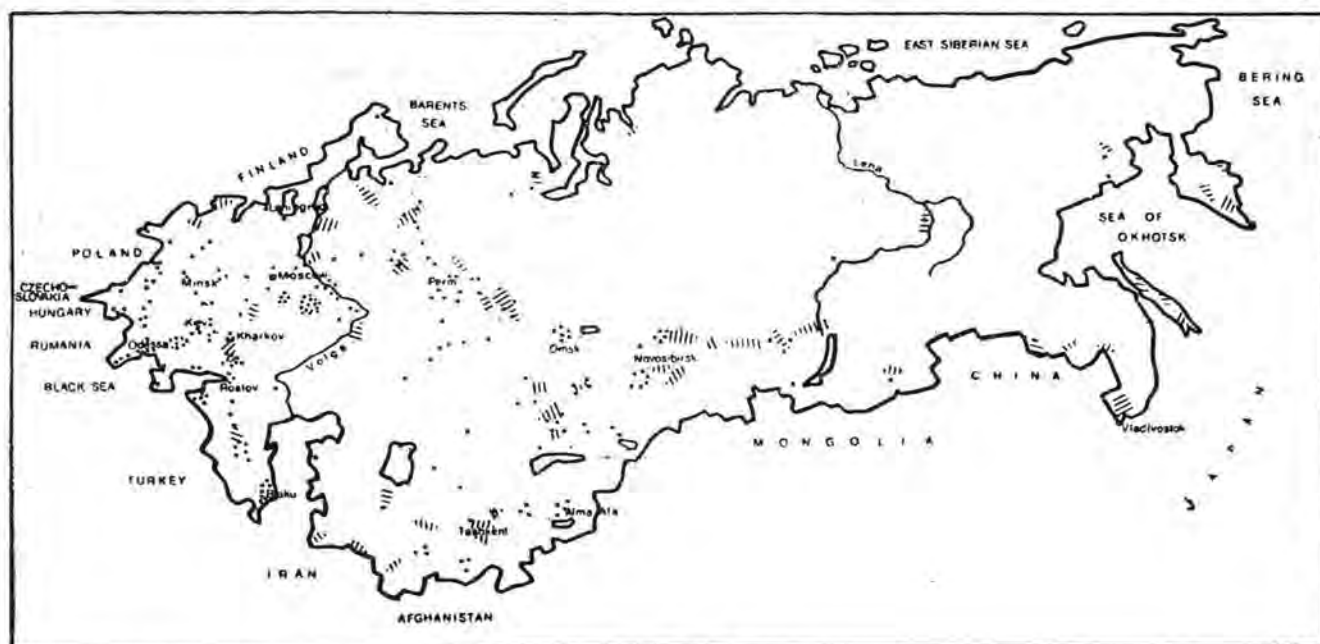
David Rees

THERE are well over one million prisoners in a thousand Soviet forced labour camps today. That is the grim conclusion of an interim report on the Soviet camps just published by the Brussels-based "International Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR." A fuller report, probably in book form, follows later in the year.

The Committee itself is a completely non-partisan body created in 1971 under the patronage of Professor Rene Cassin, the French Nobel Peace Prize winner. Its president is a Belgian, Dr Albert Guerisse, himself a former victim of the Nazi concentration camps. Other founder-members include distinguished academics and public men from most Western European countries, including the United Kingdom. The Committee's basic aim is simply to work on behalf of all

While some of the Soviet labour camp complexes such as Vorkuta, Karaganda and Magadan are already known of in the West, this report, and its accompanying map, shows that the camps are spread over most provinces of the USSR. There is a particularly heavy concentration in European Russia. Thus the tall watch-towers, the armed guards, and the electrified fences immortalised in Solzhenitsyn's famous novel of the camps, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, are still very much an integral part of the Soviet scene. And for dissenters of every kind, an integral part of the Soviet system.

When Stalin died in 1953, over 10 million people were believed to be in the camps. During the next four years there was a reduction in this figure, although the Stalinist administrative structure of the camps



• Precisely known locations
||| Regions where other camps exist

those who are persecuted in the USSR in violation of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

Drawing its information from a wide variety of sources, including official Soviet publications, *samizdat* or underground literature which increasingly circulates in the USSR despite all the efforts of the KGB, and by the cross-checked testimony of escapes and defectors, this international committee notes that about 1,000 forced labour camps exist in the USSR. All available evidence points to an average of about 1,200 inmates for each camp, so a total camp population of about 1.2 million exists today.

remained intact, as it does today. But now, in the age of Brezhnev, the camp population is increasing again.

In addition, the figures noted above do not include remand or penal prisons, nor the "psychiatric" prison-hospitals in which some dissenters are interned for "treatment." Nor does the figure of over a million convicts in the camps include those persons under various sentences of exile. Moreover, and this is a very important point made by the report, conditions in the camps, at least for the many political prisoners, are deteriorating.

The worst single aspect of life in the Soviet camps,

the report notes, "is the constant hunger which torments and even tortures the prisoners often for years on end. When this is combined, as it is, with compulsory manual labour, the results can be tragic..."

In February 1972, for example, Yury Galanskov, who was arrested in 1967 for editing the *samizdat* journal, *Phoenix*, appealed from his Morovian labour camp to the International Committee of the Red Cross. Galanskov was ill with a serious stomach ulcer, he could not eat his meagre rations, and yet he was forced to work for eight hours a day. "For five years now," he wrote, "I have been waging this struggle for health and life... During the two years of my sentence that remains they [the camp authorities] will kill me." By the end of 1972, Galanskov was dead.

Malnutrition is an integral part of the camp regime which has been analysed by Anatoly Marchenko in *My Testimony*. Marchenko notes that as the maximum daily camp rations is only about 2,400 calories — the British Medical Association considers that heavy physical labour demands over 4,000 calories.

Other means used by the camp authorities to coerce the prisoners include the banning of food parcels, refusal to allow visitors and grossly inadequate medical supervision. There is the constant factor of cold. Then, if a prisoner survives his term, he has great difficulty in finding a job and lodgings on returning

to normal life. He is forbidden to live within 100 kilometres of a big Soviet city. He has become an "unperson."

The report sums up by estimating that no less than 0.5 per cent of the whole population of the USSR is in captivity. This compares with 0.07 per cent in Britain, 0.16 per cent in France and 0.2 per cent in the United States. The Soviet figure is thus two-and-a-half to seven times higher than these advanced countries.

Concluding, the report notes that in the age of détente it behoves those in the West to look closely at the regimes they are dealing with, in their own elementary interest. The question is suggested as to how far effective détente is possible with a state that treats its own subjects in the manner outlined. Yet the Soviet Government is apparently not as impervious to Western pressure as is sometimes suggested. Solzhenitsyn's continued freedom is a case in point.

Yet, surprisingly, the report notes, "the fact that Soviet labour camps are less accessible than their Greek or South African equivalents has not, strangely enough, led to an intensive study of the massive evidence available from sources other than on-the-spot investigation. Nor, even more strangely, has the fact that much of the evidence is in the form of signed appeals, often desperate ones, to the UN Human Rights Commission, the International Red Cross, Western churches, and church leaders, and so on, all of whom have not replied to the appeals or even apparently acknowledged them."

In an age of unparalleled protest in the West, the unfortunate inmates of the Soviet forced labour camps probably lack an essential ingredient to command this Western attention. That magic ingredient is what the American writer, Tom Wolfe, has called "radical chic."

—FWF



FOR ATTRACTIVE INTERIORS
Silvicrete
ACC
WHITE CEMENT

Readily available from the nearest Cement Marketing Division of
THE ASSOCIATED CEMENT COMPANIES LTD.

ACC. 5789

39th year of publication

THE INDIAN P.E.N.

a monthly

Edited by Sophia Wadia

Critical articles and surveys * Book Reviews
 The Literary Scene in India * Notes and News

Single copy: Re. 1/-; Annual Subs. Rs. 10/-

40, New Marine Lines
 Bombay 400 020

THE NATURE OF TOTALITARIANISM

Bertram D. Wolfe

THE essence of the total State and the totalitarian party does not lie in tyranny or terror, although these are necessary in varying doses and at varying stages to atomize and subjugate society. But the essence of totalitarianism is painfully simple and lies in its very root, the word total.

Totalitarianism asserts that the party and the State are identical with society and co-extensive with it, that all the purposes of party and State are identical with the purposes of society and that society can have no purposes that are not party and State purposes. Therefore, it denies autonomy to the individual, his private purposes, his judgment, his conscience, his moral responsibility. By the same token, it denies autonomy, *a fortiori*, to non-State organizations as against the State: to unions, to clubs, to churches, to parties, to lodges, to foreign policy associations, to chambers of commerce, to Boy Scouts, to Masons.

Whatever non-State organizations exist when the total-State dictatorship is formed must either be coordinated into the State apparatus or be charged with being anti-State and treasonable and liquidated. That is what has happened today to the unions, the churches and associations of every sort in the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Having thus secured control of every social organization, the totalitarian party and State seek to penetrate every aspect of life, assume control of every interest, undertake systematic organization of every activity, convert every individual interest and activity and every social interest and activity into a State activity. "The duty of Russian women," the inimitable Vyshinsky told those Canadians who wanted to get their Russian wives out of Russia and into Canada, "is to produce Soviet children, not children for the Canadian government." It is this attempt to penetrate all organizations and direct all activities, not excluding love and hate and art and music and dreams that forces the totalitarian State to become a universal police State.

The essence of democracy is that it regards the State as a servant of society and not its master, that however many functions the State assumes, society still remains enormously more extensive than the State, and the State, however expanded, still but one of the organizations and one of the instruments of society. The party struggle, which so repels many of democracy's critics, is a symptomatic test of democracy. As long as there is freedom to organize parties, to propose rival men and rival measures, as long as there is a conflict of interests, organizations, lobbies, pressure groups, each seeking to influence the State and enforce its will in one or another particular, so long as

there is no total State. As long as there is free trade in ideas, clash of opinions, freedom of opposition, freedom of criticism, freedom of press, so long you will know that the expanding State has not coordinated and reduced to transmission belts the various organizations meant to lead a life independent of it, and even to influence and to coerce it.

What constitutes democracy in the Anglo-American sense of the word (the French Roussellian conception is quite different) is:

- (1) The existence of a society that is wider than the sphere of action of the State;
- (2) The setting of definite limitations upon the powers of the State (our Bill of Rights characteristically begins: "Congress shall make no law respecting...");
- (3) The existence of recourse within the State itself against arbitrary acts of officials *habeas corpus*, rules on search and seizure, on due process of law, on punishment for false arrest;
- (4) The presence of opposition as a right, and even as a fundamental and constructive element of government, with the consequent presence of the spirit of discussion and compromise, of give and take and of accountability to the electorate which is the essence of parliamentarism;
- (5) The right of the people to turn out the government of which they disapprove.

That is not all, but will suffice to make clear the differences between the party-State dictatorship and the limited democratic State, even under the difficult conditions of modern war and expanding Statehood.

In totalitarianism, all the possible aims and purposes of society, or any part of it, are identified with the aims and purposes of the party and the State and taken entirely, without a residual remainder, under State control, regulation and direction. It is worth repeating that totalitarianism denies autonomous existence, autonomous aims and autonomous activities to all non-State organizations and denies autonomy of action, feeling, thought or conscience to the individual. Where unions, parties, churches, clubs, lodges, discussion groups and schools exist, they must either be absorbed ("coordinated") or crushed by the State. When they have been coordinated, they cease to be organs of their members and become so many additional organs of the State and party. Hence, the thing called a "party" is no longer a party, and the thing called a "union" is no longer a union. Indeed contrary to the general impression, the total State is not really a one-

party State; it is a no-party or non-party State. For "party" implies part, or fraction: An autonomous organization of autonomous individuals formed to influence the State or gain temporary control of its activities, not an organization of the State to control social life. Where there is only one "party", all party life ceases, just as, if there were only one "sex" all sex life would cease.

Often, the front page of *Pravda* has carried this slogan: *Interesy gosudarstva vysheshevo*: "The interests of the State are above all else." Here is the essence of totalitarianism described by an official organ of the world's most powerful total-State, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Literally, this means not only that every citizen owes his country a natural loyalty but that in all things at all times and in all ways he must make the interests of the State, as dictated by an omnipotent leader, his own.

Reshape Nature of Man

In a deeper sense it means that totalitarianism is actually attempting to reshape the very nature of man and society. Its doctrine claims that men have no end in life but to serve the State and the party. As such it must aim at destroying all philosophies and doctrines which would limit the rights of the State and the party. There can be nothing beyond its control. There can be no institutions with the right to remain independent, to have an autonomy and a validity of their own. There can be no room, no scope for the individual, his judgment, his conscience, his private purposes, hopes and dreams, his love for those who are close to him, his personal dignity. The State is determined to own everything, not only material things but men themselves—to own them body and soul.

This means that the State must wage constant and unending war upon the entire population because the spirit of man is more complicated than any institution he has contrived and it is *not* man's nature to submit himself without a residue to any man-made institution.

In the State's war against its own people, these are the weapons: mass propaganda, terror, isolation, indoctrination, total organization and total regulation. These means are something new in history. In fact they could only exist in an era of advanced technology where the State can reach with loudspeaker, newspaper, telephone, police wagon, tank and plane all the far corners and most secret places of its domain. It is that monster which Herzen and Tolstoy prophetically foretold: "Someday Genghis Khan will return with the telegraph."

La Rochefoucauld once wrote: "Hypocrisy is the tribute which vice pays to virtue." In an age of mass communication and mass societies, it has been impossible for the great totalitarian powers to avoid imitating in hollow mockery the forms of democracy. Thus, they hold "elections" in which there are no rival platforms, no contending parties, no rival candidates, but

they seek to get out 99 per cent of the vote to appear to approve a government which has never submitted its actions to their judgment or permitted independent criticism, independent organizations, or independent judgment. So, too, they have a constitution with a "Bill of Rights," the author of which constitution, Bukharin, was put on trial and killed within a year of its adoption after first being morally destroyed by inquisition, torture, and confession. The prosecutor in the early show trials, Krylenko, said of this new constitution: "It provides not only for the granting of rights to the people but also for the annihilation of our enemies." And it was not long before Krylenko himself was confessing at a show trial, being defamed by his former partner in prosecution, Vyshinsky.

The Bill of Rights of this constitution guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assemblage, and all rights imaginable, but if you take the Bill of Rights seriously you land either in a prison, or a concentration camp, or a lunatic asylum.

The Soviet Government usurped power from the Russian people by dispersing the Constituent Assembly that they had just elected and dispersing it by force of arms. From that day to this the Bolshevik Government has never submitted its actions to the judgment of its people, has never established a rule of law which would be binding upon it as well on its subjects, has never sought legitimacy. To this day, upon the death of a dictator (a post not provided for in any constitution or legal rule) there has been a crisis of succession. In more than half a century the Soviet Government, which is not a government by Soviets, has neither won legitimacy nor sought it.

We penetrate to the core of totalitarianism when we watch it in struggle with its greatest enemy: the wayward human spirit. All tyrannies of the past have feared some particular aspect of the human spirit and sought to circumscribe in some degree the freedom it needs to function and create.

But in the system we have been examining the men who claim the right to rule over a great people base their claim on their exclusive possession of an infallible doctrine of which they are the infallible interpreters. It is a doctrine that gives them the power to understand the past, to regulate and control the present, and to determine the future. History personified has told them her secrets, told them what man must do, be, and become. To stand in their way is to stand in the way of history and condemn them to vanishing into what Trotsky called "the dustbin of history." We are witnesses and I think will continue to be witnesses throughout much of the rest of this century of a drama of which the last act is not yet known to us. What happens, we ask as the wayward human spirit continues in abiding conflict with the requirements of that unlimited control of everything that has put the root *total* into the word totalitarianism?

Reviews

CASSANDRA TURNS CALL-GIRL

The Call-Girls by Arthur Koestler, Hutchinson, London, £ 2.25; pp. 191.

THE title itself is puzzling. For one brief moment we wonder whether the editors have got the wrong Arthur to do yet another, best-selling, full dirt and details, Airport/Hotel-style saga about the call-girl racket. Then we realize that it is Arthur Koestler alright proceeding in his precise mathematical fashion to divide his thesis into three parts and the main portion into further sections, which are a testimony not only of his passion for order but his concern to see that his audience are fed with just the varying degree of information that they can assimilate. In this book, Koestler reverts to his old mistress, Science, but makes her more acceptable by providing her with an accommodating husband called Fiction and filling her out with the latest sexual frills. The marriage is described as a tragicomedy and perhaps we are expected to laugh, but Koestler is not the sort of companion we can laugh with. There is too much of the professor about him and the subject he is dissecting is not an ordinary one. He specializes in eviscerating the human predicament and is inclined to cut too close to the bone to make us feel amused about it.

The tragicomedy is framed within a prologue and epilogue, so that we start off on the Cross and end up on a psychiatrist's couch, since these are the two sequences which have been selected as variations on the central theme.

The main story is a more comfortable affair with a glazed Alpine setting and a carefully selected group of individuals who could just as well have congregated in one of Agatha Christie's plots for a cosy weekend of murder. These however are not homicidal house guests but International Call-girls, or distinguished scientists and academicians whose pursuit is not so much the search for truth as the hope for another call which will invite them to yet another seminar where they can display some of the tricks they picked up in their early days. This time they have come to debate on the theme "Approaches to Human Survival" and as we see the distinguished guests winding up the narrow Alpine path, we are reminded of Koestler's words on another occasion, "The path to Utopia is steep, the serpentine road which leads up to it has many tortuous curves."

The discussions, when they start, also follow a labyrinthian course with each distinguished speaker deviating along his own narrow track. The Seminar is held in focus by Nikolai Solovief, a charming personality, filled with the undefinable melancholy of a man who knows that he is fighting a losing battle. He

is the one who suggests that the task ahead of them is "to analyse the causes of man's predicament, to arrive at a tentative diagnosis of his present condition and to explore the possible remedies."

Each scientist presents a paper which is debated formally over the conference table or informally during the drinks and dinners which form a natural respite from the monotony of the straightforward discussions. We are therefore made to see each proposition from different angles. On top of this, to make doubly sure that the information has penetrated, Solovief's wife Claire either holds long conversations with her husband or spends the night writing letters to her nebulous boy-friend, who presumably, is just waiting to hear the latest report on the human predicament.

To a great extent it is the sort of situation where Koestler can display his formidable powers at their best, as for example his ability to grasp abstruse scientific propositions and render them into a vivid, cogent form. From hypnosis to neuro-engineering, from Cartesian duality to computerising the brain, from embryology to zoology, the range of Koestler's knowledge and the depth with which he discusses any one subject which alone would engross an ordinary individual's attention, is remarkable.

But like Solovief he is filled with a world weariness. He knows that the road to Utopia is not only tortuous but never-ending. He writes only because he must. His is the desperation of Mr. Anderson in the epilogue, who sees too clearly what is going on around him. To his horror Anderson realises that all the human beings around him are turning into chimeras, monsters, with the head of a lion, the body of a goat and the tail of a snake. There is nothing he can do but talk to his analyst about it and even that is futile since the doctor cannot believe him; he is after all part chimera too.

The experiments which Koestler describes and the results which he foresees are only too horrifyingly real, but that is not going to prevent them from happening. The Seminar itself ends up in flames when the prize specimen of neuro-engineering, Miss Carey, whose brain has been wired and whose reactions can be monitored through a dial, goes berserk when she smashes the dial. It does not really matter, for the Seminar is over and the Call-girls are ready to depart on their next engagement. Even Solovief is resigned, "I wanted you to know," he says, "that I no longer care." The evolutionary process will go on, leading man either into self-destruction or transforming him into a chimera. No amount of rationalization will stop it, for it is the particular tragedy of Cassandra that though she speaks the truth nobody will believe her.

"In too much wisdom there is much grief." In the *Call-girls* there is not so much grief as cynicism. Koestler seems to have provided Cassandra with the accoutrements of a vamp so that she will attract the



DO YOU DREAM IN COLOUR?

If you live in a world of dreams dotted with greens and golds; if you see yourself in patterns of startling beauty; if you want to stop the world for a bold, dramatic moment, come to us.

See our designs. Feel our flowing textures. And discover, that beautiful colours don't belong only in dreams.

BOMBAY DYEING

SD. 2488



High Tensile:
Socket Head Cap Screws
Socket Set Screws
High-Titan Wrenches and
Special Fasteners

PRECISION FASTENERS LIMITED
BOMBAY 1

MBATFF 454

eye of the general public. He laboriously endows one distinguished visitor with homosexual tendencies, makes another one a lesbian and goes to quite unnecessary lengths to keep the attention of his readers. We may forgive him when we remember the seriousness of his intentions but we cannot help but remark that in his famous earlier novels he did not have to resort to such tactics. In those, the searing intensity of his vision was in itself capable of combining both human drama and dialectic into an unforgettable experience.

Cassandra as a tragic figure had a certain grandeur which compelled our attention. In the guise of a Call-girl she is only a figure of dubious comic value, invoking a hollow laugh which in our discomfort we quickly forget.

G. D.

"REVOLUTION"

Without Marx or Jesus: by M. Jean-Francois Revel (Allied Publishers, Bombay, Rs. 25.)

JEAN-FRANCOIS REVEL has been described by Mary McCarthy as having a "bullish" aspect, a "broad-browed, headlowered promise of some intransigent charge into the arena". With critical hoofs stamping and literary horns wagging, what Revel gores is myths. After teaching in Florence, for instance, he wrote a book suggesting, among other heresies, that Italian men are far less virile than popular legend has it.

In France as a columnist for the weekly *L'Express*, Revel cast his beady eye upon a more solid target, sacred, large, fixed as a monument: Charles de Gaulle himself. Then Revel had a splendid idea. As a Frenchman in search of the ultimate heresy, why not *sacre bleu*!—write a book in praise of the United States?

Without Marx or Jesus is the result. Already a bestseller in France, it promises to be one of those literary causes célèbres that Americans like to discuss without necessarily reading. Revel operates from two unprovable premises with a passion for abstract generalization that seems extreme even for a Frenchman. Premise 1: "If mankind is to survive," Revel thunders, the world must have a revolution. Premise 2: Such a revolution can start only in the U.S.

But just what is the "absolutely necessary" and rather total transformation Revel calls for? Little short of utopia. All Revel seems to expect is an end to "the notion of national sovereignty," some sort of "world-wide economic and educational equality," the "abolition of war," an "elimination of the possibility of internal dictatorship," and worldwide birth control.

His prescribed change, Revel asserts, is already taking place in the United States. As he goes through the motions of proving it, Revel spends a good deal of time trying to destroy myths that cynical Europeans and guilt-ridden natives share about the New World:

Myth No. 1: "Conformity" and "uniformity" are now the chief characteristics of American society. "The truth," Revel writes, "is that American society is torn by too many tensions not to become more and more diversified." He sees the U.S. as a healthy bundle of contradictions, "a diversity of mutually complementary, of alternative subcultures".

Myth No. 2: Americans are slaves to "gadgets". Revel's solemn counterclaim: "The truth is that there is no country in the world where automobiles, for example, are treated more like ordinary tools—or where people drive less like maniacs". Furthermore, making an assertion that will particularly outrage Europeans, he insists that "aesthetic" imagination is "more pronounced in the U.S. than anywhere else in the world".

Myth No. 3: America is "the citadel of reaction." Revel's reply: Nothing quite as unreactionary as Ralph Nader or the mass opposition to Viet Nam has ever happened in Europe.

Feed Revel an opinion and he will answer it with an opinion. While putting down Russia, China, the Third World and, above all, France, Revel cannot for the life of him discover significant flaws in the U.S. He likes Andy Warhol movies. He loves Playboy ("One of the most progressive magazines in America"). He even recommends American TV (with all those channels "it is more like being turned loose in a library"). What's more, he sees them all as part of the revolution. Not only blacks, Jesus freaks and grape workers but near-Establishment liberals get abstracted into a single morality—play figure, labelled "The Dissenter". "There is more revolutionary spirit in the United States today, even on the Right," cries Revel, "than there is on the Left anywhere else".

Is Revel France's answer to Charles Reich—a 1971 champion of the sweeping statement? Not quite. Beneath the extravagances he is a shrewd polemicist out to score a fair rebuttal point: that America is not as bad as most Europeans—and many Americans—think it is. In other words, the New World is still a source of revolutionary hope. But the modern sin of overstatement runs away with Revel. Before he can stop, he is dreaming of a revolution that will spread from the U.S. by "a sort of political osmosis" until it arrives at its logical conclusion: "world government" and—glory, glory—"Homo novus, a new man very different from other men".

The myth slayer has ended by creating his own myth. Still, Revel's act of provocation works pretty well within its own terms, and his corrective exaggerations should also have their good effects. At the very least, the author will become the pundit of the season. Writing grand-design scenarios of the future is a more popular art now than science fiction, even if less reliable. But how truly has the word expert been defined as "a man away from home!"

K. VASUDEVA RAO

THE DANGEROUS YEARS — Continued from page 2

replace the present Government by a more enlightened and sensible set of persons. Let us say that those who take over are modern, practical people who are not wedded to any dogma and who will take sensible steps to pull the country out of the morass. Let us even imagine that they would do what would be done by socialists like Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yu of Singapore or by Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany who won the elections last December in alliance with the Liberal (Free Democratic) Party on a manifesto for "the free market economy" which would be considered blasphemous by those who call themselves socialists in this country.

Such a regime could *inter alia* be expected to take the following steps to undo the mischief of the past two decades:

First, it would go in for a drastic cut in taxation, both indirect and direct, and a corresponding reduction in the unproductive expenditure of government.

Secondly, it would stabilise the Rupee by eschewing inflationary policies like deficit financing and by insisting that the country live within its means.

Thirdly, it would give priority to labour-intensive activities like agriculture, irrigation and road-building in order to further employment opportunities of a productive kind.

Fourthly, it would stop further nationalisation and take-over bids and insist on Government enterprises making a profit and giving a return to the tax-payer and to the country.

Fifthly, it would double the rate of industrial production by utilisation of installed capacity, modernisation of plant and machinery, eliminating most of the shortage of raw materials, power and transport, and reducing labour indiscipline.

Sixthly, it would cut out excessive controls, red tape and delay and follow Ludwig Erhard's prescription to 'let men and the money loose', so that the country may advance.

Seventhly, it would activate competition and fight monopoly in all sectors and stop the current shadow boxing against the so-called concentration of economic power which is depriving the country of the economies of size which the rest of the world enjoys.

Last but not the least, it would take more serious steps to stop the explosive growth in our population on which today not even half per cent of the outlay of our Five Year Plans is allocated.

Can there be any doubt that, if only these things are done, the picture would begin to change within a matter of months?



to spread literacy, to spread knowledge, understanding, progress—by means of books, magazines, newspapers, by means of paper.

West Coast Paper produce writing, bond, manila, kraft, poster and printing paper... paper for India's many, growing needs.

WEST COAST PAPER Shreeniwas House, Waudby Road, Bombay 1

There are people who say: "Yes, all this is true, but it is politically impossible." To them, all one can say is that they seem to have learnt nothing from history. Listening to them it would seem that these advocates of change have come to believe that there can be no further change and that history has come to a stop in 1973.

When educated and affluent people talk like this and claim that it is the ignorant and illiterate masses who come in the way of desirable reforms, they are advancing an alibi for their own guilt. Let us frankly face the fact that the greater part of the blame for the state of the country today lies on the shoulders of the educated and the affluent.

Rally the Reasonable

Some of us have watched with amusement the dog fight that has been going on recently in Delhi within the ruling Party between the Socialist Forum infested by Communist fellow-travellers on the one hand and the Nehru Forum of those who consider themselves to be democratic socialists on the other.

If we Liberals keep up an unrelenting campaign

against the follies and mistakes of the Socialist Establishment and keep placing before the people a sane and practical alternative, one of the results should in time be to rally the sensible elements throughout the country against the unredeemable ones.

In order to play this role effectively, however, we shall have to be prepared to think afresh and to think boldly and if necessary to jettison any dogmas or other intellectual baggage that may weigh us down. We shall have to be prepared to show that we are more radical than the members of the Socialist Establishment who cling to the dead wood of Marxist dogma and mistake bureaucratic State Capitalism for Socialism. Brushing aside meaningless labels like 'Right' and 'Left', we shall do well to work with all those who have a genuine concern for the poor and a burning passion for social justice. We too want change, but change that works.

Naturally, we Liberals have to be prepared to be in a minority, perhaps even not a very significant one. Mr. G. H. Hardy, the well-known scientist, aptly emphasised the need for dissent in a democracy when he said: "It is never worth a first class man's time to express a majority opinion. By definition, there are plenty of others to do it".

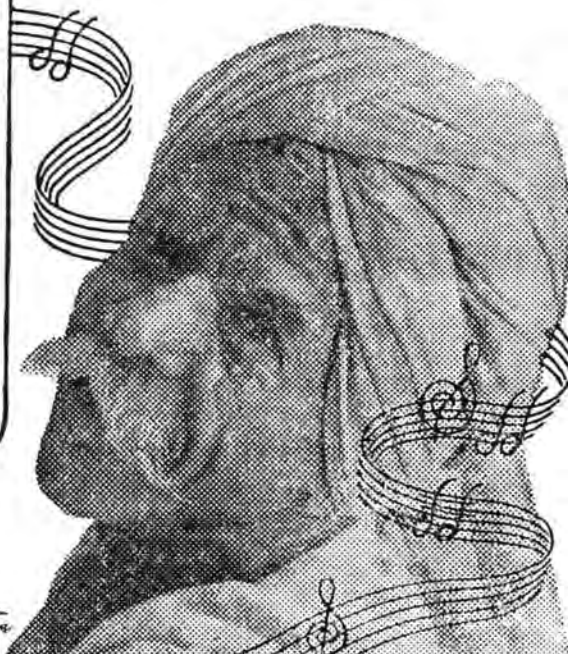
music in his ears

*This enthralling sound of water gushing out of a Jyoti pump—
This vibrant sound of clear grains surging from a Jyoti Thresher*

**Both these are exhilarating experiences
for a Kisan and a Kisan's joy is Jyoti's reward.**

**JYOTI VERTICAL TURBINE PUMP
JYOTI MILLET THRESHER**

quality is our creed  Jyoti Limited, Baroda 3

evarest/eeab/JY

Branches: Bangalore . Bhubaneswar . Bombay . Calcutta . Hubli . Indore . Jabalpur . Jaipur . Lucknow . Madras . New Delhi . Patna . Poona . Secunderabad . Vijayawada . Tiruchirapalli . Visakhapatnam.

WITH MANY VOICES

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

If anybody tries to say that poverty can go in my lifetime or during my tenure as Prime Minister it just cannot. It is something which has very deep roots.

—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in *Blitz*,
April 14.

If we want to remain faithful to Marx, we must understand that the real problem of socialism is not so much to reduce inequalities within national frontiers as to suppress inequalities between states and nations.

—President Leopold Senghor of Senegal in
Times of India, March 30.

Berlin is a lie-detector.

—Chancellor Willy Brandt quoted in *The Economist*,
February 10.

What is important is to know what the man thinks about in the morning when he is shaving.

—Henry Kissinger quoted in *Time*, March 19.

There is only one alliance now, that is the grandest alliance of the Congress and the Communist Party of India.

—Mr. S. Nijalingappa in *Times of India*, March 31.

FREEDOM FIRST,
C/o Democratic Research Service
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 1. (Phone: 254341)

Please enrol me as a subscriber to **FREEDOM FIRST.**

I remit the annual subscription of Rs. 5.00

He is/I am a student. I remit Rs. 3.00

Name:

College (for students)

Address:

Date:

Signature

It was only because I and Mr. Priya Ranjan Das Munshi could manage to visit Moscow that we are still reckoned as leaders of some sort.

—Subrato Mukherjee, Minister of State in West Bengal, in *Times of India*, March 17.

I wish at this point I could announce publicly I had a venereal disease.

—Liberated Woman German Greer quoted in
Time, March 12.

I am not afraid of Marx.

—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in *Times of India*,
March 6.

Women are hard enough to handle now, without giving them guns.

—Senator Barry Goldwater in *U.S. News & World Report*, April 9.

U.N. veto scoreboard: U.S., 3; France, 4; Britain, 10; Russia, 109.

—*U.S. News & World Report*, April 2.

Russia always starts by trying to get an agenda which prejudices all issues in its favor. Thus, while a normal agenda might propose 'To discuss (1) when to start work, (2) when to have lunch, and (3) when to go home,' a Communist agenda would read: 'to discuss (1) starting work at 9 a.m. (2) lunching at noon, (3) quitting at 6 p.m.' *That accepted — what's left to discuss?*

—*U.S. News & World Report*, April 9.

In our concept of democratic socialism the word democratic is not an epithet which can be detached at convenience.

—Mr. S. N. Mishra quoted in *Indian Express*,
April 1.

Subservience usually accompanies incompetence.
—Ramesh Thapar in *Economic and Political Weekly*,
January 13.

The apparent thaw in east-west relations and the chatter about strategic parity between Russia and America have obscured the fact that the first of these Powers is expanding and the second is contracting.

—*The Economist*, January 27.