

NO SECOND DERAILMENT

Editor Suggests Concrete Steps

IN order to ensure that Indian democracy does not get "derailed" again, Mr. M. R. Masani made two concrete suggestions in the course of his talk at a public meeting organized by the Indian Liberal Group on April 1 at which Mr. Soli Sorabjee and he were the speakers and Dr. S. P. Aiyar was in the chair.

The first proposal was that the Union Government should set up a Commission to investigate the *modus operandi* leading to the constitutional *coup d'état* on 26th June 1975 with a view to recommend steps to prevent a repetition of attempts to subvert the Constitution and the Fundamental Rights of the citizen. Mr. Masani made it clear that what he was suggesting was not to be in the nature of a "witchhunt" against individuals.

His second suggestion was that the Indian Liberal Group should set up a Committee of a Hundred consisting of eminent men and women in different walks of life who do not belong to any political party which would act as a watchdog for the maintenance of a free society and democratic liberties. This Committee could organise small groups or cells of educationists, lawyers, journalists, trade unionists and others who would study developments in their respective fields and sound an alert when any threats arose in their respective spheres. Mr. Masani felt that in this way they could respond constructively to Prime Minister Morarji Desai's invitation to citizens to draw the attention of himself and his Government to developments of this nature. (At a press conference on April 2, recorded that evening on Television Mr Jayaprakash Narayan mentioned with approval this proposal of Mr. Masani and welcomed the move.)

According to Mr. Masani there was a great deal about which to rejoice, particularly the maturity displayed by the Indian electorate, including the rural masses, who had shown that the poor want freedom as much as they want bread. He endorsed Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan's verdict that "it is more an anti-

Mrs. Gandhi vote than a pro-Janata Party vote." The people of India had shown that they had learnt to respond to Mahatma Gandhi's repeated exhortation "that India must learn to say 'No'".

Dangers Surfacing

The speaker warned however that on the other hand there were obvious dangers that were surfacing. In particular there was a revolution of rising expectation which might prove difficult to fulfil.

The ease with which those in office had seized absolute power on 26th June 1975 showed that the faith of the people in democracy and Parliamentary institutions had weakened and they were prepared to put up with authoritarian rule in the hope that it would solve some of the country's basic problems. This was the result of the politicians in India playing at doctrinaire politics and not attending seriously to the basic problems of the country. Thanks to the eighteen months of authoritarianism, the people had now become painfully aware of the need for freedom. But public memory is short. If the politicians now in office were to behave as they had done in the past, then once again the demand for a "strong man at the top" would go up. Next time the people might turn away from democracy and accept authoritarianism on a much more permanent footing.

There was too much politics and too little citizenship in our national life since 1950. Political parties in India floated on top with no infrastructure of voluntary grass roots associations below to sustain them. In this context Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan's stress on Jana Shakti (people's power) as opposed to Raj Shakti (state power) was of vital importance.

Mr. Masani said he was asked recently to give an answer to the title of his book "Is JP the Answer?" He felt that if Gandhiji were alive today, he would probably answer "Yes".

WHAT IS "SAMIZDAT"?

Julius Telesin

Till 1975 *samizdat* was a Russian word known only to a few Indian intellectuals as a phenomenon demonstrating great courage on the part of Soviet dissidents. During the past eighteen months however it became a national phenomenon. Duplicated material in all shapes and sizes circulated from hand to hand in the country. There was nothing illegal about this literature but at the same time it was a way of getting round the censorship to which most Indian newspapers and periodicals had succumbed.

In view of these developments we publish this abridged version of an interesting article published in *Encounter* on the subject by Telesin, a Russian writer who has recently taken up residence in the West.

THE word "samizdat" occurs in the vocabulary of the Russian intellectual no less frequently than the words "Stalinist" and *stukach* (police informer). Nevertheless, you will not find this word (or the other two) in any Soviet dictionary. This is especially interesting as, before our very eyes, it is beginning to enter other languages, following the trail of historic Russian words that have already become international: *samovar*, *knout*, *bolshevik*, *pogrom*, *kolkhoz*, *vodka*, *sputnik*. Before misunderstandings set in and meanings harden, I should like to go into what I personally know about the phenomenon designated by this word.

Some time towards the end of the 1950s a certain Moscow poet, without waiting to be published (or, perhaps, in despair), bound together the typewritten sheets of his poems and wrote *Samsebyaizdat* where the name of the publishing house normally appears in a book. The word was invented on the model of the names of many Soviet publishing houses: *Politizdat* (publishing house for political literature), *Voyenizdat* (military literature), *Yurizdat* (legal literature), and so forth. Well, *Samsebyaizdat* means "publishing house for oneself."

Our Moscow *samsebyaizdat* also used, in the same sense, a shorter word—*samizdat* (self-publishing house). But, once shortened, the word subsequently changed and extended its original meaning. What became important was not that "I publish myself" but that "I myself do the publishing"—not necessarily of my own work, but of my own free will, without begging for anyone's permission. I "publish" means that I prepare a text by the method available to me, naturally without using a printing-press, since printing-presses in our most democratic society "belong to the people." "Real *samizdat*, as a Russian phenomenon for which a new Russian word was needed, could come into existence in the U.S.S.R. only when, on the one hand, everything had been almost strangled to death by the tentacles of censorship and, on the other hand, there occurred a rare chance to breathe.

Today many people "publish" themselves and others—in typescript, for instance. There are many "self-publishing houses" but there is only one name for them all—SAMIZDAT. And all output from this SAMIZDAT is not in the same philological category as those on which it was modelled. A word can "circulate in

samizdat" or "be distributed in *samizdat* and the author can "put it into *samizdat*."

Samizdat, as output, consist of all kinds of texts which are produced unofficially and circulate through unofficial channels. The main virtue of this literature is that it is free literature which does not pass through the censorship. *Samizdat* frequently "reprints" old official texts. Reprinted or photographed Russian-language foreign publications also circulate in *samizdat*, as well as translations from foreign publications in other languages. This part of *samizdat* is naturally called TAMIZDAT (i.e., "tam"="over there"). However a consistent usage has not yet been worked out, and sometimes foreign publications in, so to speak, their original form are ranked as *tamizdat* whereas they are already becoming "typical" *samizdat* by the simple fact of being suppressed. The lack of an established terminology affects the very concept of *samizdat* as well. Thus, it is unclear whether any typewritten text is *samizdat* or whether it becomes *samizdat* only after it has started to be duplicated. When, during one of the searches that took place at my flat in Moscow, the investigator suggested that I "hand over *samizdat* voluntarily", I replied that if it had been a question of weapons or of drugs I should have understood what he wanted from me, but that I was not familiar with the precise juridical meaning of the concept of *samizdat* and so I simply could not know exactly what he was interested in. . . .

Here is a list of *samizdat* genres, although I do not claim it to be absolutely complete:

1. Novels, novellas, stories, plays.
2. Poetry, long poems, songs [the latter also circulate on tapes, forming, as it were *magizdat* *Magnitofon*=tape recorder].
3. Memoirs.
4. Pieces of research, articles, and notes—literary, journalistic, historical, economic, political, legal, philosophical, ethical, religious, on special subjects.
5. Lampoons, parodies, epigrams.

(continued on page 12)

DICHOTOMY OF FAMILY PLANNING

M. Murlidhar

IT is really unfortunate that such an issue of national importance, like family planning is caught in the crossfires of political campaign, and we notice in dismay rather, government beating a hasty retreat and winding up the enthusiastic family planning programme. The search is now on for scape goats. So much is mass hysteria, generated by the irresponsible opposition parties to catch a few votes, that one can presume that family planning will never be carried out with the same intensity and zeal, and we can certainly visualize a phase of poverty, and over population. If there was any issue, when the country became independent, which required a 'national consensus' and a war like zeal to carry out, it was the family planning programme. Yet ever since its inception it faced odds. These odds ranged from the cowardice attitude of leadership to a determined reactionary opinion, fanned by few of all religious denominations. To cap it all, such opinion was periodically blessed by the religious heads—be it Puri Shankracharya, or Pope or Imam who recently hit the headlines. We too had overzealous patriots—one of whom is seeking elections from Bombay—that the whole talk of over population is a design by the white races to turn the non-whites into a minority and it would be befitting to the cause of the motherland, that we should multiply as fast as we can. A 'Democratic' India tolerated it, and had to swallow it. In the era of discipline,—(we may recall that Mr. Masani called over population as an act of indiscipline in his article on discipline)—it was sought to curb the growth. Perhaps, a little bit excess would have been committed. (This also could have been avoided, had the press been little more free). But the point is, was not excess committed already by the Society. A dangerous disease requires a strong medicine in big doses. Few realized this, and in this vote catching game this national policy was thoroughly maligned.

Here we have an instance of negative democracy. Public opinion impeding the social progress should be respected or should the issue of national importance be attended? Should it be speedy social progress or deference to popular opinion. This is a dichotomy and family planning is caught in this dichotomy.

It will be interesting to note that all democratic countries faced this dilemma. In Britain, during the 19th Century, a hostile and a ignorant public opinion, prevented enactment of even such laws like, the change of calendar (for fear of losing eleven days in the process) or the policy of naturalizing jews.

A. V. Dicey, who examined this relationship between 'legislative opinion' and 'public opinion', foresaw some instances, where the legislative opinion,

IN THIS ISSUE

This issue is rich in the varied fare it offers. Apart from a fascinating article on Samizdat, which made its appearance in India during the last two years but which has been practised for many years in Russia, there are articles on Family Planning, the Relevance of Rajaji and yet another setting the record straight on Prof. Friedman and Chile.

Reviews include one by A. G. Noorani on Indian Political Parties and another by S. V. Raju on the health of the business executive. There is also a film review by Geeta Doctor.

may have to precede the public opinion on some important issues. This aspect has been recognised by all democracies. On important issues like, 'defence', or secrets of war, it is legislative opinion which overrules the public opinion. It is only a humble suggestion that, the need of social progress be included in the list.

We had the instances, wherein on the social progress issue, a determined legislative opinion overruled a hostile public opinion. That was the issue of Hindu Code Bill. Much against the 'wishes' of the 'majority' of Hindus, government changed their personnel laws. Its importance is realized now and we notice demands being made for making it adoptable to Muslims as well. (That this should be done so is the humble opinion of this writer).

Similarly, on this issue of family planning the legislative opinion must assert itself.



YOUR GUARANTEE OF GOODNESS

THE RELEVANCE OF RAJAJI

K. Vedomurthy

THE life and work of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is assuming a relevance of its own to our troubled times to an extent which fully bears out the truth of the opening sentences of *The Hindu* of December 26, 1972: "It will be hard for many people to believe that Rajaji is dead. He had been so intimate a part of the national scene for so long and every minute of his 94 years was so crammed with meaningful activity and intellectual vitality that the public had come to look upon him as something eternal."

First of all things that Rajaji teaches is the necessity for man to stand alone and think for himself. Like America's Ralph Waldo Emerson, Rajaji is a strenuous advocate of liberty and independence in the ideal sense of those much misused words. "Instead of independent thinking and free judgment, the manners of parrots have been growing among men, even among those rightly credited with intellectual capacity of a high order. They repeat the words uttered by the established guardians without paying thought to the meaning and implications. I am not objecting to any particular opinion but to the parrot culture that has seized the country," Rajaji says. Democratic civil life calls for independent thinking among the citizens—among the governed as among the governors. Criticism and reply, and counterreply make for health in the air. Diseases of corruption and intrigue are by a process of natural hygiene driven out in such an atmosphere. Burke said he liked 'Clamour'. 'I am not of the opinion', he said, 'of those gentlemen who are against disturbing the public repose. The fire-bell at mid-night might disturb your sleep, but it keeps you from being burned in your bed.' This Rajaji wrote as far back as on May 10, 1958! In the same *Swarajya* article, Rajaji has asserted: 'If subservience and slavish adulation take the place of independent thinking and criticism is ever resorted to but with fear and trepidation, the atmosphere quickly breeds the political diseases peculiar to democracy. If we have not the free and critical atmosphere of a well-balanced democracy, a Welfare State is most favourable soil for the growth of the weeds of careerism, intrigue and various types and degrees of dishonesty'. As for what Rajaji himself did, it is best summed up thus by *The Hindu* of December 26, 1972: "To Rajaji politics was not simply the art of the possible. It was a road for bettering the life of the people, a road paved with high moral standards and he could not bring himself to acquiesce in any lowering of those standards. The decay in moral and political standards in the country during the last decade caused him much anguish and when he saw that the citizen's fundamental rights were also in danger of being whittled away he started a new political party, Swatantra. If nothing substantial came of it during his life-time it certainly was not for any want of his trying."

Rajaji's qualities as a thinker and teacher place him apart from all his distinguished contemporaries. A rationalist in religion, he was a true Vedantin in Philosophy. He makes use of a most extensive vocabulary but avoids all touch of pedantry. To the taunt of his critics "You are just opposed to what we do; what is your positive?", he gave the famous retort: "When one is negative to something, one is affirmative to its opposite. If one is negative to filth, one is affirmative to soap. If one is negative to loafing, one is affirmative to working. If one is negative to bunkum, one is affirmative to *satyam*. If one is negative to collectives, one is positive to peasant proprietorship and to individual attention and hard work." As Rajaji is one of those who saw no conflict between *true religion* and modern science, in the context of the phrase 'scientific temper' gaining wide currency these days, it is instructive to read this from his pen: "The quest for Truth in the material or phenomenal world is what science pursues. Modern methods of science strictly fulfil the injunction of the Rishi of the *Mundakopanishad* mantra (from which the motto of the Union of India has been taken). Without pride, without bias created by unfulfilled ambitions which lead to error, with concern only for truth, and adopting ways strictly in accordance with truth, science unravels the mysteries of nature and is fully rewarded."

The quest for Truth in the non-material world is different from the scientific quest. Here we face the unknowable and not merely the unknown as in science. An attitude of humility and prayer is necessary for obtaining the vision of Truth that we seek in this field of eternal mystery beyond science. To be blessed with a glimpse of the supreme Reality behind everything, one must live a pure life in thought, word and action, restraining sensuous desires until one is free from even the thought of them. No unfulfilled desire should disturb his mind. It should be *aaptakaamaah*." (*Swarajya* of Oct. 2, 1960).

It will be fitting to conclude by recalling Rajaji's answer to the poser that arises often in the minds of sensitive Indians: 'Have we forgotten the Mahatma?'. Says Rajaji (reassuringly): in *Swarajya* of March 2, 1963; "The most cynical among us will say that it will take some time for us to forget him. Although we have not satisfactorily absorbed his teaching as to the supreme efficacy and, what is more, the utter practicality of non-violence in coping with evil, we have been quite fully convinced of the negative aspect of his teaching. We are convinced that brute force and compulsion cannot accomplish anything. This is enough to keep the teacher unforgotten. He ranks among the great world figures, alongside of Manu, Buddha, Socrates and Jesus, as a teacher. But for him, our age would have had no link with those great souls or with the rishis of our land."

PROF. MILTON FRIEDMAN AND CHILE

(The following is a letter to the Wall Street Journal from Arnold C. Harberger, Chairman of the Economics Department at the University of Chicago, to Stig Ramel, President of the Nobel Foundation, concerning criticism of the foundation's award of the Nobel Prize in Economics to Milton Friedman).

THE publicity generated by this year's Nobel Prize in Economics contains frequent mention of an alleged "association" of Milton Friedman with the present government of Chile. Mr. Friedman went to Chile largely on my urging, and I was with him during his six day visit to Chile in March 1975—the only visit he has ever made to Chile. Further, my name has been linked with his in many of the statements—and misstatements—arising out of that visit. Accordingly, I would like to try to set the record straight.

We went to Chile under the auspices of a private Chilean foundation, to give public lectures on our assessment of Chile's critical economic situation. We were not there as consultants to the government and neither of us has ever had any official connection with the present government of Chile.

Our visit to Chile did not and does not in any way connote approval of the present Chilean government, much less of its repression of individual liberty and its imposition of restraints on free and open discussion and debate.

Mr. Friedman made his position very clear at the time by turning down two offers of honorary degrees from Chilean universities, precisely because he felt that acceptance of such honors from universities receiving government funds could be interpreted as implying political approval.

Mr. Friedman also showed his concern by delivering a lecture on "The Fragility of Freedom," at both the Catholic University of Chile and the (National) University of Chile. He characterized the present government of Chile as one which was denying and curtailing freedom in many important ways, and expressed the hope that in the near future Chileans would once again enjoy a full measure of political and intellectual liberty.

In short, Mr. Friedman, the long-time libertarian, behaved in a fashion fully consistent with his stated ideals and philosophy, both in his actions and pronouncements in Chile, and in his subsequent remarks on the subject. My own role has received less public attention, but I have made no secret of my refusal to work as a consultant for the present government of Chile, as I had freely and willingly done in earlier periods (1959, 1955-69) for other Chilean governments.

Like many others, Mr. Friedman and I are deeply disturbed by the breakdown of Chile's long tradition of democracy and freedom. We profoundly oppose authoritarian regimes, whether from the right or the left. That is why we have consistently maintained a distance between ourselves and the government of Chile and have repeatedly condemned, publicly and privately, its repressive measures.

At the same time, we have no apologies for our activities in Chile. We believe now, as we did when we visited Chile, that the restoration of political freedom is impossible without a restoration of economic health. As we said in our public lectures, there is no easy road to that result, but there are better and worse roads, and scientific economic analysis has much to contribute to a wise choice.

Our own connection with Chile derives from a contract between the University of Chicago and the Catholic University of Chile for the years 1956 to 1964, financed by AID, under which many Chilean students studied at Chicago, and Chicago faculty visited Chile. As it happens, Mr. Friedman had no active part in that programme, although of course the Chilean students, like the rest of our students, took his courses. The complexity of the Chilean issue is reflected in the different ways in which our former students have reacted to the events of the past few years. Some (including some who had also served earlier Chilean governments) accepted positions of responsibility in the present government. Others (also including some officials of former governments) have not been willing to do so. Some of these support, some oppose the present regime. One, who was a former high official of the Allende government, is in political exile; others simply choose to remain outside of Chile without ascribing any political motivation to their decision.

These different reactions are part of a tragic chain of events that has driven and polarized Chilean society and has broken that country's long tradition of constitutional government. As has so often occurred under similar conditions in other countries, the process has reached down into the personal lives of the people—producing broken friendships, ruptured family ties, and many other manifestations of the passion and conviction with which different persons hold totally contradictory views. Each individual has faced, not just once but on many occasions and in many ways, unpleasant necessities of choice.

Mr. Friedman and I, while firmly maintaining our own position *vis-a-vis* the Chilean government, have great sympathy for our former students. We know them to be honorable and compassionate men and women. We respect their individual choices and judgments even when they differ from our own. We are not willing to turn our backs on them. On the contrary, we shall continue to do our best to help them surmount the problems and dilemmas they face in these difficult and troubled times, regardless of their individual persuasions and views.

WORLD NEWS

SOLZHENITSYN AID TO DISSIDENTS

DETAILS of a financial aid operation set up by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, which has spent the equivalent of \$360,000 to assist hundreds of Soviet political prisoners and their families, were disclosed yesterday by a close friend of the exiled Russian author. The friend, Alexander Ginzburg, who has administered the fund in the Soviet Union, reported that it had been active for two and a half years, operating partly on royalties in the West from Mr. Solzhenitsyn's extensive study of the Soviet penal system, "Gulag Archipelago."...

Mr. Ginzburg reported that the fund was established by Mr. Solzhenitsyn in April, 1974, two months after he had been arrested and expelled from the Soviet Union for having written "Gulag Archipelago."

During the second half of 1974, Mr. Ginzburg said, the fund helped 120 prisoners or their families. In 1975, 720 political prisoners or their families were assisted and last year, about 630 prisoners or families received money.

Mr. Ginzburg reported that \$93,000 was raised inside the country.

—*International Herald Tribune*, February 2.

RUSSIANS WORK TWICE AS LONG

A Russian worker has to work twice as long as a British worker to earn himself the price of a loaf of white bread, four times as long to buy himself a chicken, and 10 times as long to buy a pound of apples.

Sixty years after the Bolshevik revolution the Soviet Union is still far from achieving the "affluent society" the workers were promised.

The comparative figures are taken from an exhaustive study of wages and prices in Washington, Moscow, London and Paris.

It was prepared by a British economist, Mr Keith Bush, for the research department of *Radio Liberty*, the American sponsored radio station which broadcasts to Russia.

The failure of the Soviet state-run collective farms to raise agricultural production is reflected in the high prices for basic foodstuffs.

The Soviet worker has to work four times as long as a Briton to earn the price of a pound of sugar or butter, five times as long for a dozen oranges (when they are available), and 12 times as long for a pound of tea, which the Soviet Union produces.

Comparisons on the basis of "time worked" are thought to provide a more accurate measurement of standards of living than a comparison of prices, because of the unreality of the rouble exchange rate....

A typical "shopping basket" of foodstuffs costs the

average Soviet worker 65 hours labour compared with 28 for a Briton.

The average Soviet worker's monthly take-home pay is about 146 roubles (£116), compared with the British worker's £190, and the American worker's £395.

A Russian has to work more than two hours to earn the price of a pair of socks, 500 hours for a refrigerator, nearly 800 hours for a colour television set and 600 hours for a bunch of 12 red roses.

A small car costs more than three years' wages and is beyond the dreams of most Russians. Charwoman for the Communist elite cost more than in London but less than in Washington, and one of the cheapest services of all is a manicure.

—*The Daily Telegraph*, January 31.

RUSSIAN GROWTH RATE DOWN

THE Soviet Union last year experienced some of its lowest growth rates in at least 25 years, according to the 1976 economic statistics made public yesterday.

—*International Herald Tribune*, January 24.

AMIN'S HERO PILOT SEEKS ASYLUM

THE Ugandan pilot proclaimed a hero by President Amin barely six weeks ago is applying for political asylum in Britain.

He fled from Kampala in fear of his life last month, and has only made known his plans after ensuring that his wife and baby daughter were safe in Kenya.

Charles Balidawa, 28 was at the controls of the aircraft which made a forced landing in a remote area of Sudan early last month with 16 British guests of President Amin.

He arrived in Britain on Feb. 14 ostensibly for a two-month training course at a remote Scottish air base.

After he learned through coded messages that his wife and daughter had reached Nairobi, he left the air base and went to the Sussex home of Wing-Commander James Cobb, 52, whom he had known in Uganda.

Wing-Commander Cobb, a wartime bomber pilot who was himself imprisoned for six weeks in a Nigerian jail last year after making a forced landing, said recently at his home at Barcombe, near Lewes:

"I knew Charles as a pilot when I was in Uganda. He told me of his fears for his safety when I visited him at the training base. I told him he could stay with me for a while if he wished."

Only a few days before he flew to London, Mr. Balidawa was feted by President Amin at a celebration party he threw for his 16 guests, including his biographer, Judith, Countess of Listowel, 72, who had been rescued following the forced landing.

It was during the celebration that President Amin praised his young pilot's action, which was endorsed by Lady Listowel and other members of the party.

But when his life was threatened by members of the notorious State Research Bureau two days before he was due to leave for Scotland, Mr. Balidawa decided he would not return to his country.

—Daily Telegraph

THIRD WORLD PROTECTS AMIN

THE British Government's well-advertised initiative on Uganda at the current session of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva has collapsed, without the issue being taken to a vote.

The parallel initiative by Canada has also ended ignominiously. Both governments had tabled resolutions calling for "an independent international inquiry" into the state of human rights under the Amin regime. Canada's resolution specifically referred to the death of the Anglican Archbishop and two Christian Ministers, at a time when the three men were in police custody. Britain's resolution demanded the appointment of "an ad hoc working group to inquire on the basis of oral and written evidence, gathered from all relevant sources."

The Anglo-Canadian move, which had the firm backing of the American delegate, Mr Allard Lowenstein, was resisted by the delegates from the five Communist nations and most of the 19 Third World if matters were pressed to a vote in open session—as Ministers here had told MPs would be the Western tactic—then the result would be open and humiliating defeat. All told the West can count on only eight votes in the 32-nation commission.

The British delegate, Sir Keith Unwin, said during an open session earlier this week that "human rights are reported to be violated" in Uganda, and that the international community had the right to know the facts. But the opposing group forced a procedural move which put the Geneva meeting into private session. Yesterday afternoon, after a day of frustrating wrangling behind closed doors, the session ended with the British and Canadians deciding it was useless to press matters to a vote.

—The Guardian, March 11.

U.S. MILITARY LIFE ASTONISHES SOVIET EX-PILOT

WHEN Viktor Belenko, the former Soviet Air Force lieutenant, recently visited the enlisted men's mess on a U.S. aircraft carrier he is said to have expressed astonishment at the huge portions of food served "free and at all times" to the sailors.

The Soviet defector, who flew his MIG-25 to Japan

on Sept. 6, found it an almost unbelievable contrast to the grim life of enlisted men at his former air base near Sakharovka in Far Eastern Siberia.

As a MIG pilot, he ate his breakfasts on base under supervision of a flight surgeon concerned with nutrition while his wife, Lyudmila, subsisted in their small apartment largely on a diet of potatoes occasionally supplemented by fish or meat.

The debriefing of Mr. Belenko has given U.S. intelligence officers an unusual picture of the life a Soviet fighter pilot, characterized by what an official called "brutal discipline, distrust, extraordinary concern with safety and spartan living conditions."

Since arriving in the United States on Sept. 9, Mr. Belenko has undergone almost continuous sessions of interrogation, psychiatric examination and observation by the CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency and the Air Force.

In addition to his visit to the aircraft carrier, he has also spent time at Langley Air Force Base near Newport News, Va., and taken a brief fishing vacation in the Appalachian Mountains.

He has begun to study English and other subjects at the college level and has proved a "quick study" and "highly competitive," according to officials attending him.

Mr. Belenko was baffled, his hosts said, when he encountered comparatively easy going U.S. military procedures on the aircraft carrier and at Langley Air Base.

He was astonished to find the carrier crew handling landings and takeoffs "without ever being given an order and without anyone shouting at them," he was quoted as having said, adding: "I've never seen men work with such proficiency and coordination."

He repeatedly asked how much a portion of food cost. He sometimes took two heaping platters and consumed them, as if to see whether he was being duped.

On one of the tours, his three Russian-speaking hosts took him to Nick's Seafood Pavilion in Yorktown, Va., a well-known Greek restaurant. When the owner picked up the \$75 tab, the pilot sprang to his feet, saying: "This is impossible. In Russia nobody gives anybody anything for nothing."

At Langley, he was astonished to find a stimulated fight trainer being manned by two sergeants. He was said to have told his interrogators that in the Soviet Air Force such a device would be supervised by "two colonels and a civilian with a Ph.D."

He was impressed by the informality of off-duty relations between U.S. enlisted men and officers, recalling that in his own service there had been "no fraternization."

Seeing the relatively lavish enlisted men's facilities at Langley, he remarked that the enlisted men at the Far Eastern base were quartered behind barbed wire in barracks with 50 to 60 to a room, going for months without contact with their families.

He told his interrogators that sergeants and enlisted men of his regiment often committed suicide—"as many

as five a month"—and that the desertion rate was high. He said that he had witnessed the shooting of a sergeant who was captured after having deserted.

Infractions of discipline were punished with docking of pay, arrest and "brutal treatment," he told his hosts. He asked to see the brig on the U.S. carrier and was surprised to find that sailors behind bars were not fed bread and water and did not sleep on boards.

On leaving the Langley base, he told a companion: "If my regiment could see five minutes of what I saw today, there would be a revolution."

—*International Herald Tribune*, January 14.

S. KOREAN OPPOSITION LEADER APPEALS AGAINST WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS

MR Lee Chul Seung, leader of South Korea's main opposition party, declared in Tokyo today that he is abandoning his struggle with President Park over human rights and flying to Washington this week to persuade President Carter to maintain an American military presence on the Korean peninsula for at least another five to 10 years.

He even defended President Park against accusations of dictatorship, saying that his rule was far more liberal than the Communist regime of North Korea.

Referring to President Carter's plan to withdraw troops from South Korea, he said his party was less important than the question of national security and the threat of another invasion from North Korea.

Mr Lee, travelling to Washington as South Korea's emissary with the apparent blessing of the regime, said his party strongly opposed any move which would hasten an American withdrawal from South Korea in protest at the lack of human rights there.

Echoing the same sentiments as the ruling party, Mr Lee suggested that South Korea was faced with a constant threat from the North and that it would be unfair to impose the West's concept of liberal democracy on the regime in Seoul.

"We are faced with a semiwar situation", he said. "My party goes further than President Park. President Park said he will accept the American withdrawal if North and South Korea sign a nonaggression pact. We cannot trust the North. A non-aggression pact means nothing. Remember the history of this area. The Russo-Japanese non-aggression pact was not honoured. I believe that the American withdrawal should take place in five to 10 years—after a balance has been maintained on the Korean peninsula".

Confronted with the prospect of an American withdrawal, Mr Lee went on to defend the regime which has hounded and persecuted his party.

Contradicting the assertions of his predecessors, he refused to describe President Park as a dictator. "Taking into account the fact that the opposition can speak out freely, as compared to North Korea, I do not think President Park is such a dictator as his critics allege", he said.

—*The Times*, March 1.

A CHARM FOR THE CHARMER

Lakshmi's
BELLERINA voile sarees
Enchanting. Wear for work.
Wear for fun. Around the town.
Around the picnic spots.
Any where and BELLERINA
will please you every wear.
Made from 90s & 100s
pure imported cotton.



Film

"JANA ARANYA": Directed by SATYAJIT RAY

SATYAJIT RAY is one of those movie makers who likes to play his pet themes out in trilogies, so that like a game of darts if he misses the first time he is allowed two more tries. The pity is that even after hitting the bull's eye the first time he insists on two more tries which then survive as pale imitations of the first. "Jana Aranya" suffers from this defect. It is "Pratidwandi" without its poetry, "Mahanagar" without its strength. The same themes are there, a young person looking for a job, being caught in the "system"; youthful idealism crumbling under the ugliness of urban life etc.

Life for Satyajit Ray's latest hero is tough. He is a slender young fellow, with a sensitive face and a tender smile with black framed spectacles that give him a particularly vulnerable look. He is as appealing as a young puppy looking for a bowl of milk but all he gets from the world is a bowl of maggots. He is forced to eat them. This is what makes life tough. But this is to anticipate things.

We first see the hero sitting for his exams which gives Ray an opportunity to comment on (a) Inadequacy of the exam system (b) Failure of educational policy (c) Reasons for student unrest. As a result of all these factors our hero, a bright student, barely manages to pass. This causes a great deal of anguish to his father, an old man with a fine sensitive face, whose perpetual bewilderment through the film may be supposed to represent "failure of the older generation to understand the social changes taking place before them." Perhaps it is unfair to see the film in such neatly labelled clichés, which may have become obvious only because of the English sub-titles. Not only did these leave sentences suspended in mid-air from frame to frame, but had people saying things such as: "Have you had your pudding?" and "Shall I get the limousine?" which sounded patently artificial.

After his exams the hero goes through the mindless routine of interviews and job hunting. Finally he is forced to take up his own business of buying and selling his work as a "middleman" when, on the eve of clinching an important deal, he finds that he has to provide a girl for the lecherous businessman who will sanction the deal. While being initiated into this routine by an already successful P.R. man, our sensitive hero is dragged through several seamy parlours looking for a prostitute. Finally they find a girl and she turns out to be the sister of his best friend. Not that this is any surprise to us since the first time we see her she is, in a favourite Satyajit Ray sequence, in the process of unhooking her bra, or "Virtue unveiled through a window", so we know only too well what her fate is going to be.

The hero unfortunately is not so well prepared and has to go through an agonizing taxi-ride with her to the hotel. He tries to wriggle out of the situation to

save the girl's honour. She has no illusions as to her role in life and forces him to go through with the deal. End of story.

In a commercial film the villain is a Zamindar with eyes like daggers and a curling moustache. In an art film the villain is society with filthy gutters and no room at the top. In a commercial film the aim is entertainment and if you haven't enjoyed it, nobody cares because others enjoy it. In an art film the aim is social relevance and if you don't like that there's something wrong with you. I should like to add that it's not that all art films are bad or that social relevance is boring; I still rate "Pratidwandi" as an all time high of cinematic experience, but there is a point after which saying the same thing in exactly the same way can become tiresome.

In a newspaper interview, Satyajit Ray is quoted as saying that "Jana Aranya" was "one among my best". Well, it's nice that he thinks so highly of his work and one has to admit that all the Satyajit trademarks are there, the carefully honed types, the feel for the texture of Indian life, the lovingly crafted details. Yet in the end one cannot help but think that the moment one is made conscious of these details, the film degenerates into a fussy mass of details and mannerisms.

Why must all the heroes of art films move with such deliberate slowness? The hero of "Jana Aranya" takes what appears an age to open a letter from his girl friend which he realises is an invitation to her marriage with a richer boy. In a commercial film the scene would have been shot with a cacophony of wailing music. Because it's an art film we are spared this. Instead there is dead silence and a sequence which goes somewhat like this—hero sees letter—stares—close-up of letter—idea formulates in brain that he must stretch hand out to pick up letter—stretches hand out—hesitates—fingers curl around the envelope—stares—slowly opens the letter—stares down—stares into distant past... from all of which the audience is supposed to grasp that the invitation has come as a deadly blow.

This is just one sequence. Every time the hero faces a crisis he closes his eyes and momentarily lifts up his glasses Message—He can't face the ugly reality of life but has to go on living. Or else he lights a cigarette. The number of times the hero of "Jana Aranya" is using match light to save on lighting effects, cigarette's makes one wonder whether (a) Satyajit Ray is using match light to save on lighting effects (b) doing a commercial for a cigarette company or (c) running out of ideas.

A Satyajit Ray film can never be entirely bad. In fact it will only be fair to mention that many people have found "Jana Aranya" extremely good. But one cannot get over the feeling that in this film Satyajit Ray becomes one of the types he is so good at caricaturing, a successful director reproducing with his usual panache his usual pet themes, no longer interested in the much more risky business of probing beneath the surface of things.

GEETA DOCTOR

Reviews

THE INDIAN POLITICAL PARTIES: An Historical Analysis of Political Behaviour upto 1947

B. B. MISRA

(Oxford University Press, Bombay, Rs. 100/-)

THIS is an outstandingly able work which contributes a lot to our knowledge of the course of our history in the first half of our century but which has received less than its due because of its candour. The sources used are for the most part archival, Indian and English. The private papers as well as the confidential reports and the secret publications of the Directorate of Intelligence Bureau have been used to good advantage. The secret reports of the DIB contained copies of correspondence between the Indian leaders which had been intercepted. Since some of them were as sloppy in maintaining records as they were careless about correspondence by post, these records will help us to fill in the gaps in the papers of the leaders as well. Dr. Misra has consulted official files up to 1947. One's only regret is that he has not drawn much on them for the events of 1946 and 1947. They merited a more detailed treatment than he has given.

Dr. Misra's views on the character of the Raj has displeased many. In his view "the bureaucratic despotism of the post 1857 period created conditions leading to the establishment of representative Government in India. Apart from legal and administrative uniformity, these conditions included the rule of law and the principle of contract as the basis of legislation, the growth of paramountcy and Imperial dominance (which destroyed all forms of intermediate sovereignties), and a committee form of political executive responsive to public opinion and pressure groups. These set into motion a process of social change which called for the introduction of elective principles as a political expression in the body politic of India."

The Viceroy was not a Grand Mughal, contrary to our impression. He enjoyed considerable power but was accountable to London. "It is true that from the time of the East India Company a tradition had grown for the Viceroy to exhibit a pomp and grandeur comparable to the Mughal King. But his Council differed essentially from the Mughal Council in that it did not consist of members nominated by the Viceroy and that it possessed a statutory right of being consulted. Both these factors conduced to the mildness of Government. While electoral dependence made India into an issue for party politics in England, the rule of the Council majority prevented the Viceroy from assuming the role of a Moghul King."

Lady Lytton confirms the author's impression. His own experience as Viceroy led him to remark that "To carry any Imperial Indian question requires the co-operation of the Secretary of State's Council, of the Viceroy's Council, of the three Presidency Councils, of a host of important local Governments; and

finally, when all this has been done it depends upon the acquiescence of Parliament, which itself depends upon accident."

It was an imperialist rule, needless to say. But what needs stressing is that it was not personal rule. India did not suffer it till the last nineteen months of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's regime. The judiciary under the British was not servile. In 1873 the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal suggested to the Viceroy that in order to ensure justice against the rapacious conduct of moneylenders and zamindars judicial decrees be subjected to executive revision and that a complete system of inspection and executive control over the judiciary be introduced through the agency of Government in place of the High Court. Though realizing the evil arising from the chicanery of lawyers to gain advantage over the opposite side and the inability of the High Court to check it, the Government of India declined to accept Campbell's proposal. Its acceptance, A.C. Lyall, Secretary to Government, pointed out, "would set up arbitrary will in the place of law; it would substitute a rapid conjecture for methodical examination; it would multiply the element of chance which must always exist in law suits; and it would rapidly destroy the very notion of fixed and sovereign law paramount over all individual will and power which at least ever since the Regulations of 1793, it has been the steady policy of the British Government to inculcate on the people of India."

For all that it was an imperial regime of one country over another, Dr. Misra's work analyses the Rise of Indian political parties in such a set up leading eventually to its overthrow. His conclusions may not be acceptable to all and it must be said that at places the analysis could have been closer. But it is interesting and deserves attention. Why do Indians form so many political parties? he asks and answers "Basically this was the result of an interaction between the tradition-bound and horizontally stratified status groups of Indian society and the newly emerging social groups united ideologically according to a similarly of interests, convictions or individual loyalties. These two tendencies more or less cut each other at a right angle. With the extension of franchise, the traditional groupings increased caste consciousness, which in turn led to the proliferation of groups even at the lower levels of society. The purely interest-based ideological grouping tended to restrict the multiplication of parties to the extent possible, given the polarization of economic interests amongst the social classes. This study, however, shows that the former tendency outweighed the latter for a variety of reasons."

He is on strong ground in deploring the Congress failure to form coalitions in 1937. "Constituted as Indian society was (and still is), an acceptance of the principle of coalition governments would have corresponded with the social reality of both the communal

and economic lines of division in 1937. It was a political experiment not unworthy of trial. It might have helped in the understanding of others' points of view and even reduced ideological imbalances through a process of cross-fertilization. The Congress party could have afforded to do this from the position of strength acquired in the General Election of 1936-7. Moreover, it had a popular leader in Jawaharlal who enjoyed the confidence of the left and right. He was best fitted to take the initiative and to prove the bona fides of the Congress as a national organization. But this never happened."

Thanks to the author's researches we got some fine nuggets. Nehru admitted to Asaf Ali that the resignation of Congress Ministries in 1939 had been, in a way an "error". Much was said recently of the CPI's role in 1942 in a fascist orchestration initiated by Sanjay Gandhi. Now that is over the role can be brought out without loss of dignity. Dr. Misra records that it was N. M. Joshi who wrote from Bombay to Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, enclosing an unsigned document said to have been drafted by P. C. Joshi and Adhikari, the underground leaders who on behalf of the C.P.I. restated the policy and plan of work regarding the support for the War-effort. While forwarding this document for favourable consideration by the Home Member, N. M. Joshi said 'I vouch for the genuineness of the document as having emanated from the Communist leaders and also for being the true statement of their policy and plan of work.' In the light of this written restatement of Communist policy, N. M. Joshi asked the Government to withdraw unexecuted warrants and permit the leaders to function openly and publish some papers without security being demanded. This was to be followed by the releases of Communist detenues."

The Memorandum of Communist Policy and Plan of Work was dated 23 April 1942. It expressed a "burning and ardent" desire to co-operate with the War-effort "even under the present Government", if it was possible to do so "in an honourable and respectable manner" Asking the Government for the release of communists the Memorandum pleaded :

"Today we 5,000 Indian communists with our numerous followers and sympathizers have only one demand to make upon the Government : give us the chance to rally our people. Give us the opportunity to move freely among our fellow-patriots; we have only desire today, to do 24-hours' duty against the Jap and German invaders of our land, the enslavers of entire mankind. Whatever our political differences with the existing Government, we are blaming the Government today not for conducting the War, but for not conducting it efficiently enough." Comment is unnecessary.

This is essentially a study of Indian political parties. One hopes that Dr. Misra will write a study of the last decade preceding independence.

A. G. NOORANI

ARE YOU KILLING YOURSELF, MR. EXECUTIVE?

DR. R. H. DASTUR

(All India Management Association, New Delhi, 1976; pp. 208; Rs. 35)

BEAMED at the busy businessman, the exhausted executive and the harassed manager, this handy volume could well have been titled 'How to be Healthy though Successful.' Dr. Dastur has done a service to the gentlemen engaged in the executive rat race by providing timely reminders on the art of physical survival. Strewn all along the path to the Executive Suite are obstacles like ulcers, liver problems, blood pressure and heart trouble, not to mention such esoteric ailments as the slipped disc and spondilitis! How to deal with these devils is the subject of Dr. Dastur's book. In fact, Dr. Dastur also takes care of the 'Executive Triangle' of that poor man caught between an ambitious wife and a calculating secretary!

But seriously, this is a useful book for the busy executive who reaches for the specialist only when it is very late. As the Doctor observes, "the book is a ready reckoner and a know-how for the busy executive". The introduction, the two appendices and the first five chapters are of general interest and should be read by everyone. Thereafter, it should be read like books on astrology—only that part which deals with your ailment!

The findings of a "Periodic Check-up on 1998 Executives" reveals the interesting fact that unlike his American counterpart, 50% of Indian executives suffer from emotional stress and anxiety and as many as 40% from overweight, only two per cent from heart attacks and strokes—the biggest killer in the United States. The emotional stress, one might presume, is a reflection of the employment environment in the country. As for being overweight, what else can one expect when "entertaining" for business is on the house?

The Food for Health chart is a very useful item and should command the careful scrutiny of the reader.

The Doctor errs only when he strays from the path of diagnosis and treatment. For instance, he discusses the pace of industrialisation and the mass manufacture of consumer durables and heavy industrial goods while introducing the chapter on Executive Stress. Anyone who knows, *knows* that the major industries are in the State Sector, and employees in this section at all levels can hardly be accused of being overworked. However, this is only a minor defect which does not detract from the undoubted value of the book.

S. V. RAJU

WHAT IS "SAMIZDAT"? (continued from page 2)

6. Open letters and appeals—individual and collective—declarations, complaints, and entire sets of correspondence.

7. Stenographic reports, minutes, records and accounts (summarised or in full) of: addresses, speeches and final statements (of the defendant at trials); meetings, discussions, and denunciations; interviews, conversations, and brainwashing sessions; searches and interrogations; trials and appeal hearings; records of compulsory hospitalisation and discussions on psychiatry; demonstrations and punitive actions; instances of shadowing and provocation; arrests and round-ups; anniversaries and funerals.

8. Reportage from prisons, camps, and asylums.

9. Information, bulletins the most famous is the *Chronicle of Current Events*, which records violations of human rights in the U.S.S.R. and comes out once every two months; registers of those convicted and compulsory hospitalised.

10. Biographies and "service records" of the executioners and biographies of their victims.

11. Official documents: international treaties, declarations, pacts, conventions, reprints from the almost unobtainable Soviet Criminal Code and Code of Civil Procedure; court verdicts; reports of psychiatric examinations; texts of secret instructions and orders.

12. Lists of cuts made by the censor in official Soviet publications (Bulgakov, Grossman, Saint-Exupéry, Hemingway and others).

13. Reprints from official Soviet publications—the "daring" passages and complete "daring" works that have "slipped through" the censorship; extracts from the "best" specimens of obscurantism and graphomania (chosen according to the principle: "How lovely—what filth!"). For example: Lunacharsky's reminiscences about Lenin's humanism in *Novy Mir*, in May 1926; quotations from works by Kochetov and the "poet" S. Smirnov.

All of these items circulate separately, or in collections made according to one or another principle. They are sometimes signed (with addresses of the signatories often given). The *Chronicle of Current Events* tries to follow new *samizdat* and gives brief summaries of it in the section SAMIZDAT NEWS.

The quality of what circulates in *samizdat* varies. The number "printed" of a particular *samizdat* work can be correlated approximately with its "use value." (Approximately, as *samizdat* is not only interesting but dangerous too).

It is very difficult in Russia to delimit an imagined from a real danger. The fact that a piece of *samizdat* is confiscated during a raid signifies in itself little in comparison with what will happen afterwards—how the person searched (and his friends) will behave during interrogations, and the ensuing consequences, both judicial and extra-judicial. For some one who is not sure himself (or his friends) the safest thing, generally

speaking, would be to keep well away from *samizdat*, from a certain kind of *samizdat*, in any case. But even timid persons have dealings with *samizdat*, although with deep apprehension: still they want to read something about what's happening. Thus, *samizdat* is differentiated according to degrees and shades of danger. A man develops, consciously or intuitively, his own notion of the risk he is taking when he types out, gives people to read, or keeps at home pieces of *samizdat* or *tamizdat* literature.

Among other "*samizdat* complexes" that affect the circulation of *samizdat* may be noted: the "fear of several copies", the "fear of the first copy" (identification of the typewriter!) and the "fear of the typewriter's tap" (there may be a sharp-eared KGB man behind the wall), and also persecution mania when the person in question thinks that all searchlights are beamed on him, that he is "in the public eye" and therefore could not, should not, would not keep any *samizdat* at his home. He should "be clean." Meanwhile, any routine and quite harmless shadowing makes his position—or so he tends to think—particularly dangerous.

The amount of *samizdat* in circulation obviously increases when it is courageously reproduced, and it decreases during periods of intensified police searches when it is hidden away, or even destroyed, by readers who have been frightened by the latest rumour of "indiscriminate raids."

All this literature possesses varying degrees of "criminality", real or imagined. (The notions of "criminality" and "danger" do not coincide, especially in a State which does not exactly respect the law.) The "anti-Sovietism" of certain works may be formally corroborated by trials of their authors or distributors, for instance, in the case of certain works by Sinyavsky and Daniel. The "criminality" of these works was "proved" by quoting several phrases from them in court. When investigators who carry out searches find a work like this they ascertain with deep satisfaction that the "criminal" phrase is just in the right place. A system of accounts exists in the KGB, as in any Soviet enterprise. If, for example, the quality of work of a teapot-producing factory is rated by the overall weight of its output (which is why our Russian teapots are so heavy), then, apparently, the number of "criminal" phrases is one of the indices for measuring the efficiency of the KGB (which, after all, "produces" prisoners, not teapots). What is most interesting is that these same phrases have been circulated in millions of copies, as they are quoted in official Soviet newspaper reports of the trial. It would be intriguing to publish one of these works in *samizdat* without these ill-fated phrases and then simply to attach the newspaper cuttings as explanatory appendices.

The reason why a person becomes an author is simple. As Andrei Amalrik said, "Once these thoughts had entered my mind I naturally wanted to write

them." It is well-known that many writers in the Soviet Union "write for the desk-drawer", often without even trying to offer their works to official publishing houses, since they know that works of this kind will not be printed anyway. Some people give their works to friends to read but are categorically opposed to their being circulated without some kind of control over distribution. They hope that in the future they will still manage to get into print, and know that the appearance of their works in *samizdat* might, by angering the authorities, prevent this hypothetical possibility. There are those, however, who are not waiting for "better times" but want to reach Russian readers immediately. They put their works into *samizdat*, perhaps with the understanding that better times do not come automatically and that the existence of a free literature which is actually being read will itself promote a change for the better.

When I have said here concerning authors in the strict sense of the word also applies to compilers of documents, witnesses of important events, scholars—to all who consider that their "written output" (an expression from the official report of psychiatric examination) has social significance. The desire for publicity—*glasnot*, in Russian, embracing the notions of both openness and freedom of information and expression—is the main motive force behind documentary *samizdat*.

And so it is that a work is put into *samizdat* and Russians give it to one another to read. Let us assume that this work, whether of information or of art, a scholarly article or an open letter, has come my way for reading and is of special interest to me. It is natural that I should want to keep this work for myself. But I have to return the copy I was given, perhaps very soon, as someone else is waiting his turn to read it. Consequently, I have to start looking for a way to copy the work. If it were small—say five typed pages—there would be no problem. I would sit down at a typewriter and tap it out in three hours, just as I am tapping out this article now. But the work is large, say 40 pages. I would have to waste an enormous amount of time. (I do, however, know of an instance when someone copied out half of Solzhenitsyn's novel *The First Circle* by hand! Therefore, I have to consider which I have to consider which of my friends can type or have friends who can type and who would agree to take on the job. Let us assume that I have managed to find a typist. Now I must (1) get agreement in principle to the copying from the person who gave me the work (if, however, for some reason it was not intended for circulation, I should most likely have been told about this at the very beginning); and (2) get him to allow me more time, longer than the period of 2-3 days for which the work was originally lent to me.

At this point a certain amount of bargaining usually begins. It emerges that, as a "fee", I must return the work plus three copies. The person who gave it to me wants one copy for himself; he will give

another one to the person who gave it to him, but as the work belongs to a third person (as a rule names are not mentioned) the last wants an extra copy for himself (perhaps he will give it to someone as a birthday present). Then I declare that I am being "overcharged." My friend's typist can only do five copies—her old typewriter won't "take" more. At the same time she wants a copy for herself, and my friend wants one too. Thus, if I give away three copies here and two there, what will be left for me? We agree on two copies. Meanwhile, I hope to manage to limit myself to one copy for the "producers"; I shall give the copy I saved to a certain person who is very much interested in the subject; besides, this person may be useful in getting hold of other things for me to read.

When making an agreement with the typist, the size of the work has to be taken into account—not every typist has enough free time. Her psychology must be taken account of too: Will she think the work "too hot to handle"? There are different kinds of *samizdat* typists: some do it for money, some out of sheer enthusiasm; but all regard what they type with sensitive interest.

What paper to type on—ordinary or tissue paper? Four to five copies can be made on ordinary paper while as many as fifteen can sometimes be managed on tissue paper. This is better because it can satisfy more fully the growing spiritual demands of new Soviet man. Besides, if the typist has to be paid, each tissue-paper copy of a bulky publication is half the price of one on ordinary paper—particularly significant when it is a matter of a long novel.

A word about "the technical base" of *samizdat*. It is simple: typewriter, paper, and carbon paper. The Stalinist time has passed when typewriters were all officially registered. Many people have machines, and they can be bought at a reasonable price in shops. The shops also usually have paper and carbon paper—of good or bad quality—which are not expensive. Sometimes supplies of paper are irregular, but experienced people keep a stock. All this "activity"—buying paper, typing—is quite normal for most literary and scientific and technical workers; after all, works and reviews for publishing houses (dissertations, academic articles, scientific and technical translations) have to be typed. It is hard to say how much of all that is typed will then start—and continue—to be copied without control as *samizdat*. Obviously, it is doubtful that this will happen with a specialised technical translation; but it may very well happen to an interesting *novella* which has been rejected by the publishing houses.

The other method of reproducing texts—by photography—is technically more complex. Film and paper for this can be obtained, although sometimes with difficulty, but not everyone knows how to take, develop, and print photographs. Moreover, the text that is being photographed has to be clear; and the eighth carbon copy of a typed version is of no use. One other drawback: photographic paper is thicker than ordinary paper, and a large photocopied work takes up much

more room than a typescript. Once a photocopy of the huge (over 1000 pages) historical work on Stalin by Roy Medvedev came my way. This extraordinary work occupied several cardboard boxes. The advantages of the photographic method are its greater speed (in skilful hands), and the absence of errors and distortions. To be sure, there are a large number of photocopying machines in the Soviet Union but they are not sold to private persons, hired out, or set up for public use. They belong to state organizations and their entire output is strictly controlled. Each of them is guarded like a military object by special persons who protect it vigilantly from any "ideological diversion."

Obviously the next extension of the technical base of *samizdat* lies in developing the home technology of manufacturing duplicating machines in conformity with Soviet conditions. "In conformity with Soviet conditions" means fulfilling two needs: (1) the materials and components for the apparatus should be so cheap and its manufacture so simple that its confiscation during a search would be not much more appreciable a loss than the confiscation of a typewriter; and (2) that everything needed can be brought or borrowed. The apparatus should demonstrably be "home-made" so that no one could say it was made from parts stolen from a factory or brought from abroad in a "spy's belt" with the aim of Restoring the Power of the Landlords & Capitalists. Of course, what can be made cheaply and quickly by an amateur will not be capable of producing a large number of copies, giving high-quality reproduction, or a long term of service. But it is clear that these will be sacrificed for the sake of realising the two principles I have stated above.

Readers of *samizdat* are not exactly spoilt by typographical luxury. Frequently, they have to read barely legible tenth-carbon copies, typed in single spacing, when one or two letters of the typewriter were "not articulating" into the bargain. Here the conveniences of "preparation, distribution, and keeping" on the one hand (terms taken from articles 70 and 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) clash with legibility. A work is, of course, easier to read when it is not typed very closely and when the text is not on both sides of the page with the type showing through. Some readers have poor sight; and, obviously, mistakes multiply when additional copies are made from already illegible texts. On the other hand, single-space typing creates its own conveniences—less work for the person typing it out (fewer sheets of paper need to be inserted in the typewriter), less paper is used, and the finished work takes up less space. Simple arithmetic reveals that a novel is approximately four times thinner if, instead of being typed in double spacing on one side of the paper only, it is typed in single spacing on both sides. In each specific instance all these "typographical" problems are resolved in "the best way possible," for example by typing with one-and-a-half-line spacing, or in various other ways, depending on the circum-

stances.

The pile of sheets of paper received after copying may be bound, or not. Each method has advantages and disadvantages. A bound work is more durable but it can only be read by one person at a time—unless it is read aloud. Although separate sheets get worn out, dirty, or lost, an unbound work can be read simultaneously by a large number of people who pass the single sheets to one another. This "total" absorption in information is quite a usual Russian pastime. Scattered about on sofas, armchairs, at a table, on the floor, people are rustling pages.... Someone arrives and demands to be given the first pages that the others have already read. Someone else takes the owner of the manuscript to one side and starts negotiating to copy it.... It is obviously most convenient to "publish" thick works as *samizdat* bound into several booklets—then the work is better preserved and there is no need to wait a long time for the previous reader to finish it: it can be handed over in parts. But only manuscripts made up of separate sheets are suitable for the mass reading I have described.

People are usually shy of reading *samizdat* in public places—on public transport, for example—as they fear the undesirable vigilance of some neighbouring person.

The postal service is not normally used for distributing *samizdat*, as the Soviet post has no secrets from Soviet Power. In the event of interception, even if there is not sufficient material to bring criminal charge, the "appropriate organs" may become interested, and this may lead to shadowing and searches. Besides, it is a crying shame if a literary work is lost. Nevertheless, in the summer of 1967 I sent from Moscow to my mother at a seaside resort Solzhenitsyn's famous letter to the Fourth Writers' Congress (1964). I put in the envelope of an official letter which had arrived for her while she was away, and I put this envelope inside an ordinary one with the note: I'm forwarding an official letter.... The letter arrived much appreciated.

How widespread is *samizdat*? There is a well-known anecdote: the mother of a schoolboy brings Tolstoy's *War and Peace* to be copied, and she explains to the surprised typist that her son is required to read this work according to the school curriculum and that there is simply no other way of making him read it!... Of course, *samizdat* circulates (like this anecdote) only among the thinking part of society, among those who, in search of high quality information (including artistic information), turn away in disgust from the putrid stuff that is offered officially. Clearly, someone who has no time at all to read, whether because of cares about his daily bread or because of vodka or television, will not start reading *samizdat* either.

Various attempts made by the KGB, although not under its own name, to use this "publishing house" are indirect proof of public recognition of *samizdat*. For instance, not long before the arrest of ex-General Grigorenko, some Crimean Tatars (who had invited

Grigorenko to be public counsel for the defence at a trial of 10 of their number) found a typewritten anonymous text in their letter-boxes, full of slanders about him. The text was typed in triple spacing ("real" *samizdat*, is never typed so uneconomically), on "too good" a typewriter, on "too good" paper and, in general, "too professionally." But most important: it contained information that could be known to nobody but the KGB.

Is *samizdat* an "Illegal" or "Underground" literature? In no sense. There is no "black list" of banned literary works in Soviet legislation. There are some lists of books which are supposed to be liable to confiscation, and they are distributed to bookshops and libraries; still, these are intra-departmental circulars which in no way oblige Soviet citizens to "purge" their personal libraries. Moreover, even if I wished to display super-loyalty as a loyal Soviet subject and wanted to be guided by these lists, I should quite simply not be given them—they are secret, "for official use only."

As for "conspiracy", most *samizdat* works are signed and the addresses of the signatories given, so that here again there can be no question of any "illegality."

Besides, the U.S.S.R. has always spoken with warmth in its official press of the UN's "Universal Declaration of Human Rights"; and especially of Article 19 which states:

Everyone has the right freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

The fact that the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (usually available only in a *samizdat* edition) is not always taken away during searches is an indirect confirmation of the Soviet Union's remarkable respect for this document. And if, during these very searches, the same officials confiscate large quantities of *samizdat* which afterwards does not figure as "material evidence" in any criminal case, but which is not returned to its owners, then *this* surely is a violation of Soviet law.

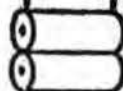
It is because he knows of this illegal practice that the normal reader of *samizdat* will not say to his friend over the phone (which is often tapped): "Do come round, I've got hold of *Cancer Ward*..." Generally speaking, a sense of self-preservation is a human characteristic. But if I am afraid to go out of my house because there is a mad dog outside, this does not mean that my walk would have been "illegal." We come across all kinds of "undergrounds" in Western press references to Soviet *samizdat*, or we find large headlines such as "Songs of the Soviet Underground." This use of the word is justified in the following way. What are "laws" anyway in the Soviet Union? They exist only on paper, and in practice the authorities always do what they want. But this is the whole point: one of the main reasons for violation of the

laws by the authorities is the readiness to recognise as "underground"—even in terminology—any activity which, although not contradictory to Soviet law, is objectionable to the rulers of the day.

Some *samizdat* is anonymous (or pseudonymous), but the words of the *Chronicle of Current Events* apply to these works too:

The *Chronicle* is no sense an illegal publication, but its conditions of work are hampered by the peculiar concepts of legality and freedom of information which have become established in the course of long years in certain Soviet institutions. For this reason the *Chronicle* cannot, like any other journal give its postal address on the last page.

But most *samizdat*, I repeat, consists of signed works. There are even regular typewritten collections which come out openly, for instance *Social Problems*, put out by V. N. Chalidze. The permanent postal address of the compiler is given on each typewritten copy of this collection. And the main significance of activity concerned with fulfilling the promise of freedom of speech in *samizdat* lies in what I must call overcoming the subjective sense of a virtual lack of rights; this was inherited from the bloodbath of recent times in the country and, perhaps, from even earlier Russian times.



**To create
a good impression
use West Coast Paper
for writing
printing
packaging
and many other uses**

WEST COAST PAPER

Shreeniwas House,
Hazarimal Soman Marg, Bombay 1

WITH MANY VOICES

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

—Tennyson

The world, as Galileo accurately remarked, does move.

—*International Herald Tribune*, February 16.

He (President Carter) can't stamp out sin in the world, but he keeps on praying.

—*International Herald Tribune*, February 21.

Mr. Carter thinks a policy of detente with Russia that is silent on human rights is not just wrong, but not "sustainable" either.

—*The Economist*, February 26.

I wish Mrs. Gandhi a long life so she can see how the next Prime Minister runs the country.

—Mr. Jagjivan Ram quoted in *Time*, March 21.

He (Anthony Crosland) was the only person I have met who personally measured his time in periods of less than a quarter of an hour. "Drop in about ten to seven" he would say—and mean it.

—Dick Leonard in *The Economist*, February 19.

Is, JP the answer?, as his friend Masani asked in the book he wrote in the context of the Bihar struggle of 1974-75, in JP's scheme of things, power resides primarily in ordinary people and they alone, not the elite, who can answer. One has, all the same, an

intuitive feeling that were Gandhi alive he would have said yes.

—*Democratic World*, March 20.

There are three kinds of democracy in Europe: Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and Mediterranean. Of the three, the Mediterranean is the least disciplined and the most difficult to manage, largely because of the passionate nature of the Mediterranean personality.

—Premier Constantine Caramanlis quoted in *International Herald Tribune*, March 15.

Reality is the poet reading his poem; unreality is the poet discussing the responsibility of the poet.

—Per Westberg at the 41st International P.E.N. Congress.

If anyone has a blueprint for India's economic ills, he is keeping it back.

—*The Observer*, March 27.

It might be premature to write her (Mrs. Gandhi's) political obituary just yet.

—Gavin Young, in *The Observer*, March 27.

Some people are concerned every time Brezhnev sneezes.

—President Carter quoted in *Time*, April 4.

Nothing that will happen in Washington this year will be as important to America as what happened in New Delhi in the past few days.

—Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan quoted in *Time*, April 4.

He (Nehru) believed in Machiavelli—that was his ideal. Mine is Gandhi—and Lincoln.

—Prime Minister Morarji Desai quoted in *Time*, April 4.

People are afraid of government more than any other agency.

—Prime Minister Morarji Desai quoted in *Time*, April 4.

You need not fear this government as you have feared all those (past) months. We are your servants, not your masters.

—Prime Minister Morarji Desai quoted in *Time*, April 4.

FREEDOM FIRST.

C/o Democratic Research Service

Maneckji Wadia Bldg., 4th floor

Bombay 400 023 (Phone : 27 39 14)

Please enrol me as a subscriber to *Freedom First*.

I remit the annual subscription of Rs. 5.00

Name :

Address :

Signature