

Backdoor Emergency

NISSIM EZEKIEL

It is not necessary to argue at length against the National Security Ordinance and the nationalisation of Maruti. Though the first is a major step towards a backdoor Emergency, and the other only a despicable cover-up job by Indira's government, both are obvious demonstrations of the non-democratic will at work.

Verbally and in practice, scores of such demonstrations are available for the commentator. To make matters worse, the official and non-official opposition, as well as individual citizens with an ounce of power, provide evidence every day of that same evil.

The long-term task is to prove in the realities of social existence that the spirit of democracy is actually **preferred**, when one can easily get away with authoritarian conduct.

The immediate political demand is for acts of resistance, which require courage and may involve great sacrifices as well as sundering. One may be "detained" for 12 months—it's as simple as that!

Your right to appeal to the law has been destroyed. You can appeal only to the government that has decided you are a threat to the defence and security of the country. You cannot have the assistance of a lawyer in pleading your case before an Advisory Board.

Further, if the Board in its private wisdom comes to the conclusion that the order of detention is invalid, the government is not bound to accept its view. It merely issues a new order, and you remain in jail!

Even if the Security Ordinance is cautiously used, does not its existence violate the idea of democracy? Is there really any hope that it will not be used in the deplorable way it has been formulated and issued?

The testing time for democrats has arrived. Without acts of conscience, without gestures expressing conviction regarding human rights, without standing up to be counted among those committed to freedom, even formal democracy cannot be restored to India.

The Maruti nationalisation ordinance does not call for a similar response. But it is a scandal all the same. It is another black spot on the record of Indira's government since it returned to power ten months ago.

A heavy aura of guilt surrounds this ordinance. Parliament was not in session. The cabinet spokesman chose not to offer any explanation for the decision. The Press Information Bureau was silent. It is reported that copies of the ordinance were not made available to journalists. The Maruti liquidation proceedings in the Punjab and Haryana High Court are to be wound up.

Government's compensation of Rs. 4.34 crores against the liabilities of Rs. 6 crores indicates that very special interest in Maruti which is part of its history. It has produced no automobiles for four years, but the ordinance says nationalisation will help it "modernise the automobile industry."

The correspondent of a Bombay newspaper, reporting the Maruti nationalisation ordinance, reminded his readers that Supreme Court Justice A. C. Gupta's Maruti Inquiry Commission had stated: "It (Maruti) brought about a decline in the integrity of public life and sullied the purity of administration."

The Commission report, the correspondent went on, "brings out a host of irregularities at the government level and also at the level of the unit's management..... it never made a public issue through a prospectus..... shares were allotted in the name of persons who did not ever buy them.....large sums were unauthorisedly disbursed....."

Sanjay's **samadhi** was secretly demolished at night, with instructions to the workers, "including the senior engineers", according to one report, not to talk to the press. Perhaps the nationalised Maruti will now modernise the automobile industry in India with similar secrecy.

While these ominous developments are taking place on the national level, there are no signs of a general awakening to the danger among our people as a whole.

Nothing has happened so far on the scale that is needed to influence exents.★

Soviet Imperialism and Western Strategy

F. BOLKESTEIN, M.P. (Netherlands)

Speech to the annual conference of the Liberal International, Berlin, 5th September, 1980

The events in Afghanistan are of dark and disturbing significance. They remind us that the Soviet Union is an expansionist and hegemonial power. Some people needed to be reminded. They had forgotten that a century ago Tashkent, Samarkand and Bokhara did not form part of Russia. They had forgotten that the Soviet Union annexed half a million square kilometers after World War II. They had forgotten 1948, 1953, 1956, 1968. Now they remember.

In 1963, Brezhnev said: "In the Soviet Union, the policy of neutrality and non-alignment pursued by the Royal Government of Afghanistan is highly valued." After that we relaxed. The Soviets saw their chance and took it. We have now woken up. Let us hope we stay awake.

The Liberal leaders, at their meeting in Rome last April, condemned the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan. They called for an arrangement that would leave Afghanistan neutral and non-aligned. That is no doubt correct. Let me be specific. We have five objectives:

- (1) There must be a complete withdrawal of Russian forces.
- (2) The borders of Afghanistan must be secure.
- (3) There must be a regime acceptable to the Afghan people themselves.
- (4) The refugees must be free to return.
- (5) There must be adequate assurances for the future.

There can be no let up of pressure upon the Soviet Union while these objectives are not attained.

Why does Afghanistan concern us? Quite simply, because Europe cannot be an island of détente in a troubled world. We cannot stand by and watch how the forces that are hostile to democracy spread over many parts of the world, without taking action. We cannot sit back while that happens because in the end our time too will come.

When used by some, the word détente is in danger of becoming a fetish. We should not indulge in world-fetishism. We should look at reality. The question is not whether Russian actions in Vietnam, Angola, Yemen, the Horn of Africa and Afghanistan can or cannot be reconciled with détente. The question is whether these actions are or are not a threat to international peace and security.

Well, to my mind they are. The leaders in the Kremlin have stood Clausewitz on his head. To them, politics is the continuation of war by other means. The only legitimization of the Russian dictatorship is the expansion of its power, which its ideology both demands and predicts.

It is the duty of statesmen to create a basis of confidence. It means, above all, confidence in one's own power to oppose any adverse developments. As the German Chancellor wrote in October last year: "Continuity of détente cannot persist if you let the military equilibrium deteriorate. During the Chancellor's visit to Moscow, Brezhnev said he was prepared to negotiate about the long-range theatre nuclear forces, both his own—that is to say, SS 20 missiles and Backfire bombers—and those that are, or shortly will be, set up on this side, such as Pershing II's and cruise missiles. These important negotiations can soon start.

The thing to remember is this: Russian willingness to negotiate is in all probability largely a result of the NATO-decision, taken in December last year, to modernize the long-range theatre nuclear forces. We can only have success in negotiating arms reductions if we are prepared to arm ourselves. If we refuse to do so, we do not relax international tension, we only relax ourselves. I think we should do well to remember that.

Confidence must be based on predictability. International stability is served by steady behaviour. It is not served by a sudden change of course. SALT II has been negotiated by three American presidents, by three American secretaries of state and by all their aids and security advisors. If, after such a long period of negotiation, parliaments in the end refused to ratify that sort of treaty, the world would become a rather unpredictable sort of place. The sooner SALT II is ratified by the American congress, the better. The sooner SALT III is started, the better. It is a long and arduous road but it is the only road.

Confidence is not only confidence in ourselves but also in our allies. Much is made, these days, of the absence of American leadership. That has been a recurring theme throughout the post-war world. Now, I do not dispute the fact that American foreign policy has not exhibited, of late, that dependability which I consider so important. Nor do I deny that the period just before the American elections is a particularly difficult one, both for Washington and for other important capitals around the world.

Elections, however, are an inconvenience other democracies share with the American system. Moreover, I would suggest to you that these are the only United States we have. I would ask you to remember what the eminent German liberal leader Walter Scheel said in 1974: "The European parliamentary democracies have survived this century due to their elementary kinship with the United States. The West Europeans are aware of this. Since 1917 they have honoured their debt with sporadic thanks and constant irritation." What substitute do we have for the American nuclear protection?

Solidarity is not a one-way street. Solidarity creates its own obligations. As has been said, we cannot rely on the Americans for our defence and reserve détente for ourselves. We cannot hold the carrot and hope the Americans will continue to carry the stick.

Now, in the past, we have tended to draw together each time a serious crisis was brought about by Soviet moves. General de Gaulle lost no time in assuring President Kennedy of his support at the time of the Cuban missile crisis, in 1962. Earlier still, in 1948, when the Soviets tried to throttle this city, the capital

of Germany, the response was immediate and united. But times have changed. The correlation of forces has changed.

The Soviet Union has acquired a striking power of global reach, as they have always said they would to anyone who was willing to listen. Europe's dependence on imported oil and raw materials has increased manifold. Therefore we must now take a greater burden. We must look after our own affairs, in Europe and elsewhere. We must get the military means, we must be prepared to pay for them and we must put forward the right ideas.

It is important that we should achieve a system of consultation which enables us to propose our arguments at a time when common policy has not yet crystallised. That presupposes, of course, that we have such arguments. Only then can we face the strategic realities of our time; can we agree upon a division of labour amongst ourselves; and can we adopt a united yet flexible stand at the conference of Madrid.

The conference of Madrid, due to take place towards the end of this year, may offer a good opportunity to improve our relationship with the USSR and Eastern Europe. Let us grasp it. We may be able to give an impetus to negotiations about arms reduction in Europe. There is a French proposal and there is a Polish proposal. I shall not go into the details now. That is for another time. I have already said how important these negotiations obviously are.

We may be able to extend the so-called system of confidence-building measures. We should aim for confidence-building measures that are mandatory, militarily significant and variable. They should apply to the whole of Europe, including European Russia. At the same time we must not, at Madrid, gloss over the fact that the Soviet Union has failed to live up to the basic obligations of the final act of Helsinki, particularly in the field of human rights.

This very day an international tribunal is sitting in The Hague to consider what charges were made against Sakharov that caused him to be banished from his wife and family. Legal experts from all over the world are gathered to consider these charges, not in the light of our law, not in the light of natural law, but in the light of Soviet law. Unceasingly, we must bring the situation of human rights in the Soviet Union to the attention of the world. Our efforts must be unremitting but prudent.

Our efforts must be prudent because, of course, the Soviet empire is held together by constraint. A century and a half ago, a French traveller, the Marquis de Custine, already remarked that in Russia the state of siege is normal. It would be unrealistic to expect the Soviet leadership to tamper with its own foundations. But it would be equally unrealistic to think that Soviet society does not evolve at all. Our scope of action may be small, but it is real. Let us use it. Steady pressure, but prudent.

This also goes, but more so, for Eastern Europe. As regards these countries, we must get down to basics. East Europe—I am not now speaking of the USSR—East Europe and West Europe share a single European

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heritage of enormous depth and great variety. We must never reconcile ourselves to the artificial division of Europe. Vienna, Prague and Budapest once formed the triangle that lies at the heart of our continent. One day they will do so again. What more European city than Weimar? Are the countries that gave birth to Chopin, to Bela Bartok and to Dvorak any less European than those of Schubert, of Verdi and of Ravel? To say so would clearly be absurd.

Eastern Europe looks West, not East, and no amount of armour can make a lasting difference. We may not be able to do much now because we must not create risks that imperil others, nor ourselves. But nothing lasts forever, and certainly not Soviet domination over nations that once were free and have not forgotten it—a domination that begins not many meters from where I am speaking now.

The French statesman Talleyrand maintained; you can do many things with bayonets but you can't sit on them. Never was a truer word said. Recent events in Poland have borne it out. Let me quote from a letter published in the popular Polish daily newspaper *Zycie Warszawy* of August 29. The letter was written by a man who works in the printing shop of a newspaper. He writes that he cannot sleep at night, so excited is he by the fact that these days he is printing papers which contain the truth. He writes: "The words hit us now with unbelievable force because they are the words of truth, that very same truth which censorship has withheld from us for many years and for incomprehensible reasons."

Eastern Europe is now living one of its historic

moments. Poland had the choice between the path of constraint and the path of evolution. That the choice existed at all is due to détente. But that they chose the path of evolution is in no small measure due to the imposing wisdom and self-discipline of the Polish working class. I salute the courage and restraint of the workers of Gdansk and Poznan. We could well afford to learn from them.

We too must have courage and self-discipline. We must have the courage of our convictions yet refrain from gratuitous exhortations that create risks but do not offer solutions to those who are, at this moment, unable to help, apart from loans. We must speak our minds, strengthen our political cohesion and improve our military effectiveness while realising that for the Germans there is nothing to be gained in a cold war, divided as their nation is, divided as their capital is. It is a narrow path but it can be walked. Again I say: our scope of action is small but it is real.

What we need most is self-confidence. The Soviet Union is plagued by a creaking industry, a malfunctioning agriculture, rising tensions between nationalities and persistent consumer shortages. Whether we look at wealth, schooling, scientific experience, technology or social mobility—does the comparison not turn out in our favour? Now who, truly, should be afraid of whom? Provided we act with foresight and self-discipline, there is no reason why we should not create a basis of confidence from which to reduce the dangers of war.★

Soviet Imperialism and Poland's Revolt

J. G. TIWARI

Recent developments in Poland are going to have far-reaching implications for the economic and political system of that country. The concessions granted by Edward Gierk's Government to the Gdansk workers, in the 21-point agreement signed on August 31, are momentous. The striking workers have wrung from their Communist bosses the right to form independent trade unions and the right to strike!

This agreement has had a widespread impact on the whole nation. In quick succession the workers of its other industrial areas, including the Baltic port of Mielec, have put forward similar demands. The changes agreed upon in the Gdansk accords will eventually have to be applied throughout Poland. The concessions made by Gierk are significant since no other socialist country has granted similar rights to its workers. In other words, an era of "liberalisation" has begun in the country.

Mr. Stanislaw Kania, the new leader of the Polish Communist Party, has announced the establishment of a commission to reorganise the economic system in favour of greater decentralisation. Clearly, the changes envisaged are not merely superficial. The working class in Poland have won a major victory over their Communist bosses.

The government's willingness to by-pass the official Worker's Council, and to negotiate with the unofficial

Self-Defence Committee (KOR), is a recognition of the fact that over the years the independent working class, the Church and the intellectuals have emerged as powerful forces in Poland. These forces must lead to the evolution of an informal power structure challenging the monolithic Communist regime. This will cause a dilution of the Soviet model, and may prove to be the first historic step towards the growth of a pluralist form of socialism in the Communist system.

Poland is perhaps the only East European state which has enjoyed a tradition of cultural, religious and intellectual freedom. Unless an attempt is made to put the clock back, these developments should lead to the institutionalisation of liberal trends.

It speaks of the statesmanship of the Polish leadership, and the maturity of the workers, that reforms of such a nature have been agreed upon within the limits set by Soviet tanks. The editor of *Politkia*, the country's major theoretical weekly, has advised the Poles thus: "We need a moderate course to gradually enlarge the area of freedom from the censor. We can push too hard. That would provoke a counter-action." He ended with a warning: "We know that whoever wants too much may lose everything."

What impact developments in Poland will have on its neighbours in Eastern Europe is too early to say. Lacking a long tradition of intellectual dissent, such as the Poles have, the East European nations may not go through a similar experience of political assertion by an independent working class. But the reverberations of events in Poland are bound to make themselves felt in the neighbouring countries.

Most significant of all is the Soviet reaction. It is widely believed that Mr. Bierek took no step without obtaining Kremlin sanctions, for which he undertook two trips to Moscow. Moscow did not go beyond complaining that reactionary elements were working at the back of the Polish upheaval. It avoided invoking the Brezhnev doctrine. The Red Army did not attempt to "liberate" Warsaw, as it did in 1956. Why?

The fact is that the Soviet Tank Air-force Marshalls had prepared their plans for intervention, and secret instructions had been sent to the Soviet forces in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany, as well as in Poland. But they were held back by a number of considerations. It would have taken at least a million men and several Tank Divisions to subdue Poland, and of course it would have had to be done by the Soviet army **alone**. It would have added insult to injury to use the East Germans, while the Czechoslovakians were frightened even of their own shadows. It would have fervently united the Poles and the invasion would have had a long and bloody run. At the same time, it would have dealt the final blow to East-West detente, lead to an uncontrolled arms race, threatened the trade and credit position of the entire Soviet bloc, and even created some internal trouble in the Soviet Union.

But as the wave of freedom spreads, the Soviets may see fit to act one day, for at stake is the very existence of the Soviet empire.★

Soviet Imperialism and India's Stance

Y. SHIVAJI

In what is said to be a major foreign policy speech in Alma Ata, Kazshakistan, some time ago, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev has paid rich tributes to our "stabilising role in Asia". Obviously, he must have felt obliged to thank us for our foreign policy performance in the recent past.

Had it been a capitalist country, which so brazenly intervened in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, we would have with our usual relish, blasted it out of hand with strident, self-righteous indignation. But, as our luck would have it, it was the good old Soviet Union. So, we hemmed and hawed, if not looked the other way. And to save our sagging non-aligned face we went through the motions of a diplomatic effort, which impressed none, least of all the Russians, who knew what it was in aid of. Moreover, they were too busy, as they are now, in trying to crush all resistance in the occupied country in their bid to unveil to the world a tamed Afghanistan docilely eating out of the Russian hand and enjoying it.

Then, we went ahead and recognised the Russian-backed regime in Kampuchea. As it turned out, it was two birds with one stone for Mr. Brezhnev. We

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gave him the recognition he needed badly for his harried Heng Samrin regime. We also presented him with the consequent aborted opportunity to mend our fences with China.

That only two countries in Asia provide us awkward company in our decision to recognise the controversial Heng Samrin regime does not embarrass us. Nor are we perturbed over the fact that out of the two, one is Vietnam, which installed the Heng Samrin regime and keeps it going by stationing its troops in Kampuchea, and the other is remote Mongolia, a devoted member of the Soviet bloc. We go on telling the world that it cannot solve the Afghan problem by condemnation or the Kampuchean problem by confrontation, thereby implying that it should acquiesce in, if not applaud, the blatant Russian thrust for *lebensraum*.

We blithely ignore the pitfalls of recognising puppet regimes put up by the force of foreign arms. We see no long-term threat to our own security in the Soviet presence in a country as close to us as Afghanistan, in spite of the well-known Russian ambition to encircle China. And we wait for history to reveal to us the dangerous consequences of our countenancing the Russian doctrine that they have a right to move into any country across their borders in what they consider to be the interests of their security. Little wonder Mr. Brezhnev is happy with us.

While we should be grateful to Mr. Brezhnev for his gracious sentiments, we cannot at the same time avoid the rather uncomfortable feeling, that soon we might need more and more of such testimonials from the Soviet leaders to reassure ourselves that we are after all somebody in Asia, if not in the world. An ominous feature of the Alma Ata speech is that the Russians seem to have cast us in a handmaidenly role in the scenario of their Asian strategy.

Broadly, the idea appears to be that we should confine our non-aligned influence, as long as it lasts, to Asia and use it vigorously to promote thinly disguised Russian objectives in the continent. For example, we should continue to demand that the Americans stay out of the Indian Ocean, ignoring the Russian presence in the area in its various manifestations. And should the Russians deem it expedient to meddle in the internal affairs of any country in the region, as they will certainly do to hasten those inevitable historical changes referred to in the Alma Ata speech, it is for us to put the non-alignment cap on, and strive diplomatically to "stabilise" the situation to the specific strategic requirements of our Russian cousins.

By all appearances, Afghanistan and Kampuchea are a dress rehearsal for that kind of mutually beneficial co-operation between the fraternal peoples of the two great countries. What is not clear is how long we can try to fool the world with the masquerade. Nor is it yet known what the Russians propose to do with us once our non-alignment glitter wears off due to repeated exposure on the world stage.

Geopolitical realities rarely leave enough room for us to manoeuvre and safeguard all of our national interests. Still, we should not let short-term compul-

sions, like our justified anxiety with some of our neighbours, blind us totally to the long-term dangers of becoming the monkey of one international organ grinder or another. We like to imagine that we are a non-aligned country, but the world has come a long way from the comparatively less complicated Bandung days of Mr. Nehru.

That China with its belligerence in the 1960s has done durable damage to Asia by making Russia respectable in the area is one thing. But what is more serious is that the very principle of non-alignment, which was originally intended to be a valid, viable political doctrine to protect the national and territorial integrity of neutral countries, which would steer clear of big power politics, has over the years deteriorated to such an extent that today a country like Cuba can sail around the world unchallenged under non-aligned colours.

What seems to have happened is that with the increased acceptance of communist countries into the non-aligned group the concept of political neutrality, which is the corner stone of the non-alignment philosophy, was imperceptibly replaced by that of economic backwardness to suit the convenience of such countries. As a result, the movement was infiltrated and its aims subverted to serve the global objectives of one of the big powers. Added to this is the tendency of the newly independent, non-communist countries of the group which regard the West, their former oppressor, as the monster, and ignore the fact that there are other monsters lurking in the shadows and licking their chops, which can swallow them with far more subtlety and thoroughness than any of those old ex-colonial powers.

A more equitable distribution of the world's economic resources is no doubt an urgent necessity, but while striving for it we seem to be playing ourselves into the hands of those who comfort us today only to destroy us tomorrow. The way the non-alignment movement was undermined to the detriment of our security should be a warning to us as to how our legitimate aspirations for a better share of the wealth of the world can also be manipulated to suit the global strategy of a super power.

This neo-colonial menace should receive as much of our attention as the suicidal shortsightedness of the West in not sharing its prosperity with us. Otherwise, while our economic independence is uncertain, the loss of our political independence once again is a distinct possibility. Above all, we should remember that since there is little chance of our successfully persuading the super powers to resile from their postures of confrontation, our survival as a free people makes it imperative that they keep each other at bay, as long as they remain the dominant world powers, and that neither of them gets the better of the other for any length of time. A strategic victory to either of them in the present cold war atmosphere can only mean another nail in our collective coffin.

As bluntly put recently by Mr. Rajaratnam, the outspoken Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore, it is for the big powers to try and extend their great influence, and it is for us to try to frustrate their attempts.

RURAL DECAY

Several hundred million tons of waste, which pollute and even poison, are injected remorselessly into atmosphere, soil and water. The rate of pollution growth in some countries today exceeds the rate of population growth. Degradation of the environment in the Asian and Pacific region is worse than anywhere else in the world.

Unfortunately, the problem of environmental pollution in the rural area continues to be neglected, despite its disastrous impact on those who constitute 80 per cent of the population. Absence of adequate sewage disposal systems is a perpetual environmental hazard in villages, apart from cities and towns.

Out of 2921 towns in India, only about 200 can boast of some kind of sewage facilities. For the most part, the sewage is dumped into the sea or the rivers. Heaps of rubbish lying here and there, night soil and organic waste add to the environmental pollution on the one hand and contaminate the water supply sources on the other. This is an open invitation to water-borne diseases and epidemics.

The rural community depends on open dug wells for its water supply. Many of these wells are contaminated and contain faecal coliforms. There is lack of drainage, too.

Polluted water is a major cause of diseases like cholera, typhoid, dysentery and other gastro-intestinal troubles. Children are the major victims. The water becomes especially dangerous when it gets polluted with toxic elements like mercury, cyanides, arsenic, cadmium and other chemicals. Very low concentration of mercury in water has resulted in near extinction of peregrine falcon, a fish-eating bird. It has also disabled and killed many people.

Village people in many parts of the country receive only gutter water for drinking. For example, Bhopal and its adjoining areas get drinking water from a lake, which receives the sullage and drain water not only of the city but of the nearby villages. A large number of people here suffer from gastro-enteritis, and the lake water is held responsible for it.

Drinking water is, in fact, a problem all over the countryside, thanks to the large-scale pollution of rivers, streams and other surface sources. This is a big health hazard to the millions of people who get their drinking water from rivers. In the absence of flowing water, many rivers turn into septic drains.

For example, the river Khan, while passing through Indore, receives nine million gallons (MGD) of water, sullage and sewage, including the highly-toxic waste of half a dozen textile mills through open sewers and drains. The pollution of Khan has contaminated the wells of surrounding areas, affecting the life of 18,000 inhabitants in 23 villages.

Most villages in our country except a small percentage in the north-eastern region suffer from dust pollu-

tion. Every road is full of dust, and the particles, which float in the air, get into mouths, nostrils and eyes, creating health hazards. In case they enter the lung or digestive tract, the dust particles can cause direct injury. In addition, dust particles carry germs of innumerable diseases leading to widespread infections. Dust particles from a highway of motorable roads carry high proportions of lead particles from the exhaust of motor vehicles.

The main cause of this situation is poor land management. As villages are invariably close to agricultural land, fine soil particles are carried by the wind from ploughed or unploughed lands. Later, they become dust particles. However, the immediate cause of dust in most villages are the roads, lanes and garbage. Roads are invariably ill-maintained and unmetalled. Similarly, lanes and bylanes are nothing but soil tracks without any vegetation.

Thanks to the lack of any sewage and waste recycling or proper dumping facilities, household garbage and refuse are invariably thrown everywhere, causing dust pollution.

Then there is deforestation which goes on notwithstanding official prohibition, thereby disturbing the ecological balance. Apart from its effect on the beauty of the countryside, this destroys many of the smaller birds which control insect pests of crops. An important factor in the prevention of wind and water erosion is removed.

Noise is the new environmental killer. Apart from festive occasions, vehicles passing through village roads cause a lot of noise. All transport must be

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vigilantly watched for their noise levels, especially badly maintained trucks, buses and cars. Heavy fines should be imposed for exceeding statutory noise limits. The railways are the worst offenders.

The measures to deal with the problem of pollution should form a part of integrated rural development. Legislative measures like the Water Pollution Control Act, have so far remained largely ineffective. It has to be realized that a problem of environmental improvement can succeed only if its beneficiaries show a sense of involvement in it. On account of poverty, illiteracy, physical debility, squalor, unemployment and preoccupation with the struggle for existence, there has been an apathy towards the quality of environment in India. The people have got used to the neglect of their environment. This apathy has to be eradicated through governmental and social agencies.

HARISH KUMAR

VOICES 2

For Services Rendered

When Soviet citizens use their acquaintance with a government official to get their nephew a job, pay in black to pick up Levis, concert tickets, sunglasses or wigs, they call it using "blat". When we do it we choose not to give it a name. For it pervades our lives as perhaps nothing else does. Sons are initiated by their fathers into the sleight of hand involved in greasing the palm held out for the purpose. You have reached adulthood—or acquired full Indian citizenship—when you have learned to read the invisible price-tags.

Perhaps, when you were a kindergartener it was not necessary for your parents to pay a "donation" to get you admitted into school. But don't think you will get away with it once it is your turn to play parent. Not even if you try and convince the school authorities that your son is a budding genius.

Suppose your budding genius does not fulfil the promise of his toddle-hood? You will have problems getting him admitted into college—for there seems to be no paucity of high rankers to fill up the limited quota of college seats. I remember, when a cousin of mine could not get into medical college with his second class. His parents made a donation of Rs. 50,000 and sent him to a dental college in the South.

If you are willing to pay, there is nothing that your money cannot buy, from the final-exam question papers to a pass class degree or a Ph.D.

Try the R.T.O. for your driving licence. Some motor-driving schools make sure that most of their

learners pass at the very first attempt by making it worth while for the inspector.

The **dada** of the locality collects his **hafta** from the urchins who sleep on "his" pavements, from the unauthorised vendor who sell their **pani-puris**, **pao-bhajis**, **sugarcane juice** and **channa-singh**. It is only the hardy that survive the dirty politics of the spit-and-broken-dreams pavement.

The policeman too comes in for his share. One of the rules of the game is: no one person can take all the pickings. The bootlegger who plies his trade, leaning against our compound wall, has a police complaint filed against him. The policemen who visit him for the quick drink and the **hafta** are not going to be stupid enough to cut off an additional source of income by arresting him.

On another level, I recall an instance last year when an inspector for the Minimum Wages Act walked into our office and announced that our peons were being underpaid. He was most pleasant. He did not want to create any trouble if the employers settle the matter. The office manager took him out for tea. But the salaries of the peons have remained the same.

At higher levels, cases are suppressed, thrown out of court on insufficient evidence, and charges are withdrawn all because of a change in political power, the right word in the right ear, on account of the pockets being lined. Do we just excuse it as the price we must pay for the power we entrust to our politicians?

You can get away with almost anything today if you are willing to bribe your way. It is no longer even a question of being willing to, for at times you have no alternatives. What do you do when a petty clerk in a government office refuses to move your file from his in-tray to his out-tray unless you give him a present for his wife? If you try and complain to his boss, chances are the boss's secretary might make his demands merely in order to give you an appointment with the great man!

More often than not these payoffs have to be made all the way to the top and sometimes the top involves Jaguar deals that affect Swiss bank accounts, Lockheed scandals that cause embarrassment to royal houses, commissions that fatten the bank accounts of Ministers' sons-in-laws or Prime Minister's sons, and two-seater planes that are given in gratitude for services rendered.

Since we cannot expect people to stop demanding bribes, we can only hope to curb this trend by not letting ourselves be coerced into giving them. It is a decision that each individual must make for himself. Admittedly, it is a very difficult one to keep when your child's future is at stake.

SHERNAVAZ COLAH

FREEDOM FIRST

Democratic Hypocrisy

The Chief Minister of Maharashtra is reported to have said recently that "the English form of democracy was not suited to our nation where more than 70 per cent of the people were below the poverty line". Many of our politicians have been saying this **ad nauseam**.

We shall be greatly obliged if the Chief Minister tells us what form of "democracy" he has in mind which would be suitable for India — probably an "Indian form of democracy". If so, he should kindly enlighten us as to what he means by it.

We shall then be able to enter into competition with "people's democracy" and "guided democracy" and announce to the world the birth of an "Indian form of democracy". One thing in common to all these will be that the adjective will be more important than the noun. Of course, it has to be called some kind of "democracy". The time has not yet come to call it anything else, for fear of losing votes. Though what's in a

name, after all? Power by any other name, would smell as sweet.

However, the Chief Minister has kindly clarified at least one feature of his idea of "democracy". He is reported to have emphasised that "the judges of the Supreme or High Courts should not be allowed to interpret the Constitution, as they had little contact with the common man." This little straw may indicate which way the wind will blow under our Chief Minister's form of "democracy". It will start by blowing away the functions of the judiciary, and end by blowing away all human rights.

It is sinister that the Maharashtra Chief Minister has pleaded recently for more power to be placed in the hands of Indira Gandhi. He reminds us that she is the choice of the people.

Have not the people granted Indira all the power the Constitution enables them to grant? A demand for more is highly suspect. It is more so in the present circumstances when Indira is relentlessly introducing the Emergency again—in a new guise.

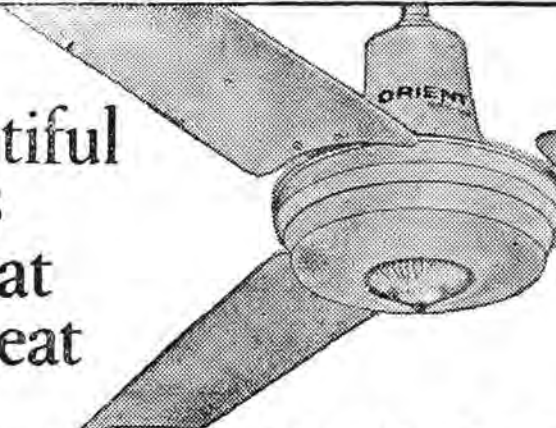
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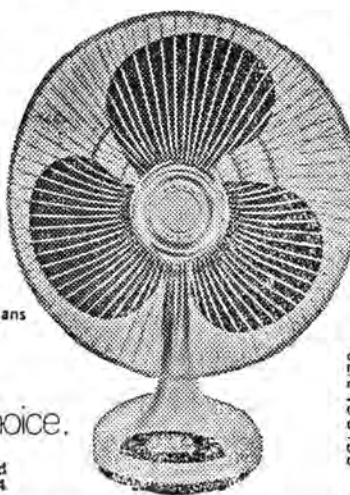
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THE WORLD OF BOOKS

NATIONALISM AND COLONIALISM IN MODERN INDIA by Bipan Chandra (*Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1979*). Pp. xii+395, Rs. 100.

The passage of more than three decades after independence has put the Indian National Movement at a reasonable distance to permit an objective analysis by a serious observer. The heated controversies of the time that blurred the vision of its contemporaries have become history, though different points of view may still be held. Dr. Bipan Chandra attempts a scholarly analysis of the social, economic and political characteristics of the nationalist movement through a collection of his essays published in the 1960s and '70s, now brought together in a sizeable volume.

The essays deal with different facets of the movement and therefore lack continuity, though the preface and the first essay provide a few links. Some pioneering work on this subject has been done by Dr. A. R. Desai and others. Dr. Bipan Chandra, like some of his notable predecessors in this field, also adopts a Marxian framework for his analysis.

The author points out that all through the different phases of the struggle, its strategy was determined by its social composition. He points to the two-fold relationship that the Indian capitalist class maintained towards imperialism. The Indian capitalists had a short-term interest in the stability of the Raj and the economic *status quo* under it. At the same time their long-term interests clashed with those of the empire; ultimately the empire was bound to limit their growth.

This two-fold interest led to a "non-revolutionary pattern of anti-imperialist struggle." A permanent hostility towards imperialism was not maintained. A total confrontation was not in the interest of the classes involved in the struggle. The pattern evolved was one of using pressure up to a point, then working out a compromise to be followed up by pressure at the next stage.

The author describes it as a "Pressure-Compromise-Pressure and Step by Step" method. (pp. 58) Basic economic interests are not upset beyond repair; mass agitation was not allowed to be prolonged, but brought to a quick compromise through some respectable formula.

The book traces the strains of this approach from the early part of the twentieth century. Its first decade saw the split in the nationalist movement into the Moderates and the Extremists. The author contends that the over-all strategy of both sides remained the same. The Moderates' position is clear from the words of Gokhale, who said in 1907, "the changes desired

must be obtained only through the action of constituted authorities by bringing to bear on them the pressure of public opinion." (pp. 129).

On the other hand, the extremist leader Tilak is bracketed with Gandhi (who appears at a later time) on the ground that they were both "the ideological and political representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie," who "led and educated the people to accept that the bourgeois path of social development was the only available alternative to colonial development." (p. 139).

And so stands the contention that both before the Russian revolution, when the socialist model did not exist, and after the Russian revolution, when the socialist model did exist, the ideological and social orientation of the movement was capitalistic.

The attempt is to fit a many-sided economic, social and political development within a preconceived Marxian framework, which is by definition rigid. That leaves a lot unexplained. The top leadership, the elite and the masses in the nationalist movement had different economic and social moorings. No convincing case can be made without explaining and giving credit to the strategy by which these were welded together.

Gandhi, during his time, actually led and controlled the Congress. His strategy was of his own deliberate choice, the roots of which can be traced to various philosophical, psychological and practical sources. He was not an unconscious instrument of the economic forces that rallied themselves hesitatingly and haltingly into the struggle.

If the capitalist classes found the strategy attractive and joined it, that was part of the game. But who called the tune? Gandhi's political idiom was original; if it appealed to the Indian capitalists, it also appealed to the masses.

Non-violence, Satyagraha, non-cooperation, civil disobedience and "Quit India" can of course be seen as a graded, step-by-step strategy. The political (sometimes moralist) compulsions that led to its adoption, and the tremendous political education of the masses effected through that cannot be by-passed. To attempt to explain away such a complex phenomenon in Marxian economic terms is to take a very partial view of it.

The rivalry between Indian and British capital was at times ruthless and uncompromising from the early days of the contact. There is the historic case of the Indian shipping industry. The appearance in the Port of London of Indian-built ships with Indian produce in the last decade of the eighteenth century created fear among the ship-builders of London, which a historian has compared to the possible panic of an enemy fleet appearing on the Thames.

Official reaction was also sharp and prolonged. The Indian shipping industry was throttled. That was an unmitigated conflict of interests. The pattern of interaction between Indian and British capital as one of intermitant conflict and accommodation cannot be generalized upon.

There is no denying that colonialism had its adverse effects on the colonies. The author touches the core of the issue when he says, "the basic fact is that the same social, political and economic process that produced industrial development and social and cultural progress in Britain, the metropolis, also produced and then maintained economic underdevelopment and social and cultural backwardness in India, the colony." (p. 4).

The process did not end with that, as the author rightly notes. With the coming of Independence, India became integrated into the world economic system which is weighted against the underdeveloped countries. But to argue that this was achieved by design all through the nationalist movement is to ignore vast areas of our nationalistic evolution and experience.

The solution of the problem, clearly, does not lie in undoing what has already happened and is irrevocable, but in selecting a suitable role for ourselves in the world economic system with due reference to realities. But we are not at the moment discussing solutions. The book is particularly aimed at "understanding the nature and historical roots of India's underdevelopment."

The "whys" of history are seldom finally answered and disposed of. But an analysis is enlightening, and in this case the author does not leave us in doubt as to how he wants to look at it.

F. A. MECHERY

THE GOSSAMER FLY by Meira Chand. Published by John Murray. Pp. 186. Price £ 4.95.

Ms. Chand is a person of diverse culture and varied interests. Indo-Swiss by birth, educated in England, she is the wife of an Indian, and they live in Japan. She is thus uniquely qualified to examine the problem of mixed culture and resultant alienation which is the theme of this unusual novel.

The protagonist is ten-year-old Natsuko. Though born and bred in Japan, the land of her father, she finds it alien and incomprehensible. Shrinkingly sensitive, like Frances, her English mother, she is crushed by the weight of its tradition, revolted by its acceptance of violence and cruelty.

Frances' nerves succumb in this unequal struggle. She returns to England for a rest-cure leaving husband, son and daughter to the ministrations of Hiroko, the new maid. This is the setting for Natsuko's personal tragedy. It is conveyed not merely through the course of events, though these are dramatic enough. The author commands a variety of effects which she uses with assurance and discretion.

The novel has a carefully patterned structure into which events, people, things, are fitted so as to assume

a significance beyond themselves. Nothing is extraneous, nothing out of place, nor do "purple patches" or "beautiful writing" intrude where they have no business.

We start with five characters. To these only one is added later, the dumb farm-hand Shojiro. Though a minor character, he is important. Through him the impact on a child's mind of Hiroko's unthinking promiscuity is brought out in all its horror. The touch of his hand on Natsuko's cheek is imaged in terms of "broken nails and dirt-ingrained fingers". The hand itself appears disembodied. His stub of a tongue is "wet and purple, fleshy as raw meat". He is not so much a person for Natsuko as part of the nightmare of growing up, of coming to terms with life.

Frances and her husband are opposed to each other in a fairly obvious way. To Kazuo, inheritor of a proud *samurai* tradition, life is a discipline, a series of obligations to those in authority and to oneself. Respectful behaviour must be observed, displays of emotion curbed, insult repudiated with honourable vendetta. Within this formalised pattern, sensible provision is made for man's baser nature.

Commonsense of this kind Frances finds depraved. Hers is the stand of the individualist, always in rebellion against the System. Whenever it proves too strong for her she dissolves into tears. The author's favourite adjective for her is "limp".

The contrast between her and Hiroko is far more subtle. Promiscuous, thoroughly vicious, Hiroko has a burgeoning vitality pathetically absent in Frances. Their very bodies project this difference. Unclothed Hiroko is "smooth and narrow... the knots of her back-bone rippling down into her waist". Her limbs are slight, "flesh tight about their core". On Frances "nakedness had overflowed the bones, loose in places, sinewy in others... Across her stomach fatty tissue had the look of dough."

Events are similarly ordered, trauma being followed by escape. Frances escapes a hostile environment and the sense of personal failure it represents by returning to her roots. Similarly, Natsuko expresses her sense of rebellion by running away twice. Being herself a child of this environment, there is no escape for her. Her problem does not admit of an easy solution and the author wisely avoids suggesting one.

A variety of means supports the theme. The language is taut, economical, half-sentences and broken images conveying perfectly the fragmented perceptions of a neurotic child.

In this tight, closed world inanimate objects take on a sinister life. The blank white table-cloth, the film of grease congealed on plates, mirror Natsuko's mute anguish. Chairs become too huge to sit on, squares of drying paper, white and tall, glare painfully into her mind.

One wishes sometimes that the author would permit a little fresh air to penetrate the novel's murky atmosphere. But it is not a total vision of life that she presents. For the narrow aim she has set herself her technique is flawless. Her hard, brilliant prose is impressionistic, its broken lights flashing into the dark corners of human experience. States of mind are made vivid, unforgettable, because they are projected in concrete terms.

For example, the central problem of the novel is presented in tangible form through the ancient suits of armour which stand in Kazuo's study. These, the pride of his heart, are to Natsuko hideous, terrifying. They possess her nightmares, "walking forever towards her slowly... their eyes empty dead slits, blacker than their faces."

They weigh her down, suffocate her, like the culture they represent. At the climax of the novel it is symbolically fitting that they come crashing down on top of her, destroying her last tenuous link with sanity.

The story is so movingly told that it compels belief. It is only later that one has second thoughts. Is a ten-year-old child capable of such mature perceptions? In fairness it must be remembered that introverted and hyper-sensitive children such as Natsuko are morbidly precocious. Yet, a flicker of doubt persists.

In view of all that Ms. Chand has achieved, this may seem niggling criticism. Her descriptive method alone would make this an outstanding novel. Whatever her immediate concern, whether people, places, a country or its ethos, she has a rare capacity for getting at once to the heart of the matter. In a brief paragraph she communicates its essence through a telling use of significant detail. Her observation is merciless. One looks forward with keen anticipation to more from this original and very talented writer.

ZERIN ANKLESARIA

LOVETIME — Selected love poems by Sunita Jain. Pp. 48. Rs. 25.

STONE ROOTS by Meena Alexander. Pp. 56. Rs 25.
(Both published by Arnold-Heinemann, New Delhi)

Sunita Jain and Meena Alexander are teachers of English Literature, and have published more than two volumes of verse each. The former's *Lovetime* and the latter's *Stone Roots* are widely different in conception, themes and tone, but their effect is identical. It is of weakness and pretension.

Ms Jain has called her collection of 40 love poems, *Lovetime*. Like Tea-time? Dinner-time? Play-time? The title's suggestion of a routine exercise is perhaps ironically apt. "We met", "we loved", "we parted", are the dominating motifs of the volume and hardly any attempt is made to go beyond their rather limited confines.

The blurb on the jacket tells us of Ms. Jain: "Always personal and intense, she is a poetess of beauty-in-restrospect." The intensity found in the poems is the kind that shouts itself hoarse from rooftops. "When I love/I love/hard." The "beauty" is restricted to facile descriptions of the moon and the stars. Surely there is more to love and intensity than clinging bodies and eager looks?

Pain and loneliness are often conveyed through cliché-ridden images like: "We live. In coffee rooms:

hee haws/crawls life to the edge of its cup/dragging the rainbow/checking the sob." What is worse, the weak themes are further weakened by an utterly colourless style, often bordering on the awkward. Consider this example: "another day rolls by/I did not call my welfare/you did not bring/your 'I'm fine' ". Ms Jain seems to be confused about the difference between simplicity and the simplistic.

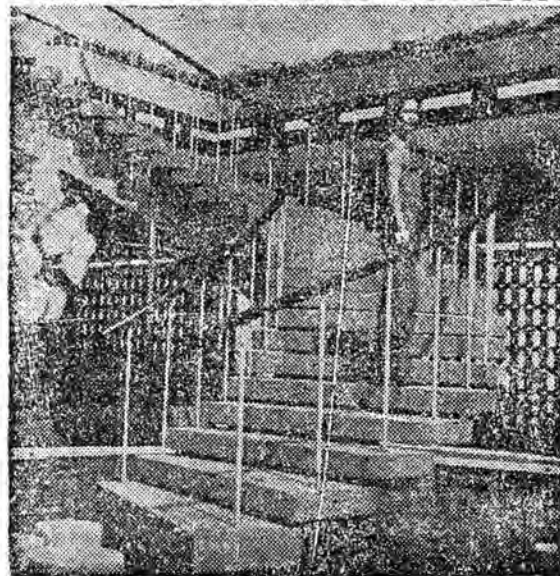
Meena Alexander's poems err in the opposite direction. Blood and water flow through them, a few bones and corpses are strewn around perhaps symbolising the futility of life and the inevitability of death or some such high-sounding concept. A cryptic mention of a Chinese verse or two, more gloom-laden imagery, and there you have it: Instant Profoundity! Is the mere stringing together of images even if they are purposeless, all there is to the writing of poetry?

I know that its passe to ask for *sense* in the poems one often reads these days, but I'm still curious to know a little more about the following (Answers need not necessarily be brief and to the point): a) Why did Solomon sway before Sheba? b) How does "Esther issue/from a fish pot/in prophecy?" c) How did "he" light a candle in the goat's throat?

"Jehovah must rage/Jehovah must rage", says Ms Alexander in "Salt Spray". He must indeed. It's a pity Alexander goes in for this kind of nonsense, though, because she often reveals the ability to come up with a finely wrought image or idea—which of course she immediately sets out to ruin in the next line.

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FREEDOM FIRST

RIGHT AND WRONG IN POLITICS

K. V. SUBRAHMANYAM

In 1944, George Orwell observed in a review of two books that appeared about the same time, **The Road to Serfdom** by F. Hayek and **The Mirror of the Pact** by K. Zilliacus:

"Capitalism leads to dole queues, the scramble for markets and war. Collectivism leads to concentration camps, leader worship and war. There is no way out of this unless planned economy can somehow be combined with the freedom of the intellect, which can only happen if the concept of Right and Wrong can be restored to politics."

It did not, of course, take Orwell long to realise that a planned economy cannot function unless the authority that works it is centralised. The logical corollary to the so-called Planned Economy, as it began manifesting itself in Stalin's Five-Year Plans of the Soviet Union or Hitler's Seven Year Plans, was worked out by Orwell in two books: **Animal Farm** and **1984**. What he overlooked when he wanted Right and Wrong to be restored to politics was that the concept was highly subjective. It rarely existed in human history except as defined by the individual or the group wielding power.

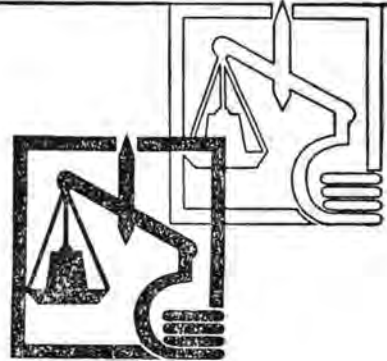
The Priest-Kings of the ancient world decided, in their tryst with destiny on the road to absolute power, what was Right and what was Wrong. It was this fundamental dichotomy between the Ruler and the Ruled that engaged the attention of Bertrand Russell in his early historical study, **Freedom and Organisation**, and in his Reith Lectures, **Authority and the Individual**.

An objective definition of what is Right must be traced back to what J. R. Breasted called "The Dawn of Conscience" in Egypt. Its clear expression is to be found in Isaiah when, in one stroke, the Prophet brushed aside the sacrificial element in religion and emphasised the **ethical** element—relief of pain, the positive aspect of which is love. In Jesus and Buddha we find these two feathers which were best presented by St. Paul in his 13th Chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, when he concluded that of Faith, Hope and Charity, the noblest was Charity—what, in today's language, would be called "Tolerance".

St. Paul went even further when he brushed aside such relics of tribal symbolism as circumcision, ceremonial eating of meat, and other rituals. In all these we see clearly the emphasis on the rights of the individual, his obligations to society, and the evolution of the State from its societal origins.

In the progress of the State from the family through the tribe, it developed two facets: that of a nation as represented by the pluralist society, and that of the organism represented by the corporate society. The first is represented by such countries as those of Western Europe and the U.S.A. The Scandinavian countries never had empires which they exploited for their raw materials or cheap labour. The loss of their empires has not made Great Britain, Holland, Belgium or France any the poorer. All of them are capitalist; **and yet there are no bread queues in any of them today.**

In short, these countries are welfare states without being socialist. In fact, after they got rid of their empires, whose governance became a liability involving the use of the coercive apparatus of the State, they have been able to give their people a much higher standard of living than they had ever enjoyed when they had empires. This proves the hollowness of the thesis of erstwhile socialists from Henry George and



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BOMBAY DYEING

Karl Marx to the Hobsons and the Webbs: empire has given way to the multinational—rather the transnational—corporation which, while retaining the managerial efficiency so often admired in such fascist states as Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, have been subject to the will of the people.

We are, of course, far from the stage when a large number of pluralist societies protect the weak from the strong and tolerate the heretic. The heretic of today is the path-breaker of tomorrow. But it is clear that the moral imperative can only be sustained and nurtured when the nation-states are small enough to protect the individual, without being too strong to overawe him and reduce him to tissue in an organism.

It is here that the multi-national, with its vast resources necessary for funding research and development, can be made to use its monetary power for the good of the people. It can remain subject to the discipline of such organisations as that of the United Nations. This approach was developed, although vaguely, by that great philosopher-statesman, J. C. Smuts, in "Holism".

Today, the United States of America or the United States of Europe—that phrase is not in vogue still—are democracies where the individual is an entity in his or her own right, not just a "hand" as during the Industrial Revolution. Their roots are in the Christian ethics. As A. N. Whitehead once pointed out, it is not written Constitutions, however ingeniously drafted, that give survival value to democracies in the sense in which Lincoln defined them, but a pluralist society, where a multiplicity of self-governing institutions each acting as a check on the other, a delicate balance.

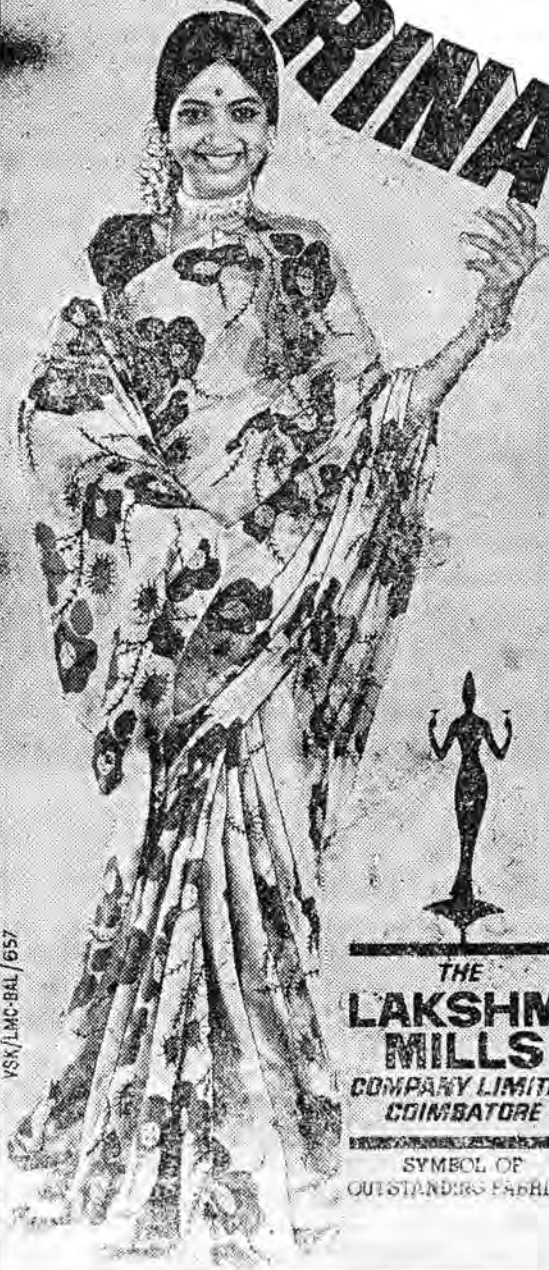
In such a society, authority maintains law and order with the minimum of cost to the community, so that changes in response to changing environments—techno-economic and socio-political—can take place through public discussion and parliamentary debate. The Weimar Constitution, perfect as it was supposed to be, could not survive the Depression of the Thirties, whereas the Byzantine Empire survived long enough to enable Europe to lay the foundations of a Christian society.

In the case of India, before its contact with post-mercantilist Europe of the 16th century, it was just a geographical entity like the Arab Peninsula. It had no unifying ethos except in those areas where the people were affected by the invading Indo-Aryan tribes. Its geographical frontiers were defined by the mountains of the North-West, North and North-East and by the sea to the South-East and South-West. It included peoples in every stage of social evolution from the animists in the tribal to agnostics in the caste-hierarchical.

During all these years, India has witnessed the rise and fall of empires too numerous to chronicle, none of which embraced the whole of the peninsula until the advent of the British. The years from the battle of Plassey to the appointment of Cornwallis represented one of consolidation. From then on, India had, by and large, an unchallengeable government, exercising its authority as the guardian of the public.

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FREEDOM FIRST

The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was a major divide but for which India would have had its population subjected to a common personal law transcending caste, religion or group, as they were to a common Penal Code and civil and criminal procedure. The effect of the Mutiny was to make the British wary of interfering with the personal laws of the multiplicity of socio-religious groups in India.

In the circumstances, the successive reforms that gave an increasing degree of autonomy to the various political units of India were not taken advantage of by those most vociferous in demanding Independence. They did not lay an enduring foundation for it by enforcing such laws as the abolition of child-marriage, polygamy, animal and human sacrifices, "Purdah", the degradation of Hindu widows, and "untouchability". Despite the best of intentions, Gandhi introduced such imaginary ideals as "Ramrajya" which meant the perpetuation of all the social evils that beset Hindu society.

To prepare for it, Gandhi adopted "Satyagraha" that destroyed respect for law, driving Jinnah into the arms of the most separatist, backward-looking Muslim communalists. This was just the setting for the new converts of Marxist theology to secure a foothold in the Indian sub-continent. The tactics and strategy of the communists have been well and frequently described. On the other hand, Nehru could not shake off the morally inebriating effects of his first visit to the Soviet Union in the late twenties. Its most important effect was his admiration for Stalin. Nehru praised the methods by which Stalin was supposed to have solved the problem of Nationalities in the Soviet Union!

When India became Independent, as did a host of other colonial peoples, Nehru took up the task of making India the "Leader of Asia" and a "World Power", with the help of V. K. Krishna Menon. He had no time to keep track of the manner in which his hangers-on were busy ushering in his special brand of the "Socialistic Pattern of Society". Meanwhile, the Indian economy failed to grow, virtually the entire sterling balances accumulated during the war having been exhausted in the manner best described by C. D. Deshmukh.

It was at this stage, having ushered in the Permit-License Raj, that the Government followed it up by

a spate of legislation, the draconian nature of which was mellowed only by the inefficiency of its implementation. Nehru made his second visit to the Soviet Union in June 1955. From then on, the Nation's economy steadily moved into the Soviet orbit, despite protestations to the contrary in the name of non-alignment. Even the Federal Republic of Germany, which had brisk trade relations with the Soviet Union but on strictly business lines, was mortified by the Indian version of non-alignment as expounded by Nehru.

We need not go deeply into the Gilbertian manner in which the USSR rendered aid to India, worth a detailed study in itself. Suffice it is to say that when India's China War broke out, none of those whose cause India had championed, not even Nasser, had a word of even lip sympathy for her, the exceptions being Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus and Tenku Abdur Rehman of Malaysia! Ultimately, it was Great Britain and the U.S.A. who had to render material aid, and also to prevail upon Pakistan not to aggravate matters by attacking India on another front.

Nehru's death after too long a tenure in office either for his own good or that of India, was followed by a political vacuum. This is always the case when a state is neither monarchical nor republican, to provide for a smooth transition of power. It was inevitable that after the short interregnum of Lal Bahadur Shastri's tenure, it was impossible to find anyone who was even known to the mostly illiterate electorate of India other than Nehru's daughter, whose political immaturity was taken maximum advantage of by a pack of adventurers.

The effect was a steady erosion of even that semblance of unity based on the principles of law and order that provided the moral infrastructure for a Nation-in-the-Making. Its latest expression was the warning by the Chief Minister of Karnataka to the Press. It was asked to be his Public Relations agency, lest it be taught a lesson by his Youth Congress wing. That means gangs of unemployed youth who could be let loose on the Fourth Estate if it was not willing to come to terms with their Chief.

Once such a style of governing establishes itself in the country, the Road to Serfdom through one of the variants of the Corporate Society, by whatever name it is called—Fascism, Communism, Nazism, or Falangism—becomes unavoidable. All sense of Right and Wrong disappear. The moral imperative ceases to exist. To be forewarned is to be forearmed.★

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